The Diary of Sharon Turner 1793-5 is a record - part memoir, part history - written by the lawyer and historian Sharon Turner (1768-1847) covering what he clearly came to see as the turning point in his life and in the life of the country and of Europe more widely. It describes his courtship of Mary Watts, the daughter of William Watts, a landscape painter with strong sympathies with the French Revolution, against the background of increasing turmoil in France and throughout Europe, and with growing concern about the measures taken against English reformers by the British government. The result is a distinctive portrait of life in Britain at the time of the French Revolution presented through the account of a courtship that goes dramatically awry.

Edited and introduced by: Mark Philp, Professor of History and Politics, Department of History, University of Warwick and Clare Clarke, History, Warwick, 2014-17.

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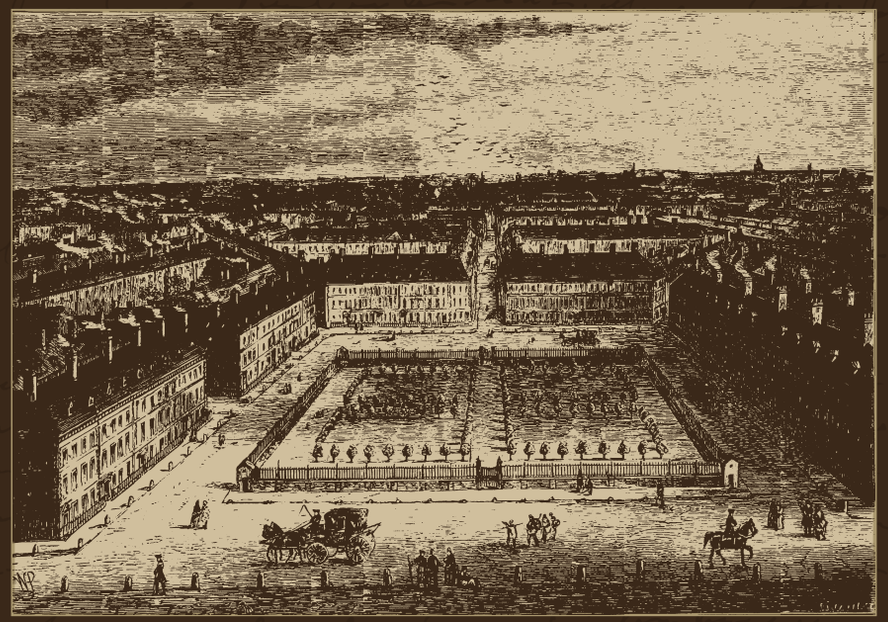
The diary of Sharon Turner 1793-1795

The Diary of



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Transcribed, edited and introduced by
Mark Philp and Clare Clarke

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Sharon Turner
By Sir Martin Archer Shee, oil on canvas, circa 1817
NPG 1848

Introduction

Sharon Turner (1768–1847) was a lawyer and historian. According to the records of the Inner Temple, he was the son of a grocer who had a business in Shoreditch, although both of his parents (William and Ann) were originally from Yorkshire and moved to London after their marriage. He was born in London and lived there until he began his 'country life' in Middlesex in 1830. His Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB) entry, drawn largely from identical obituaries published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1847 and the *Annual Register* in the same year,[1] suggests that he was educated at the Pentonville Academy conducted by Dr James Davis, rector of St James's, Clerkenwell, 'where he acquired a sound foundation in the classics'. He left school in 1782, aged 14,[2] to be articled to Thomas Kennedy senior, an attorney of the King's Bench,[3] and was admitted to the Inner Temple in November 1785.[4] He identifies his 'independent bachelor life in the Temple' as lasting from June 1787 to January 1795. Thomas Kennedy died in 1789, when Turner (aged 21) had only just completed his five years as an articled clerk. Nonetheless, he succeeded to Kennedy's business.[5]

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1 Gentleman's Magazine, 1847, 434-6; Annual Register 1847, Vol 89, 208-9

2 Add ms 50155, f.136r.

3 Court of King's Bench: Plea Side: Affidavits of Due Execution of Articles of Clerkship KB 105, 2, signed 25th day of October 1782 (articles entered on 22 August 1782).

4 Records of the Inner Temple. Turner himself notes his articles as being from aged 14 to 'near 19'.

5 The obituaries of Turner suggest that the attorney died before the completion of the articles, but this does not fit the evidence (including the registration of Kennedy's death in St Martin in the Fields for 1789), and it seems additionally unlikely because Turner would have had to have subscribed to a different attorney to complete his articles and there is no record of him doing so.

After the events recounted in this volume, which covers the first half of the 1790s, Turner went on to publish his scholarly and very successful *History of the Anglo-Saxons* (4 vols., 1799–1805) and to develop his historical and literary research into Icelandic, Middle English and Anglo-Saxon materials further while continuing to develop his law practice, especially in the area of copyright law. He also presided over a family of (eventually) thirteen children.[6] In later life, beginning in 1816, he suffered from nervous debility and a variety of ailments, a combination of inherited susceptibilities (his father had died aged 46 from nervous asthma), overwork and an exacting sense of his duties. Turner's account of the change that occurred in his life from this time appears in his later papers: 'There was a new dispensation of my life — a complete interruption at first of all my former enjoyments. Endearments with my wife, — conversations with my children — society with my friends — my studies — my compositions — my books — my walks — were all to be relinquished — nor these only — my dinner likewise was to be given up and my meals with my family. I was compelled to separate myself from them or to perish. Even sleep was withheld from me, for as soon as it came on it brought with it an asthmatic attack that compelled me to sit up sleepless in bed for the rest of the night.'[7] Although his condition improved somewhat after two years, he never regained his former strength.

Turner kept a diary throughout his adult life. Portions of that diary for the later part of his life still exist and are in the British Library,[8] but they are somewhat fragmentary and the earlier parts of the original manuscript have been lost. At some point, Turner wrote up a long section of his diary and had a clean copy made, either by his youngest son, Sydney Turner (b. 1814), or by his brother William (b.1804).[9] Part

6 Add ms 81089 f.512.

7 Add ms 51055 f.137v.

8 Add ms 51055.

9 The ODNB suggests Sydney as a collaborator on the later editions of the History of the Anglo-Saxons, but the annotations in the manuscript suggest that the work on the diary was William's. The two were close, Sydney attending William's wedding

of that copy has survived in a set of notebooks of some 594 closely written pages – save that one or more earlier notebooks (pp. 1-286) are missing. The extant notebooks were purchased in the 1950s from Mark Christodolou, a second-hand bookshop owner in York, by Kenneth Monkman (1911–1998) of Shandy Hall, Yorkshire.[10] Another collection of papers and letters was deposited by Mrs Pamela Diamand.[11] However, it seems that an earlier deposit of a typescript of the diary (beginning in July 1794) was deposited with the British Library around 1900 as a part of the Strachey Papers.

In a brief introduction to the manuscript, Monkman wrote:

> [the manuscript] formed an 'Autobiography' which he [Turner] clearly intended to publish but never did, possibly because a somewhat enigmatical figure in the story, his own father-in-law, survived him by several years by living to be nearly a hundred.

Turner may well have wanted to avoid embarrassing any living member of the group around which his narrative centred, but it is clear from what he wrote that he intended to publish the diary, or at least hoped to do so at an appropriate time. On 11 October 1845 he wrote in his diary: 'I have looked over it again and think it may be printed as I leave it. It should be carefully paged before it is distributed.' The manuscript that is kept at the British Library is not complete. In his introduction to the manuscript Monkman notes:

> What became of the complete manuscript I do not know, but four of the fascicles, covering in part the years 1793-1826,

as a witness in 1839, along with their father. Sydney is described in his marriage certificate (for 1839) as a curate of Christ Church, Surrey. No profession is registered for William on his marriage in the same year, but he is registered as living in the family home in Red Lion Square.

10 A note on the acquisition by Monkman is included in Add ms 81089.

11 The British Library catalogue is not clear about when the materials were deposited. See below, Note on the Text.

> turned up in a London antiquarian bookshop in the 1950s, when I bought them and still have them and have often felt that they contain amongst other matter what could be presented as a self-contained, detailed, touching (and much better than a novel of the romantic period because *true*) story of Turner's falling deeply in love with and, after some difficulty and misunderstanding, happily marrying Watt's daughter, a young lady of whom John Murray, meeting her later and being told she was 'one of the Godwin school' said 'If they all be as beautiful, accomplished, and agreeable as this, they must be a deuced dangerous set indeed'.[12]

Monkman produced a transcript of a selection of the material (which began at February 1793) and a copy of that was also deposited in the British Library and is kept with the notebooks in Add ms 81089. The transcription edits out elements that he thought detracted from the key story of Turner's courting of Mary Watts. At the same time, or possibly at a later point, Monkman also deposited the manuscript material in his possession.[13] In the current transcription we have reproduced the whole of the manuscript as it stands from February 1793 up to the point of Turner's marriage at the beginning of 1795. We believe that this more faithfully represents Turner's sense of what it was important to record and convey about the period in which he courted Mary Watts.

William Watts (1752–1851) and his daughter Mary (1777–1843) play a prominent role in Turner's diary. There is no record of how Turner met William Watts. Watts was a line engraver who specialised in drawings and prints of landscapes and buildings. He spent some years at the end of the 1780s in Italy and France before returning to England. On his return he lived in London and then for periods in Bristol and Bath. He had two children, Mary, who was 15 when Turner first met the family in 1792, and William Charles (who was 13 ½). Watts and his family

12 Adds ms 81089 has a one-page prefatory statement by Monkman that was deposited with the notebooks quoted here.

13 The BL Catalogue suggests this was done in 2005, but Monkman died in 1998.

had relocated to London from Bath in 1792, and Turner (then 24) was introduced to him in August 1792.[14] Despite being introduced (he does not say by whom) as a Christian and an aristocrat, he found himself openly accepted, and Watts invited him to family dinners as well as evening discussions, including him in a way that led Turner to think of him almost as a father. Turner clearly found much to appreciate in the conversation of the older man and in the people whom he met at Watt's home. The Scottish publisher John Murray may have described Mary Watts as a 'Godwinian', but the connection with William Godwin (1756–1836), the philosopher and novelist, does not appear to have been an especially close one: there is no record of Godwin meeting Turner at Watts' home.[15] On the other hand, it seems likely that Mary Watts knew Miss Elizabeth Priscilla Cooper (since Godwin met the two together at Holcroft's home on 21 September 1794) and Cooper was a cousin of Godwin's.[16] Moreover, the friend whom Turner refers to as 'C.' seems likely to have been Elizabeth Cooper's brother, Thomas, who was a former pupil of Godwin's. The connection with the novelist and playwright Thomas Holcroft (1745–1809) seems stronger. Godwin first noted meeting Watts at Holcroft's home in August 1792. Godwin and Watts then encountered each other three times in 1794 and twice in 1795. The connection encompasses Mary Watts, whom Godwin met at

14 Watts visited Paris not long after the move to London. He appears in the list of those who signed the Address of the British Club to the National Convention in November 1792, congratulating it for having 'taken up arms solely to make reason and truth triumph'. Turner was probably not wholly aware of the details of Watts' activities in Paris, but those signing included some whose activities the British government was concerned enough about to monitor. See David V. Erdmann, *Commerce des Lumières:* John Oswald and the *British in Paris* (Columbia MI, University of Missouri Press, 1986), 305; Rachel Rogers, Vectors of Revolution: The British Radical Community in early Republican Paris 1792-4 (thesis submitted en vue de l'obtention du doctorat de l'université de Toulouse, November 2012); and the National Archive files, FO 27/40, 27/41 and 27/43.

15 They meet, it seems, only four times, twice in 1805, once in 1809 (Holcroft's funeral), and once in 1815.

16 The Diary of William Godwin, (eds) Victoria Myers, David O'Shaughnessy, and Mark Philp (Oxford: Oxford Digital Library, 2010). http://godwindiary.bodleian.ox.ac.uk

Holcroft's in September 1794, and she was also friendly with Holcroft's daughter, Sophie. The pattern of interaction suggests membership of a wide and loosely connected network of men and women of the middling orders with a mix of professions and trades who were interested in philosophical speculation and current affairs.

Watt's circles helped Turner to widen his acquaintance and opened him up to a range of reading and speculation in relation to contemporary events. He reports that he had read the pamphlet exchange between Edmund Burke and Thomas Paine over events in France, which sparked the 'Revolution controversy' in 1791, and had liked neither author's work. But he goes on to say that 'amid the exciting events that arose and the earnest discussions I had heard there was always a chance that I should have caught the contagion and have shared in the general fever. I had been many times tempted to do so, and I had really believed that the honest truth was that my attachment to her had been my best preservative' (p. 501). Watts' household therefore seems to have provided a degree of access to the radical thinking of the period but also acted as something of an antidote to any overenthusiasm for its practical implementation.

The text that has survived is not strictly a diary or journal, although quite substantial amounts of material were clearly copied verbatim from an earlier record. It also includes material that draws on publications from the 1790s, such as material from the official *Gazettes* that are cited; and there are some sections in which Turner was drawing on later material for the details. For example, his discussion of the fall of Robespierre is heavily indebted to an account in the *Westminster Review* of 1841; that, in turn, drew on various contemporary memoirs.

In this sense the account is clearly a constructed one rather than merely a set of day-to-day jottings, but we should reflect on what Turner was trying to do by deploying the materials that he had in this way. Clearly, he did not construct the account with an eye to immediate publication, so it is difficult to imagine that he thought he was addressing a contemporary audience. It seems more likely that he sought to combine a sense of the historical moment with his account of his own personal

history. His sense of the importance of his personal life and the depth of his attachment to his wife are evident even in his will, which he rewrote shortly after her death in 1844, saying, 'tho very reluctant to direct my mind to such a subject in this period of my deprivation, but it is my comfort to remember that I have passed with her nearly 49 years of unabated affection and connubial happiness and that she is still living as I constantly hope and believe under her saviour's care in a superior state of being'.[17] This deep affection for his wife and the sense of gratitude for the time he had with her are consistent themes throughout this manuscript and in the rest of his life. The reference to the wider events of the period conveys his sense that his personal life unfolded in an era of great significance, and that he thought his courtship had a deeper significance as a result.

At the same time, he clearly thought that some of his own recollections of aspects of this historical moment were imperfect. The material that deals with the rapidly evolving events of the French Revolution, in which successive factions were consumed by their former allies, reveals that he felt he had an inadequate grasp on these incidents at the time and that he thought he needed to correct this for a readership that might benefit from hindsight and the historical work of others. There seems to have been no such feeling associated with his understanding of events developing in the British context, to which he was close. It was important to him to get his account of what had happened in France right for a number of reasons: it provided a continuous backdrop to events in London, and Britain more widely, and was clearly seen by Turner as a factor that influenced the way in which the British government considered and treated its own citizens; the reporting of it was often confused, misleading or uncertain, and it seems that Turner would have felt uncomfortable leaving his account in a similar state. Watts, his friend and the father of his *inamorata*, was closely associated with France, visiting it in late 1792 to early 1793; he had also, to his cost, invested heavily in French bonds; and, finally, Turner's rival, Mr S, was someone who claimed to make frequent visits to France, to have

17 National Archives: Prop 11/2056. 346.

detailed knowledge of French events and to be associated with many of the leading characters in the unfolding drama.[18] These factors seem to have led Turner to be especially careful in his account of French affairs: his most detailed writing and where he draws most on later material are most marked in relation to the fall of Robespierre, which occurred during the period when he was experiencing an acute crisis in relation to his hopes of securing Watts' daughter's hand, and at this time he may have felt that his grasp of contemporary events became less certain for a while.

It should be clear by now that there are several strands to Turner's narrative that reflect the array of concerns that he recorded in his original diary. Although his feelings for Mary Watts and the ups and downs of their relationship provide a frame for the whole period, he was also reflecting on and was influenced by a number of other aspects of the world in which he lived. One such element was, as mentioned, the events in France. Another was the British reaction to French affairs and the development of a British movement for political reform. Turner was a rather conservative man (who became even more so in later life[19]), and yet he was very interested in people's opinions and wanted to know more about what people were talking about – in relation to reform, but also in more philosophical and literary terms and in relation to ideas of progress, religious belief, and contemporary culture. He spent time reading French materialist and enlightenment thinkers; he cultivated an acquaintance with Holcroft because he wanted to understand his ideas;

18 Mr S— remains elusive. There is no Briton active in Paris in this period who attracts notice of the kind that Turner's report of S would lead us to expect. It is possible that S was not the first letter of his surname. It is also possible that his ability to talk about leaders of the French Republic was not matched by a commensurate immersion in French politics during his time in the capital.

19 He also became more firmly religious: in Add ms 51055 f. 14 r-v he reports that he has complete his Modern History of England and that one of the projects he will undertake arises from the 'disposition of Geologists to turn their science against Revelation – and of some even against the Creation of the World has determined me to make Geology my prominent study now that I may be able to judge of various theories they are proposing.'

he was curious about the artisan-based London Corresponding Society, so he invited its founder and secretary Thomas Hardy (1752–1832) to measure him for a pair of shoes so that he could talk to him about the society's plans; he persuaded a friend to secure him an invitation to a dinner of the Society for Constitutional Information in May 1794 so that he could hear the radical John Horne Tooke (1736–1812) in full flow; and he was in attendance at the Treason Trials of 1794 to hear the evidence and the speeches – he was hoping that there would eventually be a not-guilty verdict but it is not clear that he thought the accusations wholly unfounded. There are also several concerned comments about the rise of loyalist societies and the development of an atmosphere of covert spying against, and denunciations of, those with unorthodox views. Moreover, Turner's association with William Watts, Watts' interest in free and open discussion, and Watts' connections introduced Turner to material he would otherwise have found difficult to obtain – such as Joseph-Marie Lequinio's *Les préjugés détruits* [Paris, 1793], which played a pivotal role in the development of his relationship with Watts' daughter. This all speaks, it seems, to the very substantial impact that events in France and the subsequent 'Revolution Controversy' in Britain had on men of Turner's age with a similar education living in London. Even forty years later, Turner still recalled how intense the political tension in London was for those with any intellectual or political interests and acknowledged the extent to which that atmosphere had permeated and shaped the lives and choices of even those with no thoughts of practical action or involvement.

An additional component to the narrative in the 'diary' is provided by the events of the French Revolutionary War. It is easy to overlook this, but Turner was concerned to track the fortunes of French troops and those of the allies. This aim formed an additional dimension to Turner's daily life, providing food for thought and discussion on practically a daily basis, although this was often founded on incomplete and changing information and people grasped the full extent of the substantial changes in the political fortunes of the continent only slowly. Turner's interest was driven, it seems, by two major concerns: how the progress of the war would influence the outcome of the struggles in

France for ascendancy; and the extent to which French success might come to jeopardise British interests in Europe. His extensive notes on Lansdowne's speech in the House of Lords on 17 February 1794 strongly suggest his own preference for neutrality, and he clearly sympathised with Lansdowne's unhappiness about some of the deals that Britain had cut with Prussia and Austria. His ongoing references to events abroad and his retention of these details in the final account speak clearly of his sense that the international order was a crucial component of the pressures and difficulties developing for men and women with inquiring minds.

There is another, subordinate strand to the narrative, to which Turner was attentive but which is not often discussed in modern British accounts of the period. He worked hard to keep track of the developing movement for Polish independence under Tadeusz Kościuszko (1746–1817), the Polish nationalist and revolutionary. That story moves towards its end step by step at the same time as the closing stages of Turner's personal narrative in relation to Watts' daughter are taking place: Turner's journey leads to consummation, and the movement that had aimed for a country's independence leads to a final partition and annihilation of Poland and its hopes for independence. There does not seem to be anything contrived about this coincidence. Turner appears to have been personally moved by the catastrophe – as if it was a harbinger of nations seeking their freedom in a predatory world of international affairs that the British government was mistakenly abetting. Indeed, thirty years later, on 10 November 1836, he notes in his diary that his son, William brought home 'one of the Polish refugees here whose ideas seem to be of the most excited and revolutionary nature — a clever man, but an out and out Jacobin. ….He said that there were now in London 3,000 Poles: all trained, good men who would join any insurrection of the people at any moment….He admitted that the Jacobins in Warsaw had unintentionally contributed to its fall by the insurrection there — But they did not mean such a result. They revolted against Stryneski[20] and his party, because they were determined to get rid of their autocracy and therefore had risen and driven him away and the nobles tho they were still besieged. But they were disappointed in Krukowiski whom they made their chief. He turned

20 Probably a reference to Michael Starzenski, a nobleman in Kosciuszko's army.

traitor and gave up the city instead of fighting to the last as they wished.'[21] But by this date Turner has little remaining sympathy.

Turner's account tells us about his life in this period of political and international conflict, and it conveys a first-person experience of living in London during a time of acute political tension following the French Revolution, when there was growing pressure for domestic political reform. He gives us this wider background because he wants to be faithful to his memory of the development of his affection for and courting of William Watts' daughter, for which these wider events provide a backdrop and sometimes a much more prominent role. And it is clear that these are not incidental materials for Turner but are central to capturing the moment.

We can also read his account for what it tells us, much less intentionally, about a number of other features of the period. One aspect concerns his circle of acquaintance. Turner was 21 when the lawyer to whom he had been articled, Thomas Kennedy, died, leaving him with a business to conduct. He lived in the Inns of Court (1 Pump Court), where he had rooms, and he was provided for there by a clerk and a laundress. It seems to have been a period in which he was very active professionally, developing his business to the point that he could make a living that could support a family while remaining alert to and interested in the wider political and literary world. And being an able attorney meant that he had a degree of communication with people in positions of power and influence, especially those with legal connections. For example, he reports meeting Sir Archibald Macdonald, who had just been made Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and who talked to him about events in France. He also met the political writer David Williams (1738–1816) and a range of other people whose conversations he records. Indeed, the diary suggests he had a degree of ease when moving in intellectual and political circles. And it is clear that he had few thoughts concerning romance, and little experience in that field.

21 Adds MS 51055 f. 121v-122r.

The diary's value as a source of information on topics that Turner was not expressly focusing on can be seen most clearly in the account he gives of his courting of Mary Watts and what that says about relations between young men and women during this period. His developing relationship with Mary Watts took place largely at William Watts' home, and under his supervision. Yet Watts himself seems to have been largely unaware of Turner's growing interest in his daughter. Their courting was conducted largely in conversations in which others were involved or could overhear, but also through chess and music, which were features of the evening activities at the Watts' house. Turner was aware that other men who visited the house were attracted to Mary Watts, not least, but certainly not exclusively, Mr S, although he says that the others held back on perceiving Mary Watts' partiality to Turner (so they could see what Watts himself could or would not see). None of these men were as close to William Watts as Turner was, and none appear to have been extended the privileges that were subsequently extended to Turner and that enabled the relationship to develop. In the main, this involved being permitted to conduct his daughter on walks through the city – often of some distance and duration – and on one occasion consenting to a day's outing up the River Thames to Twickenham to see Pope's house. It is clear that Watts' initial reaction to Turner's first proposal to accompany his daughter on a walk was hesitant:

> He looked grave & pondered, & was silent some time. Till then it had not struck me that a young man in his [327] 26th Year was not the fittest person to propose himself to a Father to be the companion of an attractive young lady just entered into her 18th Year — out of his sight. It was also the character of his mind to be cautious & mistrustful, & to have no very good opinion of Mankind. I saw that I had incautiously put him into a disturbing dilemma, as either his refusal or assent wd involve consequences to us both. But as I had taken the step, I cd only await in some anxiety his decision.[22]

22 Add ms 81089 pp. 327-8.

Nonetheless, he assented (Turner had already had the pleasure of a long perambulation after Mary Watts and two friends had called on him at the Inns of Court to leave him a book, when he had shown them round the gardens of the Temple and then extended this to a long stroll through St James's Park and Green Park before escorting Mary back to her home). Watts allowed Turner to accompany Mary on walks on subsequent occasions too; indeed, the only occasion on which he demurred was hard on the heels of the break between Mary Watts and Mr S. On all these outings, there were others present: the permission granted by Mary's father was for him to accompany Miss Watts *and* some of her friends. This was partly an issue about security. It was acceptable to Watts that his daughter and two of her friends could walk from their house in Charlotte Street, Bedford Square, to the Inns of Court to take Turner a book.[23] And it seems likely that she would have walked to the houses of friends accompanied by either an older person or by a group of friends, or possibly by a servant. But she would not have expected to move around the city on her own, or in the company of a single young man to whom she was unrelated. We cannot be certain that she would not have been permitted to walk alone with Turner, but Turner did not feel that it was appropriate to suggest this, implying an awareness of a convention. Watts was clearly anxious about his daughter needing some protection (she was 16 in January 1793); it is unclear whether he had confidence in Turner as a chaperone, and there might also have been concerns for his daughter's reputation if she was seen in the street with a man to whom she was not related. Turner found none of this exceptional.

We have diaries from the period that other men wrote, such as that kept by the antiquary and autograph collector William Upcott (1779–1845) between 1803 and 1807.[24] Upcott moved freely around London and elsewhere, often accompanying one girl or another of a similar age without other company. He does not seem to have had Turner's educational advantages, nor his professional training, and this suggests

23 It is possible that they were also accompanied by a servant who is simply not noticed.

24 Diary of William Upcott, British Library, Add ms 32558.

that Watts' and Turner's standing in society might have been a register or two higher than that of Upcott and his young women, and this might have had implications for the freedom of movement of Watts' daughter. However, we can compare Mary's situation with the freedom of movement that Amelia Alderson (1769–1853) seems to have enjoyed in the 1790s, visiting people on her own and attending the Treason Trials, with little apparent in the way of a chaperone.[25] Perhaps Watts was more protective in respect of his daughter's movements (perhaps especially given her youth) than some of his contemporaries were and he might primarily have been anxious about her safety in a large metropolis with which she was initially unfamiliar. But he also seems to have had little sense of his daughter's eligibility or of the fact that she could attract men's attention – let alone that she could be attracted to men herself (which is suggested by his reaction to Mr S's proposal).

Turner's account also gives us rare glimpses of the details of people's social interaction. While we are used to reading the fiction of Jane Austen and others as accurate representations of the cut and thrust of social intercourse among the aristocracy and the lesser gentry who lived in the countryside, Turner's reports of evenings at Watts' home offer us a rather distinctive perspective (not least because it is a male one) on domestic social interaction and the difficulties of having an open conversation on matters of personal significance. There seems to have been plenty of room for candour regarding politics and literature, but much of the personal interaction works as a tacit sub-theme in other discussions and activities, to the point that the resolution of Turner's misunderstanding with Mary Watts is undertaken through, first, a discussion of Wollstonecraft's book on the history of France and subsequently through a commentary that had been written in pencil in it.[26]

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25 Celia Brightwell, *Memorials of the Life of Amelia Opie* 2nd ed., (Norwich and London, 1854). It is also possible that Alderson was not, in fact, wholly alone, but would have been attended by a servant.

26 Mary Wollstonecraft's *An Historical and Moral view of the Origin and Progress of the French Revolution and the Effect it Has Produced in Europe* (London, 1794). See

One point of silence in the text that is perplexing for readers of late eighteenth-century novels is the almost complete absence of Mrs Watts from Turner's account. His applications to take Mary on expeditions are made to her father. The only reference to 'her mother' seems not to be to Mrs Watts but to the mother of one of Mary's close friends who thought Turner was a likely prospect for her own daughter. In fact, it seems likely that Watts' partner – referred to by the landscape painter and diarist Joseph Farington (1747–1821) as 'Mrs Watts spinster'[27] – was not married to him. In this respect he was unconventional, as was she, although they were far from alone. Their unmarried state, however, seems to have resulted in an untrammeled paternal authority, and it results in Mrs Watts being almost entirely absent from Turner's diary. (One possible reference to her appears in a letter from Watts, who is writing in relation to his daughter's decision to marry Mr S and which explains Watts' willingness to receive Mr S as a visitor in the following way: 'It has been chiefly [due] to the entreaties of a lady in this house that I have permitted his visits from the supposition that I had frequently expressed myself with such impropriety in his presence as might put me in his power in some measure, as there is little doubt of his being totally opposite in his principles to myself.')[28]

This silence is somewhat odd. It is clear that Watts and his partner appear in public together as a couple: the landscape artist and diarist Joseph Farington records two instances of dining with the couple – on 16 March 1795 and 14 May 1797 – and on both occasions with Thomas Hughes, Clerk to the Closet to George III.[29] But Turner does not mention Mrs Watts being at the evening events, and she plays no role in Turner's account. In many respects, Mrs M. seems to play a more major role in relation to Turner and Mary. This raises numerous questions concerning

pp. 446-448.

27 *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, eds. K. Garlick and A. MacIntyre (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1978) 10 March 1795 (vol II, 314). See Timothy Clayton's ODNB entry on Watts, who draws attention to this.

28 Add ms 81089 p. 399.

29 Farington II 315, March 16 1795; III, 839, 15 May 1797.

whether it is Turner whose view of Mary's mother might be a conflicted one, whether she is in fact wholly sidelined by her partner, or whether Turner remains largely ignorant of her. That it may be the third notion is suggested by an exchange that Turner records (in apparent innocence) in the diary:

> Mr W. has just taken his tea with me. We have had an agreeable conversation on a great variety of topics, as he darted in his vivacious manner from one subject to another. I made the opportunity to lead the talk to the great point I wished to put to him. Happiness being mentioned I said I now proposed to myself 5 main sources of it — Reading, Thinking — a few chosen friends — but with these, Marriage and hereafter the education of my children. He commended and strongly recommended the three first and urged me to cultivate them — but would say nothing on the [385] next subject but turned purposefully from it, not gave me any opening or encouragement to make an overture as to his daughter. When I tried to lead to this, he rose to take his leave and prevented my pursuing it.30

This seems both to confirm Turner's own ignorance about Watts' relationship with 'a woman of the house' and about Mary's parentage (if, in fact the woman was her mother, rather than her mother having died at some point). But the conversation as recorded certainly does not suggest that Watts was being entirely candid with Turner.

Turner also gives us a very acute sense of the febrile political atmosphere in London between 1792 and 1795. Indeed, although there is a reference to his own discussions with radicals and his attendance at various events, the underlying message concerns the extent to which government repression was generating something that John Barrell (echoing Vicesimus Knox) called *The Spirit of Despotism*.[31] Turner was

30 Add ms 81089 p. 384-5.

31 Vicesimus Knox, *The Spirit of Despotism* (London, 1795) and John Barrell, *The Spirit of Despotism: Invasions of Privacy in the 1790s* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2006).

genuinely concerned about the safety of Watts, given how freely he expressed his views:

> he loved to sit in his chair and criticize whatever was going forward. He was a Diogenes in his talk — but nothing like him in his manners. He had a keen sense of what was wrong and expressed vivaciously what he felt and saw it wherever it existed. But this was confined to no party, government profession or Country. He exposed what he thought erroneous in the measures of the French Convention as earnestly as in those of our own Parliament and Ministry. He was a skirmishing Utopian waging war with defects and evils whenever he perceived them, but he kept clear from all Societies and public meetings or places of general resort and only indulged his acute fluency and well meaning fault finding, seldom without some good grounds among his particular friends in his own hospitable parlour. 32

But it is clear that Watts himself felt increasingly unsafe and increasingly unable to trust those around him. In many respects, the most disturbing part of the series of misunderstandings and misjudgments in relation to Mr S's proposal to Mary Watts is that Watts found himself rapidly capitulating to a situation of which he disapproved – to the point of distrusting his daughter rather than taking a more determined stand in support of her. The result of this was that he nearly sacrificed her to a man he did not like and who it was apparent could not make her happy, and he did so because of his concern about being denounced to the authorities. For someone who had been concerned about Turner accompanying Mary on a walk, his reaction to her distress following Mr S's proposal seems little short of extraordinary, and it was clearly powerfully influenced by his concerns that he was at risk of being betrayed by S to the authorities.

A final area on which the diary sheds considerable light concerns Turner's ambivalence about the political world. On several occasions

32 Add ms 81089 p. 413.

he was clearly attracted to politics – for example, when he asked the London Corresponding Society's Thomas Hardy to call on him, or when he attended the Society for Constitutional Information dinner. At the same time, he was a somewhat timid man. He certainly had no interest in coming up against the sharp end of government reaction, and he was sceptical about those who took an active political path. He also sought to distinguish his own activities and the free expression of opinion and censure that marked Mr Watts' discourse, from 'politics'. Indeed, we can see this more widely as a phenomenon of the period, as those interested in intellectual speculation and who were critical of aspects of government policies felt themselves suddenly opened up to scrutiny and in danger of prosecution, even in the privacy of their own homes. This implies that the line between speaking out in public and speaking close to one's own hearth was more complicated during this period than is often appreciated,[33] and Turner's anxieties were hardly without foundation even if, in the end, they proved unjustified. For his own part, he conveys a strong sense that he might have taken a more active political route but that his love affair, and the good judgment of the object of his affections, saved him from that course. Even in his comments, where he discusses Hone Tooke's career and declares that this was not the course for him, there remains some sense of a road that remained open: 'There are other scenes, safer and more attractive which are accessible and in which I may try to combine some literary reputation with philanthropy. At least I will make the effort and devote myself fervently to my studies and forget all other interruptions.'[34] His phrase 'make the effort' suggests that his self-restraint came at a cost. Indeed, his attraction to the political path is strongly suggested when he says 'amid the exciting events that arose and the earnest discussions I had heard there was always a chance that I should have caught the contagion and have shared in the general

33 Although see John Barrell's masterly discussion of the complexities in his 'Coffee House Politicians' in his *Spirit of Despotism,* chapter 2, and Mark Philp, R*adical Conduct: Politics, Sociability and Equality in London 1789-1815* (Cambridge University Press, 2020), ch 2.

34 Add ms 81089, p. 434.

fever.' [35] Only later does he make a full escape, and while he suggests that he does so because of the influence of Miss Watts, much later he comes to fuse her to a larger agency that enabled him to escape: 'There was something in my Dear Lady and in her Society which destroyed the illusion of my false philosophies. An influence came over my mind which I did not then duly appreciate or refer to its proper source. But it worked its own effects in its own way and I now most gratefully acknowledge its sacred origin and nature, its invaluable results and my indelible obligations to that Divine spirit by whom it was imparted.'[36]

We might feel disappointed that Turner should have seen participation in politics in this way, but that he did so is significant: it confirms the heightened character of political tensions and it speaks to his experience, which was probably much more widely shared, that this was a period in which it seemed appropriate to expect change but in which the costs of actively pursuing that change seemed to be rising dramatically. The fact that this was the case deterred many men of Turner's social standing and intellectual interests from engaging in a wider set of activities designed to influence the politics of the day. It must have seemed that just as the horizons of human expectations were expanding, the possibilities for individuals to participate and to help realise such progress were disappearing.

There is some sense of this narrowing in the period following the last section of the diary transcribed here, when Turner resumes the narrative some eighteen months after his marriage. Turner's social circles seem to contract and become less political, with friends from his literary society visiting his home to play music and with Mary singing and playing the harpsichord. And although Turner discusses international affairs, he leaves politics, both in practice and in theory, well alone. He also turns more and more to religious inquiries and his historical studies.

His commitment to examining his religious belief led him to decide to study Hebrew and his inquiries into Christianity made him more and

35 Ibid., , p. 501.

36 Ibid., p. 514

more convinced of its truth – even if he was still anxious about having a duty not to make a mistake: 'We must either positively disbelieve or fully believe. There is no other way for an intelligent mind that thinks and reasons on this awful topic to have peace and satisfaction. Vacillation unsettles and disquiets. So I have found it. The full persuasion only will give stable rest. If this be not on the right conclusion, what is any rest in this World compared with the result of determined error in the next. I will therefore spare no pains or trouble now to discern the real truth.'[37]

During his studies he was struck by the extent to which the Book of Isaiah contained many prophecies which he thought were fairly and fully applicable to Christ. He describes telling Mary about some of his findings:

> On expressing to my wife my feelings on this subject and reading to her the passages I was pleased to hear her say: 'Do go on to examine this subject. I have not myself time nor sufficient ability, but I see you are taking every trouble to find out the truth and are seeking it fairly, When you have finished, let me know the judgment you pronounce decisively upon it and as I can confide in your impartiality be assured I will make your opinion mine.' As the dear creature has been educated with every prejudice against Christianity and is indeed a very acute reasoner against it I was charmed to find that she kept her mind as candid and so open to conviction. I told her that I should use every care to form my decision on the rules of sound reasoning and that I only wished her acquiescence in proportion as she found my arguments and conclusions to be just.[38]

For the modern reader there is an inevitable sense of disappointment in these remarks. The spirited girl of 16 and 17 whom Turner had argued with and wooed seems domesticated, diminished and dependent. That seems to have been the fate of many women in this period, but it also

37 Adds ms 60647B f.14.

38 Adds ms 60647B f 24.

seems to be part of the reaction to the intensely political atmosphere of the two years that encompassed their courtship. By 1798 the years of political optimism had largely passed, Britain was locked in an unforgiving war it seemed unable to win or to end, and the government was increasingly intolerant of critical opinion. And it is hard not to see the Turners focusing inwards partly as a reaction to those wider changes in their world.

Note on the Text

There are three versions of this text from which this manuscript has been drawn:

1. Add ms 81089 is an incomplete handwritten manuscript that has copied sections of Turner's diaries, together with some other information that is (mostly, but not exclusively) contemporary with the period being discussed. The manuscript seems to have been constructed from material Turner himself prepared with help from his son William, under Turner's direction. There are four notebooks – every folio of the notebook is paginated (differently) on both the left-hand corner and the right-hand corner of the top of the page. The numbers used in this transcription are those in the top right-hand corner since these seem to have been added when the whole body of the material was still together. Using these numbers, the page ranges for the four extant notebooks are listed below are:

pp. 286-377
pp. 378-449
pp. 450-515
pp. 593-681

The transcription we present here omits a few pages (pp. 286-297) at the beginning of the first part of the extant manuscript in which Turner is reporting a debate in the House of Lords, the first part of which is in the missing, earlier notebook. This transcription commences at page 298 and then continues in its entirety until Turner's wedding and his reflections on it, which conclude the third of the notebooks listed above on f.515. The fourth extant notebook which is not transcribed begins on f.593 and the first date noted is 26 November 1796 – a little under two years after his wedding. There is no trace of a notebook or material dealing with the intervening period, although the pagination suggests

that a section of some 78 pages is missing. Nor is there any remnant of the notebook(s) prior to p.289.

2. A transcription, probably printed off from a computer, is included in Add ms 81089, although this transcription edits out some sections of the manuscript. This was undertaken by Kenneth Monkman and was deposited with the manuscript, probably in the 1990s.

3. Add ms 60647A is a typescript material from the beginning of the second surviving notebook, beginning 'C — Went off yesterday to Berwick […]. (p.378 of the 81089 ms). Add ms 60647B continues Turner's account but in much less detail, from a year or so after his marriage to late November 1814 (pp.593–681 of the William Turner version in 81089).

4. Add ms 51055 contains a variety of material, including parts of Turner's diary from 1826 onwards, seemingly in Turner's hand but possibly partly a transcription from his diary. It also contains a series of notes on various aspects of his life, including his transcriptions of short notes from his wife Mary, his 'My Chart of Human Happiness July 1838' (and preliminary materials with some biographical information in them) and a few letters. Sections of the Introduction draw from this material.

The transcriptions in Add ms 60647A and 60647B are a typescript from a typewriter. They begin with 21 July 1794; and they end at the same point as this transcription (Add ms 60647A); the second volume begins '1796 Thus I married on slender means in actual possession but with a reasonable prospect of gradual increase from due attention to my profession and with some hopes which were not realized of additional benefit from my literary studies. I knew I should have a prudent economist in my wife altho she was so young for she had been her Fathers Housekeeper for several years under his plan of careful management. Our mutual affection would lead us to seek our happiness in each other — and all the little privations of the necessary frugality became pleasant to us because they were our best security against pecuniary deficiencies.' The narrative begins at least a year after the completion of the previous volume. This second volume (60647B) concludes on 28 November 1812.

Add ms 51055 has an obituary pasted in at the end relating to William Ellis (d.1881); a note tells us that he was married to Turner's daughter Mary.

The BL catalogue is not precise about when the materials were deposited – or indeed whether the name of the depositor was Pamela Diamand or Diamond (both spellings are used in the catalogue but Diamand is correct).

Pamela Diamand probably deposited the material in Add ms 51055 in 1963, and it is possible that she is the source of the typescript in Add ms 60647A and B that was deposited at a later stage. Monkman's deposit, Add ms 81089, was made in the 1990s.

It is possible that neither Diamand nor Monkman were responsible for the transcription of Add ms 60647A and 60647B or its deposit. Add ms 60647A begins with C's departure to the North (21 July 1794, f. 378) and ends at the same point as the current transcription (suggesting that the person or persons undertaking the transcription did not have access to the earlier section of notebook that has survived, and may not have had access to later sections). The Monkman transcription, which appears in the final file of Add ms 81089, looks like a computer printout rather than a typescript, commences with the first of the remaining notebooks (as does this transcription) and concludes at the same point as this transcription, although it edits out some sections.

In this transcription we have sought to be faithful to the material in Add ms 81089: we have followed Turner's spellings although he often uses spellings we now regard as standard US spellings in contrast to British: for example, center, favor, honor, etc.. In this, he is not always consistent but we have retained his inconsistency. We have also retained his truncations (for example cd, shd and wd for could, should and would). We have, however, replaced ligatures/ampersands (&) with 'and'. We have also tried to respect Turner's punctuation – which is often rather lawyerly, that is, largely absent, reliant on a lot on dashes, and contemptuous of apostrophes. We have not drawn attention to Turner's spelling but using [sic] when it deviates from modern standards, except when the meaning might be unclear.

We have removed stops for Mr., Mrs., Dr. etc –Turner's use of these is not consistent. And we have added stops when missing when he refers to someone by an initial – eg., Mr W. In cases where he is using a dash after a capital initial for a person so as not to convey the identity of the person – as with Mr S – we have used (often retained) an em dash.

Editorial additions are made in square brackets [….]. Notes to the text are given at the bottom of the page. in addition, the text has been annotated using explanatory endnotes to identify people, events and places which Turner discusses and, as far as it has been possible, to identify his references (for example Mr S— remains unidentified).

In the few places we have found it difficult to make out a word we have noted this in a footnote.

This transcription was undertaken by Clare Clarke as part of two undergraduate summer projects funded by the University of Warwick's URSS scheme in 2015 and 2016, and she also worked on it in her own time. Additional material was transcribed by Mark Philp and checked by Clare in 2017 and 2018. The manuscript was copy edited by Bev Sykes for the University of Warwick Library, and further research was undertaken with the assistance of Anna Baula in March 2023.

Turner Diary

The first extant notebook in William Turner's hand (Add ms 81089, Feb 1793–July 1794) is paginated from page 286. The current transcription begins at page 298. The pages 286-297 contain Turner's incomplete account of a debate in the House of Lords involving Lord Stanhope, Lord Derby, Lord Lauderdale, Lord Stormont, the Marquis of Lansdowne and Lord Loughborough — agreeing the address without division, the beginning part of which is clearly in the missing notebook. The short section remaining is not consequential for the rest of the Diary, and has been omitted.[1]

[298] While our government was thus preparing for war, but had not entered into it and on the very day when our two houses were debating on the address concerning it, the French Convention decided the question. On 1st Feb [1793 in Paris] Brissot after a long report — proposed a decree which the Convention approved and issued.[2]

War therefore has been begun with us by the French themselves and not unwelcomely I believe to Mr Pitt and the Cabinet.[3] They think it the only way to stop the Progress and its circulation of those principles among us which wd subvert our Constitution both in Church and State. If successful, it will have this effect. Failure will accelerate this downfall. It is an awful crisis.

14 February 1793

At Mr W.'s[4] this evening I met Dr Toulmin and Mr Ireland,[5] the author of the anecdotes of Hogarth.

Dr Toulmin the author of a small 8o Vol asserting the Eternity of the World was rather a young man — but not [299] arrogant or assuming, rather the contrary, yet full of infidelity in its extreme.

He said Voltaire was not a great Man.[6] He pulled down but he built up nothing. He was like Lafayette, half was between Despotism and Republicanism.[7] He knew nothing about enlightened atheism which was so prevalent now. He was one of those who believed an intermediate Power, between Nature and the World, which was commonly called God. He was only a Deist. He abused Spinoza and was by no means equal to Helvetius.[8]

W. defended his friend Voltaire and spoke against metaphysics.

Dr T— asserted the Eternity of the World and that it has been for ever what it is and added 'Who cd have thought, in the last reign, of seeing now a Nation of Enlightened Atheists? France will be that Nation.'

Mr Ireland is a cool shrewd, un-presuming elderly Man. He applauded Voltaire for keeping the middle line. He thought there was undoubtedly a great and pleasing system coming forward which he hoped wd be as beneficial as it promised. He was not certain that this wd be the result; but he wished the experiment to be tried and he hoped in it to find an answer.

I walked home with him. He disapproved strongly of Dr Toulmin's Atheism. He thought it wd be dangerous to release the Vulgar from all ties of Religion. They were at present so ignorant and so corrupt. [300]

18 Feb. I met Sir Arch. MacDonald.[9] He has been just made Chief Baron of the Exchequer. He said 'the delusion into which the French Nation has been thrown will not last. They are now coming to their senses. The business is pretty nearly over. I have been in France and know pretty well the nature of Wine Countries — Wherever they had Vines, they had no Corn, and but little population. Therefore Famine was inevitable, nor wd their paper assignats avert it.'[10]

He was much surprised at hearing that Romney had painted Tom Paine's Picture and that Sharpe had engraved it and asked for whom — for his friend **Brand Hollis**, was the answer.[11] He had no doubt the War wd soon be over.

1 March 1793.

I have just seen David Williams,[12] who has recently arrived from Paris, and who has obtained some public notoriety here by his writings. He is a large stout man and very decided in his democratical principles, at least in his explanation of them. He is the author of 'Letters from an Old Man to a Young Prince' and was much looked up to by the Revolutionary party here. He is a strong Republican at least in theory. On my mentioning that I had seen Mr Godwin whose 'Political Justice'[13] had been recently published and was making a considerable sensation among the reading classes, David Williams told me that Godwin was or had been a Presbyterian Minister, adding 'He is about 40 Years of age, lives by himself with a footboy in Somers Town, declaiming against all Society in its present State. He supports himself by his Pen, and has written several years for [301] the Reviews.' He also informed me that Joel Barlow who had lately published his 'Advice to the Privileged Orders' was an American and very poor;[14] that Horne Tooke[15] had just put 20 Guineas into his pocket as the most friendly way of giving it to him to enable him to go to Paris where he had been chosen a Member of the French Convention — as such he wd have the payment they had decreed to the Deputies, which wd be to him nearly £200 a year.

Of the 2 Political Societies[16] which now made themselves prominent as leaders of the popular opposition to the Government and of the more extreme principles of Liberty, 'The Friends of the People' was under the direction of the Whigs and 'The Corresponding Society' was organized from the lower orders of the People. From Symonds[17] I heard of all the proceedings of the first, and I wished to gain some information of the other, but without joining either, or taking any part in their measures. For this purpose, as its Secretary Hardy is a shoe maker in Fleet Street, I sent to him to come to my chambers to measure me for a pair.[18]

3rd March 1793

He has been and to my inquiries answered, that the King's Proclamation and the measures of the Government associations had a little deranged

them,[19] but that they were now reassembling. Many of their old members altho real friends had not returned on account of their business connections, but many new ones had come in. I asked him of what sort. He answered that some were of the middle class, many of the inferior orders, but a [302] few were of the Superior kind. These last came frequently to these meetings, but incog[nito] — they made a promise never to notice these by their titles, altho they knew them, but always by their assumed names.

The Society was now about to present a Petition to Parliament for reform and the Friends of the People another. He knew it wd be lost in the Commons, but it wd cause much talk both indoors and out of doors and that was their object in it and would be a benefit to them.

He seems a modest man of plain, strong understanding.

He has brought home my shoes and has further mentioned that his Society and its associations meet 4 times a week. Thursday is their Committee night. They meet to talk on Public affairs and to communicate intelligence, to read the papers and the penny and two penny publications and to enter new members. Every week the Committee reports the communications they have received from their Societies in the Country; the letters that have passed and whatever else has occurred. They all meet in their separate divisions. He added 'The Cause is going on steadily, but in a cooler, and less perceptible manner'. The Petition was drawn up by Mr Gerald of the Morning Post office.[20] Their days of meeting are Monday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday.

David Williams praises Dumouriez[21] as a very superior man. The General declared to him that he meant to be in [303] England this next May. He found the French in the highest Spirits about the English War.

I passed my Summer holiday this year 1793 at Margate where I increased my acquaintance with John Cramer[22] celebrated for his execution on the Pianoforte. We became attached to each other and he once played at the public rooms to oblige me that I might have enjoyment of his great taste

and skill and feeling, but wd not repeat it tho much solicited by others. He thought too highly of Voltaire and was fond of his Candide.[23]

This Autumn I plunged deep into the Metaphysical works of the French philosophers.[24] They had been so highly extolled to me and my studies were thought so deficient in not having become acquainted with them and there was an imputation cast on narrow views and in remaining ignorant of the ideas of enlightened foreigners, that I resolved to examine them. The desire of knowing the full truth of every thing and the fear of being regarded as a prejudiced and bigoted man led me also to this investigation, not supposing that it was more likely to entangle and mislead me than to satisfy my mind and to settle my judgment. I wanted certainties to rest upon but this was not the course by which these cd be attained.

But a subject now occurred which divided my attention with every thing else and soon chiefly engrossed it. This was my [304] falling in love when I least expected to be so affected.

I had become acquainted with many young Ladies very amiable and pleasing and, as a young man of fair Character and decent manners, was kindly received in several families. In some the parents of interesting daughters very cordially welcomed me. But tho I enjoyed their society, I had not for the last 5 years felt any emotions that led me beyond the usual social civilities — and I carefully avoided all attentions which might be misunderstood to mean any thing further. Books, Literature and business and Chitchat, more or less serious on the incidents of the Day — sufficiently occupied and amused my daily life. But my acquaintance with Mr W. gradually led me to a train of feeling on which I had not calculated, when I was first introduced to him.

I soon found him to be a man far beyond the common level. He took a fancy to me soon after our first interview, tho he was told that I was a Christian and an aristocrat, and I became the only person whom he then asked to his family dinners. He was fond of a select society and every Evening some of his older friends came to him as a kind of center, for an agreeable party and were always welcome. They were of all varieties

and opinions, ages, talents and professions and their diversified [305] conversations were both very amusing and instructive to me.

They were a mixture of Artists, Musicians, Musical Men and Philosophers, Men of the World, and reputable tradesmen, all of the middle ranks and selected by him for some quality he liked, for he was very peculiar and critical in the choice of those he admitted into his Society. He was then stationed in Charlotte Street Bedford Square, having just come there from Bath, where he had visited after his former excursions — as he liked moving about he wd take no lease of a house, but wd only be where he cd leave the abode on a 3 month's notice, as soon as he wished a change of scene.

His parties [-] always casual as any of those persons whom he admitted chose to come —were very agreeable. He was a Man of Gentlemanly manners and mild demeanour, very acute and ready in his remarks on all subjects as they occurred; very animated on favorite topics and always highly excitable. Yet never personally offensive. However fierce in his general attacks on what he disliked, he was never rude to any. He loved to skirmish, but abstained from all individual affront. I always had a warm welcome from him and a Kind manner, even when from altered circumstances his temper was shorter and he would see very few. On my Part I become as much attached to him as one man cd be to another notwithstanding many important differences of sentiment and I [306] owed the greatest portions of my out door's happiness for 2 or 3 years to his conversations and Society, quite independently of his daughter. I went to him as a kind of Father, even when I had no supposition that he wd be in a relation of that sort to me.

He started such a variety of topics, displayed such a fluency of ingenious thoughts and excited so many ideas in my mind as I listened to him and argued with him — and he bore opposition so well, that I went to him as to a certain enjoyment of friendly feeling and of interesting discourse. The mental effect was highly pleasant, tho not perhaps safe to a young mind, as an Arab-like attack on all things, tending continually to shake and unsettle more than to enlighten and improve.

He was fond of Music and had often friendly parties made on purpose to enjoy it. He took the base on these occasions. His Son tho then but 15[1] played exceedingly well on the Violin, other friends came with a second Violin, a Tenor and a Flute. His Daughter sang accurately with a fine and flowing voice and Mr Bartleman[25] frequently added his rarely equalled tones. It was a great treat to be one of his guests on these Evenings and he gave me the Privilege to be so.

Desirous to see the Men who were most distinguishing themselves in the French Convention, which had been called on the dethronement of Louis 16,[26] by the attack on the Tuileries[27] and to contrast Paris and France in their new costume, with what he [307] had witnessed a few years before there and purposing also if this new republic seemed likely to stand and prosper, to transfer his property from our funds into theirs, as less incumbered and in his erring opinion safer, from having as he too sanguinely thought passed thro all its storms, Mr W. went in the latter part of October 1792 to France, leaving his daughter here under the care of some female friends. It was this daughter who became a magnet of irresistible attraction to me.[2]

I did not know she was in existence till the 7th August 1792 when I was first introduced to her Father near whom she was sitting. But I did not then particularly notice her, nor on my subsequent visits, till on 5th Oct after I had played a friendly game of Billiards with her Father in his sitting room and was just finishing my Tea, which she made, she asked me if I liked chess. I sd I did and as soon as the Tea things were removed, she went to her Harpsichord, and taking off the Chess Board upon it, she brought it to the Table, and said 'Will it be agreeable to you to try one game with me?' — I assured her it wd give me great pleasure. She played with much skill and decision and I expected to be beaten, but at last I won the Game. — She was not then much more than 15½ years old, but there was something about her that had during [308] our short

1 Marginal note: 'only 13 ½'.

2 Marginal note referring to original Diary: 143 Cheshunt 27 June/92

acquaintance made me feel like a Brother to her — Occupied in my visits to her Father by Political and Metaphysical conversations with him, and thinking her but a Girl, I had scarcely spoken to her before. But this game at chess, occasioning us to be wholly engaged with each other for about an hour — the little chit chat which arose between us as we made the various movements or paused about them, has caused me to perceive something so womanly, so delicate and so proper in her manner and in her observations that my attention was strongly and unexpectedly interested by her. Her Father being engaged by other Visitors who called in left us entirely to ourselves. While he was absent in France I saw no more of her, nor were my thoughts directed to her.

At the end of November returning to my Chambers in the Evening, I found a letter which the Penny Postman had brought. The outside address was a female handwriting "Mr Turner No 1 Pump Court Temple[″] — I opened it and found it to be from this young Lady —

> 'Sir
>
> I have just received a letter from my Father in which he desires me to inform you that Mr C.[28] and he will be in London to day or tomorrow —
>
> your humble Servant
>
> Mary W.'

Tuesday Nov^r^ .29 1792 [309]

The note was simple and brief — but it exceedingly moved me. I had come home thinking of business and books —

What a different train of ideas and feelings instantaneously started up within me! It was her own writing and from her to me. As I read it, her lovely face seemed to be upon it. I kissed her name and for some time wd do nothing but read it. — 'Will it be possible?' I exclaimed to myself 'to this sweet Creature to be my Wife? Oh no, she is too young, she will attract others, she may prefer them, she will dislike my studious habits, Life is yet Dark, my position in it precarious. Every thing is uncertain to

me. It is not likely, I must not think of it. I have yet to earn a sufficient maintenance for a family.'

Still tho I deemed it to be too romantic and remote to suppose that I could be in that endeared relation to her, the letter was like a valued jewel to me. I locked it carefully up in my bureau before I sat down to my studies and often afterwards for some time, took it out to read without exactly knowing why — except that I had a pleasure in looking at it as her hand writing and as addressed and sent to me. I read it now at the age of 74 [that is, in 1842] with a similar feeling.

The Battle of Jemappe and its consequences[29] — The feelings and discussions which these excited both here and in France — The [310] Warlike tone of our Government to Monsieur Chauvelin[30] — The agitation at Paris — The violent aspects which its Revolution began to assume and the proceedings against its imprisoned King, suspended all softer mediations. My mind partook of the general excitements and perturbations and yet like the Halcyon Bird of Peace she seemed to invite it to gentler and happier scenes and thoughts.[31]

On 7 January 1793, three days after she was 16 my private writing in my diary was

'I played a few games at Backgammon with Miss W. this Evening. She is a very pretty and pleasing girl, with a sweet smile, a fine eye, and an attractive modest deportment, beautiful hair and a fine complexion. Her mind seems open and ingenuous — she sd to me that she wished she cd be certain about a future state. I expressed my sentiments in its favor, which seemed to please her. I respect her very highly. Her remarks imply that she has no fixed prepossessions against religion — altho she has received none in its favor.'

Nine days after this, on 16th Jan, on returning from her father's, I cd not rest till I had written down 'After Sharpe and Mrs Douce[32] had gone and while her father was occupying himself. I played a game of chess with Miss W. After a long struggle she had the victory. Her beautiful eyes sparkled with pleasure at the triumph as she rose from her chair — expressing her gladness at her [311] success and yet she

blushed immediately from innate delicacy at the self exultation she was conscious of. I told her most truly and fervently that it was high gratification to me to be conquered by her. How can I forget her sweet look and manner?'

I had now entered my 25th Year and was surprised to find that my usual tranquillity begun to be disturbed and my time to be often occupied contrary to my own wishes in thinking of her. On the second Evening after our chess, deliberations on my pecuniary means and regrets at their insufficiency for a settlement, took me from my books and ingrossed me till past midnight. My concluding thought noted down were

'The Temple Watchmen are calling out, Past One — Can it be so late. This is an intemperate hour. I must seek my pillow. It is quite useless to pursue these considerations, as I cannot yet marry. Yet if I could, there is one and only one to whom I shd delight to offer my hand. Sweet Creature! Will you be the companion of my life, or must I renounce the hope? Till circumstances improve I cannot come forward. You are young, very young, and that wd suit my waiting. But to entangle you now, while my prospects and things are so uncertain, wd be dishonest. Yet you are so attractive, that others are certain to step in. But as I cannot pledge myself I will not seek to involve you. I must endure the chance and strive to keep my self [312] command. Your innocence, mildness, and modesty and sweet smile enchant me, but perhaps my regard has not yet risen to what it could have. Better days may succeed. If you are to be her whom I am to study to make happy. It will yet take place. I will restrain my self until it comes.'

It was easy to form these resolutions while alone, but very hard to see her and be with her, and to adhere to them. Yet I was guarded and confined my attentions to a few occasional civilities.

Her Father's vivacity of conversation so engrossed the time of my visits that I had little opportunity for more, unless I had sought to make it.

Yet the struggle became more difficult to me. Two months afterwards, I was again penning down

'If Prudence wd permit, how soon I shd be absorbed in the deepest affection. Her beauties assume every month a complete and more engaging appearance. But every right consideration compels me to forbear. I must try if by devoting my leisure more intensely to literature, I can keep down the ever rising feeling.'

I made the exertion, but study had now a rival that I cd not banish. A few Evenings only passed before I was obliged to close a Latin folio from inability to fix my attention further upon it, and putting that aside I found a relief in taking up my pen and writing these lines

[A footnote here adds: It was either my Salmasius' Plinianian exercitiones or Scaligers Eusebio chronicon:[33] I forget which, as I was looking on both of them at that time.] [313]

'Dear Mary! that I love, and with
True love's fear hope and care
My reason, half alarmed, perceives
And whispers, ah! beware!

For oft, when star-bespangled Eve
Leads on her silent hour
anxious, at Fortune's frown I grieve
and dread the storms that lower.

Then by Orion only seen
Disheartened and depressed
I seek relief from Books to glean
and bid sad fancy rest.

But ever to my thoughtful mind
A fairy form will rise
And as the dear Seducer smiles
The Power of Study flies.

In vain the pale eyed maid I call,
Love breathes her magic spell.

To thee alone my spirit roves
On thee alone will dwell.

Ah why, sweet Tempter of my heart?
my graver hours molest?
Too lovely apparition! hence!
Or be my real quest.

These verses I kept to my self — but it eased my mind to form them. [314]

Gradually these excitements became only brief and temporary emotions. For the first 9 months of 1793 Public affairs became so alarming that no one cd foresee what wd be the issue. The Mountain Party headed by Danton, Robespierre and Marat[34] had established in France the reign of terror. The Revolutionary tribunal and the most sanguinary tyranny with agents every where to raise the multitude to similar measures, while their Armies seemed to have a series of magical and irresistible successes. Meeting as I daily did with many active minds who dreaded insurrections of the same sort in London and others, who in their mistaken philanthropy ardently wishes them, and seeing that several were doing all they cd to promote them, I felt that tumults and disaster were every day possible and that while such storms were raging no family arrangements cd be thought of. I tried to look on the contest with calmness and impartiality, but that was impossible. It was a day of battle and alarm. Each party had so much right in their theories and reasonings and so much wrong in their practises, that my mind vibrated from one to the other, affected by the fervor of the fervent on each side, until it became unable to judge soundly what ought to be, or what wd be the Result.

Under these circumstances I continued in my resolution to avoid all political societies and meetings — to be connected with no political agitations and to confine my own political feelings and [315] ideas as they arose of whatever kind to my own mediations and to my private conversations with the friends I esteemed. Yet I could not repress a very anxious curiosity and warm interest in the events that were daily occurring, for the happiness of myself and every one seemed

to be involved in the uncertain issue. The future was never more impenetrable to human sagacity than it was in 1793 and 1794. Stern and wary prudence was for that time the most necessary quality. My mind partook of this character.

I had kept my expenses as a single man to £130 a year and with the books I bought to £150. My property in my own possession was then but £650. This satisfied all my needs and wishes as a bachelor, but was insufficient for a married life. But my professional business might increase, and as I reviewed my financial prospects **in the Autumn of 1793**[3] I saw good reason to hope that by care and assiduity in another twelve months, I might be in a situation to indulge the fondest wishes of my heart. But until that time came I resolved to abstain from all thoughts and feelings that wd only distress and embarrass me without promoting my desired end.

Under these impressions, I thought it better to lessen my visits to her Father, that by absence I might lessen [316] the witchery of her presence on my mind, and was beginning to do so when one accidental incident upset all my prudential deliberations.

On the Evening visit which I meant to be the last for sometime, a Gentleman came in who had just returned from Paris — full of its Revolutionary enthusiasm. He spoke much of a book which had then newly appeared there, and was making a great sensation in the circles he had frequented. He described it as comprising the quintessence of their most recent principles and philosophical opinions and as a work that wd carry their Revolution over the Globe. It struck down all prejudices and cleared the ground for the erection of the new Institutions which were to renovate the World. Its title was 'Lequinio sur les prejuges".[35] Such a new Utopia I was very desirous to read, So many phantoms had been protruded but only to vanish after glaring a little while, that I was curious to know if this new adventurer contained any thing that was likely to be more substantial and successful.

3 There is a side note here: '? Omit'.

A copy had been brought from Paris — with great management and secresy. Only a few were to be allowed to see it. Mr W. expressing a wish to look at it, he was promised to be one of the privileged number. I had no claim to a similar indulgence, but perceiving my excited curiosity [317] he assured me on leaving him — he wd certainly forward it to me if it were only for an hour.

A week passed and hearing no tidings of it, I dismissed it from my mind.

My Sunday mornings presented me with an uninterrupted leisure, I too often relaxed from my former habit of passing them at church and compounded for the omission by going regularly with my Mother, after dining with her to the Service in the afternoon. My younger practise had been to attend it at both periods of the day. This was an error occasioned by my insatiable love of mental improvement.

On Sunday 13th Oct 1793 I occupied myself immediately after my breakfast in some very interesting investigation and that I might not be broken in upon, I closed my outer door — the usual indication that no one was within. In the midst of my deepest inquiries, I heard a knock. Thinking it was a Gentleman from the War Office who some times came to gossip for half an hour and to tell me all the news of his circle, I merely said to myself 'My good friend; you must assume that I am not at home for I don't wish to be disturbed.' The Sound was repeated more loudly. I was used to hear it and said again to myself 'This is rude, my closed door ought to secure me [318] from this annoyance.' — a third knock interrupting again my reasoning thoughts cause me to rise impatiently up to tell him myself that he must excuse me for that I was too fully engaged to receive any one. I rose hastily from my chair in my morning gown, threw open the outer door in a pet and was beginning expostulation — when instead of my vivacious friend — three bonnets and pelisses[36] were before me. I was so surprised and confounded at the mistake that I could not distinguish who they were till I saw a hand presenting a parcel while a sweet voice whose well known tones make me thrill, said 'My Father has sent you Lequinio which he only received yesterday and wishes not to disappoint you, but you must return it by

8 o'Clock tomorrow morning to the address he has put inside. Good Morning' and turning she tripped down the stairs.

This movement and the perception who it was, recalled me to myself and stopping the eldest Lady, I expressed my obligation at the favor they had conferred — but begged as they had taken such a walk they wd rest a few minutes before they went back. She said she was tired enough not to refuse my offer and calling back her young friends they permitted me to conduct them into my sitting or drawing room, while I left them for a few minutes to put off my gown and slippers and to make [319] myself more fit to appear before them.

On returning to them I found that Mr W. cd not procure a person to take the Vol to me and was cursing himself that he shd not perform his promise to me about it. It was a point of honor with him always to be scrupulous about fulfilling a promise, as I was, never to tell or sanction a falsehood. Seeing him so disturbed and that there was no one to go, she asked him whether if she cd get any friends to accompany her, there wd be any impropriety in her leaving it, as she wd have only to knock and give it in to the person opening the door. He told her he shd be glad if she wd do so as he wished never to break his word. She went and proposed the Walk to two older Ladies and as the day was fine they agreed to it immediately as a pleasant thing. Hence the unlooked for visit. They told me that after their last Knock, finding it not answered they were going away, so that if I had paused for a few seconds longer, I may say if I had not hastily hurried along the passage from my room to the door — from my pet — I should have lost them. On such little things great sequels depend.

After a short conversation they rose to go, but I could not part with them so soon, and as the Temple Gardens[37] were then in much vogue as a promenade and were in all their autumnal beauty and I had a private key, I entreated them to let me show them what many so much admired and we walked [320] down to them. All were gratified and as we passed along the flowers, she remarked on their beauties and qualities with a taste and knowledge much superior to mine. We rested on the bench which fronted the River amused with the boats that were moving upon

it, but it was enough for me to be seated by her side and to be conversing with her, on interesting subjects with unrestrained enjoyment.

This luxury lasted till her friends said they must think of returning and I then insisted on being permitted to see them safe to their homes. But as they were quite refreshed I advised them to add to their gratification by extending their walk to St James's Park[38] which was then much resorted to and which besides its own attractions was enlivened on Sundays by the well dressed people who then made it their place of recreation. This was assented to and we went thither. Her friends seeing my attentions directed principally to her, allowed me to walk by her side and to engross her conversation.

The Seats in the Park gave us intervals of rest. The enjoyment of pleasure increased the desire for it, and therefore my proposal for them to see the Green Park also then in all its vegetable beauties was accepted and we walked to it. While there I was so fascinated as to be unreasonable enough to be advising them to let me take them into Hyde Park, when the Horse Guards striking **Three**,[39] my sweet friend started up 'Dear me — my Father will think me lost. I had no [321] notion so much time had passed. He will be angry with me for being out so long' —

This just remark precluded all reply. They only waited on the Seat till they felt themselves quite recruited and then I accompanied them to Titchfield Street,[40] where on leading her in to her Father I took the fault of the delay on my self from my desire of showing them places so much in request. He said he cd make allowance for young curiosity, but was sorry they had caused me so much trouble. I bowed and left them, murmuring to myself 'Trouble! — I have never had so much intellectual happiness before —'

And this was most true, for until this day I had only exchanged with her a few common expressions, a little tranquil chit chat. But on this occasion I had enjoyed full 3 hours unceasing and unrestricted conversation with her on all sorts of subjects and in every mode of talk, gay, serious, light and important. I was surprised and charmed with the flow of good sense, varied knowledge, correct tastes, right moral principle, and for her age,

in her seventeenth year, much soundness of judgement. I admired the ease and exact tact of her manner, voice, look and demeanour; friendly, pleased and courteous; obviously very happy, yet still self possessed, guarded, never fervent, compelling respect when most cheerful, rather retiring, fluent in expression, quick in idea, at times playful, at others earnest yet unassuming, gently steady in [322] the opinions she thought right — tho differing from mine, but readily yielding in others where she found her information deficient. All these qualities gave me the picture of a mind which I most valued. I own I studied her critically, more critically than I ought in fairness to have done, on so sudden an interview, but I saw and heard nothing that I could blame, dislike or wish to alter. It was so unlike the more learned and philosophical Ladies I had known, and so much above the usual ratio of attainments, that my most scrupulous examination was satisfied. I saw how much she had prospered by her father's society and education without being spoiled by his peculiarities, and an image of delight was impressed upon my memory, which the 50 years which have since elapsed, have not obliterated. I recorded the event in my diary in words of rapture which altho natural to me at that time, I will not here extract —

Tho fatigued by the exercise and excitements, yet that my Mother who had been expecting me for above 2 hours, might not think herself neglected — I went to her to assure her that nothing but a sudden engagement shd have kept me away. I took a light dinner and at 6 o'clock returned to my Chambers to a quiet Tea — and to Lequinio.

I found it to be an octavo of about 300 pages[41] and I saw [323] that to read it, I must devote the night to it. This was not a pleasant anticipation, yet I was so eager to learn what the most recent ideas were by which the leaders of the new philosophy so much vaunted in France, undertook to regenerate the World and to establish a new era of wisdom and happiness among Mankind, that I determined at whatever cost to master its contents. But I found that no hasty reading wd do this — I must think as well as read. I cd not take all for granted that he was dogmatically asserting. I must therefore copy out the more important or disputable

passages for my calmer and deliberate consideration and therefore the whole night must be given up to it.

I set to work, read and began my extracts, but I cd not do this for above 20 minutes continuously before the sweet portrait of my morning visitor obtruded itself before me. Her voice again sounded in my ears. I heard her talking and some interesting remarks she had made recurring to me, I cd not but rise up from my book and walk about my room feasting on the recollections. [insert: This meant to be struck out] (I struggled against this and resuming my self command, I applied resolutely to my task, but before another half hour elapsed, the same vision and remembrances again drew me from it and compelled me to indulge in them). In these alternations of reading, writing and walking reveries, I passed the unheeded hours of the night, at times resting on my [324] bed for 5 or 10 minutes as I felt necessary. But as Lequinio tired me, the intervals of thinking of my Enchantress and how she looked and what she had said, always exhilarated and refreshed me. Sleeping was out of the question. What I had to do forbad that and at last by seven o'Clock in the morning I had read thro the whole book and filled 20 folio pages with the extracted passages from it that I wished to remember — or think upon —

I had no feeling of fatigue as I closed it, tho I had been 13 hours applying to it. But this perhaps was entirely owing to the animating excitement of my visionary recollections for whenever they occurred an infusion of new vigor spread over me while I indulged them. Thus Love and Philosophy were for the first time united in me in most agreeable harmony. I must do Lequinio the justice to say that with all the theoretical extravagancies, still he very often deeply interested me.

The Book was to be left at the upper part of the Strand, and thinking that the morning air wd do me good, instead of sending it by a Temple Porter, I resolved to take it myself to its destination. I did so and being then near Charing Cross I was induced to extend my walk to the Park for the additional benefit of its breezes. Returning towards Spring Garden Gate I saw the 3 Cows which were usually there to supply new milk to those who wished it. Fancying this wd recruit [325] me I had

some drawn from the animal while I stayed. It was very pleasant to the taste, but before I had walked 200 yards, it brought on such a drowsy heaviness that it was with some difficulty I reached my Rooms. Sleep wd have been then delicious and it was painful not to yield to it. But I had business to attend to at 10, and therefore resisted the imperious claimant. My Laundress in my absence had come as usual and lit my fire and laid my breakfast things ready. As soon as my kettle boiled I made some strong Tea, and 2 cups of that restored all my animation and efficiency. I was much engaged with professional affairs all the day, and was glad when 8 o'clock the closing hour of business came. I dismissed my Clerk, shut my outer door, and hastened to my pillow. One long sleep came immediately on for the next eleven hours. I woke at last soon after Seven, rather dull, but sufficiently refreshed and after that I felt no inconvenience from having passed the preceding night without my usual rest.

From this day new feelings became a part of my nature and have never left it. I could not supress them. The more I resisted them from my deficiency of means for a competent settlement, the more strongly they recurred. I cd only resolve to be guarded in my behaviour.

I continued to visit her Father, with every little attention to her which his presence allowed me to give and which she seemed to [326] understand; but his expressions sometimes gave me reason to fear that he would not easily consent to part with his daughter even if I had been able to ask him for her hand. Hence I became uncertain what wd be the issue, whether I prospered in my business or not. She was very properly devoted to him and he felt her value.

This frequently made me very anxious, lest what I now coveted should be lost to me.

As the Spring months of 1794 were passing, I often thought of my October walk almost unconsciously and on one evening of a fine day being near her and talking of the company in Hyde Park, I was led by my emotions to ask her if she wd be gratified by seeing them. She said very much if her Father thought it proper, but she did nothing without

his approbation and arrangements. I turned immediately and as it were instinctively to him without any premeditation. He was in high good humor, from some news that pleased him, and at the first pause in our conversation I mentioned the crowds that frequented Hyde Park on a fine Sunday, and that if he wd give me leave to accompany his daughter and some of her friends to it the next opportunity, it might amuse them, and I wd take great care of them.

He looked grave and pondered, and was silent some time. Till then it had not struck me that a young man in his [327] 26th Year was not the fittest person to propose himself to a Father to be the companion of an attractive young lady just entered into her 18th Year — out of his sight. It was also the character of his mind to be cautious and mistrustful, and to have no very good opinion of Mankind. I saw that I had incautiously put him into a disturbing dilemma, as either his refusal or assent wd involve consequences to us both. But as I had taken the step, I cd only await in some anxiety his decision. At last he said 'I thought you liked better things than female gossip' — 'Yes — but each in their turn is perhaps best.' Another pause ensued, but at last he said 'Well! I will not make an unreasonable objection to what may not be meant to be an unreasonable request. I think I can depend upon you, but there are considerations — 'I assured him that I wd never abuse his confidence. 'Well then — if Mam'selle (as he always called her) wishes the excursion with any friends, I will not for once oppose it.' She was appealed to and said that if it wd not be disagreeable to him, she wd avail herself of the opportunity and she was sure Miss M. wd be glad to accompany her. This settled the point. The final 'Then be it so' was pronounced, the arrangements were made. The Walk took place with a petition of all my former enjoyment and I passed the day supremely happy.

This excursion emboldened me to suggest a similar one on a [328] subsequent day to Kensington Gardens and Mr W. — perceiving that nothing had occurred that was wrong — consented to it and afterward to others at little intervals when convenience and the Weather permitted. It became at last a regular occurrence in May and June to my delight, and not less to hers, as I had every reason to believe. She always invited

some female friend to be her companion. Her Father inquired in his own way as to my behaviour on these occasions and was satisfied with it. His previous consent was always asked, and from his expressions I believe he thought her more safe under my care, than without it. She was too attractive to go out publicly even with Ladies without some male protector. Brothers prefer their own amusements to their sisters. He wd not confide in any one but me, and therefore must have kept her wholly at home — which at her age he did not like to do — or have entrusted her to me. He took care to let me know that he looked upon me as her Guardian and as his friend on these occasions and expected me to act as such. I strove to do so and nothing but fair, lively and unexceptionable conversation passed between us. This forbearance subjected me afterwards to the chance of a critical period from others of total indifference to her.

Our walks usually occupied between 3 and 4 hours, but time was never thought of except not to exceed the proper period for the **concluding of the excursion**. It was truly the feast of reason [329] and the flow of soul.[42] Two young minds equally pleased unbosoming their thoughts and feelings to each other on every topic that occurred. Both much animated, neither meaning harm nor suspecting it. Natural gaiety and playfulness and kindness of manner in her, yet good sense guiding every thing she said, high spirits frequently emerging, with an unaffected and easy yet steady care never to overstep the strictest limits of propriety.

On my part none but the present feelings were awakened. It was the intellectual being in the youthful and most lovely form that I was worshipping. In our behaviour we conducted ourselves as Brother and Sister to each other, and never expressed a Word that the whole world might not have listened to. I treated her with the most delicate respect. But my heart was in every look, thought and expression. The Sympathy seemed mutual but did not take the form of utterance on either side. Honor restrained me — Delicacy and self respect guided her.

In one of our Walks to the Gardens we had a very serious talk on politics, the most dangerous point for us to discuss, as we had a few divergencies of sentiment on it, and were both zealous in what we deemed right.

We were both warm and earnest in our theoretical philanthropy and desirous to Open and remove the evils and abuses that were distressing Society, but some of her father's Opinions about the means of doing what was desirable touched upon dangerous extremes, nor had I the same estimation of some of the public characters of the day [330] that he had. Several of his ideas she had imbued and avowed and on these we had a few little battles. She partly relinquished some of the most objectionable and said she shd correct her judgment, of others she was more tenacious, yet in the gentlest and most inoffensive way. She had heard Thelwall's orations at his rooms in the Strand[43] and was struck by his spirit and energy. I explained my adverse opinion of him and stated my reasons for disliking him and what seemed to be his objects. She praised him and mentioned the remarks which had impressed her. She professed an ardent enthusiasm for the welfare and improvement of Mankind — and hoped he meant no more. I suggested that it was easy to see and to inveigh on the imperfections of our present systems and on the sufferings and errors which we all lamented, but that I liked to inquire what fabric of legislation was to be erected, when what we had was pulled down, which wd have this wished for effect. As yet nothing had been brought forward, but a series of calamitous subversions in France each causing more mischief than the preceding and I could not befriend men who were as eager to destroy as they were incapable to rebuild. She told me that, if so, a revolution was of no value and yet we boasted of our own and of King William who brought it on[44] and this she had always been taught to admire. I admitted the benefit of our own but remarked on the moderation and judgement with which it had been conducted. She asked if different circumstances [331] had not since occurred and if the French Court and Aristocracy had not been bad in themselves and made an unjustifiable resistance. I gave them up to her censure, but submitted it to her candour whether the insurrectionary French populace and their excitors had acted more wisely or better — It was easy for us to discern and declaim. But France had been 4 Years in changes, tumults and anarchy becoming more sanguinary every month and what advances had it made to political happiness or personal comfort. Had they not so shaken and confused every thing that no one knew on any day what wd happen on the morrow. I felt that

all things were so uncertain and threatening, even in this country from their conduct, that I did not know how to shape my own private life. She expressed great lamentation and surprise at what had taken place last year and this in France and owned that it greatly disappointed and grieved her. She could say nothing for them, but was glad she was not a Frenchman and pitied those that were.

Here the subject dropped but it left us both for a little while silent and grave for it had brought on thoughts and feelings on each side that are not encouraging to either. Soon afterwards her friend pointing out some one passing who struck her fancy brought a new subject before us. The past topic was then forgotten with all its unwelcome forebodings. Our sympathies and cordialities revived and a series of bagatelles and varied chit chat and her lively flow of thought, expressed in a very happy choice of words [332] made the remainder of our walk the more agreeable from the little casual interruption of sense too serious and painful recollections.

The prospect was now daily opening before me of being able to settle as I wished. I had not yet expressed my feelings directly to her because I had still only my humble means and I also thought that whenever I could properly propose myself I ought to mention my intention and wishes to her Father first. I had no reason to think they wd be unacceptable to her, yet of this I cd not be certain. Three other Gentlemen were courting her notice, but held back on observing her kind manners to me. But another about my own age was assiduous and pressing in his attentions. However she walked out with no one but me. She always refused to let him join our parties or to be in her company out of doors, tho he perseveringly asked her. Her refusals were decided. She always wd consider his visits as made only to her Father. She desired me to recommend to her books she ought to read and received them as a compliment and with her sweetest smiles, when I took them to her. Hence I had every reason to hope I was attaining her preference.

I had settled to go to Bristol with her Father this Summer and I had thought that when there alone with him, this wd be the best season to mention to him my attachment to his daughter, to explain to him

my pecuniary circumstances and to leave it to him to decide whether I shd, awaiting the fit time [333] for our final consideration, avow my feelings to her. I could not anticipate how he wd receive the proposition. She formed so large a part of his comfort, that it was doubtful if he wd then part with her and when displeased he was so stern and inflexible to those who gave the annoyance that I was afraid as yet to make the direct application to him. The risque was great at that time of losing all hope and further chance by his refusal. I cd not ask her to resist his will. Something within me forbade that and something in her made me feel that I shd injure myself in her estimation and fail in the attempt if I sought her hand in direct opposition to his declared disapprobation. Her filial affection was shewn in all she did and was unusually strong grateful and steady. Hence every view I could take made me think it better to wait until the latter part of the Summer before I made any formal advances on this delicate, but to me a most agitating subject.

I will now extract some other subjects from my diary of this Year 1794.

17 Feb 1794

I attended House of Lords on the debate on the Marquis [334] of Landsdowne's motion for an address to his Majesty to enter into a negociation for peace with France.[45] The Duke of Grafton came forward from his retirement to second it — It was negative by 103 to 13 —

The speech of the Marquis of Landsdowne so much more impressed me than any of the others that I was able next morning to remember it very fully and exactly and put down what I recollect of it while the sense was fresh in my memory — I never made such a successful exertion of it before — but there was something in his remarks which particularly struck my mind and sank into it. I have lost the first part of my notes. The rest begins thus —

'whatever the faults of a Republic may be, it has the important effect of rousing from obscurity into the Public Services men of great capacity and energy. During the period of republic in this Country, plans and

measures were formed of great and sublime texture of which tho many now lie in the Cabinet unexecuted, yet all who have been ministers, well know that many have been reduced to practise with great advantage to this country.

'In this state we see France and my Lords it presents to us a most formidable aspect which we shd do well to contemplate with the most serious attention. It is not a matter of light discussion. [335] I care not whether the actions of the French be or be not sanguinary and atrocious. I view them in their political tendency and intreat you to consider carefully whether you are not driving them by this war into a military republic. Have you not already given discipline to their armies and experience to their generals? What will ensue if you settle them into the habits of a Warlike Democracy? Already you have destroyed their commerce and their manufactures, already your measures have led them to destroy much of their inequality of property. Where does this end? Precisely here. You leave them no resource but war. You leave them no occupation but war. You habituate their young minds to the love of war — You train them in Republican habits. You attach them to that government which you dread — and which you wish to destroy — You unite, you cement them. Already has the Revolution lasted 5 years — in a very short time their children then of 14 will have become men — Republican men — armed men and enthusiasts for democracy. — My Lords is this no cause of alarm to you — is it nothing to leave them no alternative but destruction or Military Republic?

'And for what do you incur this danger? To restore the old government of France? Why, what was the old government of France? Which of your Lordships can defend it to me — where is the man that can explain its nature? I have repeatedly asked Frenchmen of the first rank and information, what the government was and I never had from 2 the same answer. The most enlightened always told me, they confessed they cd not describe it to me. My Lords it was a government tending rapidly to its destruction — it was a strange compound that must have fallen to pieces, it had no system, no vital principle — I recollect that many years ago the late Earl of Chatham told me this and foretold its doom

— He [336] said that passing thro Dijon he saw on the corner of a street an order posted up De par le Roy and almost opposite to it another contradicting the first de par le parliament.[46] From that moment, sd the Earl to me, I pronounced that such a government cd not long subsist.[47]

'Is it then a government like this you wish to re-establish? But I shall talk more of this presently.

'I now come to a consideration of the means that you have provided for this wild war — and for them I shall be referred to the papers that load your table — My Lords, on the first day of the Sessions, I called them the Bonds and Mortgages on the blood and treasure of England — I call them so now — on them have your ministers pledged the last shillings of this Country — Let us now consider their policy and their use.

'I will begin with Holland — the natural ally of this Country. Once a great power and until this war, a respected one. England my Lords is now the cat's paw of Austria and what is Holland but the catspaw of a catspaw?[48] You have dragged her into a war which she was so wise as to dislike, but in which she has no interest and has obtained no honour. Holland was one of the great naval powers of Europe — But I have not heard during the whole campaign of a Dutch fleet assisting you — I have not heard of one Dutch vessel in your ports, or with your Fleets — Of her armies I wish not to speak disrespectful — but certainly their exertions have been unfortunate — And why! Not from a defect of national bravery or of skill — but from the nature of the war — Your Lordships know how they in old time resisted the Great Powers of Europe and won immortal honor — but then they were fighting for their liberties and their homes. You drag them now to attack the liberties of others and their spirits droop. Their squadrons fall and their reputation is disgraced.

[337] 'Turn now to Prussia, another ally of this Country — without whose preponderance in Germany, the liberties of Europe are at an end. What my Lords! Prussia the ally of Austria, whose ambition it is her interest and has been her invariable policy to counteract — this auspicious feature alone marks the present war with infamy — for what

must have been the terms on which such an unnatural Union cd have been made, what must be the secret conditions — I had almost said, concerted plunder that has induced the Cabinet of Berlin to move in concert with that of Vienna? But the more important question is — Can such an alliance long subsist — My Lords it is in the nature of things impossible. The harmony can never be real — the future enmity is certain. The Bond of present interest that unites them — whether their views fail or not will assuredly engage them in a future dissention — Prussia, My Lords, knows as well as we that Austria is already the Empress of the German Continent. The ruin of Prussia is sealed the moment that the Austrian power is augmented. My Lords, such rivals can never act together with energy — They can never cooperate together without jealousy — they cannot, will not remain long allied without a brutal and deadly submission.

'The German States are those whose friendship this Country should cultivate for they are able only under our auspices to withstand the ambitions of Austria.[49]

'It was declared by that wise man — the late King of Prussia[50] — who spoke from long experience that the Cabinet of Vienna was the wisest and most systematic cabinet in Europe — Their Emperors might die and their ministers be changed, but the plans, the systems have always remained and have been always pursued with undeviating [……..][4] vigilance and art — from century to century we see no alteration, Her [338] last fondest scheme was to annex Bavaria to the imperial domains. Nothing but the talents of the Great Frederick cd have prevented this and he has declared that if She attains this point, She will in time become the Great Power that shall swallow up all the inferior States of Europe — What then is our wisdom, when we ally with her, to secure to her, that great object of her ambition, which we of all others are most interested to prevent. Our cabinet submits to be the catspaw of their Cabinet and the Houses of Parliament applaud such an alliance and support such a war.

4 Unidentified word.

'Prussia is the Colossus of Europe — I have been assured by the Sharpest mercantile men of the sharpest mercantile Country in Europe, that her resources both in money are inexhaustible. She with whom ministers were lately going to plunge this Country into a most ruinous war to our natural ally — but not for such purposes as the present. She is now smiling at our folly and amusing herself with our credulity — her object is fixed and by our own strange policy is about to fall into her hands. I am well informed that She is already building immense fortresses in the Countries which she has just torn from Poland — she has already by these acquisitions made Oczacuw[51] of immense importance to her and is about to fall on the Turkish Empire that now totters to its ruin — with a necessity of strength that no effort of theirs will be able to baffle.

'Nearer to home I see Spain — My Lords! Can we believe that Spain is our real friend, or will long continue the ally of this country — the Spanish Nation I revere — I know them to be generous and brave. But I know also their Cabinet to be less than candid and much less friendly to this country. I know that we have [339] been always with them objects of suspicion — Whether from our actions at Toulon, we have not become objects of aversion too.[52] I will not inquire. Whether this friendship has not begun to cool and some explicit marks of dissatisfaction have not already appeared I will not ask — nor whether it is likely that they are contented with their share of the booty taken — nor whether it gives them pleasure to see a French vessel of 120 guns added to our Fleet.

'He thinks that we shd drive them into the arms of France. But surely the alliance of Spain is by no means to be depended upon. Of the King of Sardinia[53] I wish to speak of with respect — but of what service is his alliance to us, how is the subsidy earned? It has always been the opinion of the ablest men that altho while he keeps armed on this side of the bar he will be always respectable and may hinder his country from being invaded — Yet that the moment he passes the bar, defeat and disgrace must immediately follow. I never heard this opinion controverted, nor have events disproved it.

'Such is the useless, the contradictory, the heterogeneous alliances with which we have engaged — and in a War in which the blood and treasure

of this Country is so deeply staked — I say it behoves us deeply to consider whether they are likely to be at all efficacious.

'He then considered our conduct and situation with respect to the neutral nations. He sd the Swiss Cantons were the wisest people on the Earth and that the answer of the Canton of Berne never to be forgotten.[54] He also praised the answer of Count Bernstoft[55] as one of the first of compositions for sound reasoning and just ideas on the subject of neutral nations and [340] that those two peices the Politician ought to have never off his table. He then proceeded to the consideration of the state of America. He said he was sorry to say that it was believed and publicly asserted in America that we had made a Treaty with Portugal which has alined [sic] up the Aljerinis against America. That we had likewise excited the Indians to attack them and that this had excited a flame which he was afraid all the moderation and wisdom of that great and good man, General Washington, who had hitherto nobly withstood the popular clamour, wd be unable to extinguish. He knew not whether these reports of our ill offices were founded — but this he knew — that if we were disposed to befriend America we shd have one more difficulty to add to our present embarrassments.

'Of the finances of the confederates, he said, that in Holland money could not (or could with difficulty — I forget which) be raised by the government at 5p although all her preceding loans had been made at 2 and 1/2 — That Prussia had so little credit that she cd not raise a shilling there and that blank cards had been handed through Amsterdam on the part of Austria to no purpose. That Spain had lately emitted some millions of dollars in paper, altho their last emission of paper was such that the Exchange fell 20 per cent.

'Hence it was one and one only must subsidize the whole and before we embarked in such a dreadful exigency it wd become us to consider again whether the war could possibly add to our honor or our advantage.' [341]

— He then went into a comment on our behaviour to Tuscany[56] — said it was dishonorable, disgraceful and brutal conduct — and unwise withal — Among their other good qualities Kings were never famed for either

remembering or requiting obligations, services, he shd say but however this might be injurious, insults and offences they never, never forgot or forgave. We had insulted the brother of the Emperor and one who if the succession went on as rapidly as we had last seen might soon be on the Imperial throne. We had insulted him for his attachment to his preceptor — we had threatened his palace and his city — It was well known that the late King of Spain never forgave us the insult we had shown him by bombarding Naples while he was in it[57] — and this was one great cause of his hostility to us.

He mentioned with great applause the diplomatic Answer to the King of Portugal to France in a former war. It ended with these remarkable words 'Tho you shoot off every tile from his palace and lay its walls in ruins, he will not depart from his neutrality.'[58]

He then commented on our declarations. He said they all of them contradicted themselves and each other: I the Duke of Brs; II the Prince of Coburg; III his revocations in 4 days time IV then those of Toulon; V then Wurmsers.[59]

He said at Toulon we had a great opportunity of restoring a limited monarchy in France — the Provincial Assembly of Provence were so democratic that only one nobleman and one clergyman was in them. The rest were tiers état[60] — had we promised to restore these instead of the dark, equivocal, contradictory manifestos we published, we might have seen them all rise in defence of that to which they were well known to be extremely attached — he said in [342] the Moniteur,[61] they had left out of Lord Hood's Declaration — the words "and the constitut^{n} of 1789" so fearful were the leaders of France of the effect of this proposal.[62]

He sd he shd be asked what terms we propose. He wd say decidedly liberal, generous, unequivocal terms — He read an extract from Mallet du Pan[63] that foreign force without the aid of persuasion wd never do. But how cd we persuade until we had conciliated confidence by open, liberal and candid declarations.

He sd he cd show from Hume[64] who had "beautifully told it" an instance of their behaviour to us which we shd imitate.

As to indemnity — Cavil not about that — What indemnities can you expect "I do not suppose your Lordships wd dirty your fingers with French Gold — and as to their West India Islands, in having lost America you have lost the chief hold of advantage that you had over them" — They have made St Domingo[65] not only useless but dangerous to you. The able and well drawn decree of the National Assembly which has given the Blacks a territorial interest is a circumstance of which you do not foresee the danger, but of which the consequences may go to shake your whole West India Islands.

He sd this Campaign had never been exceeded by any in blood — and by few in expense — he mentioned the distress of our trade — our loss of Capital.

He spoke 2 hours and an half

In his Reply he said, he was sorry to hear that we were not only to have war — but a profusion of war — that he was astonished to be told that our trade has not suffered, nor the people much distressed [343] — he knew that in Birmingham alone 4000 claimants had been added to the Poor rate in the past --- months[66] and that such was the distress there that the consequences cd not be answered for — as he had letters in his Pocket which stated that in near him in the Country he found nothing but Bankruptcies and want and if the noble Secretary was to take a journey near him he might have some causes to regret the unpopularity of the War — Was an addition of 900,000 taxes no grievance? A horse wd bear a good load but load after load might be added until it wd sink under the burthen. That the danger of Flanders was immeasurably greater now than last year. The French had seen the folly of making it a department. The Upper Ranks of People thro-out it were astonishingly inert and the lower orders almost unanimously democratic — that the French had an Army of 170,000 men hanging on — that one battle wd win it and there was no foreseeing the vast numbers that wd join them if they shd, as he did not doubt they wd do, declare them independent. That as to the plan of war being changed and wd therefore be more successful he cd not laugh at it, because he recollected well what passed in America — first it was a war of conquest — that wd not do; then

it was to be a Naval war: that wd not do; then it was to be a coasting war — that wd not do — then strange to say and absurd to relate we were to leave the Americans alone but to fight the French by yz [sic] selves in America — That he could not but observe how curiously we had crept on with our demands: first we went merely to aid an ally; by and by we must have security; then indemnity — what security cd we have if peace was made — no other security than after every war — No security that peace was for the bft of both nations and that both were weary of the War — what other security had We for the maintenance of the peace of Ryswiek[67] — did we not make the treaty of Utrecht[68] with Austria who was afterwards exerting [344] every cabal for the Recovery of Silesice[69] and for a new war, planned while she signed the peace — and if there was security between Kingdoms these were much now so when treating with a whole nation whose proceedings are open and who are with difficulty made to move unanimously in a war — talking of Cabinet Ministers, he used the words 'those animals'.

He highly praised the Duke of Grafton[70] — said his opinion ought to have great weight — as he had long retired from all public business and only came down to express with the most independent manner his conviction of the danger and ruin of our present measures — He had widely advised not a war against Opinions but conciliation by removing the causes of discontent.

Waste not the blood and treasure of this Country in a fruitless War — but complete the generous plan of policy by extending to the poor dissenters the privileges you have given to the Catholics, Give to Scotland where a new democracy is rising in her wealth and knowledge the trial by jury and a fair participation in your benefits.[71] Reduce your taxes and lessen your expenditure — reduce your official perquisites — your useless sinecures and your abominable reversions — study to conciliate not to exasperate.

March 1794

I attended a course of Mr Walkers[72] lectures in the beginning of this month

The 4th on Chemistry — 10th March
5th Pneumatics — 12th dº
6th on dº and the chemical properties of the air — 14 dº 1794

[345] The main substance of these I put down on each of the following days and derived much information from both his observations and his experiments. — Particularly from the latter. These are what make the lectures really useful — Tho it is also another important benefit that they give those general views of the leading facts and principles of the subjects they treat on which serve as a kind of map to direct our subsequent investigations and private studies.

Mr W. had lately engaged in a Work of Art, which as it wd require some outlay before it wd be profitable to him, I requested his permission to allow me to put at his disposal whatever amount wd promote his objects, so long as it would be serviceable to him. I was afraid that his high independant Spirit wd have rejected the offer, which friendship to himself alone independant of all other things occasioned me to make — but I was much gratified by receiving this answer

W's First Letter

> 'Saturday morning
>
> Dear Sir,
>
> I was prevented from attending to your favor yesterday by illness which confined me to bed the whole day or should certainly not have omitted to thank you for your very obliging offer — I own political affairs have taken an unexpected turn against me and reduced me to a situation unpleasant in every respect. This time twelve months or nearly I was so pleased with the appearance of the French Republic that I took steps which I have since had reason to regret. I had when with Carpue[73] at Paris made a considerable purchase. Upon my return I made further remittances, and afterwards (so certain [346] I was of going to Paris last Summer) took up bills of Exchange to a considerable amount reserving for use near 200£. This Sum tho it seems considerable will admit of no great

extravagance in a family of 4 persons for 12 months; it is now exhausted and I find myself straightened in carrying on my proposed Work, which indeed I ought to have proceeded with last November as it wd have been at this time published and I flatter myself releived [sic] our present wants. You wish you say to convince me of your sincerity and friendship, I must be very little in want of proofs in this respect for since I have had the pleasure of your acquaintance your civilities have unceasingly convinced me of it and reminded me of the many obligations I lay under. You indeed are pleased to mention obligations you lay under me. I do not recollect the least — the particular species you mention I am sure are not worth notice and if I had not the highest opinion of your sincerity and goodness I shd suspect you bantered me. I beg therefore I may never hear, at least not at present, of your obligations to me, as the balance is entirely in the opposite inclination. The time may come and I hope it will that we shall settle Accts — in the mean time I will accept your very friendly offer and add to the weight which has always preponderated against me. I wish to purchase some paper and insert some advertisements in the Papers the amount of the Whole together will perhaps be 12 or 15 £ if the loan of this sum (for I hope a Month or 2 at furthest) will not be inconvenient to you it will serve me essentially as I will immediately publish the first part of the plates.

I am Sir with esteem

Yours sincerely

W. Watts.

a week hence or more will be in time for what payments I shall have to make

Mr Turner No 1. Pump Court. Temple — By Post —' [347]

I sent him Thirty Guineas — but he immediately returned half of the packet with a letter more complimentary than I ought to insert.

To this I cd only reply

> 'Dear Sir
>
> I know not what answer to return. I can only say I had rather you had not sent the packet you have returned because I do not think you can exactly foresee what exigencies may arise, and if any inconvenience should arise from it I shall be greatly distressed. I shall only be at ease on the promise you favor me with, that you will intimate it to me shd events not answer your expectation.'

The little loan was scrupulously returned on the first opportunity.

2 May 1794

10 oclock at night.

That I might see Horne Tooke and have an opportunity of hearing what he should say, I broke my resolution of attending no political meetings by the one exception of going to day to the public dinner of the Constitutional Society.[74] Symonds told me that if I wd be there he wd place me at the head Table very near Mr Tooke and so as that I might see him all the while and hear all that shd pass. I told him that I shd join in none of their politics but that I shd very much like to see such a Man in his full activity. He introduced me first into the private Room as [348] his friends to him, and then placed me at the Table directly facing him. Mr Wharton was in the Chair.[75] There were 402 persons present of all ranks and ages, partly members, partly visitors, a fine band of music played the Marseillaise Hymn — Ca Ira — and several other French Patriotic tunes which the company applauded.[76] As Tooke was particularly anxious to have young men about him, I was favorably received.

The Toasts were

The Rights of Man — The Swine of England — The Rabble of Scotland — The Wretches of Ireland — May despotism be trodden down by the hoofs of the Swinish multitude[77] — May the abettors of the present War be its earliest victims —

When they began to have Songs and Glees of their own Kind from the professional singers who were there, somebody called on Mr H. Tooke for a song. He said he was no musician, but to shew his congeniality with the spirit of the meeting, he wd attempt a short one. He then sang in his way a Jacobin parody on God Save the King to the old tune — of which these 3 lines are a specimen

O George! when wilt thou rise

Open thy stupid eyes

And see thy fall

Soon after this he addressed the meeting in a long Speech. What I remember of it I will note down — [349]

He said — 'When I was a young Man about 36 years ago, we had until 1760, some liberty; but from that time to the present, every year was an addition of encroachment upon it and of infamy to the Government and Nation. We have not now as heretofore a Government of Aristocracy or of Monarchy. The King and his family are poor and the old nobility beggars. It is a set of New Men that now rule us — of upstarts who have monopolized the Government and kept the Nation, the Crown, and the Nobility in slavery — Men who were formerly unknown and who had raised themselves by the plunder of the people and by their purchase and possession of Borough interest. I will name them. Hawkesbury, alias Charles Jenkinson;[78] who I can remember a Skip Jack Grenville — at one time a candidate for parliament when unqualified to become one, now a Lord and a Cabinet Minister.[79] Loughborough! who came from Scotland a poor ignorant adventurer, but a canny prater.[80] Thurlow, who has now secured to himself one of the Tellerships of the Exchequer.[81] George Rose, who if turned out tomorrow, has yet so many places for life, that he will be always Master of 12,000 a year.[82] Besides these he might mention Pitt, Dundas, Rigby, Lord Holland, and several others.[83] Are not all these new Men, who are leading the old families by the nose and who have exalted themselves on the depredation of these?'

'Is not the Crown an impoverished beggar? Of the immense family of the Sovereign are one of the sons settled or the daughters married?'

'If the old Nobility had any sense of Spirit, they wd join the Cause [350] of the People and rescue themselves out of this Servitude and Slavery.

'Look at your Parliament. What is it, but a Scoundrel sink of Villainy!'

Here a small murmur arose from a distant part of the room.

'Citizens! I repeat my words, I do not desire to be understood as speaking to you now in a hasty manner, I speak seriously and solemnly and from sound deliberation. I am not to be told, that out of 300 people now before me, there are not at least 5 per cent of Spies and Informers. Wherever we are, I doubt not they will come. But let them hear me, let them mark down my words and carry them to their employers. I will repeat them slowly and solemnly again, that they may hear and detail them more distinctly. The Parliament now is the Scoundrel Sink of Villany [sic]: and I will tell you why!'

'It is because we have a corrupt and tyrannical administration and a sham opposition, and I will tell you why I say so — I think, I believe, I give it as my individual opinion but I assert it publicly that there has been a compromise between the opposition and the Ministers by which the Nation is juggled, plundered and made wretched. I will tell you boldly why I think so — We must either dissolve our society altogether or we must change its name — we have called it — we call it still "the Constitutional Society" The Constitution? Why, where is the Constitution? That part of it which was alone valuable or useful to the people is gone. It has been annihilated by a connivance between the administration and the sham opposition — I say by a connivance — and I will tell you why I say so —

'Look at the late proceedings on Parliament on the matter [351] of the Voluntary Benevolence.[84] Do you imagine that the aim of the Minister was to raise the money? No such thing. Do you believe they cared about getting £100,000 — or £200,000? No such thing. They cared nothing about this — Why they are giving as much as this away to the King of Prussia

every month and had it been a million, they wd have as little minded; because they know that they can obtain money in the City whenever they want it. But they meant by it the destruction of the Constitution and the annihilation of our liberties and they are succeeding in both. It was the old law of the Country that every district was answerable for the preservation of its peace — Every man is bound to assist in preventing or repelling any outrage, riot or confusion. And if any such took place, any individual of it was assured for the damage sustained. The sheriff had this Power and it was his duty to call out the Posse, the power of the County, that is, every individual to restore the peace and to maintain it.

'But did this answer the purpose of the Ministers? No. True, it was and wd be effectual to prevent and suppress all outrages, riot and confusion — But this wd not satisfy Administration — and what have they done instead? They have abolished this wise and salutary law; they have taken the power out of the hands of the Sheriff and given it to the Crown. — What? — not the right of calling out the whole body of any district. O, No; that of selecting from the whole body of any part or corner of the Kingdom their creatures, their dependants, their tools and their slaves; to arm these, to discipline them, to put them under martial law and to play them off against the People and their liberties — Now — under this awful novelty to massacre any [352] individual whom they dislike will he no longer murder — No, with this instrument, they can now make a disturbance themselves and then call out their new soldiery and kill and insult whom they please.

'But this blow at our rights, this destruction of our liberties; how was it met in Parliament? Did the Opposition once hint at the Circumstance I have mentioned? Did they once allude to this prominent and characterizing feature of this infamous transaction? No — But they raised a paltry scruple about the money — about the expense of the new measures — And no more. They winked at it and puzzled you — They talked about the Care of your Pockets, while they let the barefaced outrage against your liberty and your constitution pass unnoticed and uncensored. I therefore say, that it is a sham opposition, who are playing

the Cards into the hands of the Administration and craftily conniving at all their most objectionable actions —

'I am now turning 60 — too old to do anything but speak and write — My age and infirmities hinder me from any personal exertion. — Yet this is the time when we must leave off writing and speaking and begin to act. Prudence is no longer a virtue, the day for it has gone by. We must now act. We must sacrifice ourselves to the public Cause, or see it lost for ever.

'But I beg to be understood that I am not addressing myself in these remarks, to the young. It is their duty to be prudent, to be careful of themselves and to act with discretion. Life is before them and they have a right to enjoy it. But every man above 50 ought now to Devote himself to his Country. They who have already tasted the sweets of [353] existence, or rather they who know how sweet it was when they were young and how miserable it has now become; they ought to make one effort at least to save and serve their Country — they should endeavour to procure for the Young and for their posterity, a revival of those blessings which they enjoyed in their youth.

'For my own part, I can now only write and speak. But in this crisis, these are useless. It then remains for me to give myself up to be hanged — Yes — to endeavour to get myself hanged, that by so perishing, I may increase the odium which is now rising up around us against the system that is enslaving us. We who are so old may as well lie down in our graves with credit and utility. We may at least do some good this way since personal infirmities like mine disqualifies for any active and available service.'

He was greatly applauded at intervals, during this speech and very loudly and long huzzaed at its close. I observed him steadily, as I sat facing him and saw how keenly he enjoyed the clamor. His eyes glistened and he was in the highest good humor. He perceived that what he had said told as he wished and raised the temporary sympathy which he delighted in. The Band played the Marseillaise hymn with great vigor and applause. Ca Ira and other French tunes of this description were

added. I sat in philosophic quietude, but the animating scene as a very striking picture of excited and happy human nature, for all were concurrently joyous and enthusiastic, much gratified me. None seemed to perceive the oddity of the Speech, but all received it, as he meant for them to feel it. [354]

Wednesday 4th June 1794

I was yesterday at Hastings' Trial to hear Mr Burke[85] — with all its remembrances of my earlier studies of the Ancient Orators I was greatly disappointed. No Ciceronian Elocution; no Demosthenian energy;[86] there was fluency — Power — and much ability; but I heard no graceful modulation; no enrapturing flights of fancy — no philosophical declamation — Antiquity indeed never Philosophized in her Eloquence. But some of Mr Burke's published speeches during the American period had much of this intellectuality. On the present occasion there was no lucid arrangement, no nervous conciseness, no fervent glow. I felt no emotion, nor was my mind delighted. He spoke as Erskine[87] commonly speaks in his general causes. He declaimed with strong invective against Hastings, but dwelt for 3 hours on one single point. Mr Hastings taking possession of the Benares and its having ruined under his administration.[88] I thought that a vigorous mind would have compressed the whole into the compass of an hour with the better judgement and more effect. He dwelt on minute constructions of the phrases of his letters as a special pleading Counsel would have done to make out a forced and plausible case. It was upon the whole very tiresome and as far as I could judge from the looks and manner of those around, this was the general impression. Wyndham,[89] who, like Burke, was full dressed, read the passages for him which he referred to. [355]

The speech evinced great personal animosity against the accused who sat in his chair with a placid and unmoved gravity, a mild look and a patient firmness which altogether gave me the impression of much mental dignity. I thought the orator was not attacking him on the clear grounds of Public Justice only, not in that elevated manner which became the subject, the accusers, and the Tribunal. He seemed to think

more of the individual than of his conduct. I may have misconstrued him, but these were the ideas his speech excited in me. He began a little before 2 and ended as the clock was advancing to 5.

Mr W. drank Tea with me, C. was there and Symonds came, a warm Whig and great admirer of both Charles Fox[90] and Horne Tooke. We had an argument on Mandeville and his bees.[91] S— said 'The Passions will always continue. There will always be an aristocracy of one thing or another' — W. added the comment 'Yes! The strong will always prey on the weak, for according to Voltaire while there are Hawks and Pigeons, there will assuredly be Knaves and fools' S— asserted it to be possible under a true system of every individual to enjoy the pleasures and comforts of the wealthy. W. answered 'the more there are of Wealthy and luxurious men, the more there must be of others in a state of comparative want. They who covet honors, ambition and affluence, are Mandevillians who desire only their own exaltation and who wish the poor to be kept as they are and to continue in ignorance, servitude and misery' S — replied, 'there will be always [356] streets to sweep, dirty places to clean and coals to dig out. We must have Carmen and Bricklayers; there must consequently, always be men poor enough and ignorant enough to do these things, be they who they may.'

I suggested — 'Luxury may be considered to be that which is used only for our own enjoyment, as largely as we can increase it, sometimes injuring others, but never seeking to promote their happiness. Virtue and Patriotism on the contrary desire to unite anothers benefit with our own. Many of the wealthy do this, and none of those who so apply their means ought to be charged with aristocracy, selfishness, or Mandevillianism.'

9 June 1794

I made a party of Ladies to join the pleasant Promenade which was then usual and numerous on particular Evenings if fine, in the Temple Gardens — and to take their Tea as a rest and refreshment at my chambers.

My own great object was to have my dear Lady there, and that of course cd not be effected without having several others. My Fair one came with her Father's consent, under the escort of Mrs M. and her daughters. The assembly was a mixture of young and elderly persons — all seemed happy and gratified. We amused ourselves at our Tea with chit chat and with the mirthful trifles of the moment as they happened to occur to our various fancies.

I had bought some little time before a fine old bust of Sir Isaac Newton at the sale of Dr John Hunter's property after his death.[92] [357] It had been Hogarth's[93] and much valued by him, which induced our celebrated Surgeon to procure it. This, of course, I shewed them. I think one of them asked me who that ugly fellow was. As it was bronzed and had been neglected and was in the shade, it did look rather dark. When they observed him and heard who he was, they passed a good many jokes upon his dingy appearance and upon me for having such a dusty companion and upon all philosophers of whom they thought he was a very fit representation. I joined in their fun and putting my arm round his head, I told them that I meant to attach myself to him for life. This increased their merriment and they wished me joy of my choice and a better taste — and turned away laughing.

I was about to follow them, when Mrs M. who had heard me came up and said 'It wd be a great shame for a young Man to be so devoted to him, and that he ought to have a rival' — I told her that was impossible. She whispered to me that she thought she cd fetch something that wd make me leave him — and stepping back, while the others were moving about, she placed Miss W. suddenly before me. I cd not avoid availing myself of the gaiety and humour of the moment to say to her — 'What recompense can you offer me for deserting so great a philosopher?' She blushed and looking down faintly breathed out 'Only happiness, perhaps' — I am not sure whether she was saying it to herself or meant me to hear it but I saw her lips move and my ear distinctly caught the sounds. The next moment I missed her for she had vanished instantly [358] and mixed among the rest.

By the suddenness of the incident and question she had been taken off her usual guard, but quickly recollecting herself she fled before I could make any reply and kept herself away from me afterwards. Observing this, I conversed only with the elder Ladies till the party separated which was soon afterwards, but the two words I had heard were never forgotten and made Newton's bust a very precious object to me as long as I remained in my Chambers. Soothing thoughts and hopes arose, whenever in my evening hours I sat and looked upon him.

Tuesday 10 June 1794

The Events at Paris are strange. They resemble much what those of a Metropolis of Lunatics wd be. Yet the Actors are all clever persons, but having abandoned all former moral and religious principles, they are acting at random with great energies on sudden passions, vindictive retaliations and fierce and heartless selfishness.

Barrère[94] has just proposed to the Convention that their army shd give no quarter to the English, and the decree has passed 'No English or Hanoverian Prisoners shall be made.' Yet Robespierre cd immediately after say 'He was happy to find that their labors had assisted in establishing the dominion of morality and justice and in rendering their power immutable and eternal.'

A few days before, one Person fired a Pistol at Collot d'Herbois[95] [359] who had put to death so many, but missed him, and just preceding that a young Woman of 20 went to Robespierre's house to assassinate him.[96] Some of her answers on her examination are striking.

"Why did you go to Robespierre's home?"

"To speak to him."

"what did you wish to say to him?"

"Selon"

"Do you know him?"

"No"

"For what purpose did you want to see him?"

"To see if he suited me — "

"What do you mean by this expression?"

"That does not concern you"

"Did you declare you wd spill your blood to have a King again?"

"Yes — For you are 50,000 Tyrants and I went to Robespierre's lodgings to see what a Tyrant was made of"

"Why did you carry that packed up dress with you?"

"Because I expected to be carried to that place to which I shall soon be taken and I wished a change of linen"

"What place?"

"The Prison; from which I know I shall be conveyed to the Guillotine"

How we shd have admired and applauded this in the Roman History.

In Robespierre's speech on the attempt, there is one elevated passage [360] 'What constitutes a Republic? not victory, not riches, not power, not temporary enthusiasm. It is the wisdom of the Laws, and above all, it is public virtue' —

If he really felt this, it wd be well, but it is only 'Vox et preteria nihil'[97] — or rather no nihil. He is a terrible something that I cannot reconcile with his verbal declamation. The sanguinary executions he is promoting or sanctioning resemble the actions of bloodthirsty savages, of wild men indifferent to human slaughter, of maniacal theorists whom evil influences are governing. What will it end in? —

Political events became more disturbing and alarming. The Establishment and working of the Revolutionary Government at Paris not only made Terror the Order of the day there, but shook the state and peaceable Society

elsewhere. The unceasing executions of the Guillotine, the applications of it to raise the Millions of conscripts which the Convention had voted and to supply them with financial means, — the visible determination of some in this Country to imitate these fearful Operations, if they cd once gain the Power and the uncertainty how deeply the population here might be discontented and agitated, threw a dark cloud upon daily life and made many who wished domestic settlements afraid of forming them while such calamities were impending. I heard and I saw this in several cases during the Spring and Summer of 1794 and felt that till the Society acquired a more stable form and state, I ought not to undertake the maintenance of a family. Certainly all that was interesting to Man hung in doubt and extreme peril from February to [361] August 1794. Mr Pitt himself I understood felt it to be so as much as any. His firmness and patriotic magnanimity and impressive eloquence, were powerful human means of combating the danger — but it was the dissentions and mutual slaughter of the Terrorists themselves in France which really first dispersed it and prevented the Earthquake from shaking and subverting civil order and comfort in our Metropolis and great country Towns. There was at one time among the middling and lower classes of our population a great desire to make a similar experiment. May and June were months in this year particularly dangerous in this respect.

The arrest of Hardy, Thelwall, Adams, Joyce and others on a charge of High Treason[98] caused at this time strong excitations on both sides, and for a time increased the chances of some confusion. Most feared and expected such a result that I talked with and not a few desired it. I could not but be affected by these prevailing apprehensions, tho I thought the Crisis was likely to end more favorably than others wd allow, but the prospect was ambiguous and alarming.

Wednesday 11 June 1794

All London is exhilirated by the great and exciting news which arrived last night that on the first day of this month Lord Howe had brought the French Fleet from Brest to a general engagement and had sunk and taken 7 ships of the Line and 2 Frigates.[99] The French fought furiously.

The Morning Chronicle says — it was fairly disputed [362] and notwithstanding his Revolutionary partialities the Editor admits it to be a decisive proof of the superiority of our Seamen and Naval Skill. Most that I have seen are rejoicing at the brilliant and seasonable victory. But it has come like a Thunderbolt to our democratic party — utterly unexpected and by them deemed impossible. Those whom I know cd not at first believe it — Their general remarks were — It cannot be true — it is a false report — it is some exaggerated account to cover a great disaster. They had been so sure that the French Navy were animated by the same enthusiasm as the Army, and that our Sailors would either not face or not fight them, that such a victory was thought impossible. The Gentleman who is paying attentions to Miss W. who last month came from Paris gave such an account of the determination and promise of Jean Bon St. Andrè[100] who was the Convention Deputy to their fleet, either to annihilate ours or to perish, that it was taken as a matter of course that he wd do so. Every one believing this according to their wishes, can hardly persuade themselves not to be incredulous of our triumph. I have got the certain accounts on which I know I can rely and perceived that no victory cd be more important or decided. It averts all apprehension of an invasion. It is the first promise of a new dawn of Safety and better days. It has electrified the City and made every one feel that he is more secure in his individual position and comforts than he was before this grand event took place. [363] No one will fear any more the fulfilment of the French Naval Minister's declaration that he wd soon throw 50,000 red caps on the English shores.

St Andre's report to the Convention of the Battle has arrived. He thus characterizes it —

'The most horrible and bloody engagement ever recorded in History, took place yesterday between the two Fleets. Our dispositions were well taken. Every thing was maintained on both sides not merely with courage, but with the utmost fury. It was the contention of Rome with Carthage.'[101]

No one after this will doubt what our Sailors will do on such occasions. But from what I have heard I had not been quite certain how they might

meet the French in the prevailing fever of the Public mind. There was a general illumination. In one of the West End streets I saw Canning and Wyndham arm in arm walking and looking at the lights.[102] One house had none and Canning noticing it, said to his friend 'There's a fellow with not a single Candle.' W. replied 'Some Jacobinical Scoundrel no doubt, he deserves to have his Windows broke' — As they were in smart dress as if just come from a party, a crowd began to [364] gather near them and they walked hastily away.

12 June

I took Ma'amselle last night the 3rd Vol of Godwin's Caleb Williams[103] and told her I was very happy I could commend this 3rd Vol as I did not like to be always censuring. 'Nor do I like to hear you' was her pretty answer.

22 June

Last night while I was talking with Mr W. she came into the room and asked me if I meant to go to Gravesend as I had mentioned. I answered 'No, not now' — 'Then perhaps you intend to take a walk with us?' — 'Most certainly, if it will be agreeable to you'. She made no reply, but left the room. An hour or two afterwards as I was about to take my hat she said she had a favor to ask me. 'You can ask nothing but what I will promise before hand' — 'Provided' — interposed her Father. I stopped him by saying 'No, no exceptions, Miss W. cannot request an improper thing'. She then mentioned that thinking I was engaged she had assented to dine with her brother at a friends — she had been since I came endeavouring to put off that engagement to another day, but the friend held her to her promise and her request was that I would excuse her from the promised walk as she was so circumstanced. I expressed regret [365] but hoped to enjoy the pleasure of another day. — My silent gratitude blessed her for having desired and endeavoured to have averted the disappointment.

1 July 1794.

The Political atmosphere is again assuming a portentous and dismaying aspect. Accounts have arrived of a great Battle which has decided the fate of Flanders and I fear in its eventual consequences of all the Continent — for if the allies cannot defend Flanders, how can they save Germany?

Clairfait[104] was defeated on the 23rd June and Ghent and Bruges were taken by the French on the 24th and 25th and Brussells is going to surrender. On 21st The Prince of Cobourg marched with his main body to succour the army on the Sambre and on this movement the Duke of York with the British and Hessians quitted Tournay and were at Lenac near Oudenarde on the 24th.[105] Ought they not to have accompanied Cobourg? Being where they are they are in great danger of being cut off and they would have his masses greater. On the 26th The Prince assaulted all the French Posts of their chief army near Charleroi where Jourdan commanded. The words of the *Gazette* are 'after an unsuccessful attack the Prince was obliged to retire with considerable loss' [366] -

He is retreating to Halle, 30 miles from the field of Battle. This looks like the turning contest. It will open Germany to the French Armies and it renews and increases all our dangers. The Republicans around exult with unconcealed expectations of a speedy triumph. Life becomes again involved in dark uncertainties. I can foresee nothing but sanguinary contests with issues impenetrable to human sagacity. This was the Battle of Fleurus which began that stream of military triumphs to France which seemed half miraculous.[106]

This day was one of my philosophical dinners to have a clear head for an evening's study — Strawberries, bread and butter — a little cheese and water.

After my Tea I began to study Anatomy from my Plates. I learnt all the Bones and Arteries before I left off and then began Darwin's Zoonomia.[107]

8 July.

The Austrian Government has exhorted the People of Belgium of all classes to rise in a mass to aid in resisting the French. But no one stirs — all leave the regular army to its own efforts and fortunes. I fear the same indifference will occur elsewhere.

Wednesday 9 July.

This day has been devoted to happiness. We meant it [367] to be so and I have never enjoyed the rare jewel more perfectly. In the course of a lively conversation at her Father's; I proposed a small party up the River, Mr W. assented and it was agreed to. I rose before 6 to prepare a Breakfast for my visitors as we were to start from the Temple stairs and at 7 they all assembled — Miss W. and her brother, three other Ladies, my friend C. and another Gentleman. At 8 we went to the Boat and rowed and sailed with the tide to Richmond. All were pleased and contributed to please. Our Male portion rowed in easy turns with the Waterman and from Mortlake had Music all the way, my fair one at times sweetly singing. Seeing Sheridan[108] advance to his Window at Isleworth as we passed we paused to salute him with a flourish, as a man of Talent and celebrity. He kissed his hand and bowed and we passed on to Twickenham Ayte.[109] We reached this at One, went and surveyed Pope's house and grounds, and the Ladies chose to row us back to the Ayte to shew their skill. It was no great distance. We dined there and returned as the tide ebbed back with our friendly music. As I was then practising at home Handel's celebrated Minuet in Ariadne,[110] it came into my mind and I desired our Violins to play it. They gave such an expression to its pathetic melody, that the English words which had been applied to it came into my remembrance and I was irresistibly impelled to recite or chant them, for I do not sing, aloud to the notes of the air, continuing to repeat them after the Violins [368] had ceased — 'How is it possible, how can I forbear, When so many charms all around you you wear —'[111] I was then reclining below her as she sat on the Prow. I did not mean visibly to address them to her, tho my feelings did and were the cause of my reciting them as to myself, but these became so excited that I cd not

avoid at last looking up to her as I repeated them. She instantly tapped me on my head with her fan and bade me be quiet while the other ladies burst into a laugh and called me the Knight of the Woeful Countenance. I felt that I was deviating from the momentary impulse into a relaxation of my usual self command and was glad that their jokes recalled it and drew me into that general hilarity with all, which was the most safe and proper.

We reached Hungerford Stairs by 10 o'clock while there was light enough lingering about the atmosphere to cause a pleasant twilight.[112] We landed there, escorted the Ladies to their homes and then departed to our own. And here I am in my solitary chamber to feast on my recollection of all that I have been enjoying —

O dies albo notanda capello![113] It has been too happy to be described and it is now an hour beyond Midnight. She told me she had not slept since One o'clock the night before for thinking of the party — nor shall I be able to sleep tonight for thinking of its actual enjoyment — or rather for [369] thinking of her and her participation of it —

10th July

Mr Holcroft[114] has called upon me this Evening. I have not seen him for several Months. He certainly reminds me of one of the old Stoic philosophers. They probably talked and looked and lectured and dictated just like him.

His conversation has been that of an intelligent, but peculiar and paradoxical man. He made truth, which he pronounces Trewth, every thing. As I saw he was using the word in some sense different from its common meaning, I asked him to explain to me what he intended by it for I felt Pilate's question 'What is truth?' to be fully applicable at this moment.[115]

His answer was — 'By truth I mean, that which produces the greatest public good.' I suggested whether some other word might not better express his principle, but he thought not, and gave me reasons which I

did not quite comprehend for its exact propriety. I saw it was a hobby horse that wd not be parted with and that he was not pleased that I did not perceive its happy applicability. It was obvious that he called truth what his great friend Godwin called Justice, each making his favorite word the cardinal point of his own theory.[116]

Some of his other ideas were — [370]

Punishment is founded on our laziness and impotency to know what we should teach the poor, we must acquire more facts: we should go among them and see in what they are deficient for [page 19] happiness that we may know how to supply it. We shd adapt our instruction and our care to provide them with the means of releiving [sic] this deficiency.

He knew nothing to exist at all but sensations. I was a sensation to him. He was a sensation to me — nothing else. Ideas were only Sensations. Abstract truths were but Sensations.

If we could always keep a simplicity of view, we shd avoid error. We confused ourselves and then confused others.

There were nothing but unities in existence and all our Demonstrations were but the assertions of unities or similarities.

What we most wanted in order to enforce Truth was a good arrangement of our ideas. Whoever cd arrange his ideas well, might write a good and useful comedy or Tragedy as well as a philosophical work.

I stared at this, — but my doubt only roused him to a stronger assertion of the practicability. He said, as he had written some successful comedies himself, he spoke from experience.

He lectured me precisely as if I were his pupil and was not very patient at my inquisitorial remarks. He speaks [371] very dogmatically and formally, yet with considerable force of language and energy. It was interesting, as an intellectual effusion, but fatiguing to listen to him. He expected your immediate apprehension and adoption of his ideas and does not like to be put to elucidate them or to hear objections to them.

11 July 1794

A great event has just taken place here which will increase our domestic security whatever tempests may rage abroad. Some of the great leaders of the Whig Party have joined Mr Pitt and are coming into administration. The Duke of Portland. Lord Loughborough. Mr Wyndham. Lord Spencer. Lord Fitzwilliam and Lord Mansfield.[117]

On Sheridan's motion yesterday,[118] Mr Pitt said 'the avowed object of the war was none of those intentions which the honourable Gentleman ascribed to ministers. It was simply this — the destruction of that system of Jacobinism in France which had so completely ruined that unfortunate Country and threatened the destruction of every established government and all regular orders of Society in Europe. This object was neither to be heightened by new grounds of successes, nor relinquished from any temporary failure in its means of attainment; and it was one that he would never depart from, being absolutely necessary to the security and preservation of this Country and her allies. [372]

It was not a War of extermination as the honourable member had called it, nor was its object the conquest of France, but the emancipation of that unhappy country from the yoke of tyranny, anarchy and oppression under which it was now suffering, against the will and wishes of its inhabitants.'

The Whig additions to the Cabinet are the Duke of Portland as the new Home Secretary of State, Lord Fitzwilliam, President of the Council. Earl Spencer Privy Seal. Wm Wyndham Secretary of War; Earl Mansfield with no office and Lord Loughborough, Lord Chancellor.

The great defeat of the allies took place in the Plains of Fleurus.[119] The Battle lasted from 3 in the morning of 26 June to nearly seven in the Evening. The French report states that 3 times their army was driven back on its entrenchments. That for five hours afterwards, they had to sustain the shocks of the allies cavalry and infantry. That for nine hours the victory seemed indecisive and that no one could determine during the whole of that time who would be the conqueror, and that at 6 o'clk in the evening, Jourdan collected the corps de reserve and the

artilleries and charged with the whole line. This attack succeeded and the Austrians finally gave way before it.

16 July 1794.

I accompanied Miss W. and some friends to day in a Walk about [373] the Temple Gardens. The company was rather numerous and smart enough to be pleasant to the eye. We talked about Naples. She sd she was but 10 years old when her father took her there, but the scenery and people were full in her remembrance. The Mountain Vesuvius was then in eruption about 8 miles from them. They saw its smoke every morning and its pale flames as they sat at Breakfast. At night the fiery appearance was very vivid and grand.

Returning to my Chambers after seeing her home I took up my books in vain. There is a magic in her which enthrals me like a spell. Her image comes before me when she is absent and I can think only on that. I have been plunging into a variety of deep studies with great advancement of mind of them. Yet they do not in the smallest degree lessen my regard for her, nor can I pursue them after seeing her.

My softer meditations have been interrupted this Evening by a visit from Mr Holcroft. He came to take the chance of his Tea with me. What a contrast! His stern brow, upraised spectacle, fixed eye, peremptory look and strong toned voice — instead of her mild stance, sweet smile, melodious articulation and winning manners, which I have just been delighted with, but I coerced my imagination — welcomed him and prepared to listen to what I may call his lessons. He avows a wish to have me think like him and [374] wants to make a pupil and a Proselyte of me, but I have fixed my fixed determination to be of no sect, school or party, but to pass my life as an independent individual inquiring fairly into all things and trying to judge rightly. I will not confine or enslave my mind to any human Master, nor be in any trammels, nor in mental servitude to any one.

The principle Opinions he dilated on to me were

'1st — We have no Soul. Nothing that can be called a distinct or individual mind. We are only a succession of Sensations — material Sensations that arise one after another within us. They come and pass away and we are nothing but these. At one moment one sensation predominating within me, another succeeds and takes its place and I become that. At this moment I have the sensation that I am here with you and drinking your tea. I am for this time this sensation. When I leave you I shall have others and shall be what they are. We have a perpetual stream and mutability of Sensations and therefore the mind is no one thing, but a series of perpetual mutations continually passing from one thing into another.'

2nd — To my close inquiries what on his System he considered reasoning to be and what truth was according to his views, he answered

`The Sensation which we call the truth of any thing is that sensation which has made the strongest impression upon us and which therefore is the last in our minds. We are determined to act upon that. We deem it to be demonstration [375] and truth because it has the greatest quantity of sensation in it.'

3rd — The idea of our always acting from self good is not true. Many of our actions are involuntary. If a gnat sting me, I immediately brush him off without pausing to think of myself or of the state of my well being. This for me are by no means always present to our minds.

4 — The Succession of Sensations is not always equally rapid. The mind is sometimes in a drowsyish state.

5 — He believed the progress of things to be always from worse to better. I asked him if better to the individual, or to the whole. He said, He thought to both. Even what was called Death was better.

I inquired how this cd be if we had no Soul. He hesitated, then owned that he wd not then point out how it was so — nor was it an Opinion that he would dogmatically affirm. He put it by in his own mind for further examination, but was inclined to think it just.

After 2 hours discussion he has left me in good humour, obviously pleased with himself for having said well what he did say and with me for having listened more than talked. He certainly spoke with great energy and ability and is an uncommon man. But his style and manner are very authoritative and he does not relish doubts, questions or opposition. These seem to touch his amour propre.[120] He seems to me to be quite a modern Zeno or Chrysippus.[121] [376]

I am glad it was over, for his conversation tho in some parts exciting new thoughts and presenting others, is yet a task, and at times from the attention it requires to follow out and comprehend his meaning, a hard one. I feel rather wearied by it, yet I have been amused.

No Soul! when my dear Lady has been giving me this very afternoon such a lively demonstration of hers.

It beamed thro her speaking eyes in every look she turned upon me. It was that which I heard in every word by which she conveyed her interesting sentiments. If I had not known her, Helvetius, far more plausible than you my worthy Sir!, might have stirred some doubts. But in her the included Spirit makes itself almost visible to me and falsifies such mistaken theories. Only Sensations in the World! My dear lovely creature! you only a Sensation? What a monstrous incongruity! Well! there are some things more eloquent than philosophy, and more instructive and convincing than Metaphysics. Feeling is at times the truest reasoning and instinctive perception the best teacher of the Judgment.

When I gaze on her countenance as she is expressing the passing thought of the animated mind within, I witness the emanations of a Soul, of a living self, quite distinct from the beauteous features it is gently moving.

I certainly owe her many intellectual obligations unprojected [377] by either. She has preserved or drawn me unconsciously from several misleading theories which might have fastened on me as they have done on others. She has been a living book of a new kind to me in which I have read and from which I have learnt much that mere study wd not

have conveyed to me. I never felt the moral qualities and sensibilities of human nature so strongly as since I have witnessed hers.

I have become a different person and I hope an improved one in many respects since I have been so friendlily acquainted with her. She has changed many of my ideas and likings — imperceptibly to herself and led me to thoughts and feelings which if I had not been so interested with her, I shd not have had. Hence she has been more than a Minerva to me.[122] As a Venus, I have not for a moment thought of her. The Sentiment she has excited is too intellectual for that, I have viewed her as a charming flower growing up under my eye and gradually gaining an influence over me, which at one time I shd have deemed impossible. It will not be a boyish extravagance to think that she has been a guarding and at times a guiding angel to me, if I take all the effects of our acquaintance, may I say, intimacy into my consideration.

Good Night, Sweet Prince!

Or Princess rather, with your leave, Horatio!

May Clouds of Angels sing you to your rest.

Addio! mia cara carissima Maria![123]

[378]

Continuation: Part 2 (Add ms 81089; typewriter transcript Add ms 60647A begins at this point)

21 July 1794 — Monday

C. Went off yesterday to Berwick.[124] He is going to indulge another theatrical whim, as an amateur of the stage, of acting in the Northern theatres where he will be unknown, under an assumed name, the characters he is fond of. He has nothing to do, likes moving about and thinks it will do him good.

In the evening before we had a conversation about ma bien aimée. He advised me to make my Declaration now lest I should be anticipated as some other were admiring her and would apply. I told him I was only kept back by insufficient means as yet for a family establishment and that I was going into the Country for 2 or 3 weeks immediately — he recommended me to write to her from thence at once and quietly wait afterwards for better times. I mentioned that as to her a personal avowal of my sentiments would be preferable to my own feelings, but my great difficulty was about her Father. He had brought her up and educated her from the time she was 5 years old and I was afraid would not part with her when it came to the real point. He let me pay attentions to her and I believed preferred me to any other. But though habitually courteous he was very stern, decided and unchangeable in any resolution he might form — and if he refused me his consent now it would [379] cut off all intercourse between us and then I should be miserable and I thought him at present from some circumstances that had occurred very irritable and likely to be unfavourable to such a proposition.

C. who had known him longer than myself admitted this and I settled that on my return from Hampshire I would watch for an opportunity to break it to him. C. would then be back again and in case of any adverse turn might mediate between us. He thought this the safest course. He told me, that a lady, her oldest friend who had known her from her childhood had remarked to him that she was the finest girl she had ever seen, yet was the only person who never seemed to know that she was so. She (the Lady [Mrs Matthews][125]) had known no one so totally without affectation or pretence or personal vanity. C. reminded me that others beside myself felt her value and that I had better take care but certainly 2 or 3 weeks, on the terms I was with her could not make any difference. After these words we shook hands. He flying off with glee to the Packet that was to sail that night and carry him towards his theatrical tour for which as a favourite pastime he was very eager and I turning to meditate on what he had said.

His observations and cautions were all just and friendly. Yet I could not perceive that I had acted otherwise than I ought under the circumstances

to have done. I could not in common honour have made any express communications of my feelings to her without her father's privity. He had relied on me that I would take [380] no advantage of the unusual fact of permitting me to accompany her in the walks which he saw benefited her health and gave her the exercise and natural enjoyment which he wished her to have and which from his confidence that I would not deceive him, he had allowed to become regular things. What state of feeling might ensue between us from this fraternal intimacy was a point he had to consider, but that all was above-board palpably within his clear foresight or anticipation. He chose with his eyes open to incur this risque. But that I should without his knowledge and out of his sight make use of the opportunity to engage her affections by a declaration of my own and to draw her to a secret engagement unsanctioned by him was what he expected I should abstain from. He would have deemed it treachery to himself and hence I felt that my direct communication on this vital point must be first made to him with his knowledge simultaneously to both.

This afternoon I called upon her and finding a friend with her desirous of a walk, I offered to attend them. It proved one of our most delightful. Her brother had talked at Mr C.'s about our being very merry in our Water party. C. begged him not to joke upon it before her father lest he should mistake it and forbid any more. The moment she heard this, she sd with true and correct spirit, 'I beg my Father may know everything about it, for if I was so little able to take care of myself as to be too cheerful, I shall be much obliged to him to keep me at home'. It was the right feeling and came warm from the heart. I assured her that no lady could have acted with more [381] guarded propriety than she did — and that I was much struck with her self-command.

We all rested in the shade of some trees on Primrose Hill and returned over the fields by Chalk Farm. I told her how greatly I felt indebted to Lequinio for having occasioned to me the happiness I was enjoying. As the stars began to appear she asked me some questions about them and I gave her as she desired a sketch of the planetary system.

She apprehended it with great quickness and made several pertinent remarks that tasked all my knowledge to answer.

When I mentioned Holcroft's visits, she said they must be formidable things. He did not mean to be disagreeable but he often was so, though he was very civil to her she could not avoid being in some awe of him. She knew his daughters were. When he meant to be most gracious it seemed awkward and unnatural to him to be so. Even Godwin, his chief associate, sometimes was afraid of him. At times when she was visiting his daughters, she had seen the two friends sit for a quarter of an hour together with their arms folded looking first at the floor, then at each other without speaking a word as if afraid to begin their arguing battle. When it took place both were sturdy — for both had their peculiar opinions; but Godwin was so cool and wary as to have great advantage.

22nd July 1794

The Gazette contains the account of our acquisition of Corsica which Boswell and his hero Paoli have made interesting to me.[126] [382]

Sir Gilbert Elliot our Commissioner has arranged this with General Paoli, M. Pozzo di Borgo and the assembled deputies of the island.[127] He thus announces it in his despatch to the Cabinet from Calvi 21 June 1794 —

'I have the honour to acquaint you that the Union of Corsica to the Crown of Great Britain is finally and formally concluded. His majesty has acquired a Crown. Those who bestow it have acquired Liberty.'

The new Monarchical Constitution they have adopted is inserted at length after his letter.

24th July

New disasters from which large consequences are likely to follow have occurred on the Continent. The French have in severe battles of 2 days continuance entirely defeated the Prussian Army under General

Mollendorf[128] on 13th and 14th inst. and are driving the Austrians over the Rhine at Manheim [sic].

They seem to have such an abundance of men as to attack and by reckless sacrifice of them to overpower every army that withstands them.

Lord Moira has landed with a new force in Flanders and is marching to join and rescue the Duke of York and our troops that are in danger of being cut off.[129]

On 3rd July Robespierre made new denunciations [383] at the Jacobin Club at Paris against those who were opposing the merciless Revolutionary Tribunal. So that this has his full support. He exclaimed — 'Attack the National Justice in the Revolutionary Tribunal and you throw open the gates to Faction. Aristocracy will then carry all before it. They have had the audacity to assert in the Convention, that the Revolutionary Tribunal has been organized for the express purpose of murdering the Members of the Convention. Unfortunately this assertion has gained too much credit.'

So that he is supporting the wish and hope of repressing or stopping their cruelties and is planning and urging new executions to repress all better feelings. Can these things last?

27 July

The executions under the Sentence of this dreadful Tribunal in the first week after this speech as I find them stated in the Morning Chronicle, were

Paris July 13

On 3rd, 4th and 5th insts. ..... 72 Persons

On 6th ..... 30 Persons

On 7th ..... 78 Persons

On 9th ..... 71 Persons

On 10th ..... 44 Persons

Of these 23 on the 6th were Magistrates of the Ancient Parliament of Toulouse — one was 85 — another 80. On the 9th most were nobles. Ten were women and girls under 20 and two youths of 17 and 14. On the 6th there were in the [384] Prisons of Paris 7502 to be disposed of in the same way — Surely this horrible —

But in Poland the Prussians and Russians are succeeding against Kosciusko.[130] They have driven him close to Warsaw and were preparing to attack him on the 15th instead. He had entrenched his whole force under its walls. This unjust oppressing of the Poles makes the chastisement deserved which the oppressors are suffering from the French elsewhere.

Kosciusko's forces are about 50,000 men and will fight their patriot battle desperately, but I fear must be overwhelmed.

27 July 1794[5]

I have resumed my violin and practise two hours every day. It is a pity that it demands so much time, for it is more than I can give to it consistently with my other improvements.

Mr W. has just taken his tea with me. We have had an agreeable conversation on a great variety of topics, as he darted in his vivacious manner from one subject to another. I made the opportunity to lead the talk to the great point I wished to put to him. Happiness being mentioned I said. I now proposed to myself 5 main sources of it — Reading, Thinking — a few chosen friends — but with these, Marriage and hereafter the education of my children. He commended and strongly recommended the three first and urged me to cultivate them — but would say nothing on the [385] next subject but turned purposefully from it, nor gave me

5 William Turner note in the margin: '(same date as last)'.

any opening or encouragement to make an overture as to his daughter. When I tried to lead to this, he rose to take his leave and prevented my pursuing it.

As I am going to Lymington[131] and he has asked me to write to him, I will make this subject a part of our correspondence and endeavour to bring on the decision so essential to my happiness before I leave that place.

I will not sag with doubt nor shake with fear. But why may I not before I go make a little Lady's party again at my chambers and invite some of her friends who will bring her with them without any offence to her delicacy. Her Father has not objected to this before. It shall be done and then before I leave Lymington I hope the conclusion will have come prosperously on.

28 July

I continue my violin, I was about to give it up from its abstraction of my time. But playing last week a part of the Messiah[132] it so interested me, that I went on till I tired myself. This however made me perform it easier next day and then I continued it till both my fingers and my neck were sore. But I am so far rewarded for my labour, that I can play off easy airs and melodies at sight in nearly true time. [386]

31 July

I have played through every air in Judas Maccabeus[133] in the last 2 days with great enjoyment. But here two pleasures are in conflict. This gratification — and that from my books. If I take the one — I lose, for the time, the other and I have so much knowledge yet to acquire that I grudge every hour taken from it. But I will persevere a little longer — for I love the music of sound and when as in Handel it is connected with feeling, it awakes that feeling in me while I bring out from the notes the melody which expresses it.

1 August 1794

My Party was made and took place last night. She came with her elder friends. We were all very happy; I, supremely so. She was as usual all I could wish and approve. She has taken my fine old Cat and chamber companion home with her to be under her care while I am absent, that he may not suffer from the neglect of the Laundress. I saw her home and left her with regret but hope in 3 or 4 weeks to be in a position of being still more happy.

Such was the state of things on this interesting evening. Neither of us suspected the changes — the sufferings, that were to follow. But the interval of my excursion was taken advantage of by those who were lying in wait to disunite us for the promotion of their private objects. Their contrivances and [387] machinations and willful misleading both her and her Father and through him, myself, entangled her in a train of misconceptions and mistakes and embarrassments which were extended to myself and put us at variance with each other to the near destruction of the peace and happiness of both. These I will not detail but only mention the distressing results.

On the morning after our party I set off for Southampton and thence in the Mail to Lymington, where I established myself in comfortable lodgings dining every day at the family table d'hote at the Angel where I met some intelligent and agreeable persons. To refresh myself and recruit my strength I bathed occasionally in the salt baths there and strolled in the corn fields and passed my time very pleasantly with my books and music and exercises in composition or reflections but with no particular work in view and found out several pleasant rural walks.

At the end of the first fortnight I wrote a familiar letter to Mr W. on the place and the topics of the day — as I had promised and added a particular postscript for him to mention to his daughter — meaning it to be a preliminary intimation to him of what I desired to express in a formal letter to him; I put this in the Post and the next morning at my breakfast sat down to write to both her and him. To her avowing my deep attachment — to him stating what I had done and soliciting

his approbation and consent, leaving the proper time of Union for a subsequent arrangement. [388]

While I was thus occupied the post brought me a letter from him which had crossed mine to him — and which I read with an overwhelming, with a most unnerving consternation.

If the Postscript of my letter to him had been communicated to her it would have prevented all the disturbance and misunderstanding which took place. She hearing that a letter had come from me asked him what I said and he instead of showing it to her or stating what I had written, unfortunately answered — that the letter contained nothing that concerned her.

His letter which crossed mine and reached me about the same time as mine would arrive at his house was dated 'Titchfield Street August 13 1794' and was received by me on the 14th.

> 'Dear Sir,
>
> I did not imagine I should have had any particulars of a domestic nature to communicate to you in so short an interval. It has however happened otherwise.
>
> It has been hinted to me several times that Mr S— had made overtures to my daughter of a serious nature, to which I paid little attention. He has now fully explained his intentions and solicits my permission for an immediate marriage.
>
> You, my good friend! Know my sentiments pretty fully upon most matters and consequently you will not be surprised of my having expressed my disapprobation, not indeed abruptly, but that I considered it as a matter of considerable importance and as such required time for deliberation. This has not [389] proved satisfactory though I have required but 6 or 8 weeks and I am strongly urged to an immediate compliance.
>
> This is fruitless as I seldom take any resolution without a previous consideration of the consequences; and having determined am not easily dissuaded.

I am not, however, pleased with the business. It convinces me at heart of my daughter's silly conduct. I could not have supposed her serious in such a choice of so lasting a nature as this must be to her — and where so little appearances of happiness are visible.

The only reason I can assign for her conduct is that my prospects and consequently hers, being of an unpromising kind, she wishes for some kind of an establishment.

Instinct they say teaches rats to quit a falling house and James daughters[134] probably were determined by similar motives. I can hardly murmur at being treated like a monarch.

In short though, I dislike the business and think it will prove delusive to them both, I say but little, unwilling to have any additional vexation from an authoritative interference at a time, when it is not in my power to assure her a subsistence for 12 months — she will therefore act as she thinks best.

I am impatient for your return and although I like fine [390] weather, was in hopes it was gone, so it might have hastened that event. It is now summer weather again, so I do not yet expect you.

Let me know how you do and what C. is about. Favour me with a line and as I impatiently expect your return do not unnecessarily postpone it. I might have indeed said WE, as all here wish to see you equally with myself. Therefore please consider that as an additional reason. Compliment and respects by the score, so receive them sans detail.

Remaining dear sir

Your obliged friend

W.Watts.'

I am to tell you Charles is well.

It was on the 14th August 1794 that I received this letter. It gave me a shock which I cannot describe. I was feasting myself upon the recollections of

my past enjoyments and on the symptoms I thought I had seen of her growing attachment to myself and for me now to learn on a sudden that she was urged to marry another and that she was against her father's wishes going to do so of her own accord — I was startled into an agitation that almost overwhelmed me. My first impulse was to go to London and to learn from herself if she had so decided and I went to the Coach Office for that purpose but found that none would move in that line until the morrow. I therefore returned to my rooms to think again of the distressing subject.

If I had gone as I thus intended, a few words would have [391] dispersed all the gathering clouds and prevented the mutual sufferings which followed from my continued absence.

If I had even written to her inclosing her Father's letter or giving her the substance of it and asked her if she had accepted or was favoring Mr S—'s proposal or meant to acquiesce in it I am sure now she would have given me a frank answer that her father had misconceived and misrepresented her intention. That would have satisfied me as to her and then I would have avowed to her my attachment and would have solicited her permission to mention it to her father and her acceptance of my hand. All would then have gone on straight forward to a happy termination.

But unfortunately though both these steps occurred to me I did not take either of them. Resentment at such an unlooked for possibility of her vacillation overcame for the moment my affection. I read the letter again, till the phrases made me feel that their import was that she **had decided**. I construed it to mean, that though her father had expressed to her his disapprobation of it and had required time for deliberation this had not proved satisfactory to her as well as to Mr S— and that when he said, though I have required but 6 or 8 weeks, I am strongly urged to an immediate compliance, I thought that this meant that he had been urged by her as well as by her lover — especially when I read also that he was convinced of her silly conduct and that he could not have supposed her serious in a [392] **choice** of so lasting a nature. All these words seemed to

me to amount to the fact that she had seriously chosen Mr S— and had accepted his offers against her Father's wishes.

Under this view both my affection and my pride took alarm. There could be no regard for me if she had chosen Mr S— and for me in that case to be a competitor for her favor with him of whom she had repeatedly expressed a determined aversion and contempt would be a degradation to myself and make a change of mind back to me again no longer desirable nor productive of happiness to me. I therefore resolved before I made any further overtures myself to inquire of her father what the state of her mind really was as to Mr S— and whether she was attached to him and had decided to unite herself with him. After much self conflict as this was a point on which I felt I must for my own sake have satisfactory information — I wrote him this answer on the same day I received his letter.

14th August 94'

My dear Watts,

I amused an hour of leisure yesterday by writing to you. I suppose you received my letter about the same time that I was favored with yours this morning.

I am much obliged to you for your communication. It is to me an additional proof of your friendship and I feel it in all its importance. I could indeed have wished that on some delicate, but to [393] me very momentous particulars, it had been a little more explicit for my ignorance of them embarrasses me very much in returning you my opinion on the subject.

I could not but observe that Mr S— appeared to have an attachment to your daughter — but I have fluctuated much in my opinion of her sentiments with respect to him. I have at times seen what I could not but think indications of a decided partiality in her behaviour to him — but then, her occasional expressions of dislike to him have made me again uncertain how to reconcile the seeming contradiction.

Your letter has much renewed my doubts on this point or rather, your expression 'that you could not have supposed her serious in a **choice** of so lasting a nature as this must be to her and where so little appearance of happiness are visible', seem to me to intimate that **she has chosen** for herself and that her choice is for the offered establishment.

It seems likewise to me that Mr S— would not have been so pressing to you, if he had not been sanctioned by her, or if he had not, from some reason, been sure of her acquiescence and that if his proposals had been unpleasant to her, she would have related to you an immediate refusal, for I own I shall find it difficult to believe that mere motives of present convenience could have obtained her compliance to a step which concerns the happiness of her whole life. [394]

My doubts on this important point throw me into a very great embarrassment and perplexity which prevent me from knowing how to settle my opinion, or to return you that answer, which in the present circumstances you have a right to expect — and which I am anxious to give.

It would be impertinent in me to question her on this point. But I hope I may use the privilege of a sincere friendship to appeal to you for your candid and impartial sentiments upon it. For I confess myself to be deeply interested in the communication with which you have favored me. I will therefore request that frank information which I believe no one will ever ask of you in vain, what **you** have observed of her state of mind with respect to Mr S— If she favors his proposal from partiality, or if she has been induced to listen to it from motives of convenience — in a word, how she has received it.

I am sensible that I am here asking a very delicate question, which would be more likely to offend than to please common minds — but my apology to you and to her for it must be your own words — 'I seldom take any resolution without a previous consideration of its consequences.'

> My object in common with others is that of happiness, and I find it to be so rare in the world, that I think whoever mean to attain it, cannot look too far, nor too thoughtfully forward. [395]
>
> With the sincerest friendships to you and your family I will after requesting again the favor — which I have already ventured to ask, subscribe myself your obliged friend.
>
> Sh. T'

Lymn. 14 Aug. -94-

It was a great pity I did not write to her instead of to her father. But the fear of marrying a lady in love with another and without a preferring attachment to myself and the apprehension also lest her pleasing vision had so blinded me as to be totally mistaken in her real character; withheld me from committing myself to her until I knew what her sentiments and conduct were on this proposal. I thought I could trust her Father above all persons on this subject — both as to her Father and from his avowed kindness and regard to me. But as it turned out under the delusion practised on him, I could not have referred to a more misleading source for the information I desired.

My agitations after sending this letter were extreme. I found I could do nothing. My peace of mind was gone, only agitating doubts and uncertainties came upon me. I could not touch my violin — I could not read — I could think of nothing but this unexpected letter. Thus passed the day and I went exhausted to bed. There I could not sleep. It was 4 in the morning before my eyes closed and but for a brief interval. I rose and walked out to recruit myself with the freshness of the morning. I took a book [396] but could not open it. The absorbing subject alone engrossed my thoughts. I could take but little breakfast. Yet all my reasonings ended only in this — 'Why need I fear — it is impossible that any mind could change so totally in ten days. She must have rejected him. I shall certainly hear tomorrow that this has been her decision and then the cloud will vanish.'

This seemed certain, yet still I could not be tranquil. I passed the day in walking languidly and feverishly about the fields and towards the sea — but I had not strength to reach it. In the evening my uneasiness increased. The hours to the next day's post seemed to crawl on most heavily. I sought rest in vain — sleep again forsook me. I was realizing in myself what I had read of the bodily affection of some Arabian lovers which I had thought extravagant. I bathed the next morning to cool my burning frame — but I was too weak to swim and could scarcely walk home, nor could I touch my breakfast.

At last the post came in to the town. The delivery man passed my door but no letter for me. My anxieties redoubled — what could have taken place. This silence was inexplicable. I was still more perplexed and disquieted. I thought the office must have made some mistake and I pressingly inquired there. But they had no more letters — what now shd I do. What could I do but wait the next day's post [397]. I must now learn how things are before I can stir.

The day was another day of fever and misery to me. I regretted bitterly that I had not gone up at once and ascertained for myself how things really were. That misjudgment had brought these sufferings on me — at night, no sleep again. I left my bed at daylight to move languidly up and down my room — and then out of doors. I sipped a little breakfast scarce tasting it, till at last the long expected letter came — but — when I opened it, such a letter! In the very first words destroying all my hopes — even every prospect of what I wished. I threw it from me as an incredulity — till I became able to read it more calmly. It began with stating that the subject appeared to be completely settled between the parties — I was thunderstruck — and paused again — the next sentence amazed me still more —

'My daughter's motives, I am certain, are interest. She is dazzled with the magnificent offers he has made her — she is deluded. I have told them they are acting in the most impudent manner and that I can see very little hopes of their being happy.'

Except that this was from himself — his serious answer to my direct questions — from her own father to me, it was so contrary to all I had seen and known of her that I could not have [398] believed it. I read it again and again to be sure that the words were those and that it was his handwriting. They were overwhelming. From any other person I should have fancied some mistake or misstatement had been possible. I regarded him as a second father to me and had a confidence in his veracity and uprightness which no other human being nor even she had created within me. It never struck me that by my questions I had put a card into his hands which enabled him to arrest my purpose and to keep his daughter to himself. Yet I had never found him act on such motives — nor did I reflect that others might for their purposes had told him falsehoods of her — or to her of me or made mischievous contrivances to deceive him that he might send me such a letter as to put an end to my pursuit. The letter was as follows.

Titchfield Street

August 16 – 94 -

'My good Friend,

'I was prevented from paying attention to your favor of yesterday by a bad headache which I am this morning wholly free from as usual.

'The subject of your letter is more the topic of conversation than heretofore and appears to me (disclaiming [399] authority) **now to be completely settled between the parties.** I shall not interfere, as I am determined not to encounter the reproaches which I expect, if I should occasion their disunion.

'You know my sentiments of S—. It has been chiefly to the entreaties of a lady in this house that I have permitted his visits from the supposition that I had frequently expressed myself with such impropriety in his presence as might put me in his power in some measure, as there is little doubt of his being totally opposite in his principles to myself.

'My daughters motives I am certain are interest. You may say everything is interest that we seek — but I apply it to its simple meaning property.

'She is dazzled with the magnificent offer he has, I hear, made her of various articles of dress and other female nick-nackery, many of which were to have been sent here — but I have put an absolute negative upon a single shillings worth being received.

'We are at best but children of a larger growth and I am not much surprised at the effect these baubles have upon a young mind especially in her situation, for which great allowance is to be made. We have lived for 12 months past upon a very narrow system, such as the most rigid frugality cannot surpass and I see no prospect of its mending. [400] So that it is not only 'mere motives of present convenience' as you state, but of future which have influenced her in this business, at least that is my decided opinion.

'With respect to your observation of its concerning the 'happiness of her whole life', we must consider how few look one year before them in life, especially blinded by impetuous passions.

'Upon the whole matter I am clearly of opinion that my present situation, or hers in consequence of mine, is the real cause **of this Union**, as she would have rejected the idea of such a connection with a thousand pounds in her hand — but 'scared at the picture of pale poverty' as Pope expresses it and besieged on the other hand by a (supposed at least) superfluity of glittering and fascinating baubles, she has **concluded** with Shakespeare's Apothecary 'My Poverty etc.'[135]

'I have mentioned to you that I have declined interfering and my reasons. I have however gone so far as to **tell them** in the very few conversations on the subject that I am firmly persuaded they are acting in the most impudent manner and that **I** can see very little hopes of their being happy. S— stares at me and wonders how I can suppose such an absurdity. I believe he thinks I am either, like Quid nunc,[136] a little deranged with

political discussions, and of course pays but trifling regard to my observations.

'I am glad to find you are in good health and spirits and sincerely wish you a continuance to the evening of life as you [401] term it — but here again my croaking predictions interrupt your golden dreams. From the agitated state of Europe, I see nothing but approaching convulsions without the least probability of a speedy termination. The present generation will not see the end of the furious contests and struggles for power for they seem little else, which are in training all over the world.

'Indeed the present race of men are wholly unfit for and unworthy of liberty; narrow-minded, prejudiced, and void of every idea of benevolence in private life, how can one expect such an heterogeneous mass to act in concert for the public good; words they do not know the meaning of. I allude chiefly to the recent events in France. We may expect a succession of struggles in which the successful usurpers will be the heroes of the day. Far, very far from us is the state we so much desire. Hope is the great imposter in life; for tho we are hourly convinced of his cheats, we still place a foolish reliance on him.

Believe me to be dear Sir

Your W— W—

I am enjoined to present respect which I had like to have forgotten — am sorry you have not heard of C.

This letter cut off all hope and prospect as to myself. [402]

It gave me no choice[137] — no alternative — no opening for making any effort, it left no room for doubt. To tell me that the matter appeared to him to be **completely** settled between the parties, — and that he should have to encounter reproaches if he should occasion **their disunion** and that she had concluded upon it — and had been dazzled by the gentleman's magnificent offers and persisted in it tho he had told them and of course her — that he saw very little hopes of their being happy — and that her motives he was certain were interest, meaning property,

— and that she would have rejected the idea of such a connection if she had nay fortune. All of this was so decisive that the matter seemed to me beyond my power of alteration. And yet such a total change of things have occurred in a fortnight — within 2 weeks after I had parted from her with a kind of interchange of mutual feeling so astonished me that I felt I must have entirely mistaken her character and not less misinterpreted her sentiments.

To have believed her still to be what I had thought her and thus to lose her would have been a misery that would have destroyed my health and poisoned the rest of my life. But such a portrait given to me by her father the man whom I most esteemed of all that I knew satisfied me that I must have misconceived her altogether and that she was only a pretty girl valuing trinkets and fine dresses and taking the first offer which presented these to her. [403]

Such a woman could not make me happy. I therefore rejoiced that I had discovered my errors of judgment in time not to suffer more from it and I resolved to repress and extinguish all the feelings which had attached me to her.

I had been very happy before I knew her — why could I not be so again, after this conviction of her unfitness to make my matured life that scene of happiness which I had projected. It was but the forgetfulness of what had occurred between her and me in the last 8 months and if I could obliterate this or cease to recall it to my mind — I should be again as I had been and should again seek my comfort and pleasures and obtain them from my studies, my compositions — my interest in the public events of the day and in those social gratifications from a few selected and intelligent friends which were always ready for my enjoyment. These occupations with my professional business would make me as happy as I could expect to be.

And yet her father's account of her conduct towards Mr S– and of her immediate acceptance of his proposal was so contrary to every sentiment that she had expressed to me and to all that I had observed in her, that the sudden transformation into this new sort of character was a

wonder and a mystery which I could not fathom. No less evidence than her father's positive statements to me could have made me believe it. From any one else, I should have thought it a most slanderous calumny.

But the affair being so according to his account, I had but [404] one conclusion to come to, which was to root her out of my mind for ever. The more I reflected on his letters, the more strongly I became convinced that I had deluded myself, and that we were quite unsuited to each other. My tranquility of mind increased with this conviction and I had no doubt of being able to resume my previous serenity.

It only remained to consider whether I should break off all further acquaintance with him, in order to avoid seeing her. At first I was inclined to this. But my attachment to him was so strong, that I thought if it were possible, I should not deprive myself of his society. In the rapidity with which the matter was proceeding, she would be married by the time I reached London if I delayed my return a little, or at least soon afterwards. In the mean time she would be occupied with her preparations, I could easily avoid speaking to her, or looking at her in case she should be there when I called — and therefore under the influence of my new reasons for disliking and disesteeming her — and from my usual firmness of purpose when once excited on rational grounds — I thought I could prevent myself from being disturbed if I should again be accidentally in her presence. Hence I resolved not to renounce her father's acquaintance and to be as distant to her, as if I had never known her.

Having formed these determinations — I wrote to her father in reply to his communications stating how much it had [405] surprised and agitated me — avowing the attachment I had felt to her — but that since she had of her own accord and against his wishes chosen another and a person he disapproved of I must have mistaken her and should now suppress entirely the regard I had been indulging — but would hope not to be obliged to discontinue his society. I sent this by the post — resumed my Country Walks, and my books and even my Violin. But as one motive for advancing on this, the pleasure and hope of accompanying her, was not ended, I began to question the advantage of continuing to practise

on it. It took up a portion of my time very pleasantly, but this was so much deduction from my studies and improvement. It also tended to remind me of her and this effect caused me to lay it aside.

Again my mind fluctuated into a doubt whether all these things were really as her father had represented but my estimate of his moral integrity was so high that no suspicion of any wrong from him was possible to me.

Incomprehensible as it was, it came upon me as a melancholy certainty from the most trustworthy witness.

Here was not only a complete acceptance of another — but in persisting opposition to her father's will, against his warning and judgment and from the most unworthy motives.

Such truths communicated to me — made me say to myself that I had been deluding myself with a phantom of my own creation. [406] I had mistaken pleasing manners for kinder feelings. I must have been blinded in my judgment by my own sensibilities and fancied that to be mind and thought which was only pretty features and a pleasing voice. Hence what I had admired and loved and wished to be united with, did not really exist.

These considerations operated like a resorting cordial to me — for I have lost nothing, I said to myself. The reality I have been pursuing does not exist. I have been therefore cheating myself and am happily disabused before it is too late. Is not this a good instead of an evil? It makes a blank in my life, but that is better than to be wedded to a perpetual disappointment. I have no right to be angry with her for my own mistake. She has chosen what suited her better than I should have done, she being what she has turned out to be. It is clear that we are neither of us adapted to the other.

When I put this letter in the post I felt as if part of myself had been wrenched away — but now considering it as something not myself, but of a different kind, the wound became less painful. As my mind settled in its new determination it became calmer. The fever that was shaking

me subsided, my pulse which had risen to 100 degrees (beats) became lower. My headache was less severe and when night came she seemed so transformed from all that I had admired to what I most disliked, that I [407] began even to rejoice at my escape. Yet I could not subdue all my agitation — but at last I got a little sleep after 2 nights total absence of it and I awoke more comfortable and more resigned to the deprivation of a treasure I had so valued.

Sweet gentle creature! How greatly I injured you in these unjust imputations. How greatly I was myself deceived! But I had no notion of what had been really taking place.

19 July 92

On the same day on which Mr W. received my letter, he wrote to me the following kind answer —

> 'My good Friend!
>
> 'Your letter of this day has filled me with surprise and I will add given me much uneasiness. I am concerned to hear your health and speech are injured, but particularly so as it seems to be the effect of the circumstances I have communicated to you, which I had not the least idea would have occasioned any other emotion in your mind, than those of an ordinary nature.
>
> 'You will conclude that I must have possessed but little discernment to have so totally overlooked, in a matter of so much importance, the profusion of civilities I have ever received from you. Indeed my faculties are benumbed by the weight which I have long borne — and I own I have considered your kindness as the result only of your philanthropic disposition. I ought to stand excused therefore in some degree for my blindness. [408]
>
> 'For my daughter, I do not know what to say. She ought to have considered your kindness and marked attentions you have paid her as something more than compliments perhaps; but

this I only guess as she never mentioned anything in particular to me, but at all times seemed to consider you, in the same light with myself, as a young man of an excellent disposition.

'When your first letter came I was eagerly solicited to know how you were in health — but I **have not** communicated any particulars of the latter ones. Indeed the gloom throughout the house is visible. I have been so reserved since the business of S—, that I hardly speak to my daughter, but by the monosyllables Yes and No. Mrs M. says the house has more the appearance of an approaching funeral, than a wedding. I own I am much hurt tho I say but little, as I must **nearly** renounce the connection, should the marriage take place, that I have no idea of so soon dissolving, for assuredly I shall never pay any visits, where he is the principal party in the house.

'I must assure you however my dear Sir, that I think great allowance is to be made for a girl of my daughter's age, situation considered. And I have the greatest reason to conclude that she had not the smallest reason to expect the honor you intend her. If she had, the present business would, I think, never have taken place.

'For myself there is not a circumstance could have given me equal pleasure, but as I before observed, I had not [409] the least idea of the kind — for altho I think you possess the most generous disposition, yet I think I know you possess equal prudence and I should not have made you a suitable return to your friendship by encouraging any ideas of such a union, even if I had perceived my daughter so disposed, unless I had a certainty of my property being restored. In that case I should with the most heartfelt satisfaction have given every assistance in my power to have matured it.

'You say you hope still to possess my friendship. I assume you, my dear friend! I shall consider myself as singularly unfortunate if I should ever be deprived of the esteem and friendship of a man of your merit and benevolence. And it is with great concern I find you so much agitated. I would

> however wish you to remain persuaded that there is not a single circumstance in which it is or ever may be in my power to add to your happiness which I would not gladly embrace.
>
> Your obliged and unalterable friend
>
> W. W.

Titchfield Street

Monday — in haste — the postman rings —

Mr S— was a young man about my own age and size, but stouter and darker — good natured and cheerful in his way — rather vociferous, yet entertaining on what he knew and not unwilling to oblige. Tho we were seeking the same [410] object, we were never uncivil to each other nor had any personal difference. He was thought shallow, and so he was to all books and cultivated knowledge — but he was a shrewd and active man of the world and sufficiently acute, ready and sensible in all its usual transactions. His father was understood to have left him a good property and a thriving business. Hence in pecuniary matters he had the advantage greatly over me. In politics he professed to be a violent admirer and partizan of the French Revolution and especially of the Mountain and Jacobin party. His predilections or secret motives led him to be often at Paris in his flying visits and when there, always in the Tribune of the Convention where he became acquainted with those prominent leaders who were striking terror thro all Europe. He visited their clubs and became much acquainted with their plans and politics and as he was often passing backwards and forwards between the 2 countries he was full of amusing anecdotes of what he had seen and heard at Paris — and sometimes gave us among these some important facts which no other sources supplied. This made his conversation at times very interesting to me.

He was frequently at Mr W.'s tea table and I found him there long before I had any suspicion that he was thinking of the lady. She was always civil to him, and at times more so than I was quite easy at (but her manner was very obliging to every one and to me only had she been more so,)

but so distant and indifferent that I had never apprehended any danger from his attentions. [411]

At the time the **Crown and Anchor Association**[138] against republicans and levellers had become fully established and was thought to be very busy and inquisitorial. It had been designed by Mr Reeves under the first Earl of Liverpool's sanction or suggestion. It was formed in November 1792 and in the next month issued addresses to the Public, calling upon all 'good citizens to detect and bring to justice such persons who appear to plot and continue against the peace and good order of this happy Country.' He exhorted all Masters of Families, Wine Taverns and Coffee houses to discontinue and discourage all disloyal and seditious newspapers. They recommended associations to be formed everywhere on the same principles and with these their committee maintained a constant communication. In 1793 and 1794 they had become an important political organ — and in very zealous but private and concerted operation.

They professed in their circulated resolutions to be a Society for suppressing seditious publications; for supporting due execution of the laws and for explaining those topics of public discussions which had been so perverted by evil designing man. But they added what alarmed all who, without thinking of any conspiracy or confederacy, were conversing with the usual freedom of Englishmen on the exciting events of the day. 'This Society will **receive** [412] with great thanks all **communications** that shall be made to it for the above purposes'. and they 'recommended all friends to the established law to form themselves in their different neighbourhoods into similar Societies.'

I will not say that such a Society was useless or ineffective but it was of a dangerous and obnoxious character and was convertible into an instrument of tyranny and of much private malignity and mischief.

It was considered to be a process for making one part of Society, an organized body of spies upon the other and for opening so many avenues for secret information and charges in imitation of the Venetian Lion head[139] from every one who chose to give anonymous or other

accounts of the private feelings, conversations and connections of their neighbours — friends and acquaintances.

It was believed that this association received the information they thus invited, from all quarters without being very scrupulous as to the source and that servants, visitors and others were encouraged to disclose the private conversation and conduct of families and individuals who had strong feelings on public liberty and on the French Revolution — or who did not approve of the measures adopted by our Government.

This was most probably a calumny — but it was fully credited in some of the circles I visited and by my dear Lady and her family. It was supposed and circulated that prosecutions [413] were preparing against many who in their private homes freely expressed their political opinions. This idea was never verified by any fact of the kind, but it was asserted and dreaded. The Indictment and verdict and sentence against John Frost for what he had said at the Percy Coffee house — merely words — nothing done — confirmed these suspicions and spread much alarm.[140]

No one was more credulous of these aggravating reports than Mr W. tho no one could be more innocent or more incapable of Treasonable projects or seditious movements than he was. He would not have stirred a yard from his fireside to give them the least favor or assistance. But he loved to sit in his chair and criticize whatever was going forward. He was a Diogenes in his talk — but nothing like him in his manners. He had a keen sense of what was wrong and expressed vivaciously what he felt and saw it wherever it existed. But this was confined to no party, government profession or Country. He exposed what he thought erroneous in the measures of the French Convention as earnestly as in those of our own Parliament and Ministry. He was a skirmishing Utopian waging war with defects and evils whenever he perceived them, but he kept clear from all Societies and public meetings or places of general resort and only indulged his acute fluency and well meaning fault finding, seldom without some good grounds among his particular friends in his own hospitable parlour. [414]

But under the influence of these rumoured inquisitorial proceedings, and from that impression of our own importance which we all partake of, Mr W. thought he was a marked man. Mr S—'s account which was true that any man at Paris might be arrested on suspicion and in the middle of the night seized and taken to prison from which there would be no exit but to the Guillotine and that the only charge was 'd'etre suspect' — completed his apprehension. He thought the same thing in a few weeks would be done here from the increase of public discontent requiring securer measures to repress its outbreak. By degrees he conceived the idea that Mr S— was a spy or organ of Government and watched his words and actions in order to denounce him to the association or to some other channel of the administration and if he should offend him, would certainly do so. He was therefore afraid to forbid him the house or on his proposal to his daughter to reject it as he wished.

I do not know whether his suspicions had any real foundation, but there was something mysterious in Mr S—'s going backward and forward to Paris so easily and so confidently when all intercourse was forbidden and when the Revolutionary Government was in its most fierce and jealous operation there. His extravagant Jacobin talk was also unusual. Danton was his idol, yet when Robespierre destroyed him, he did not less praise Robespierre. From his facility of movement [415] if he was[6] an agent of one Government he must have been so of the other, for he always seemed certain that neither would molest him. He went with confidence and came back with triumph, yet his trading concerns could not have led him there. I could not make him out, but as I had then no fear of him as to the Lady and got much information about the chief actors at Paris and the events there from his conversation, I was never averse to meet him.

But others were also practising on Mr W.'s mind — I had never walked out with Miss W. alone. One or other of her chief friends always accompanied her and one most usually. As I felt the value and had the benefit of her doing so, I paid her the attentions I thought right.

6 William Turner queries 'were' in a side note.

These caused some mistaking ideas or prospects to arise in her mind or her Mother's and it began to be imagined that if I cd be separated from Miss W. my notice would then be drawn to her. On this the schemes and contrivances were founded as soon as I went to Lymington and were put into operations concurrently with Mr S—'s proposal.

Of all these things I was then wholly ignorant and it was meant that I should be kept so, but their machinations were put into full action on the minds of Mr W. and his daughter. His apprehensions were worked on that his daughter might be forced to take Mr S— for his safety and she was led to believe [416] that I had deserted her and that she could only save her Father from a Prison by accepting the offer. This deterred her from rejecting him at once as she had wished. She declined it with a mildness which made him more peremptory with her Father and more pressing to her. False statements were taken to her Father before he wrote his account to me. His own fears and motives made him even sacrifice his own veracity in order to turn off and put an end to my pursuit.

At that moment I had not the least notion of these delusions, plots and underplots. I relied upon him with the most absolute confidence and thus renounced from the deception the dearest hope I had ever formed.

14th August

Accounts from the British Army mention that reports had arrived there, that Robespierre had been arrested by the Convention and had shot himself on 27th July.[141]

No attack had been made on Koscuisko on 25th.

15th August

The report of Robespierre's downfall continues but with variations. It is now said that he was executed with St. Just on the 1st instead.

16th August

An American ship has arrived from Calais whose Captain states that it was reported and believed there that Robespierre, [417] St. Just, Couthon and some others of that party had been put to death.

Letters from Flushing confirm this intelligence, but with variation in the circumstances.

The Morning Chronicle says —

'Men well acquainted with the characters and connections of those who have governed France since 31st May 1793 declared on the execution of Danton, that the survivors of his party would soon revenge his death. All the political contests in France are not for power only, but for life'.

18th August

The full account of Robespierre's overthrow and death have now arrived. The interesting particulars are in this morning's papers. He was arrested and rescued and only 2 hours before he was retaken, the victory seemed doubtful.

The reign of blood and terror I hope is now over, whatever else may take its place.

On the last 3 days only of his power and life the Revolutionary Tribunal sentenced to death 135 individuals. His downfall will save some thousands from the murdering Guillotine.

The contest was really between Robespierre with his 2 friends St. Just and Couthon against the 2 Committees of General and Public safety. His plan was to get all the power [418] which the Convention had delegated to these into his own hands. He would then have been the master of France. The presidents of the Revolutionary Tribunal and of the Jacobin Club — The Commandant of its Armed Force and several other perished with him. Surely a great deliverance for mankind as well as for France.

I was never more astonished than at this sudden overthrow and destruction of Robespierre. I had been repeatedly told by those who had visited Paris that the Revolutionary Tribunal and its atrocious proceedings and executions were the actions of Danton of the Committee of Public Safety of the Salons and populace of Paris and of the general sense of their necessity, more than of Robespierre and that he only acquiesced in what all classes of the Patriots there required and supported. I saw by his public speeches that he was the only man in the Convention who professed to act on any normal grounds and thus led me to hope that something better than their horrible system of blood — continued bloodshed would at length be established by him as his influence preponderated. But unhappily for France every thing of this sort were but words never acted and soon forgotten. Parties destroying each other were all that the world beheld as the dire and unprincipled result.

The denunciation and execution of Robespierre broke the spell of the French Revolution on the thinking mind. It was the [419] last of that series of murders by which the republican and Jacobin leaders at Paris had been destroying each other and whom else they pleased after their destruction of Royalty and of its Swiss defenders on the 10th August 1792.[142]

The events of that day had been followed by the Massacres at the Prisons in the first week of the next month September which Brissot charged to have been deliberately determined on by the Mountain Party and executed by its agents.

On 10th March 1793 — the Mountain or Jacobin party on receiving intelligence of the Dumourrier's defeats excited the people not only to a strong patriotic enthusiasm to defend their country but also to an extraordinary movement at Paris which was followed by the fatal establishment of the Revolutionary Tribunal on the suggestion of Danton. This was decreed on 11th March by the Convention to extend to every one 'Whether the accused be civil or military Functionaries or simple citizens'. It was called 'an extraordinary Criminal Tribunal which shall take cognizance of all counter revolutionary enterprizes,

of all attempts against liberty, equality, the Unity and indivisibility of the Republic, the interior and exterior safety of the state, and of all plots tending to reestablish royalty or any other authority endangering liberty, equality and the Sovereignty of the people'.

The Motion of Danton was modified by Isnard[143] into this shape and thus established became a complete and irresistible instrument in the hands of the ruling faction of the day, for the [420] instantaneous destruction by the rapid Guillotine of everyone whom the dominant party for the time chose to get rid of.[7]

On the motion of Levasseur[144] it was also decreed that the Tribunal should be without appeal and without recourse to any other Court of legal jurisprudence. Hence its deadly sentences were absolute and final.

At this period the Brissotins or Girondists had the Majority of the Convention — having Roland Servan and Claviere in the Cabinet Administration they were Masters of the executive powers and had been so since the deposition of the King on the 10th August which had been mainly their work. They had called up for this object bands of Federès from Brest as the Mountain party had got also a number of the same sort from Marseilles. Brissot and his Party planned the attack on the Tuilleries on that day and on the Swiss guard and Royal party there for the express purpose of overthrowing the Monarchy and of establishing a republic. He boasts of this exploit as what 'sera a jamais le plus beau jour de fete par le France.'[145] He says 'I preside at the extraordinary Commission which prepared the immortal decrees of the 10th of August.' He ascribes its success to the joint operation of the Federes and Marseilloise. So did Louvet — 'It belongs to the generous warriors of Brest [421] and to the intrepidity of the fierce Marseillois'. Petion in his discours,[146] talks of it as a day 'for ever memorable which raised liberty on the ruins of Tyranny and changed the Monarchy into

7 [Footnote:] It has been since computed by Chateaubriand that 18,613 persons were guillotined — of these 2,217 were females and 13,635 of the middling and lower classes.

a republic.' He denies that the Mountain party or Robespierrians were entitled to the glory of it. 'This is due to those who prepared it' and he ascribes it to his Girondot friends. 'It is due to the brave Federes and to **their secret** directors who had for a **long time been concerting** the plan of the insurrection.'

St. Just charged Danton[147] with running away while it was preparing and with coming back to Paris only to go to sleep while it was executing — 'you went to bed on that terrible night. Your section which had named you its President, waited for you a long time. You were roused out of a disgraceful rest. You did preside, but only for an hour. You left the Chair at midnight when the Toscin sounded. Soon after the Satellites of the Tyrant entered and bayonetted him who had taken your place — yours, who had then again gone to your sleep.'

Tho the Royal party hastily assembled at the Tuilleries were attacked by this conspiracy without being provided with an adequate force to resist it, yet Petion admits that one part of the struggle — 'le succes fut incertain' — and Dumont truly says that 'if the King could have assumed that firmness in which he was always deficient, he might have then reconquered his Throne and have put an end to the Anarchy. That day would have restored his constitutional authority to him.' [422]

Robespierre in his answer to Louvet also admits that the 'Federe's had assembled to conspire against Tyranny and to prepare among themselves la sainte insurrection du Mon d'Aout 1792'.

I have noticed these statements because till I read them, I had thought that the attack on the King on the 10th of August had been a sudden popular insurrection of the Parisians against him — but from these I learnt that it was the direct but secret conspiracy of the Brissotins and Robespierriens for which each faction got armed bands to Paris — one from Marseilles and the other from Brest to carry it into violent execution.

Brissot also approved of the establishment of the Revolutionary Tribunal — 'Il est cependant un corps auquel je dois rendre Justice. C'est le Tribunal Revolutionnaire'. I have elsewhere spoken of the evil it has done. 'Je dois dis a ici le bien que depuis, il a fait.' This he wrote on 22 May

1793 — and nine days afterwards, the Revolutionary Tyranny — which he had chiefly contributed to establish — was directed fatally on himself and his party by their Mountain Opponents. On 31 May this faction excited a tumultuous movement of the Parisian populace headed by the Commune to intimidate the Convention into a decree for arresting the Girondist members. Some fled — the others were afterwards voted Traitors to their Country. Those who escaped endeavoured to raise the provinces in their favor but failed and most perished miserably. The rest were kept in prison [423] till the following October when the Queen Marie Antionette was put to the Bar of the Revolutionary Tribunal on the 15th, condemned and the next day guillotined. On 24th Brissot, Vergniaud and nineteen others underwent the same fate and 42 more in the week afterwards, among whom were Madame Roland and Égalite the celebrated Duke of Orleans, who Robespierre said 'had first expounded the flag of Patriotism to overthrow the Court'.

In 1794 the triumphant Mountains began to decimate themselves. On 13th March St. Just obtained a decree that the Revolutionary Tribunal should cause suspected persons to be arrested and judged — and two days afterwards the violent Hébert, Ronsin, Vincent, Momoro and others were arrested who were heading the Cordeliers and whom Couthon denounced in the Convention as endeavouring to destroy the popularity of Robespierre.[148] The next day Chabet, Bazere, Fabre d'Eglantine and others were ordered into custody and on the following morning Herault de Sechelles and Simond both also deputes [sic] were seized in the same manner.[149] Danton applauded these measures in the Convention and then declared — 'The Convention and the people will take care that all Conspirators be brought to punishment.' The Guillotine soon accomplished his wishes and the armed force of Paris filed thro the Legislative Hall with their Commandant Herriot at [424] their head expressing their satisfaction at these proceedings. Danton on the 10th March had expressed his supporting approbation — but to his own astonishment on the 30th was himself in the same lawless manner taken into custody with 3 others and a decree of accusation was passed against him and against Camille Desmoulins, Phillippeaux and Lacroix who had all distinguished themselves among their Jacobin friends.[150]

This arrest must have been more poignant to Danton, as he had been passing the day with Robespierre in festivity at the house of a mutual friend's 12 miles from Paris and had returned with him in the same Carriage. So the atrocious Billaud de Varennes stated afterwards in the Convention and also that on the same evening Robespierre consented to abandon him.[151]The next morning Robespierre and St. Just made violent speeches in the Convention against him. He was taken to the Revolutionary Tribunal and from thence as rapidly to the Guillotine.

Within less than 4 months afterwards Robespierre, St. Just and Couthon as they were about to immolate others of their confederates were themselves, after a perilous struggle overcome by those whom they were intending to destroy and on 27 July the next day they perished under the same Guillotine [425] by which they had murdered so many.

These horrible transactions, these successive accusations and slaughters of each other as abominable criminals while they were each loudly pretending to be the regenerators of the world increased my alarm and aversion to all political agitations and commotions. That the long vaunted and incorruptible Robespierre, the idol of the Jacobins and of the French populace should be now reviled and destroyed as a guilty Traitor, like all those whom he had denounced and cut off seemed so conclusive a fact against the possibility that such principles and systems and conduct should benefit Mankind and bring into the world that Utopia which had been so long and so loudly predicted and with such fond credulity had been expected that the hope of any good resulting from the French Revolution expired in my own mind and in most of those with whom I had any intercourse.

The last catastrophe settled me in my prior determination to steer my life clear from all politics and parties and to confine it wholly to my profession as my channel of subsistence and to my literature and my studies for my intellectual enjoyment and improvement.

Robespierre always disclaiming so strongly on VIRTUE and being allowed to be incorruptible by many and the only one who took no share in the spoils of those he destroyed made me for a while expect something

better from him. [426] But it was not obvious that Virtue in his Mouth, like Truth in Holcroft's, and Justice in Godwin's was only a word which they put at the head of their several theories as their standard or battle cry under which all their vague notions were comprised and pressed forward. Neither of these words were used in its common meaning and had no real relation with the system of which it was made the stalking horse [An extensive footnote appears in the original manuscript, as follows:] *Bailleul's remarks on Robespierre's 'Virtue' in his Examen critique des Consider of Mad. De Stael concurs with my own feeling.[152]

'Robespierre, full of the idea of **his own perfections** and the height of his **own conceptions** differed from the rest of the Revolutionists 'as they felt that the fever which agitated them should cease with its cause.' While he was calm and in his element.

'He contemplated **Virtue** in the people and he regarded all that was struck down right and left as conducing to establish this **Virtue** of his.

'The Sentiment which guided him was therefore more fatal than Hypocrisy would have been. He **regarded himself as a privileged being**, placed in the world to be its **Regenerator**, the Instructor of Nations.

'Thence arose that Self Confidence, that decent demeanor and that something mysterious which Mad. de Stael finds about him. Considering as enemies of the Revolution, not only the principles it has consecrated but the **Enemies of Virtue**! As he understood it [427] he gave the Revolutionary action an **indefinite range**, causing it to strike **without distincti**on all classes of Society. Thence the terror he had created in the terror, as Mad. de Stael remarks.

'Robespierre having the word Virtue always in his mouth; speaking always of the people with respect and representing it always as the focus, the centre of all virtue **without** anyone precisely **knowing** what he meant by the People had gained a great popularity.

'What had yet added more to it was the ardor with which he persecuted all whom he termed Enemies of the people, intriguers, hypocrites, knaves, and as all those he so designated attacked Virtue

— they attacked therefore the Principle of the Government; they were therefore Conspirators.

'By this construction it appeared that ¾ of Frenchmen were in a state of conspiracy. Nobody knows whether he intended to become Dictator as Mad. de Stael thinks — but he became so in fact, because he himself was probably the sole being in France of whose virtue, he felt perfectly certain.

'He launched therefore his Denunciations at all Classes and all heads and it was then that all the horror of his plans was perceived. As they were now fully unveiled and formed the extreme point of Demagogue practice, under the name of Virtue, they formed also its National close.

Bailleul

West. Review '70

April 1841[153]

[The footnote ends here but it is followed by a sentence about Mr W.]

My first idea was to break off all connection with Mr W. that I might not incur the shame and danger of meeting her again.

[Text continues on f.428] I stayed a week more at Lymington after these distressing letters and then moving onwards to see the Military encampment and the Election of Southampton where I heard Bryan Edwards if I remember right, the West Indian historian,[154] deliver his speeches. I passed over to visit again the interesting ruins of Nettley Abbey.[155] Here I could have long lingered indulging the imaginations, the sympathy, and almost the regret for the old times, which they excited. Some of my studies had made their period and costumes and incidents connected with them a part of my mental self, and I could hardly draw myself from them. But night coming on compelled their ivied remains and to get into the track for London.

It became necessary that I should settle the plan of my conduct there — as I had now dropt all thoughts and even wishes of any further intimacy or acquaintance with my friend's daughter. Should I or not also relinquish all further intercourse with Mr W. My mind was now at rest and as she was lost to me and was already or soon would be another's, I had no wish to see her again. Yet the sight of her might revive feelings that could be only unavailingly disquieting to myself. I was not tranquil. Why take the chance of wounding the peace for which I had forced or brought myself.

At first I said I will see him no more. He will understand the cause of my withdrawal and most probably expects it. But then my esteem for him was so [429] great and his conversation had been so amusing and interesting to me that I hesitated to give it up. Her marriage would remove her. She would only be there occasionally. Not at all if he disliked her new husband, and therefore when I called it was not likely that I should have to confront her.

It was happy for myself that I at last resolved not to renounce him, for if I had the sequel could not have followed and the whole tenour of my life would have changed and I should have been a very different man.

I reached my Temple Chambers on the Evening of the 26th August. My diary thus describes my subsequent moments.

'I went that next night after my Tea to Mr W. I found there Dr Toulmin and my rival and some female friends. Contrary to my expectations she was there. I shook hands with the gentlemen but to the others I said hastily and slightly 'How do you do Ladies! How do you do Miss W. I did not look at her except with a rapid glance as I caught her figure on my entrance and bowed — for I was afraid of the power of her smile. I then took my seat facing her on a vacant chair but for 2 hours and a half neither looked at her nor spoke to her. I heard Mr S— address her in a tender voice, but she scarcely answered him. She worked on some muslin for about half an hour after I was seated, then suddenly dropping her needle, she went hastily out and was absent for some time.

As I turned my head towards the door when it opened on her re-entering the room, I saw her face and thought she looked poorly and seemed to have been crying. [430] This considerably affected me and soon afterwards as Holland and the March of Lord Moira[156] were discussed, I asked her father for his map of it that I might trace the movements. He desired her to get it for me. This took me unexpectedly — but from natural politeness at the moment I could not help saying as she rose — 'I am sorry to trouble you Miss W.' 'It will be no trouble I assure you' was her reply and she soon put it into my hands. I had by that time collected myself and simply and coldly said as I received it — 'I thank you' — but did not attempt to raise my eyes to her face. I remembered its magical power. I felt stout and determined, but was afraid of being shaken. At last I got up to go. She rose with her former civilities, but I felt unable to notice them and hurried past her merely saying 'Good night' in an unfriendly manner, while I took up the cat I had left with her and tossed it into the coach without even thanking her for her care of it. This was rude — but how could I act otherwise?

I congratulated myself as I went home that I could bear the first interview so well. I had purposely exerted myself and had never conversed with others with more spirits. This was meant to show that I had overcome my disappointment. But it was really an unnatural inflation. It was not my usual self. However it was clear that they had not yet married.

Four days afterwards I went there again — she was not at home, but Mr S— was there. About 10 she came in, a simple salute passed between us as she entered. I did not help her at the [431] supper, but attended to the others who were there. She had been with an old Lady who much esteemed her and she had come back cheerful. I meant not to speak to her but when I offered her father some books I could not avoid saying to her as she sat by his side, yet with rather an ill-natured tone and emphasis — 'Shall I bring you any? Do **you** read still?' Without noticing any ill humour she answered in her kind and gentle manner, that she had read all I 'had left and would be much obliged to me for others'. I started at this — my tongue faltered, agitating feelings arose as I looked at her but I subdued them and made no reply. On my retiring she curtsied to me

in the same friendly manner she had always done. I bowed — but could not speak and hastened from her while I was able to command myself.

I was almost overwhelmed — My heroism was half dissolved. There was a perplexity and a contradiction that I could not unravel. What did she mean? What was the real state of things?

It was some time before I became quite calm. At last I reasoned with myself that I had now shown my indifference and change of mind by not speaking purposefully to her, by not looking at her and by not paying her any attentions there was no reason why I should assume longer an offensive behavior. She had ceased to be anything particular to me but she seemed disposed to meet me on friendly terms. Why should I not then conduct myself to her as to any other lady? If I [432] continue my acquaintance with her father, it is not proper for me to act otherwise while she is with him. She has a right to chuse and marry whom she pleases. I must meet her in future society. I will therefore accustom my mind to be in the same state with her as with any of her friends. If I cannot do this, I ought to see her or her father no more.'

This resolution taken, I sank into a heavy sleep and awoke unrefreshed but with a determination to conduct myself with as much care and courtesy to her as I could — yet avoiding every thing beyond decorous and proper civility and social attention to her as my friend's daughter and as a respectable and agreeable lady.

2nd September

Last night Mr W. passed his evening at my Chambers. We chatted alone till 11. I did not mention his daughter — nor did he. I had looked in the morning into my copy of my last letter to him and I found it so explanatory of what had been my intentions and so decisive as to their termination that nothing was necessary to be added to express the present position of my mind. We conversed without reference to this subject and parted with mutual friendship without any allusion to it. I shall wait until the end of the week before I go there again. That will

be nearly a month since the new incident began and if they are to be married, the completion cannot then be far off.

Sunday 7th Sept.

I returned the visit to Mr W. last night. She was at tea with [433] him alone. Regarding her as another person's wife I felt so tranquil and so uninterested that I put easily into practice my resolution of behaving to her as I would to any other lady. Therefore when she asked her father the meaning of the words in that Evening's Courier 'Cesarem vehis' and he looked at me at once as for the explanation I answered it myself and gave her an account of the incident which led the Roman General to say so.[157] She seemed much gratified. S— came in and when he spoke to her a small debate took place between them which I did not understand. I left her without emotion and walked home in complete self-possession.

An earnest desire for my historical studies came now upon me. I indulged it with eagerness till I became so absorbed in them that I did not go again to my friend for the next 12 days — expecting every morning to see her marriage in the newspaper — but I found no such notice. On the 18th I went to him. He told me that my long absence made him fear I was ill and he was going to send to inquire. I pleaded much occupation as my excuse. Nothing passed with her. Without being uncivil I avoided talking with her and conversed while I stayed with him only and left his house early.

My evening reflections when I came home were —

'My principal aim shall be to acquire if I can the esteem of my fellow creatures and to employ my time improvingly as well as pleasantly. I shall be 26 in a few days and should now settle all my objects of pursuit. To have much time to myself for my reading, I have kept my circle of acquaintance small and [434] I will not, for the same reason enlarge it, except to converse with men of greater knowledge or unless I meet with some other lady who may interest me as much as I have lately been interested and who will be really interested for me.'

I am told that John Horne Tooke when Parson of Brentford[158] said to himself — I want distinction and will have it — I want a station that will demand and employ all my powers — my present one unnerves and cramps me — It does not suit me — nor do I suit it. I will strike into politics!

He has acted on his determination — but with what fruit? Has he got honor? Has he got happiness? Has he got esteem? I will decide differently. I will totally renounce politics. I will aim at something better — or better at least to me. There are other scenes, safer and more attractive which are accessible and in which I may try to combine some literary reputation with philanthropy. At least I will make the effort and devote myself fervently to my studies and forget all other interruptions.

Friday 26 Sept.

C. has arrived from the North in London again and has just called on me. I told him generally that all was at an end between Miss W. and me and that she was going to be married to Mr S—. This, he declared that he would never believe. It seemed to him impossible.

I went with him in the evening to Mr W., my mind steady [435] and unshaken. She came in from a walk with 2 female friends. C. took them all by the hand, I merely bowed. But during tea as he was conversing with her father about Edinburgh and Scotland, I was led to chat with her. One reason was that I might shew him how little I was hurt at the separation — but the chief motive was my resolution not to decline common civilities to her. Yet recollecting my settled disinclination to her from all that had taken place and that I ought to be guarded, I left off the conversation and turned from her. I could not but observe that she was very cool to Mr S—. He complained to her that she was dull. She said she was tired and sat silent. So did I. Till Mrs M. one of the ladies wishing to speak to me — I changed my seat to be near her and this brought me nearer to Miss W — when some remark made by the elder lady drew me unintentionally again into conversation with the fairer one. Thinking however that I ought to keep reserved, I did not pursue

it till Sophy Holcroft[159] being mentioned I could not but express my surprise that a girl of her strong intellect so like her father, should marry a man so very inferior to her in mind and manners — whom she could not value. Miss W. made some excuses for her friend's choice on the ground of her wishing a certain provision for life, and my criticism on some of Sophy's more violent sentiments and strong expression of them led me by degrees, undesignedly, into an argument with my tormentor on the propriety of declaring without reserve all our opinions whatever they might be.[160] The rest had before taken a part in the conversation but retired from it as soon [436] as it became a personal discussion between her and me, as if interested by the singular occurrence and anxious to see how it would end. I did not like this position but I could not get out of it. She talked remarkably well — so well as to pique me into a trial of intellect with her — independently of all other considerations. Rather nettled at being accidentally involved in what I had resolved to avoid I took fractiously the wrong side of the question on purpose to tease her — but this made the matter worse, for it soon gave her the obvious triumph. She was very smart on the hypocrisy and deception of all politic compliment and I was compelled to qualify and for my credits sake to take right views and to enter more fully and justly into the new discussions which the topics we handled led to. I meant to leave off the moment I could extricate myself — but every thing she said was so proper and apt and so successfully applied that I had no alternative but to go on or to appear defeated and disgraced. I was therefore forced to continue the Skirmish and to fight hard. She was however so acute and so ready in her replies that I could neither overcome her nor disentangle myself nor indeed wish to do either.

The personal battle thus went on between us with more than usual ability on her side yet with a very modest and most interesting manner, that before I thought twenty minutes had been employed above an hour and a half had elapsed. I had no notion of the time till the clock struck **ONE**, then jumping up abruptly with some confusion at the circumstances, I apologized for keeping them all up so late. The company however declared that they had not noticed the time and had [437] been much gratified. While she, in high spirits, said I had quite awakened her; she

felt no fatigue; and had no wish to sleep for the next 3 hours. I bowed with great cordiality to my fair antagonist. I could not but compliment her and left her with a sympathy that I have not felt for the last 6 weeks.

She certainly displayed throughout the energy of mind — to use Holcroft's favourite phrase — more than I had ever seen her exert before. Mr S— looked on with avowed pleasure often rubbing his hands because he thought that I was foiled in the argument and that her animation was displeasure and hostility against me. There was something of this sort in both our minds. We had never been so pugnacious or so personal towards each other at any time before. We both talked as if we had something to complain of in each other that neither chose to avow — and we were really fighting our secret quarrel under other topics and guises. I do not know whether the others saw this — but I felt it in myself and suspected it in her. Yet she managed it so unoffendingly that I dropped all warfare at last and became so interested with her effusion of mind as to say only what would excite her to talk more. This made me put my further remarks into the form of questions and half concessions until the hour became so intemperate that I was compelled to break off and run hastily away.

What shall I say — she has delighted and perplexed me. It was all her natural mind. No affectation. It was her ancient and unusual self tho with some tartness not usual to her. [438] But she talked and looked at me and seemed to feel toward me so exactly as she did before that I cannot understand it — nothing is at all advanced between her and S—. They seem just as they were as to each other when I left town. How does the matter stand? What is the actual truth?

C. has fixed to come on Friday to sleep in London, read my letters and hear all that has taken place — for he says he is sure there is something wrong, mistaken and unexplained.

Monday 29th Sept.

There does appear some interruption between her and S—. He visits there still but I see no signs of an approaching union. There is no cordiality at all from her to him. She puzzles my judgment. Her beauty and talent are visible, but what else am I certain of? I cannot marry a fickle nor an artificial woman. Yet what art do I find in her — All is natural — nothing forward. She receives the attentions I now give her with apparent pleasure — but never seeks for or solicits them.

1st October

I believe I am right in my conjecture that she does not mean to have Mr S—. Last night when she came in from Holcroft's she placed herself at a distance from him. I hinted to her father what T— had said of Mr S— but desired that it might not be repeated to him — meaning not thro his daughter who had left the room. He answered 'certainly not but there is not much danger of that now'. Her behavior [439] corresponded with this intimation for she was very reserved to him and would not be near him.

Well — I will suspend all unpleasant feelings. I will leave it to herself to shew her genuine mind and heart and that she has been acting with propriety. I will do nothing to irritate. I will take her the books she likes. I will behave to her with good humoured ease and let events make their own way.

4th Oct. Saturday

C. came to me last night — we went over the whole matter and I desired his impartial and friendly judgment. He was decided in his opinion.

Ist — That she does not like Mr S— and does not mean to have him.

IId — That she must have been hurried or overpowered or overpersuaded into what countenance she may have given to it by the artifices of others, whom he named, for their own purposes.

III[d] — That she repented of what she may have been led into and shrank from it and was freeing herself from what she had been improperly entangled in.

IV[th] — That her father had been misled by the same causes but was recovering himself.

V[th] — That she looked very poorly and unlike her former self and as if she was not happy; and he was afraid she was suffering by the management of others. [440]

He approved of what I had written and done and did not see under such circumstances I could have acted otherwise. But he would have me rest quietly and do nothing hastily again. He saw that my love tho I had tried to suppress it was just what it was and he hoped another fortnight would set us all right again. It would be folly to give her up if she could be won. Not one girl in a hundred had such a mind and few in our sphere with so many accomplishments. She sang beautifully. She played respectably. She drew and painted flowers very prettily. She had travelled with her father in France and Italy and had lived some time at Naples. She knew Italian and French. Yet with all this she was her father's housekeeper and very steady and made her own dresses and yet not quite 18. Where should I meet such a combination again? It was not to be much expected. There were no doubt many such — but they might not fall in my way again. I told him that my own difficulty was how to get a knowledge of the real facts that had occurred without committing myself before I was satisfied about them. His answer was 'Don't suppose there has been anything wrong — don't be foolishly fastidious, wait quietly and see what turns up — do not, for your own sake, make matters worse or you will be very sorry for it by and by'. I thanked him for his advice and resolved to act upon it.

N.B. This conversation was very generous on his part for he afterwards told me that if he had not seen me so much attached to her and her preference for me — he should himself have solicited her hand. [441]

5th October. Sunday

I seem to be advancing to the crisis. Last night I was at W.'s again. Some friends were there. She did not come into the room till after tea. She took her seat on a line with my chair but at some distance. A subject arose which engaged me in a little chit chat with her — but as we did not hear each other distinctly, from being so far apart, while the rest were talking, we changed our position till I found myself by her side. This increased our conversation with each other and topic after topic arose of themselves as it were and some subject led me to talk and laugh a great deal with her. She seemed much pleased and looked very interesting. This did not diminish my loquacity, till happening to mention Mrs Woolstonecraft's[161] phrase of **Masculine Philosophy**, W.'s ear caught the sound and he asked me 'if there were any sexes in minds?' With a little bit of more malice that conviction, I hinted that the female was inferior and therefore naturally differed. This was sufficient to rouse her, she immediately suggested the contrary — I opposed — she reasserted their natural equality and I, lightly and as playfully as I could, impugned it. This again involved us personally with each other, the dispute was left to her and me. Neither of us would give way for we had both other objects and meanings in our minds in every thing we said. Our eyes met very frequently and at times seemed to search into each other's sentiments. Mine wished to dart into her bosom to know her real heart. But keenly as I [442] exerted all the powers of penetration that I had, I saw nothing that I could disapprove or that seemed concealed or that was adverse to me.

The secret feeling that was governing me led me into a dangerous stream of raillery against the female sex, only avoiding every thing that was ungentlemanly in both manners and expression. Whatever I could remember against them I repeated to her — but put it as jocosely and as unprovokingly as I was able. I mentioned the opinion of Diogenes, Horne Tookes idea of matrimony, K's notion and image of the sex Eve. Achilles in his girls clothes; Castatio's invectives, Popes verses – some of Young's;[162] everything that I could call to mind that would be piquant

without being insulting and that would shew that I felt as if I had reason to depreciate them.

I was careful however to cover the attack with as much good humour and courtesy as I could express, for I felt all that was kind to her except that I thought I had been deceived. She fought her battle amazingly well, criticized and ridiculed every thing I brought forward with equal temper and spirit — and then without the smallest acrimony, in a gentle firm and lady-like manner vindicated her own sex with a constant secret allusion to herself and attacked ours.

Nothing could be more unassumingly and [443] unoffendingly done — and yet with much effect. Our real meanings were only perceptible to ourselves.

Mr S— was there — to him she was repelling. She would not let him take her hand, nor would she talk with him. He sat silent and discontented.

I left her with my mind greatly softened, its prepossessions against her dying away — and with a sense of renewing happiness. We have been very near losing each other. But I will adhere to my determination to let her decide for herself and fully discharge S— before I make any explanations of my own feelings. He shall have his fair chance. I cannot bear a divided or vacillating mind — nor to have any things left in doubt. Till she shows me that she has discarded him and I find that she has done nothing wrong, I will not step forward.

1794

6th October — Monday

The great point is now decided or nearly so — the desired and needed explanation between us has come on most unexpectedly and in a manner quite agreeable to my own taste and temper.

All yesterday morning what could I think of but her. The chief part of it passed in contemplating the [444] pleasing prospect which the last

night's conversation placed before me. There was a manifest artless natural and mutual approximation. I felt the magnetical influence. She did not seem sensible of it.

I dined with my friends at Knightsbridge, but quitted them early that I might join her at her tea table. The evening became exceedingly stormy. The wind and rain came suddenly on with such impetuosity that before I reached Titchfield street I was wet thro. Yet I went in — but her father saw my state and made me leave the room and new dress myself in his clothes. They fitted me sufficiently well to enable me to join his circle and I took my seat at their fireside. Mr S— had just before come in and other friends were there.

My change of apparel made such an alteration in my usual appearance, that the ladies who knew me joked on my sudden transformation from a young to an old man. She timidly joined in some of these. Not much attending to what others said, I answered only her. Their observations led her to give me an account of a little domestic incident which had happened that morning. She did this with great vivacity, she was in uncommon spirits — never looked better and never seemed happier.

The tea things were now brought in and after [445] the refreshment was over, we were mostly seated round a large table — she a little on my right almost facing me with a lady between us. Two young ladies were next separating her, as she had desired from Mr S—. Her father was near me, at the fire and Mrs M. at the opposite side of it.

I had lent her father the day before Mrs Woolstonecraft's [sic] History of France.[163] This book became the occasion of what to me was a very important sequel. He put it suddenly into my hands to read the conclusion to the company. I did so till I came to page 519 where the authoress said — "Every noble principle of nature is eradicated by making a man pass his life in stretching wire, pointing a pin, heading a nail — or extending a sheet of paper upon a plain surface". With these words I paused and charged the writer with uttering a sarcasm on her own sex, as much as on ours, for if it was a debasement for men to make such things, it was surely they who by wanting pins and needles,

fine dresses and fine furniture — compelled the Male Workman to be so unworthy. This remark was declared by the Ladies to be unjust to them and a perversion of the passage. When I indulged after this in some depreciating Irony on the Sex, in which think I was blameable — but I was still nettled at my situation — they all joined in some warm expostulations and censures rather severe upon me. They accused me of Missanthropism [446] and the eldest with some passion declared she had no patience with me and that whatever I might pretend she was sure, that I was in truth, tho in secret, a Woman Hater. Her asperity and this imputation startled me. I perceived that I was creating an impression very unfavorable and which might be more lasting than I wished — and especially in one who now looked very grave and seemed to expect an answer from me to so serious a charge. I saw I must do something to extenuate or remove the misconstruction without deviating into a glaring contradiction to myself. A simple denial would be taken as a matter of course, and would not do away the mischief. She looked at me with a questioning eye that made me uneasy. At last I said, 'If any lady has a pencil, I will write down in Mrs Woolstonecrafts book, whom you all so praise as your champion, what I seriously think of your sex'. Before any could answer, my rival to my surprise suddenly took out of his pocket and handed over to me his gold or gilt one. He thought I was getting into a scrape and willingly assisted me to sink deeper into it. I perceived his meaning. He had a right to take advantage of the circumstance if he could — and I took the offered loan. Yet his obvious belief of my dilemma made me averse to use it. Uncertain what it was best to do, I thought it safer to do nothing — but merely to express a verbal apology and avoid such railleries in future. I therefore shut the cover of the volume which I had thrown open, and was pushing it away [447] when all the Ladies exclaimed against my drawing back and insisted on my performing my promise. This perplexed me as words of course would not do now, and I was still in too much dissatisfaction with my fair lady to be sincerely complimentary.

Suddenly the idea flashed across my mind that I might make it instrumental in accomplishing my secret wish of sounding her actual feeling without professedly doing so and that I had better take advantage

of the present opportunity to do this when no else could be supposing that I had such a purpose.

I therefore said to her with an earnest look, 'Do **you** wish it'. Her immediate answer was, 'Yes, your real opinion'. It was clear to me from these words, that whatever I wrote she would apply to herself. This coincided with my wishes, yet made it a more endangering crisis. But I resolved to risqué everything as longer uncertainty was tormenting. I therefore wrote on one of the two blank leaves at the end of the book.

'The ladies very much resemble a flower garden. There are many very beautiful and interesting flowers; Roses Carnations and Tulips. These every eye must admire and every visitor covet. There is nothing in Nature more desirable or more invaluable than a sensible and amiable Woman. Such a Woman is of more importance than a thousand treasures — But – there are also many Weeds, and [448] many **poisonous** things which tho blooming to the eye, are death to the taste. However for the sake of those which are delightful I will always lament and hope for the emendation of the others.'

I meant this to be a little allegory applicable to herself. I had though her a Rose — I had found her very different to me. I put it into her hands, she read it — she understood my allusion — paused a little, but made no remark upon it and without looking at all at me passed it round. She seemed displeased and I was uncomfortable. When Mrs M. heard it read, she exclaimed loudly, 'Poisonous indeed! I know why you give Women such a name, it is all on account of one'. Turning her eye towards Miss W. I said at once 'You are right, it is exactly so'. Miss W. heard me and said rather faintly 'Then I've a good mind to answer it.' Being near, I caught the words and eagerly replied — 'Pray do, you only can!' She took the Pencil from me and wrote immediately these words beneath mine.

'In the reasoning before us, Women are here accused of being either Roses or Hemlock — But —

'I would rather see some energy of character, than that **undecided mind** which hardly deserves the name of mind. The men are often obliged to us for the ideas they possess'.

She pushed the Book from her without giving it to me [449] — but I took it and read it. I saw by the undecided mind — 3 times under-scored — she meant me to feel her sentiments of my own, and by the tone of the whole to express a little spleen against me. But I chose not to seem to take it in that sense and told her 'that the first part of her remarks entitled her to be placed among my first class, but the last sentence would require a Mountain of Proof and I must strike out the article "**The**" before Men as it made her charge too general.'

She replied 'If you omit that, you must put in **most'**. 'No, only some'. 'I insist upon **most**.' 'Indeed! then, fair Madam! your reasons for giving to yourselves the honor of infusing into us our ideas.'

'Well then, we nurse you, we educate you, You are always under our direction in your Youth, and I hope under our influence afterwards — and do you not often want strength of mind to decide for your selves.'

She marked the word 'You' — in this question with a little emphasis, as she pronounced it — but looking down; obviously pointing it to what she thought of my conduct towards her. I pretended not to see this and replied — 'Admirable! fair Lady! But is this a compliment to your sex? ...We are taught by you and yet we have weak minds. Now it is commonly thought that weak minded children must have had very indifferent Teachers.' — 'Or have been bad Scholars?'

— 'Be it so — But dear Lady! Do you mean to say — We **ought** to be under your direction? Do you never act wrong?' [450] Laying a stress on the 'you' and looking at her. She mildly said — 'I hope not intentionally'. This remark was ambiguous and afraid of being too personal, I went guardedly on not quite knowing how to manage the matter to my wishes.

'To teach us yet to spoil us is no recommendation.'

'But if you won't think for yourselves, it will do you no harm if we lead you.'

'Might it not do us more good to leave you?' I spoke this in a pointed manner. She felt the allusion — a frown passed over her brow — and for a short time she was silent — but recollecting herself she said

'As you please, but I have no objection to allow that when Men are less under the direction of Ladies, they may have more strength of mind.'

'That's a great concession — but how so?'

'Because to have strength of mind, they should not be under any direction — but their own judgement.'

'Their own judgement? yet you imply they are weak minded and have none — '

'Then of our common Reason.'

[451] After this I ought not to have urged her further but I had not yet gained the elucidation I was trying for. She kept steadily on her guard, she seemed resolved to maintain her own dignity and would not follow to what I wished to lead her as if she felt I had acquired no right to question her. I was perplexed how to proceed without offending her. I thought a moment — then said —

'But will you excuse me for asking whether this agrees with your intimation that to avoid an **undecided** mind, we should adopt your opinions and spirit.'

'Then strike out spirit' —

'Still if we weaken our minds under your direction, how can your opinions improve us?'

'I am afraid I am confusing myself'.

'Shall I understand you to mean that we are always benefited if we attach ourselves to the Roses but will be injured if we are under the hemlock class?'

'Yes, that will do' —

The rest of the Company having no further interest in the subject, had turned their attention from us to talk with each other. Mr W. took up a No. of the Political Register.[164] Mr S— chuckled to himself at the idea from what he observed of her manner, that [452] I was not pleasing her — for she was looking very grave — and he also thinking I should now lose all her good opinion if I went on, left me do so and turned to speak to the others.

I observed their inattention and resolved to use the moment to bring on the secret explanation I wished. I therefore said to her in a lowered voice —

'But — Madmoiselle — see now the difference between our written remarks. Your observation ends with a sarcasm — but mine had a charitable conclusion. How will you answer that part?'

This was — 'However, for the sake of those which are delightful, I will endure and lament what is not so and hope for an amendment'.

She took the book again — read this passage, looked at me —, bit her lip, and rather frowned but was silent.

I now felt every nerve in my body in agitation. I saw the moment was come for what I wished, but from her manner, the result was doubtful. Yet I had no choice but to seize the opportunity of forcing or leading her to an explanation with me. I therefore said with a little tremulousness —

'Come, now I will put you to the test. Favor [453] me with the pencil.'

It was lying beside her. She gave it me. I paused and looked earnestly at her. She cast her eyes down. I could not avoid trembling, but at last wrote — giving a new meaning to her words —

'We always dislike what we despise. Now, if there be men of the weak minds you censure, how do you esteem them?'

I put the Book into her hands casting a glance as she raised her eyes to take it — on my rival. She followed my look — and then read my remark and coloured as if she feebly understood my question — but was silent.

I put the pencil into her hand. She took it, but did not use it. She seemed to be pausing as if she were deliberating whether she ought to answer me in that way and that moment.

My agitation increased — no one was then paying us any attention. She held the pencil but motionless and I saw she was still debating with herself how thus suddenly called upon for such a decision and thrown upon her own judgement, she ought to act towards me. 'How do you esteem them.' was the important question I had put her to answer.

After waiting a few minutes and perceiving that [454] from a fear of doing wrong — She would not express her mind or she had not made up her determination I resolved to make one more effort and commanded my voice to say — 'oblige me with the pencil and book again'. She gave them to me with a downcast look and I wrote.

'You seem to hesitate. Is it not then true that you would rather see some energy of character than a frivolous mind — which hardly deserves the name of intellect.'

I put the Pencil on these Words and laid them before her. By this time she had collected herself and fixed her line of conduct. She read both my remarks twice over — then wrote beneath both and with an unsteady hand pushed the Book towards me and turned her face away. I took it up eagerly and found to the first question 'How do you esteem them' she had added 'Not at all' — and to the last — 'I cannot hesitate. I do not either esteem or like such nothings.'

I read these answers with an effusion of delight which ran thro all my frame and eagerly wrote beneath them with an undisguised reference to Mr S—'s [455] addresses and to her apparent acceptance of them.

'I am astonished. I read with a mixture of wonder and incredulity. I am too much perplexed to be able to answer it. I can only **stare**.'

This was not the happiest way of putting what I wished her to feel — that I desired yet further to know because it was rather coarsely expressed and implied a reproach on her conduct and might have caused feelings of natural resentment on that account which would have frustrated my purpose. I believe its first effect was of this kind — for when I gave the book to her again with the addition she colored and looked displeased. My meaning was, if you do not at all regard him — neither esteem or like him how is it that you have acted so towards him — or that what has taken place with respect to him has occurred. I did not dare to ask this directly of her, nor had I a right to question her so pointedly. Therefore I was obliged to lead her to guess what I meant, rather than to express it. I think I did it awkwardly — but I had to use the moment as it passed and to act rapidly on the instant before others noticed us and nothing better occurred to me. Yet to say 'I could only stare' was a rude and affronting expression.

[456] Her good sense and kind feeling befriended me at this juncture. She perceived what I desired and that I had advanced so far as to be soliciting some explanation. In a short time the angry flush disappeared. She seemed for a minute or two much agitated as if doubting whether she ought to say more. She thought again a little as she became calmer and then relaxing her brow and looking kindly and sweetly at me, she pencilled down —

'You are mistaken, I can only answer by **deeds**' — underlining that last word.

This frank and decisive answer almost overwhelmed me. It was exactly what I wished. Recovering myself I said in a low voice 'Less mistaken that misinformed — but very happy if deeds prove either.'

Quite satisfied with what she had condescended to express for her word had been always sacred with me, I forbore to press her further and gratefully bowed. I took up the Book on whose blank leaves all this had been written and closed it. We interchanged one expressive glance

when she hastily rose up and quitted the room and I turned towards her Father. No one knew what the pencil had been thus communicating — nor had any [457] notion of what had passed between us. I put the volume into my pocket — returned the pencil with thanks to Mr S— and strove to talk on indifferent things. But this was impossible. I could listen to no one my mind turned wholly on these important sentences. I left them rather abruptly — put on my own things which had been dried and came home.

(The following is the exact copy of the original pencillings as far as I can make them out.)[8]

'The Ladies very much resemble a Flower Garden. There are many very interesting and beautiful Flowers, Roses Carnations and Tulips. These every eye must admire and every visitor court. There is nothing in Nature more desirable or more invaluable than a sensible and amiable Woman. Such a woman is of more importance than a thousand treasures. But there are also **venomous** plants which delight the eye, but are death to the taste, many things useless and many superfluous. However for the sake of those which are **delightful** I will always be [blank space in original text] and hope for the emendation of the others.'

[458] 'On Men'

'In the reasoning before us we are accused of either being **roses** or **hemlock**

I would rather see some **energy of character than the undecided mind which has [blank line]**

'We always dislike what we despise. If those be Men who have the weakness of mind which you laugh at how do you esteem them?

'Not at all.'

8 William Turner note.

'You seem to hesitate. Is it then true that you would rather see some energy of character than that undecided mind which hardly deserves the name.'

'I cannot hesitate, I do not either esteem or like such nothings.'

'I am astonished! I read with a mixture of wonder and incredulity. I am too much puzzled to be able to answer it. I can only **stare**.'

'You are mistaken. I can only answer by **deeds**.'

I have torn out these important leaves and will never part with them. I am now happy. [459]

I have not the details of what has passed between her and S— but I have got the pledging declaration of her mind and feelings as to him and also as to myself, for she would not have given me this avowal if I had been indifferent to her. Thus I may be indebted to Mrs Woolstoncraft's history for one who is already one of the most interesting of women and will I hope be the wife I covet.

Without this book we should have still been in a state of misunderstanding and mistrust; alienated and bickering, from not knowing each other's real mind. The Volume was sent to Symonds. He did not know from whom but he friendlily brought it to me to read the same day last Friday desiring to have it again on Monday. I thought W. would like to see it and therefore took it to him last night and called for it this Evening — otherwise as I had settled with C. to wait and watch the progress of events I should not have gone there on either of the 2 last days.

My friends remarks had put my mind into a state of desiring to be reconciled to her if all should turn out right — and when she came in last night I was [460] sorry to see her take a chair at a distance from me. The recollection of C.'s favorable opinion of her made me turn to her and offer her as I were the olive branch by addressing myself to her. This drew her for our better hearing of each other, as others were talking across us to come nearer the fire and the only chair vacant there being the one by my side, I rose and offered her the choice of that or my own.

She could not but take one and mine being nearest to her Father she with great tact sat down in that saying,

'If I don't deprive you I would rather be near my Father'. This exactly suited my particular humour which required her to be neither adverse not forward — and my elation of spirits led me to laugh and talk playfully with her. Her Father let us converse after his questions without interfering and then ensued that stream of argument not unfriendly yet rather sparring which renewed all her fascination and caused me to leave her with great regret and with an anxious hope that we should yet be fully reconciled.

The same book put me under the necessity of calling for it this evening and this made my visit not particular to her tho I rejoiced in it — but I wished to avoid such a construction till I knew the real state of things with her. [461]

Our last conversation had removed a great part of the awkward predicament we had been in for the last 2 months.

Without at all saying so we both showed to each other a mutual disposition to resume our former friendship. Yet both felt that an explanation of last circumstances was necessary to produce a lasting satisfaction and regard. I could not seek this avowedly without a formal declaration and she would not give it unsolicited. Here was the intellectual bar to our perfect reunion. This has been now removed — a train of unforeseen circumstances led us into a kind of enigmatical dialogue on this subject without either of us committing ourselves till the sympathy increasing in us both and our feelings being alike excited, I put at last the trying questions to her which after a little maidenly hesitation some resisting pride — some not unfair vexation with me, she at last ingenuously delicately and kindly answered —

'How do you esteem them' — meaning him — Her decided answer — is 'Not at all. I do not either esteem or like him.' This decided it as to him. And then the emphasis 'You are mistaken' is her pledge to me that I shall find this to be so. Yes, I will believe her — mistaken in all I have heard or thought to her disadvantage. This is her deciding assurance. But does

she stoop to invite or apologize? No — Her mind seems to have argued with itself. 'Words are easily pronounced [462] and evaded, I will satisfy you and vindicate myself in a better way, without humiliating either'. Hence she wrote 'I can only answer by **deeds**.' By this I am sure she means 'Wait and learn fairly what I have done and shall do and esteem me according as I shall be found to have acted and to mean to act.'

Nothing can be more charming, convincing and delightful to me. Fears, doubts and resentments! Hence away for ever and for ever. It is for me now to unbosom myself to her. She has done all that she ought.

Friday 10 Oct.

I was at her Fathers last night. I found S— there again — but a very cold civility only was shewn him. To me she was condescending and polite. Hearing her mention that she was going to the Theatre with her Brother, I asked her permission to accompany her. She said she should be very happy, but that it depended on her Fathers acquiescence. I applied to him but he answered — 'No Sir! I thank you, I would rather it be deferred for the present until matters get a little more settled.'

Tuesday — 14 Oct. 1794.

On yesterday twelvemonth my regard for Miss W. seriously commenced and yesterday I received the detailed explanations which removed every scruple and I have [463] mentioned my wishes decisively to her Father.

Mrs M. had desired me to go with her professionally to Dartford to confer and arrange with her Tenants there on their rents and leases which had now to be newly arranged and settled — and Mr W — agreed to accompany us in the chaise to assist me with his judgment in case serious difficulties should arise with any. As both knew my situation as to my fair lady, I brought on the subject as we travelled. Mrs M. said she would tell sincerely all that she had learnt on the subject which she believed to be true.

Mr S— had embraced the opportunity of my absence to make his proposals and offered a very handsome establishment. Her female friends pressed her to accept it for her Fathers sake and benefit and that as I had gone into the Country without making any such offer, she might be sure that I did not mean it nor care about her or else had something dishonorable in view. She was also told that as the War had suspended her father's access to his property in French funds and the present Convention had confiscated it — it would be cruel to him to refuse such an engagement as well as to herself for both he and she might be left destitute. She was distressed at these remarks and took S—'s letter to her father and asked his feelings and opinion what she ought to do. [464]

Mr W. here interfered and said to me. That he believed he had been much to blame for when she came into him he was very unwell and in bed and angrily bade her not trouble him about such nonsense. She burst into tears and said she had then nobody to advise her. He believed Miss Holcroft some other ladies and Mr E— had pressed her strongly to accept the offer. He did not know their motives but it was from these importunities, from his own ill humor which he regretted and from his alarms and unfortunate situation that she had for a time given some countenance to Mr S—, or at least had not at once rejected him. He had been greatly misled himself and therefore he had misled me. But it was now quite off and she had repeatedly told Mr S— so.

Mrs M. assured me from all that she knew or had seen that I had never lost her preference. More than this it would not be proper for her to suggest as I must learn all beyond that from herself. But she had been much harassed and agitated and was misled to believe that I did not seriously care for her and was only amusing myself with her. This had alarmed and irritated her and turned her mind for a time against me.

I explained to Mr W. the position of my pecuniary affairs. I had been receiving from my [465] business £150 a year and I thought might reckon now on its increasing to £200. He told me that by careful management in which he was sure his daughter would cordially join we might lead a very comfortable reasonable life on that income if I would avoid

shew and unnecessary company and all expenses for mere personal indulgence. He had done so with her for that amount when he could have afforded a larger style if he had chosen it and therefore he saw no objections to our union whenever desired it to take place. We could not command the future but he thought I had every rational prospect that it would not be unfavourable to me.

Having expressed my earnest and determined attachment to her I then asked his leave for an interview with her. He said he could wish that I would defer that till all political danger was over as he was still afraid of S— I assured him that he was not in the smallest peril. He had done nothing. No man could be more quiet and unoffending than he was and as to any sentiments he had expressed as incidents had occurred they were no other than such as were heard in every company. He then acquiesced in my having a conversation with her provided that it was so arranged that Mr S— should not know of it. I declared I wished no concealment but Mrs M. intreated that I would not [466] disturb him by opposing so small a request.

Thus all is as I wish. Happy — Happy change! She has done nothing wrong. It is myself only who have been to blame and really without meaning it.

16 Oct^r.

W. took his tea with me and told me that his daughter meant that night to request Mr S— not to visit her any more as she desired his acquaintance with her to be totally ended. He had begged her not to dismiss him with asperity because he was afraid of some malicious resentment. She had promised to do it gently but decidedly and he had come away that she might do it herself in her own way. He begged me to wait a few days.

18 Octr. Sat.

Last night I was at Mr W.'s. Mr S— was there waiting to see her — but she sent him word that she would not come down while he stayed. At

last he went and then I saw her. She looked most beautifully. I told her I had a communication to make to her very important to myself but that I had promised her Father to wait a day or two. She answered that she wished to be guided by him and liked to please him.

19 Oct.

C.D. — [Note in margin 'Charles Holland'[165]] dined with me yesterday and left me before 8. I took a walk till 9 but my mind was so affected [467] by its beloved object that when I came home I could not read so walked out again till 11 — tired I went to bed but waked in an hour afterwards and could sleep no more for the next 3 hours — I could only think of her.

I went to breakfast with a friend to divert my mind but unable to control my feelings I left him early and as no adequate reason now exists for repressing them I have returned to my Chambers to write my avowing letter to her. I think I have no cause to be uneasy about the result — and yet I am so — nothing but the certainty of its favorable reception will now appease my anxiety.

I have written it from my heart and am easier. May it influence hers.

20 Oct. Monday.

After dining at my Mother's yesterday I returned to my Chambers, sealed my letter and took it with me to her Fathers. I think she never looked so beautifully before. She was dressed in simple exquisite taste. Could a finer picture of loveliness be seen! Lovely mind and lovely feelings enhanced the effect of a most lovely person. Her conversation was sensible. Her demeanour to me was very modest — but soft and interesting. Mrs M. was there and I determined to ask her to give my letter. So [468] after supper at my request she left the room with me and I begged her, when I was gone to say for me to Mr W. that he must permit me now to disclose my attachment — that I would submit to any other regulation which his prudence might impose — but I must be indulged

in this request. My matronly friend said she was sure that nothing would give him greater pleasure nor to the Lady also, if one female could see into the heart of another. I told her that when I considered how absolutely the affair had been left in Miss W.'s own power, how much she had been assailed and importuned and yet deserted when she most needed advice. I thought she had conducted herself with admirable judgment and I begged her to give Miss W. my letter with this observation — and she promised to do so. I then returned into the parlour to take my leave for the evening. I kissed her hand and wished her good night with much emotion. She gently said 'Let us see you soon', I pressed her hand 'Very soon — it shall be very soon' and have come rapidly home rather tripping than walking — for the Rubicon is passed.[166]

The letter which I copy from the original which she still keeps and has lent it to me — was — [469]

> Copy
>
> My dearest Madam
>
> It is with no common anxiety of mind that I venture to presume so far on that obliging sweetness of Temper, which I have so often contemplated with delight, as to solicit the honor of being permitted to unbosom to you the feelings which I have so long made it my happiness to cherish.
>
> After a conflict too severe to be soon forgotten, I suppressed them while I thought they would be deemed intrusive. But as it seems to me that your favor is yet unpurchased, I eagerly embrace the opportunity of avowing to you that your amiable qualities have long awakened in my breast the sincerest and the most affectionate esteem. I write with timidity because I know not with what sentiments you may read this confession. If they are averse to mine all the pleasure of my life will be clouded — for in you they all center and on your condescension they totally depend.
>
> I will frankly confess to you that I am myself surprised to feel how absolutely my happiness depends on yours. From my

earliest youth to this moment I have indeed had an uniform desire to cultivate the endearments of domestic life. The imagination of the felicity which I hoped at some time to enjoy, has never ceased to form my principal comfort in my [470] solitary reveries. But tho my enthusiasm on this subject has never varied, I have hitherto possessed it unavailingly.

It is true that I have seen many amiable women for whom I expected my sensibility would be excited but the impressions were always transient. I wished an union of qualities so congenial to my own as to interest my heart with a permanent attachment. But I wished so long in vain and was so often disappointed that I began to suspect that my habits of reflection made me look too far forward — and that there was more truth than wit, in the old Roman sarcasm that the Gods have never permitted man to be at the same time in reason and in love.

But I had hardly conceived this opinion when it was — I know not **YET** whether to say to my happiness or my misfortune for that will rest on your decision, to become sensible of your merit. Pardon me when I mention that the sympathy was so ardent and so sudden that it alarmed me into resistance. It treated me much as rudely as it has had the fame from time immemorial of treating others for Io! it came attended with its customary concomitants of loss of sleep and appetite, restlessness, and those other woe begone symptoms which indicate the most desperate disease. While I was thinking myself a Hercules I soon found I was but poor puny Strephon as well adapted to sigh and pipe in the Groves of Arcadia[167] [471] as any of those novel lovers and tragedy heroes whom in the day of my independence [sic], I had the temerity to laugh at.

But, my dearest Madam! desirous that my affection should be the child of an esteem that would never lessen; and not of a passion which would evaporate on success, I checked my inflamed fancy in order that my reason might convince itself that you possessed those mental accomplishments which compose the powerful magic of connubial felicity. — Beauty,

I said, however interesting is destined to be transitory: but the virtues of the heart and of the understanding grow more lovely by length of time and insure the longest period of the nuptial union — the continuance of those raptures which peculiarly adorn and felicitate its commencement.

What were my weekly transports when I perceived that my expectations were in nothing disappointed!! For once and but for once I found that the visions of my Fancy were realized by my experience — Delightful hours! Yes my dearest Mary! I have frequently left you almost in a delirium of ecstasy. To have found the treasure I had been so long seeking was so enrapturing a circumstance that it required the strongest exertion of my resolution to conceal from you how much I felt it. Yet I submitted to the coercion because I fancied that I [472] sometimes saw reason to doubt whether I should ever be so fortunate as to be thought worthy of your attention.

At Lymington I had three times taken up the pen to communicate to you my sensations, when — but why should I recollect such painful moments — Do not the present circumstances fully convince me that I was mistaken? Have you not condescended to assure me that I was? You have — and your word has, and shall ever have the force of a thousand oaths with me. Your ingenuous disposition and sacred regard to truth were two of the features that first struck me in your character and it is not at this moment, when your deeds confirm your words, that I can begin to mistrust them.

I am intruding a long time upon your patience — but a conversation with you is always too delightful to me to be by my consent a short one. Yet I hesitate to proceed. Dearest Miss W— I approach to a very tender point. I own I am not bold enough to think on this subject without great agitation. I love too sincerely not to be alive to every fear. My happiness is at stake — I tremble to think what I may lose and my hopes are absorbed by my apprehensions. Shall I be for life unfortunate? or shall I be blessed with the permission to devote that life to

the dear and delightful purpose of making her happy who alone can make me so

[473] My dearest Mary! it is your esteem of which I am ambitious — may I add of more than your esteem? Believe me, if my attentions, my unabated affection will be but likely to create the smallest interest in that dear bosom where so much loveliness and so many virtues reside, there will be nothing left in life to covet **but** the daily satisfaction of seeing your felicity increasing with my own and of being always assisting to perpetuate and to share it. For of no truth am I more firmly convinced than that "Vain is wealth fame and fortune's fostering care — If no fond breast the splendid blessings share: For each days bustling pageantry once past, There, only there, our bliss is found at last."

My dearest Miss W.! I should think myself highly honored if I might know whether my assiduities will be unwelcome, for in that case I will never offend you by an impertinent perseverance. I am sure you are above the little vanity of keeping a well intending mind in a moments unnecessary suspense, — and the happiness which a favorable intimation will impart will be so great, that should I be thus distinguished, I know I can rely on the benevolence of your disposition for an early communication.

But in every event I shall be with the greatest esteem [474] for life

Your sincere admirer and most affectionate and faithful friend

Sharon Turner

1 Pump Court Temple

Sunday Mg. 19 Oct. 94

Tuesday Morning 21 Oct.

Having received no discouraging answer I have just sent her a note soliciting half an hour's conversation with her this afternoon and that

with the hope of being so favored I would call upon her before 5. I am engaged this evening at Hammersmith — but I must see her first unless she forbids it.

Wednesday 22 Oct.

I went yesterday at my time. Two young friends were with her. I got them to leave the room and then mentioned to her that I had taken the liberty to write to her on a subject most interesting to my happiness. She said she had received both letters and was obliged by their contents — a long talk followed. The substance of her intimation was — that she could not forgive herself for having given to Mr S— a moments countenance. But he had extorted it from her and from the [475] hour she had been hurried into it to the present time she had bitterly repented of it. Hardly a day had since passed without her being in tears. She had not allowed herself to think that I meant anything serious by my compliments, and when the idea sometimes arose she had never encouraged it, because she thought I should have explained myself before I left London if I had meant to do so. After I had gone her Father became unwell and melancholy and when Mr S— made his proposals, all her friends urged her to accept them. She was told that her youth, her Fathers situation, her unprotected state if he should die required this of her and that I was not to be depended upon and meant nothing. She sought her Fathers advice and wishes and he was only angry with her. She did not know what to do amid so much importunity. She wished very much that I could be apprised how things stood — but no one would act for her and for her to write to me was too improper to be thought of. She would suffer any thing rather than take such a step. Suddenly she heard that her Father had written to me but he would not tell her what he had said. She expected then either to have seen me or to have heard from me. Instead of this she found I had written to her Father. She inquired of him what I had said and was [476] answered 'nothing that concerned her'.

This shocked her. She thought I had forsaken her when she had done nothing to deserve it, and in the moments resentment at this and overpowered by her friends remarks and Mr S—'s importunity — she

had given him leave to continue his attentions. But she immediately afterwards regretted that she had gone so far and wished to recal [sic] her words, but neither he nor others would let her.

When I first returned to Town, she said she was very unhappy at being so circumstanced. By my behaviour at our first interview then she saw that I despised her and she could not bear it, as she had not deserved it. But before C.[9], [168] came to Town she had settled her mind and told Mr S— that she wished their acquaintance to cease entirely. He would not take her denial but strove to keep her bound to her first apparent acquiescence. She denied that he had a right to do so. She had made it conditional and the condition had not been complied with. He admitted this and she then told him that she felt herself at full liberty now to act a free Woman without any impeachment of her honor. She kindly assured me that I possessed her whole esteem — no other man had ever had it and no other ever should. [477]

I told her that it should be my constant endeavour to deserve her regard — my highest ambition to preserve it. On this point I could not but be very anxious and urgent. But she stopped me by saying in a very modest and tremulous voice — 'Do not press me further, but if it will be such a gratification to you to know that you have and have ever had my fullest esteem, you may assure yourself that you and only you possess it. It shall be now my business to make myself deserving of yours.'

I mentioned my domestic habits. She expressed her own wishes to be to make her house her home — to cultivate my affections and to indulge in the acquaintance of a few selected friends. She asked me not to let Mr S— know just yet of my attachment to her because her Father desired this. She was sorry for his disappointment as she desired to give pain to no one — but it could not be helped and he could do her no injury — 'I defy him to asperse my character. He has not the smallest foundation for that. I never put myself into his power. I always kept myself reserved to him. He has told me that he has nothing to accuse me of but what he called a change of mind. But I have never had two minds as to him

9 There is a side note here saying 'Carpue'.

and if I had been left free to my own judgment and wishes, I should never have allowed him for [478] a moment to suppose that it could be otherwise.'

I could not but here exclaim 'l am sure this is the truth. Your behaviour to me has been too exquisitely proper for it to have been otherwise to him. I have no doubt about that and if I had judged you only from my own knowledge and feelings, I should not have thought for an instant unfavorably of you.'

'You need not doubt — I will never deceive you. I have declared to him most decidedly that I will not see him again.'

When I mentioned my delight in her accomplishments her answer was — 'I owe them all to my Father. I shall never forget his kindness and should not have hesitated sacrificing myself for his happiness. The desire of making him happy was my chief motive in admitting Mr S—'s addresses, but as soon as I learnt that they did not give him pleasure, all my motives for countenancing them ceased, and I have acted accordingly.'

I confessed that I had taken some pains to know her truly because I thought it concerned her happiness as well as my own that we should each be such as would make the other happy — she answered —

'I have never disguised myself. I have always wished to appear to you and to every one what I was. You [479] always saw my real self.'

When I mentioned my agitation at Lymington she assured me she was very sorry that I had been so unhappy. She had no notion of it and if she had been fairly consulted with or had known my real sentiments she would never have given me cause for it.

On the whole, tho not yet quite 18, no woman could have more creditably conducted herself. She displayed great modesty, sensibility, discretion and good sense joined with an irresistible sweetness of manner — and an ever implied but never expressed tenderness. She looked down during almost the whole time. Her voice was soft and low. Her manner

collected and thoughtful — but her emotions were often visible in the fluctuations of her frill and tucker, tho by her compressed lips at times she strove to repress them.

24 Oct. Friday

Last night we had another pleasing tête a tête. I had called upon her early for a walk, but the weather was unfavorable. She kindly declared, she hoped to convince me of her desire to make me happy. I mentioned how exceedingly she had improved since I first knew her. She remarked that she was not then 16 and she had never attempted to join in any conversation with her Fathers company because the observations of a girl so young would not be [480] regarded — but however she then both read and thought.

Reverting to the former affair she said that if she had been left to herself she would not have given to it the least countenance. Importunities of others had for a moment overpowered her, but the strongest assent she gave was that perhaps she might have no objection. She had never been with him alone and refused always to be so. It was her own wish to have postponed every thing until my return. She did not like the offer — she had scarcely expressed her half acquiescence in his attentions but she repented of it — and night after night lay sleepless looking at the moon thinking of the wretchedness that awaited her and wishing to be extricated from it. But she was told she had bound herself by her word and that it was highly dishonorable to retract. She had considered herself as a devoted person but eagerly caught the first moment she could to disentangle herself without imputation, and this, before I had made any alteration in my behaviour.

She told me that I had come to Town and to her Fathers unexpectedly to her and that she was in such confusion and agitation at my alienated manner that she could not stay in the room.

Returning to her Father we settled our arrangements with him. He said he thought a married state was only preferable to a single one if the

parties would make each other happy. This would depend on ourselves. Our happiness [481] would rest wholly on our mutual disposition to oblige and upon its continuance. If either forgot this the charm would be broken and misery would begin. I told him 'I hope to find it impossible to act otherwise'. She prettily added — She would not say much. Her actions should show her real feelings.

The Sequel may be shortly stated — Mr S— behaved very well on his failure. He congratulated me on my success. I reminded that I had given him his fair chance as I had waited and not interfered until that was disposed of. He said he had nothing to blame but a good deal to regret and we parted not unfriendly. He soon consoled himself by seeking and marrying another Lady.

I resume my diary looking backward a little for what l postponed in order to complete the preceding subject.

Tuesday 28 Oct. 1794

The Trial of Hardy for High Treason came on to day at the Old Bailey. All the metropolis was, from various feelings deeply interested about it. There was a general impression that it would bring on a crisis in which the Government would either fall or be strengthened. I partook of the Sensibility and as [482] I was entered as a student in the Inner Temple and there was a box or enclosed space in the Court appropriated for the Students — I rose at half past 4 and made my breakfast, then putting on my Students Gown and taking my certificate I was in the Old Bailey by 6 waiting for admission into the Students Box. But so many others were there also that I failed of getting in then — but in the evening at 9 I went again and was admitted and found William Woodfall[169] celebrated for his memory under examination as to John Horne Tooke's handwriting. Erskine[170] went up to Hardy, conversed with him smilingly as if to encourage him to hope and then applied to the Court for an adjournment.

The Chief Baron Eyre[171] at first refused this but afterwards, when midnight was turned, acquiesced in the request. He ordered the jury not to separate, to speak to no one and to submit to such accommodations as the place could give. One of the Jury complained of being an invalid. He was told he must be locked up with the rest.

Monday 3d. Novr.

This was the Sixth day of the Trial. I had not got to bed till two this morning but was so [483] desirous to hear this part of the defence, that I rose 2 hours afterwards at 4 — made my fire, breakfasted and was in the Old Bailey by Five. The Students had agreed that their names should be put down in a list as they came to the Public House opposite and be admitted and seated according to this series. So that the earliest were sure of accommodation. I was the 15th in the list at 5. At ½ p. 7 we were admitted into the Court and at 8 the Court began the proceedings. Evidence was examined on behalf of the Prisoner.

The Duke of Richmond was called who had been active as a Whig in the American War.[172] A copy of his letter written at that time to Col. Sharman was put into his hands.[173] He said that he could not affirm that to be a true copy of what he had written, because he had seen mutilated ones. He was asked to look over it. He replied that he could shorten the time by putting into their hands an authentic copy. He did so. It was examined with the other and they were found to differ only in the word "and" being misprinted.

Several Witnesses from Sheffield then succeeded [484] and they swore that they had imbibed their notions of Reform from the Duke's Pamphlet.

Mr Sheridan was then called. His appearance from his political and also literary celebrity made a great sensation. The attention of all became very eager. He said that when the alarm of internal danger was made at the beginning of 1793 he was one of those who believed that no cause for it existed. He had therefore moved in the House of Commons that a Committee should be appointed to inquire into it. Previous to making

this motion he had a conversation with Hardy in the presence of Stuart and others in order to know what were the objects of the Corresponding Society. Mr Hardy assured him that it was a reform on the Duke's plan and offered him the inspection of all the papers and correspondence of the Society, and also added his wish that a Committee of the House might be appointed and might examine into their proceedings as they would then see how much they had suffered from misrepresentation. Sheridan declared that Hardy then conversed and behaved like a [485] very moderate, peaceful and honest man.

Mr Francis M.P. — afterwards Sir Philip Francis[174] — next stated an interview he had held with Hardy — Margarot[175] and two others on their petition for reform which they asked him to present. He objected to its Prayer for universal suffrage and annual Parliaments as it was the custom in such petitions to leave the relief generally to the wisdom of Parliament. They argued for their plan with so much acuteness that it amazed him to find men of their rank so prepared. They told him they had learnt all their topics from the Duke of Richmond's pamphlets. They said they would have gladly altered their Prayer if there had been time, but there was not as Mr Grey would make his motion the next day.[176] He was particularly struck with Hardy's modest, reasonable and civil behaviour.

Lord Lauderdale[177] then was called and mentioned that he had been asked by one of the Popular societies at Edinburgh to be their delegate at the Scotch Convention.[178]

When the witnesses for the defence had been all examined at half past three, Mr Vicary Gibbs[179] rose to make his speech for the defendant. It [486] had been arranged that Erskine should make his full oration for Hardy at the beginning of the defence which he had done with all his scarcely rivalled power and that Mr Vicary Gibbs should be allowed to reserve his address until the evidence had closed and then to reason upon it.

He began

'Gentlemen of the Jury! It is unnecessary for me to state'. He suddenly stopped. He appeared much agitated. He hung down his head — fainted and fell back. The Court was in confusion. The first idea was that he was dead. Hartshorn[180] and water were brought and applied and in a few minutes he recovered.

He got up again and said 'That he felt most heavily the arduous task which lay upon him. He was overwhelmed by the chaotic mass of evidence thro which he had to wade and feel really and most strongly felt that his faculties were unable to do the prisoner the justice which he ought.'

Tears then gushed copiously from his eyes and the tones of his voice became broken.

'So vast was the mass of papers which had [487] been produced that a fact had occurred on this trial which was unknown in the history of this Country or in the annals of the World. The Attorney General has taken 9 hours, only to make intelligible to the jury the evidence he had to bring forward. I have found myself incompetent to manage such a deluge of materials. I have tried to arrange it into some form in which it might be understood and by which it might be able to distinguish and to point out what parts operated in favor of the prisoner and what pressed against him. But it is impossible to do this. I am bewildered and overwhelmed by it. I can only select what I do understand and lay before you my honest sentiments upon it.'

He then went thro the most arraigning topics of the charges in a succession of separate points, all distinct from each other and yet finely connected. He thus dissected the accusation into so many heads as it suited him best to confront them and then attacked each individually with a most logical and effective refutation. He so put and arranged them and so directed his arguments and facts against them, that they seemed to fall down easily before him one after another. I never heard a more [488] masterly effort of pure intellectual skill. No declamation no apparent eloquence — but a vigorous assault of mind in which he seemed to demolish whatever he fastened upon with irristible success

by the closest and most convincing reasoning. His stream of confutation flowed on for 4 hours with undiminished energy and effect. Whether he was right or wrong on the whole question I cannot decide — but he carried me with him on every point he handled. No oratory could be more triumphant and impressive than his animated logic. It felt like injustice and absurdity not to agree him.

His emotions at the commencement made me really cry as he did — not his fainting — that only surprized me, but the tears running down his cheeks as he spoke excited mine and his broken tones moved my heart into congenial agitation. They gave a glowing feeling to all he uttered while they lasted which compelled me to sympathise with him and with the prisoner he was defending. It was the sublime oratory of a masterly reason, of resolute integrity and of animated sincerity. The Lawyer and the advocate were forgotten. You seemed only to hear [489] the honest and intelligent man vindicating from the fullest conviction an unfortunate person who was unjustly accused. I did not examine afterwards how the speech read nor whether his arguments were so sound and really annihilating as they seemed to be. But they had on my mind at the time, this satisfying effect.

On Wednesday 5th. Novr. 1794 — 20 minutes before 4 in the afternoon, the Jury brought in a Verdict of '**NOT GUILTY**.'

I thought it a right decision. There was plenty of seditious practises and in some of the correspondents treasonable wishes or intentions but no practical Treason was proved against Hardy — nor did I see reason to believe that he personally meditated any.

Hardy went to the other prisoners to bid them farewell and then to the debtors door of Newgate to get into a Coach. But the people soon perceived him and drew him in triumph beyond his own door into the Strand and Pall Mall. At his Mother in Law's door in Lancaster Court, he stopped the Mob who were dragging his coach and begged them to go home and assured them of his adherence to their cause. Mr [490] Erskine and Mr Gibbs were also drawn to their houses.

They made speeches to the Populace — recommending their quiet dispersion.

Sir John Scott the Atty. General[181] was surrounded by the rabble and a loud cry was raised to hang him up at a Lamp post like the French — 'a la Lanterne'.[182] At this he stopped and looking at those nearest to him, said with great calmness and a smile — 'Why my good fellows, of what service will that be to you. You may hang me certainly if you like it. But you will as surely only get another Attorney General tomorrow, So what good can my death do you?' 'To be sure none at all' called out one man in the circle — 'So he shan't be hurt and hurra to him as a man of courage and good humour'.

They accordingly hurried him and made way for his passing thro them.

John Horne Tooke's Trial came on next. From his great celebrity I determined to attend the whole of this.

17'. 19'. 20'. Novr.

All these days I have been at Horne Tooke's Trial. [491]

On the first day I saw he was determined to make an impression. Therefore as soon as the Court was formed, he desired its permission to set by his Counsel. This was not usual. Hardy had been all the time at the common dock as they call it. Baron Eyre said the Prisoner must remain in the usual place. But Horne Tooke persisted and pleading his infirmities was at last permitted to go and take his seat between his Counsel. I felt that this gave a great commencing advantage.

Removing thus from the felon position, it took off from him the felon character. He seemed afterwards like a Gentlemen sitting near his Counsel and instructing them as on some common Trial.

This point gained, he attempted another impression on the audience and Jury to distinguish himself favourably in their eyes. He told the presiding Judge that he had heard with surprise and concern that the defendant whom the preceding jury had found guiltless of the charge

that had been brought against him — the very same charge that was now renewed against himself — had been subjected to a protracted trial of above a week by repeated adjournments before the case had been finished. Now he deemed these delays and prolongations to be [492] highly unconstitutional and illegal and oppressive. He would have none such in his case and he was therefore determined to keep both the Court and the Jury as well as himself **unshirted** and **unshaven** without any adjournment until his Trial was concluded. An irresistible laugh succeeded. Chief Baron Eyre stared and seemed confounded and afraid to enter into an encounter with such an adversary. At last he said it was for the Court to judge about the propriety of adjournment not the Prisoner. Mr Tooke answered the Judge with great ingenuity and remonstrated on the enormous speeches and more enormous Mountain of papers that had produced such adjournments. At last he acquiesced in the Courts directing the adjournment but put his concession on the ground of accommodation to the jury. He obtained the point he aimed at which was to raise himself on a pedestal and to have his trial begin with a feeling that it would be a great pity that so clever a man should be fatally convicted. It certainly created this impression in others as well as in myself and I had no doubt from that time of his acquittal unless the Crown had some striking facts of Treason to adduce that were too clear to be reasoned away.

He took another opportunity to distinguish himself [493] by a criticism on some of the evidence which was produced as irrelevant and inapplicable and called upon the Judge to perceive it and support his objection. This was done I thought to involve Baron Eyre in an argument with him that he might get some intellectual advantage over him and make another favourable impression on all around.

The Baron said that the particular subject which had been impugned might have no direct reference to the charge as to the defendant but it might form the part of a chain of circumstances and documents and so be applicable and necessary — 'Be it so my Lord! but if the case against me be only upheld by a factitious chain, then if cut up a single link of that chain, or if one single link be found rotten down must go the whole tho

it should have 50 or 100 other links all stout and stable. The Gentlemen of the Jury will I am sure remember your Lordships just Metaphor and watch the chain accordingly.'

On 2 or 3 other occasions he interfered in this way with the same object and to the same effect. He meant to be defended by the eloquence and ingenuity of his Counsel. He therefore had himself strictly no right to speak and it was for them to do what he did [494] if it were proper. But by these unexpected interferences he drew the attention of the Jury strongly to himself. He displayed an acute but good humoured ingenuity unlike that of a dark minded virulent Traitor and he excited a hope and wish that a man of such Talent should not be put to death. The Countenance and manner of all within my range of vision and of the Jury satisfied me that he had raised these feelings and was certain of acquittal unless some striking and undeniable fact made this impossible. I saw that no constructive treason would do for I was sure the Jury would seek and desire to give their inferences another direction as soon as they found it would remain with them to reason on the vast chain and to form their own conclusion.

These little chit chats with the Judge were so much by play which divested the worthy but pompous Baron of a great deal of his weight and influence, for he was vastly inferior in the intellectual conflict. By every one of them Horne Tooke raised himself a step higher and made a verdict against him less probable.

Erskine's speech of 5 hours in his defence when the long chain of Evidence against him had been [495] ended was most impressive. It was very egotistical but by the egotism, he so mingled his own feelings with his clients and so identified them together that you could not convict the one without condemning the other — and the glowing stream of his eloquence made you feel that however blameable or imprudent you might deem much that was brought forward, there was nothing traitorous either in intention or in act.

Yesterday (20 Nov.) some of the first men of the Country were called among the Evidence for the Defendant — obviously to increase the

impression in his favour by mixing up his case with such distinguished personages. Among these — Mr Pitt was examined. He gave his evidence in a clear firm and stately manner. But when Sheridan was questioned on some of the same points, he gave answers different from Mr Pitts and seemed I thought to point them purposely into a contradicting effect as far as without actual falsehood he could do so. Pitt not only felt this, but felt that something further was necessary for himself to obviate the idea that he had misstated any fact. He therefore came forward again from his seat on the Bench and said he wished to make an additional remark to what [496] he had mentioned. 'O Sir;' said in his pompous manner the presiding Chief Baron Eyre rising magisterially up and taking up his note book and pen; then turning his head to Mr Pitt — 'You wish to **correct** some part of your Evidence.' Pitt fired at this accusing term and coloring with indignation at this supposition of a prevarication exclaimed so loudly that all might hear him 'NO SIR! not to **correct** that which needs no correction — but to add an explanatory comment upon it, that after what has been said, it may not be misconstrued or misunderstood.'

The Solicitor General Sir John Mitford,[183] made a very dull tho elaborate and able reply and in a very dull manner, not at all giving any force to his cause but tiring every one and on Saturday night — 22' Nov. the Jury after only ten minutes deliberation acquitted John Horne Tooke. His friends came around him to congratulate him on his liberation. To one whom I knew he after wards said 'When I was arrested I thought they had or meant to forge some damning facts against me beyond what I had any recollection of that would[10] [497] be fatal to me. For I could not suppose that they intended my Trial to be only a vague political experiment on party slander. I did not give them credit for such folly.

10 Note by William Turner: My Father has more than once in talking about this Trial mentioned that he remembered the words used by Tooke at the Public Dinner that would have been sufficient to convict him — if he had been called as a witness — but that the Witnesses who had been present seemed to have forgotten the exact words, and so the sting in Tooke's words as against him was lost. W.T.

I am therefore as much astonished as delighted to find that they had nothing but their constructive logic against me on a pack of idle papers the usual stuff of party faction and political enthusiasm. I saw it would be all moonshine from the beginning or that I should make it so. It has inconvenienced me — but it will only make another nitch in my Biography.'

The mornings were bitterly cold and it required no small resolution to leave my bed at such early hours as I was forced to do to secure a place — but the pleasure of going in the Evening to detail to my dear Lady and her Father what had passed — the interest she took in it — his thanks and surprise and my memory and her more cordial thanks for giving him so much gratification made me insensible to the freezing wind, half starvation and laborious attention I had to undergo.

It surprised me to find that notwithstanding these 2 acquittals the Government was determined to pursue their charge against-the other persons they had apprehended and to put them successively on their trials. But the Ministry would not see that it [498] was the constructive nature of the alleged guilt which caused them to fail. Many thought the defeats were owing to the particular Juries who had been chosen and therefore hoped by having new ones they might yet be successful. This was ill reasoned for the preceding gave an impulse and a tone to the subsequent.

Thelwall was the next put to the Bar and a new Jury sworn. He had been sufficiently violent as an orator to the audiences who came to see him in public rooms who paid for their admission the little sum that then formed his chief source of maintenance. He would have made himself conspicuous in any general movement of a dissatisfied population, but from all I could learn he had done nothing that could be called direct legal Treason. His trial went on like the others for several days, but I was not interested to attend it as I had not liked his temper, style and line of conduct.

One of his jury told me some little time afterwards that within the first hour after the prosecuting speech had begun, they made up their minds

to acquit him for they perceived that it would be a case of what was not actual treason — but only what a lawyer's [499] brain and words would make out to be so. But not to seem impatient or partial they let the Government Counsel take their own course and quietly waited till their hour came for giving their verdict.

This third disappointment terminated these prosecutions. Holcroft, Joyce and several others were in custody. But the indictments were abandoned against them all much to the displeasure of Mr Holcroft. He was the only one who rejoiced that he had been arrested. He looked forward to his public trial as to a theatre of his glory. He meant to make it a scene of philosophic magnanimity and endurance rivaling that of Socrates. With these feelings it was a gratification to him to be carried to Newgate. He sent for his upholsterer and had his room or cell furnished with a new bed, chairs and table and prepared with all his energies for a grand public exhibition.

It was therefore a great and unexpected mortification to be dismissed quietly and obscurely away. He remonstrated against it, but the court would not listen to him and he was obliged to depart discontented with the liberation for which all the rest were joyous and thankful. [500]

My conviction is that both the trials and acquittals will be a public benefit. The arrests and accusations have created a personal sense of danger from all treasonable acts which will keep the populace and their leaders from any such conduct in future — while the acquittals have diffused a general satisfaction and to the lower classes a kind of triumphant joy which is putting them into a great good temper.

As the government meant, as I was informed from a good quarter, to have executed those who should be convicted, this would have begun a sanguinary train of action on their part which would have raised gloomy hating and revengeful and most dangerous feelings always likely to explode with uncertain results among the general public. As the issue has been the thunder clouds have discharged harmlessly their perilous matter — and are rolling safely away to leave the political atmosphere in its usual order and serenity.

At my mother's Mia Cara told me that the first day she saw me, she did not like me, but that every visit afterwards altered her feeling and created a new additional regard for me. She said [501] she saw I was devoted to study and that her friends and some of my own wanted to make me a busy politician — and she determined quietly and silently to enter the lists against them and also against my books — and to win me if possible to herself; but without letting me or any one know or perceive her intentions. She had been particularly glad to find that I would not mix myself with political agitations and she liked me the better because I had avoided and blamed them.

I told her that ever since I had read and compared Tom Paine and Mr Burke[184] I had disliked and shunned them — but amid the exciting events that arose and the earnest discussions I had heard there was always a chance that I should have caught the contagion and have shared in the general fever. I had been many times tempted to do so, and I had really believed that the honest truth was that my attachment to her had been my best preservative.

More private memoranda as to my dear Wife.

On Sunday 26 Oct. 1794 —

I mentioned my attachment and intention of settling to my mother and sister for the first time. Both [502] were much pleased to hear it and wished to be introduced to my dear lady. My loved mother's kind remark was 'If you feel you can afford to marry nothing will give me greater pleasure, and whoever you choose will be always welcome to me. Marriage should be always a free choice on both sides.'

Monday 10th Novr.

Yesterday (9th) I introduced Miss W. to my dear and amiable mother. She never looked better, nor talked better. Her conversation was a clear and

full stream of thought memory and good humour. When she saw the Gamester acted she was in tears all the time and in the last act was so overcome that she could neither see nor hear.[185]

25 Nov.

I have been the last fortnight looking about for a house that in situation price and condition will be what will suit. Yesterday I saw one that united these considerations and went to mention it to her. I found her dressing for an evening party at Mr Byrnes.[186] She has become the most beautiful creature I have ever seen, for her sweet features are at once animated, intelligent and expressive. Her mind is always speaking in her face. [503]

Sunday 2nd Nov. Shd be, Dec?/W.T.[11] —

I introduced Miss W. to my sister at my Chambers.

9 Dec.

Acting on her approbation I settled this day for the house No 9 Featherstone Buildings as best suiting our moderate circumstances. I have arranged with my landlord that it shall be quite ready for her reception by the end of the month.

December 1794

But while I have been so happy in the month that has passed it has proved misery and ruin to ill used and sacrificed Poland.[187] The accounts have arrived that the terrible Suwarrow[188] has succeeded in defeating and slaughtering the defenders and has destroyed its independence. While he was raising batteries and entrenchments at Cherson to protect

11 Note by William Turner questioning whether his father has the right month.

the Crimea against Tartars and Turks — he was selected by the Empress to overwhelm Kosciusko and the Patriot Poles.

He was ordered in September to hasten to take the command of the Prussian Army of 30,000 men which had been prepared at Niemnen and make a decisive attack as soon as possible on Warsaw. He went with this object with his accustomed rapidity, attacked and overcame all the Polish Armies in his way in 2 engagements and 3 battles and in the [504] beginning of November having been joined by the forces of General Ferson[189] and two others was before Warsaw and its entrenched camp at Praga with above 50,000 men.

He determined on an immediate assault. The suburb of Praga was defended by 100 cannon disposed in several batteries and by 26,000 well trained soldiers. As this artillery was certain to be destructive he determined as in his storm of Turkish Ismael to make the dead bodies of the first who fell the means by which those behind could the easier ascend to the assault. He ordered his troops to use only the sabre and the bayonet — to press forward at every cost and to give no quarter. And on 4th November while it was yet dark commanded the whole 50,000 to charge at the various points he had selected. For two hours the conflict raged with a slaughter which has been seldom equalled. At last the Poles were overpowered. The last forces of the Prussians burst into the rampart. The bridge over the Vistula was broken in the action. Some places were in flames and above 15,000 Poles perished from the weapons — the fire and the water. The resistance lasted for 8 hours and the Russians in their excited fury continued the massacre for 2 hours more. 12,000 inhabitants of both sexes and of all ages were killed besides the soldiers. The officers were then unable to restrain their troops as they wished and the pillage did not end till the noon of the fifth. Of the 26,000 Poles — 13,000 were killed in [505] the suburbs — 2000 drowned and 11,000 made prisoners — only 1000 escaped by flight. On the 9th Warsaw surrendered and General Suwarrow entered it in triumph.

Before this while Suwarrow was marching — the patriotic Koscuisko was intercepted and defeated. Hearing that General Ferson was proceeding to join Suwarrow with 20,000 men — Koscuisko, tho he

had only 12,000 Poles resolved to prevent him — but the day before he meant to have joined battle with him, he was attacked himself by Ferson on 10th October ten leagues from Warsaw. The conflict lasted 5 hours. The Russians were 3 times repulsed, but at last overpowered the Poles. Koscuisko always in the hottest of the battle had 3 horses killed under him and was wounded from behind by a Cossack with his lance. He fell but recovered again so as to rise and run a few yards — a Russian Officer then cut him across the head with a sabre and he fell again apparently lifeless. He was secured and carried — not dead — into the Prussian camp in the peasant dress he assumed.

Thus has ended the brave struggle of Poland to establish its national independence. Noble country! Your name is immortalized — but you have lost everything except your honor.

The battle of Suwarrow with the Poles near Brizese[190] [506] — 8th Sept. — as he began his advances to Warsaw shows the Spartan spirit with which they defended their well merited freedom. Having crossed the Bog in the morning he attacked them at their left wing. They repulsed him ten times before they gave way and on their retreat still fought desperately. The battle lasted 8 hours before they were completely defeated. It is stated in the account of [name uncertain – Sendormir] Oct. 19 that 'out of 13,500 of the best Polish troops consisting of old established Regiments besides the armed peasantry only 500 were made prisoners as they would not accept of pardon. All the rest except 300 men who escaped were cut to pieces, so that the field of battle for some miles was covered with their dead.'

Who can withhold their regret and sympathy for such a Catastrophe. It is truly said that 'the violent dismemberment and partition of Poland was the first great breach in the modern political system of Europe.' And yet — the philosopher King Frederic the 2nd is said to have originated and caused its execution.

3rd January. This evening I met at Mr Goodrich's in Queen Square a singular looking clergyman to whom he appeared to pay great respect. News had arrived at Christmas that in this unusually severe winter [507] the Rhine as well as the Waal were frozen over in Holland and that our troops would be unable to prevent the passing of the French over the ice if it lasted — and in that case they would soon be masters of Holland. This day came the intelligence that Pichegru had effected the passage and that the Dutch state was now at his mercy. This gentleman was reading the paper to his host over their wine. As soon as I was seated, he turned enthusiastically to me tho a stranger and exclaimed 'Do you know Sir, who has done this wonderful thing?' I answered 'I believe Pichegru and the frost.' 'No, Sir!' was his reply — raising his hands and arms upwards towards the ceiling 'He that is above Sir! The Deity! He has done it. It is his work. No human power could have accomplished it. The frost has obeyed his commands and we behold the great result.' I found his name was Mr Hunt — an American refugee — a clever but eccentric man.[191] It was the father of Mr Leigh Hunt.

Having a pit ticket for the opera sent me I went there after this to hear Banti[192] — and was delighted with her tones — and with her management of them, tho the report I have heard that she drinks so much brandy lessened my enjoyment by destroying the fascination which an interesting woman produces.

As I sat in the pit there a gentleman next to me [508] turned to one behind and said — 'Lord William! I understand the Duke of Bedford dines at Burlington House tomorrow. Could you get me to make one?' The answer of Lord William Bentinck[193] was 'I can't say now but in the morning I will let your lordship know.' I thought it odd that when a noble man had settled his dinner party that another not invited should thus obtrude himself and put the Duke under the alternative of admitting him unwillingly or of refusing such a personal application.

4 Jan^u^ 1795

This day is my charmer's birthday. She is now 18. I wished our marriage to have taken place this morning but she has refused it to this day fortnight.

11 January

On the 6th from Holland General Walmoden[194] writes that the violence of the frost has converted the whole country into a plain which gives the greatest facility to the enemy in their movements and that General Dundas with the British troops had therefore been forced to fall back from the Waal. On 9th January Lieutenant General Harcourt[195] states that a sudden thaw having come on upon the 6th offered a prospect of our preserving [509] our positions to defend Holland — but that the frost had again set in with such severity that this idea must be relinquished. According to the next Gazette our troops were preparing to cross the Yessell. Pichegru therefore will be soon at Amsterdam.

11 January 1795
Sunday

This is the last Sunday of my being in these chambers, or in the single state. This day week I shall be married to one of the handsomest, the best tempered, the best disposed of her sex. To one who I believe will also be the sensible and intelligent woman. She has told me that it was the first wish of her heart to be united to me before I declared my attachment. There are several gentlemen now who desire her hand and would, if they could be in my place. But she has honored me with her preference and I am most grateful for it. I love her most ardently, she is my fairy form of happiness. Her voice is sweeter to my ear than the finest melody. Her presence is to me the most beautiful of pictures. All these feelings can only become more tender by our union. May they be as lasting as our existence! [510]

We were married in Marylebone Church at the bottom of High Street. But her father would not be present at the ceremony — tho he had told me how happy he was that she was going to be my wife and only regretted that he could not, owing to his French embarrassments give any fortune with her. Tho he took trouble in looking for a house to suit us and went gladly with me to the proctor to give his consent to my license, because she was under age. Yet when the hour of parting with her came, he could not bear it. He could not even see her. He would not rise to go to the church to give her away. When we returned to breakfast; still he could not prevail on himself to meet us. He kept in his bed and said he was too ill to move. From the same feeling he would not join our festivities in the dinner, nor see us. He declared himself utterly unable. The struggle of parting with her who had been for so many years the great comfort of his life overcame every other feeling. So that I saw clearly how much the Lymington affair had benefitted us, for if I had asked him consent before that had broken down so many obstructions, and caused so much trouble [511] I should certainly have found a refusal from his reluctance to relinquish her. So that all had happened for the best.

This day began a new period of my life. The realization of all my young dreams and maturer wishes! The sweetest and most heart affecting happiness that Earth can furnish.

Here ended the romance, or as some would call it, the poetry of my life, from this time all became serious and solid realities. For nothing else would support the fairy palace of my human happiness but the steady and regular application of my mind and time with all due care and diligence to the profession from which my wordly resources were to arise. Our wishes were moderate, but the supply must be increasing. I resolved to make the proper discharge of my business my first concern — and hoped by constant attention — by unremitted industry — by improving judgment and by strict integrity, to obtain from it the maintenance we needed — making literature the occupation only of my

leisure and uniting with it the society of my beloved. All this I have been enabled to accomplish. [512]

The Divine blessing was upon my mind and life, so that altho the successive births of 13 children brought on a series of increasing expense, the means were never wanting for a comfortable subsistence and yet the professional demand for my time was so regulated by Him to whom I owe all my benefits and enjoyments that I had at all periods sufficient intervals for the study I coveted and for the compositions to which my mind led me. In all these I found in my beloved the intellectual companion I desired and at her side and by her encouragement and by her aid whenever necessary and amid her interesting little ones as they came to us and with feelings and ideas kindled by her and often suggested by her, all that I have attempted has been done. The cares and ailments and trials which cannot but attend a large family, we had our share of — and at times her heart was much affected by the weakness which her early family brought on — and once to my great alarm and affliction was for some weeks seriously endangered. But these were only the occasional clouds which come on every human life in some shape or other. [513] The general stream of our days was that of all reasonable comforts as to wordly things and of continual enjoyment of mutual attachment — personal improvement, undiminished happiness and unreceding prosperity. I cannot look back on this period of my marriage without feeling the gratitude I owe to the gracious providence which occasioned it to take place. I never less deserved His favour than at the moment and yet I was not forgotten nor abandoned by Him whom I ought never to have forgotten or neglected. My allegiance to him was then in great danger of giving way when nearly the whole world was deserting him. I was then becoming an idolater of mind and of its self power and self sufficiency and was much attracted by one of Holcroft's favorite theories — that the mind has in itself the ability to accomplish anything it may chuse to direct itself to — if we would duly and strenuously exert it. Hence I was relaxing in some of my better views and principles. My marriage ended all these fantastic dreams of pride and vanity. A train of nobler thoughts and conclusions came upon me. The Realities that pressed upon me sobered my mind [514] and

consolidated my judgment. There was something in my Dear Lady and in her Society which destroyed the illusion of my false philosophies— An influence came over my mind which I did not then duly appreciate or refer to its proper source. But it worked its own effects in its own way and I now most gratefully acknowledge its sacred origin and nature, its invaluable results and my indelible obligations to that Divine spirit by whom it was imparted.

I feel my inexpressible obligations to the Divine goodness for leading me to her, for enabling me to marry her and for that train of circumstances which when I thought we had separated for ever, ended so unexpectedly in uniting me to her, the more strongly because it was only such a Lady as from the peculiarities her education she had become as would have fully suited me. My own intellectual pursuits from the twelfth year of my age made an intellectual Wife indispensable to me for either of us to be happy in our union. I also wished and I may say needed one who had the accomplishments she possessed. Yet I did not like the learned Ladies and Philosophresses whom I had met nor any who set up to be clever and who claimed notice as such, nor did I wish an Authoress. All such had disappointed me and I thought that with [515] them I should not have that natural and domestic happiness I sighed for. Yet I aspired to a Woman of a cultivated mind and taste, of delicate feelings and with the manners of a Lady and to one who with these was willing to be the quiet domestic friend, the careful housekeeper and a Mother that would nurse and educate her children.

Humble in circumstances and station myself I had no pretensions to any one with such combinations — nor were all I wished very likely to be met together. They were at least in circles above my means of reaching or frequenting. Yet in her I found all that I wished or wanted. For when we had settled tho she possessed the qualities I have noted from my Diary, she adapted herself immediately to all the prudential habits and judicious economy and family attentions which my situation required. She had been taught by her Father to be content with little, to like simple dress to avoid expenses and yet never to be mean or shabby. And such I found her, always with a natural elegance in every thing yet never

assuming or self protruding or displaying or even [516] having any consciousness that she was the unusual treasure I experienced her to be. She never put me to a shillings expense. What I could spare for her dress and housekeeping I gave her as it came and she suited herself to it — applied it wisely and never desired more than the temporary means. Yet there was nothing pinched — no locking up — no scolding — no ill humour. When our supplies were small we were more forbearing ourselves — but never let a Servant have reason to be dissatisfied. Thus I had all the advantages of a Lady with the manner and attainment of those who have been brought up in an expensive style and yet so trained and so well regulated in herself as to have all the moderation and simple tastes which an humble Cottage could possess. I should have been soon shipwrecked without this combination — and therefore my gratitude has been increasing to the Gracious Providence who has befriended me for having blessed me with it and again say with regret, when too little deserving of it. It was the completion of her character that she brought up 5 daughters to be the counterparts of herself.

[end of Add ms 60647A]

Endnotes

1 An address to the king thanking him for documents relating to France's conduct and the execution of the king of France on 21 January 1793 and expressing 'the abhorrence entertained by the House of the late atrocious act perpetrated in France; and assuring his Majesty of the utmost support of the House to the measures of Government, and of its most ready and effectual cooperation in augmenting the forces of sea and land'. The French pre-empted any action that the government was planning by declaring war on Britain on 1 February 1793. The motion was moved by Lord Grenville (William Wyndham, 1759–1834) and supported by the Lord Chancellor (Alexander Wedderburn Lord Loughborough 1733–1805), Lord Carlisle (Frederick Howard 1748–1825) and Lord Porchester (Henry Herbert 1772–1833). It was opposed by William Petty, Marquis of Lansdowne and second Earl of Shelbourne (1737–1805), James Maitland, Lord Lauderdale (1759–1839), Charles, Earl Stanhope (1753–1816) and Edward Smith-Stanley, Earl of Derby (1752–1834). The relevant section of Turner's record is restricted to the latter group. We do not know whether he devoted similar attention to the proposers of the motion, but his account of a debate a little later (below) suggests that he was aligned with the opposition to the government.

2 On 1 February 1793, France declared war on Britain and Holland. Jacques-Pierre Brissot de Warville (1754–1793) was a member of the Girondin group who pressed for war in the Convention.

3 William Pitt, (1759–1806) Prime Minister from 1783 to 1801, and 1804–1806.

4 William Watts (1752–1851), line engraver and writer.

5 George Hoggart Toulmin (1754–1817), a physician and author of a series of books starting with *The Antiquity and Duration of the World* (1780) and ending with *The Eternity of the Universe* (1789); and Samuel Ireland (d.1800), an engraver and author.

6 François-Marie Arouet (Voltaire) (1694–1778), prolific French author and noted deist.

7 Marie Joseph Paul Roch Yves Gilbert Motier, Marquis de Lafayette (1757–1834), fought against Britain in the American War of Independence, was prominent in reform circles in France during the first days of the revolution and became head of the Parisian National Guard. A series of events, in which he sided with the government against the people, culminating in the massacre at the Champ de Mars

on 17 July 1791, contributed to his fall from public favour. He defected and was imprisoned by the Austrians but returned to France under Napoleon.

8 Benedict Spinoza (1632–1677), Dutch philosopher and pantheist; and Claude Adrien Helvetius (1715–1771), French philosopher.

9 Sir Archibald Macdonald (1747–1826), judge; he was attorney-general between 1788 and 1792 and lord chief baron of the Exchequer from 1793 to 1815. Barons of the Exchequer, or *barones scaccari*, were judges in the Exchequer of Pleas court, which was merged with the Queen's Bench in 1880.

10 Assignats were initially a government bond in France, but subsequently became the paper currency of revolutionary France from 1790, in principle secured by nationalising church property, but in practice hugely inflationary.

11 Thomas Brand Hollis (c.1719–1804), a leading reformer, republican and dissenter; George Romney (1734–1802), a painter who painted the radical Thomas Paine (1737–1809) in 1792, when he was living in Britain. The painting was then engraved by William Sharp (1749–1824).

12 David Williams (1738–1816), founder of the Royal Literary Fund, was a political reformer, dissenter and author of several works, including his *Letters to a Young Prince from an Old Statesman* (London, 1790).

13 William Godwin (1756–1836), a philosopher, novelist and writer, ex dissenting minister. His major philosophical work was *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice* (1793).

14 Joel Barlow (1754–1812), a poet, pamphleteer and diplomatist who was born in America. He visited France, and then travelled to Britain in 1790 and became caught up in the reform movement and with French events, moving back to Paris in 1792. He returned to America in 1805 after serving as an American consul to Algiers.

15 John Horne Tooke (1736–1812), a politician and philologist whose support for parliamentary reform led to his trial for treason in 1794, at which he was acquitted.

16 Turner refers to the Friends of the People, founded by members of the Whig party to promote reform in 1792, and to the London Corresponding Society, established by artisans (led by the bootmaker Thomas Hardy (1752–1832)) early in 1792. Oddly, he does not refer to the Society for Constitutional Information, founded in the 1780s but revivified in the early 1790s in part as a response to the French Revolution; it occupied a social and political position that sat halfway between the other two societies and, like the London Corresponding Society, had its papers seized and members charged in the Treason Trials of 1794.

17 Henry Delahoy Symonds (d.1819), a publisher and radical who spent part of the 1790s in jail for publishing Paine's work and Charles Pigott's *Jockey Club* (1792–1794).

18 Thomas Hardy (1752–1832), a bootmaker, reformer and founder of the London Corresponding Society.

19 In May 1792 the government issued a Royal Proclamation Against Seditious Writings and Publications, encouraging the prosecution of seditious material. It also promoted a series of loyal addresses to the king, and in December 1792, John Reeves (1752–1829) formed the Association for the Preservation of Liberty and Property Against Republicans and Levellers, which organised a loyalist response to those sympathising with the French Revolution and calling for reform in Britain.

20 The reference is probably to Joseph Gerrald, (1763–1796), a political reformer, poet and political lecturer who was closely associated with the London Corresponding Society. He was acquitted in his trial for treason in 1794 and he delivered several series of subscription lectures in the Strand until these were prevented by the 1795 'Gagging Acts', which made large gatherings with political purposes illegal. There is no evidence of a connection with the Morning Post, which became a Tory newspaper following its purchase in 1795 by Daniel Stuart. That Gerrald is being associated with it before that date – and that his friends, including Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey all wrote for it after that date, suggests that some connection is possible.

21 Charles-Francois du Perier Dumouriez (1739–1823), French general. He was foreign minister in 1792 but was dismissed in June 1792; he rejoined the army and led victories at Valmy (20 September 1792) and Jemappes (6 September). He emigrated in 1793 and settled in Britain in 1800, where he undertook a survey of Britain's defences.

22 Johann Baptist Cramer (1771–1858), a pianist. He was born in Mannheim but lived in England for many years and was regarded as the foremost performer of his day.

23 *Candide* (1759) was Voltaire's most successful novel. It satirised Leibnitz's view that we live in the best of all possible worlds; the reasoning behind this is that God would not have ordained things differently – so any evils are necessary evils in a wider plan.

24 Almost certainly including Claude Helvetius (1715–1771), Paul-Henri Thiry, Baron d'Holbach (1723–1793), Julien Offray de La Mettrie (1709–1751), Voltaire(q.v.) and Denis Diderot (1713–1784).

25 James Bartleman (1769–1821), a singer, both tenor and bass.

26 Louis XVI (1774–1793), King of France until 1793: he was overthrown and a republic was established following the *Journee* of 10 August 1792, in which crowds attacked the Tuileries (the royal palace in Paris). He was tried sentenced to death for threatening the unity and integrity of the republic And executed 21 January 1793.

27

28 Joseph Constantine Carpue (1764–1846), a surgeon and anatomist.

29 The battle of Jemappes (6 September 1792) opened Belgium to French conquest.

30 Bernard Francois Chauvelin (1766–1832), ambassador to London in 1792, previously master of the king's wardrobe in 1789.

31 Halcyon is the Greek word for kingfisher – the gods took pity on the ill-fated lovers, the mortal Ceyx and the goddess Alcyone, and turned them into kingfishers.

32 Probably Isabella Maria Price, *née* Corry (1754–1830), a widow who married the antiquary and collector Francis Douce (1757–1834) in 1791.

33 Salmasius' Plinianian exercitiones (Claude Saumaise (1588–1653), a French classical scholar and author of Pliniana exercitationes (1689)); Scaligers Eusebio chronicon (Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540 1609), a religious leader and classical scholar and author of *Thesaurus temporum, complectens Eusebi Pamphili Chronicon* (1609), *The Thesaurus of Time, Including the Chronicle of Eusebius Pamphilus*, a reconstruction of the *Chronicle* of the early Christian historian Eusebius Pamphilus of Caesarea and a collection of Greek and Latin remnants placed in chronological order.)

34 The 'Mountain', or *Montagnards*, referred to a group of radical deputies who occupied benches at the top and left of the Salle du Manège where the Convention sat. Its principal members were Georges-Jacques Danton (1759–1794), Jean-Paul Marat (1744–1793) and Maximilien-Francois-Isidore Robespierre (1758–1794).

35 Joseph-Marie Lequinio (1755–1812), *Les préjugés détruits* (Paris, 1793).

36 A 'pelisse' is an outer coat. Originally associated with a short jacket that was part of a military uniform, the ladies' pelisse was a long coat with fitted sleeves and a shoulder collar.

37 That is, the gardens of the Inner Temple and the Middle Temple (two of the four Inns of Court) in the vicinity of Temple Church in the City of London.

38 St James's Park, which can be reached via The Mall, is 20 minutes from the Temple Gardens. Green Park is next to St James's, and Hyde Park is next to Green Park. This part of London represented the most westerly reaches of the city.

39 Horse Guards Parade, in Whitehall, next to St James's Park, was where the quarters of the Cavalry regiment were located.

40 Probably Great Titchfield Street, which was part of the area of London south of the current Marylebone Road and north of Oxford Street, was developed by the Duke of Portland in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

41 In fact, 367 pages in total.

42 A reference to a phrase used by Alexander Pope to praise Bolingbroke's company at his Twickenham home. It became a common phrase used in the eighteenth century to describe good company: *Imitations of Horace*, Book II, Satire I, To Mr. Fortescue, lines 123-32.

43 John Thelwall ((1764–1834), a reformer, poet and political lecturer (q.v.)..

44 A reference to the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688, when James II was defeated and deposed from the throne by a parliament that feared the reintroduction of Catholicism. The Revolution brought to the throne William of Orange, and his wife Mary,who was James's Protestant daughter.

45 William Petty, Marquis of Lansdowne and second Earl of Shelbourne (1737–1805). His long political career developed in the 1790s and he became, in effect, the leader of the reform movement in the House of Lords in a loose alliance with Charles James Fox, in the Commons. For his speech against the war, see Cobbett, *Parl. hist.*, 30, 1792–4, 1395.

46 That is, by order of the king rather than by order of parliament.

47 William Pitt the Elder, Earl of Chatham (1708–1778), statesman, prime minister and father of Pitt the younger, the then current prime minister.

48 A catspaw – that is, someone used unwittingly or unwillingly by someone to accomplish the latter person's purposes.

49 What became Germany was a patchwork of small states and principalities that were clustered loosely under the Holy Roman Empire. Prussia was the most extensive and centralised state, and the smaller territories were vulnerable to both Prussian and Austrian ambitions, exemplified in the War of Austrian Succession (1740–1748), the Seven Years War (1756–1763) and the partition of Poland (1772–1795).

50 Frederick II (b.1712) was king of Prussia from 1740 until his death in 1786.

51 In Romanian, *Orșova*, in Polish, *Orszawa*: a port city on the Danube gaind by Austria via the Treaty of Sistova at the end of the Austrian–Turkish War of 1788–1791

52 At the Siege of Toulon in the autumn of 1793, British and Spanish forces sought to support a royalist rebellion against revolutionary rule. Toulon was a central port for the French Republic, and France could not afford to cede it to her enemies. The Republic's forces, with Napoleon Bonaparte making his name as a military leader of distinction, re-took the town after an extremely fierce campaign.

53 Victor Amadeus III of Savoy (1721–1796).

54 Lansdown was referring to the Letter from the Canton of Bern to Louis XVI from March 1792 (see *Morning Chronicle*, Friday, March 30, 1792; Issue 7117) in which they report an outrage against Swiss troops in Aix which led to the Swiss laying down their weapons as a result of a new law: 'in an open war against his Majesty's declared enemies, it would not have quitted them but with life….The honour of the Regiment, and the protection which we owe to it, obliges us to remove it from a country where the treaties, on the faith of which it came there, are violated with impunity.'

55 A reference to Count Johann Hartwig Ernst von Bernstorff (1712–1772), who was a major German Danish statesman who had an extensive political career during which he sought to preserve Danish neutrality.

56 Ferdinand III (1769–1824), Grand Duke of Tuscany, was the first to acknowledge the French Republic in 1792. The British government demanded that Ferdinand withdraw his ambassador to the French, and when Ferdinand did not comply, it threated to bombard Leghorn, on the Tuscany coast, if the grand duke did not renounce his neutrality within twelve hours. Ferdinand was forced to comply.

57 A reference to Charles III of Spain (1759–1788), who had been king of Naples and Sicily between 1734 and 1759. He was prevented from entering Naples in 1744, during the War of Austrian Succession, because of the threat of the British Commander, William Martin, to bombard the port.

58 A reference to Portugal's José (Joseph) I (1714–1777), who sought to maintain his neutrality during the Seven Years War but was compromised by an incident in 1759 when a British fleet attacked a French fleet in Portuguese waters. France and Spain used the case as a pretext to invade Portugal four years later.

59 The declaration of the Duke of Brunswick on 25 July 1792 to the citizens of Paris warning that if the Royal family was harmed, reprisals would be inflicted on French citizens. Prince Josias of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfield (1737–1815), leader of the Austrian troops in the Austrian Netherlands, whose successes opened the French republic to invasion but who failed to follow through and was himself defeated at Wattignies in October 1793. The declaration and proclamation of 23 August 1793 by Lord Hood at Toulon offered aid to the people of Provence and the return of their fleet and munitions after the restoration of the monarchy if they would surrender their

resources to him. Dagobert Sigismund, Count von Wurmser (7 May 1724–22 August 1797) was an Austrian field marshal during the French Revolutionary Wars.

60 Members of the 'third estate' were neither aristocrats nor clergy. However, a number of representatives elected by the third estate were aristocrats and occasionally priests.

61 The official *French Gazette*.

62 Hood's Declaration at Toulon promised a restored monarchy under the constitution of 1789.

63 Jacques Mallet du Pan (1749–1801), a protégé of Voltaire who served Louis XVI. Author of *Considérations sur la nature de la Révolution en France* (1793).

64 David Hume (1711–1776), a philosopher and diplomat. The reference is obscure. It may refer to Vol 2 (of 8) of the *History of England* where Hume discusses the events of 1215–1216 (ch XII) (London 1767), 152-4. In Lansdowne's most extensive newspaper account, in the *World*, 18 February 1794, the relevant section alludes to the relationship between Louis IX of France and Henry III of England, which confirms his passage.

65 Saint Domingue (now Haiti) was the scene of the Haitian Revolution of 1791–1804, which led to its eventual independence from France.

66 That is, people registering for outdoor relief on grounds of hardship.

67 The Peace of Rijswijk refers to a series of agreements made in the Dutch city in September and October 1697, ending the Nine Years War.

68 The Peace of Utrecht refers to a series of treaties signed between 1713 and 1715 by contenders in the War of the Spanish Succession. Austria did not sign any of them.

69 Ceded by the Prussians in the War of Austrian Succession in 1742 and subsequently confirmed as a province of Prussia.

70 Augustus Henry FitzRoy, 3rd Duke of Grafton, (1735–1811) and Prime Minister (1768–1770).

71 The Catholic Relief Act of 1782 removed a number of substantial disabilities from people professing to be Catholic – such as restoring the right to own land. Further measures in 1792 and 1793 left them in a more favourable position than Protestant dissenters, who were barred from holding any political or state office. Scotland is referred to as a new democracy because of its rising wealth and equality,

and the demand for juries arose because they were much less widely used under Scottish law.

72 Adam Walker (1731–1821), self-taught scientist, inventor and author who became a travelling lecturer.

73 Joseph Constantine Carpue (1764–1846), surgeon and anatomist.

74 That is, the Society for Constitutional Information; see above, note xiv.

75 John Wharton, MP for Beverley in Yorkshire and a member of the Society for Constitutional Information.

76 The *Marseillaise* was written in 1792 and quickly became associated with the revolution; *Ca-Ira* dates from 1790 and is generally associated with the popular elements of the revolution. The use of such songs at English dinners such as this one was of course partly provocative, since it was presumed that spies were in attendance.

77 A reference to a notorious line in Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790) to 'a swinish multitude'. The phrase was echoed in the titles of a number of reform publications, such as Daniel Isaac Eaton's *Hog's Wash, or Politics for the People*; and Thomas Spence's *Pig's Meat*.

78 Charles Jenkinson (1727–1808), first Earl of Liverpool and first Baron Hawkesbury, a politician.

79 William Wyndham, Lord Grenville, (1759–1834).

80 Alexander Wedderburn (1733–-1805), first Baron Loughborough and Earl of Rosslyn, educated in Scotland. He entered the bar, first in Scotland and then in England, and had a series of appointments in the 1770s and 1780s; he was lord chancellor between 1793 and 1801.

81 Edward Thurlow (1731–1806), Baron Thurlow. The Tellership was an official post that involved receiving money in the Exchequer and transmitting it to the Treasury. There were four Tellerships. The office was abolished in 1834.

82 George Rose (1744–1818), politician and holder of several lucrative offices under Pitt.

83 William Pitt (1708–1778), Prime Minister, first Earl of Chatham; Henry Dundas, (1742–1811), created viscount Melville in 1802, home secretary and then minister of war, but later compromised by a corruption scandal; Richard Rigby (1722–1788), a politician, who was said to have left 'near half a million of public money' (DNB);

Henry Fox (105–1774), first Baron Holland, a politician who amassed a considerable fortune through various offices he held.

84 Parliamentary Debates: Official Reports, v. 30 III George, 1147-1148 in which the proposal to use 'voluntary' loans, in contrast to forced loans, to raise money in France to fund the war is discussed.

85 The trial in parliament of Warren Hastings (1732–1818) following his impeachment on the grounds of corruption and cruelty during his appointment as governor general of India. Edmund Burke (1729–1797) led the prosecution. The trial lasted from 1788 to 1795 (taking 145 days) and resulted in an acquittal.

86 Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–-43 BCE), the most famous orator in Rome at the time of the fall of the Republic, especially noted for his speeches in the law courts; Demosthenes (384–322 BCE), the most famous orator in Athens who learned his trade in the law courts.

87 Thomas Erskine (1750–1823), who rose from being a midshipman in the West Indies to becoming lord chancellor in 1806, via a career in law.

88 The Benares (now known as Varanasi) is a city on the Ganges in the state of Utter Pradesh in northern India. Hastings was especially criticised for his treatment of the Rajas of Benares, Chait Singh, who led an unsuccessful revolt against the rule of the East India Company. His nephew and successor, Mahip Narayan Singh, proved similarly resistant.

89 William Windham (1750–1810) stateman, friend of Burke and one of the members charged with the impeachment of Hastings.

90 Charles James Fox (1749–1806), politician and leader of the Whigs in the 1790s.

91 Bernard Mandeville, (1670–1733), physician and author, including of *The Fable of the Bees* (1714), in which private vices are shown to produce public benefits.

92 Isaac Newton (1642–1727), natural philosopher and scientist; John Hunter (1728–1793), a surgeon and anatomist, whose specimen collections form the Royal College of Surgeons' Hunterian Museum.

93 William Hogarth (1697–1764), painter and engraver.

94 Bertrand de Barère de Vieuzac (1755–1841), lawyer and politician, increasingly associated with the Montagnards.

95 Jean Marie Collot-d'Herbois (1749–1796), associated with the ruthless repression of royalists in Lyon.

96 Cécile-Aimée Renault (1774–1794), arrested after persistently trying to see Robespierre while carrying two small knives on her person. She was the daughter of a paper-maker with royalist sympathies, and she and her family were condemned to death and executed.

97 *Vox et praeterea nihil*, meaning a voice and nothing else.

98 Thomas Hardy, the founder of the London Corresponding Society; John Thelwall (q.v.); Daniel Adams, the Secretary to the Society for Constitutional Information; the Rev'd Jeremiah Joyce (1762–1816), tutor to the earl of Stanhope's sons; Horne Tooke. John Lovett, John Bonney and John Richter were arrested between 12 and 16 May 1794 (Thomas Wardle, Matthew More and Richard Hodgson evaded the warrants) and a further warrant against John Baxter was issued in June. Others, including the novelist Thomas Holcroft, were taken in October following the finding of a true bill by the Grand Jury of Middlesex.

99 Admiral Richard Howe (1726–1799) commanded a British fleet that captured six French ships in an engagement that took place on 1 June 1794.

100 Jean Bon St. André (1749–1813), a Montagnard who specialised in naval matters.

101 Rome fought Carthage (on the North coast of Africa in what is now Tunisia) in three wars extending from 264–146 BCE. Carthage's most renowned military leader was Hannibal (247–182 BCE), who led Carthaginian troops against Rome in the second Punic War (212–202 BCE).

102 William Windham (q.v.) and George Canning (1770–1827); the latter was a statesman and a supporter of Pitt's administration and of the war against France.

103 William Godwin's first major novel, *Things as They Are, or The Adventures of Caleb Williams* 3 vols (London 1794).

104 François Sébastien Charles Joseph de Croix, Count of Clerfayt (1733–1798) and leader of Austrian troops in the Flanders campaign of 1794; he was forced to retreat over the Rhine.

105 On Cobourg/Coburg, see note xlviii. The allies were defeated by the French at Hooglede (17 June 1794), Charleroi (25 June) and Fleurus (26 June). The French commanders were Jean Charles Pichegru (1761–1804) and Jean-Baptiste Jourdan (1762–1833). Pichegru entered Antwerp.

106 The defeat of the allies at Fleurus forced Austrian and allied forces back to Brussels and opened the road to Belgium for the French.

107 Erasmus Darwin's *Zoonomia: or the Laws of Organic Life* 2 vols. (London, 1794).

108 Richard Brinsley Sheridan (1751–1816), playwright, theatre impresario and politician, who was a key ally of Charles James Fox in the 1790s.

109 Twickenham Ayte, or Ait, is the former name of what is now termed Eel Pie Island, the largest island along London's stretch of the Thames, and that is located between the banks of Twickenham and Ham. The poet Alexander Pope lived in Twickenham from 1719; he built a grotto that was linked to his villa by a tunnel.

110 George Frederic Handel, *Arianne in Creta* (1734).

111 'How is it possible, how can I forbear! /So many charms all around you wear,/ Thy ev'ry part hath such power to move,/Who sees admires, and who knows you doth love'.

112 Stairs leading from the Thames to the Strand, to where Charing Cross station is now.

113 Turner's Latin is unclear – the phrase essentially expresses his joy – of a days of brightness – but the exact phrase is puzzling and is perhaps a misremembered line.

114 Thomas Holcroft (1745–1809), a dramatist and author, a close associate of William Godwin and a person who was enthusiastic about reform and the promulgation of truth.

115 John 18:38 'Pilate saith unto him (Jesus), What is truth?'

116 Godwin's *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice* (1793); see especially Book II, ch. 2, Of Justice.

117 In July 1794, a group of conservative Whigs split from Charles James Fox and entered a coalition with Pitt, the prime minister, to press for a more active prosecution of the war and to attain political office, from which the Whigs had been excluded since 1783. This group was led by William Henry Cavendish, third Duke of Portland (1738–1809), who became home secretary, and included Alexander Wedderburn, Lord Loughborough (1733–1805), who became lord chancellor; William Windham (n. lxx), who became secretary at war; Lord Charles Spencer (1740–1820), who became first lord of the admiralty; David Murray, Lord Mansfield (1727–1796), who became minister without portfolio, and William Wentworth, Lord Fitzwilliam (1748–1833), who became lord president of the council.

118 Sheridan moved that the government be required to give an account both of its financial arrangements with the king of Prussia, in line with the agreement signed on 19 April 1794 at the Hague, and of its troops that had served alongside his Majesty's forces in pursuance of the treaty. Pitt refused to do so.

119 The defeat of the allies at Fleurus forced Austrian and allied forces back to Brussels and opens the road to Belgium for the French.

120 Pride or self-regard – as discussed in Jean Jacques Rousseau's *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality* (1755).

121 Zeno (c.490–c.430 BC) or Chrysippus (279–206 BC), noted for their use of dialectical argument and stoicism.

122 Minerva is the Italian goddess of crafts, but she was also identified with the Greek goddess Athena, and was similarly also linked with war.

123 Lines 1 and 3 are from *Hamlet*, Act 5, scene 2.

124 Possibly Thomas Cooper (1775–1849), a cousin and former pupil of William Godwin, who became a successful actor. Cooper's sister, Elizabeth Priscilla Cooper, appears in Godwin's diary along with Miss Mary Watts on 21 September 1794 at Holcroft's.

125 Unidentified.

126 James Boswell (1740–1795), a biographer and writer who wrote *Account of Corsica* (1768), and its leader, General Pasquale Paoli (1725–1807), whom he had met on his travels in Europe.

127 Sir Gilbert Elliot (1751–1814), was constitutional viceroy of Corsica from 1794 to 1796, during which time he expelled Gen. Paoli. M. Pozzo di Borgo (1764–1842), who was a Corsican nobleman who represented Corsica in the French legislative assembly in 1792. He became head of the civil government and then president of the council under the British viceroy.

128 General Field Marshall Wichard Joachim Heinrich von Möllendorf (1724–1816) commanded the Prussian army on the Rhine in 1794 but was forced to retreat from Belgium by French forces.

129 Francis Rawdon Hastings, Earl of Moira (1754–1826), led forces in an attack on Ostend to support the army of Prince Frederick, Duke of York and Albany (1763–1827), the second son of George III. The French defeated the armies, with Moira expressing some bitterness that Pitt had failed to provide adequate support.

130 Andrzej Tadeusz Bonawentura *Kościuszko* (1746–1817), a Polish/Lithuanian engineer, military leader and statesman who fought in the American war of independence and subsequently returned to Europe. In 1792 he began a campaign to free Poland from Prussian and Russian domination. His capture and imprisonment in 1794 led to the third partition of Poland, and, in effect, the country's elimination.

131 Lymington is a port town in the New Forest, which is in Hampshire.

132 George Frederich Handel, *Messiah* (1741).

133 Handel's *Judas Maccabeus* (1746).

134 A reference to Mary and Anne, the daughters of James II, King of England, who ensured the Protestant succession. When James embraced Catholicism, they became monarchs; Mary married William of Orange and they reigned from 1688 to 1702, and Anne was queen from 1702 to 1714.

135 *Romeo and Juliet*, Act 5, sc. 'My poverty, but not my will, consents.'

136 Quid nunc – a person eager to hear news and scandal.

137 A sidenote for this paragraph reads 'in respect all these points after the letter'.

138 The associations founded by John Reeves referred to in n.17 above. It held its meetings and conducted its operations from the Crown and Anchor Tavern in Charing Cross.

139 Into which anonymous denunciations of aberrant citizens could be posted.

140 John Frost (1750–1842), a lawyer and reformer who was prosecuted for seditious words, 'No king, there should be no king', uttered in an exchange in a Percy's Coffee House in November 1792. In May 1793 he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment and an hour in the pillory. He was also struck off the rolls for his radical beliefs.

141 Robespierre was arrested on 27 July 1794 and executed the following day, along with Louis Antoine Leon St Just (1767–1794), George Auguste Couthon (1755–1794) and others identified as loyal to him or instrumental in the Terror.

142 A reference to the *journée* that overthrew the monarchy.

143 Maximilien Isnard (1751–1825), President of the Convention from 16 May 1793, but he went into hiding in June, only reappearing after the Terror in December 1794.

144 René Levasseur 'de la Sarthe' (1747–-1834), a surgeon who was elected to the Convention and identified with the Montagnards. He was imprisoned following Robespierre's fall but was amnestied in 1795.

145 'It will be forever the most beautiful day of celebration for France.'

146 Jérôme Petion, *Discours de Jérôme Petion sur l'accusation intentée contre Maximilien Robespierre* (Paris, 1794), 4-5.

147 St Just, *Rapport au nom du Comité de salut public et du Cimnité de sûreté générale sur la conjuration ourdie depuis plusieurs années…présénte à la Convention nationale le 11 germinal an II (31 Mars 1794) in Ouevres Complètes* ed., Miguel Abensour (Gallimard, 2004) 718-37.

148 The key members of the Hébertist faction were Jacques René Hébert (1757–1794), Francois Nicolas Vincent (1767–1784) and Antoine Francois Momoro (19756–1794). Georges Auguste Couthon (1755–1794) denounced them but fell in his turn as a prominent Robespierrist in July.

149 Francis Chabot (1756–1794) was arrested in November 1793, while the others Turner mentions were arrested in March: Claude Barire/Bazire (1764–1794), Philippe Francois Fabre d'Eglantine (1750–1794); Marie Jean Heraulte Séchelles, (1760–1794) and Philibert Simon/Simond (1755–1794).

150 Danton was arrested on 29 or 30 March 1794 along with Lucie Camille Desmoulins (1760–1794); Pierre Philippeaux (1756–1794) and Sébste Marie Bruno de Lacroix / Delacroix (1764–1794).

151 Jacques Nicolas Billaud-Verenne (1756–1819); he was deported after the fall of Robespierre.

152 Turner refers to Jacques-Charles Bailleul's *Examen critique des Considerations de Mme. La Baronne de Stael sur les principaux évémenents de la Révolution Français* 2 vols (2nd ed. Paris 1822), 238.

153 The quotation is from Bailleul, 238-240, but Turner is using the translation and extensive quotation in *The Westminster Review*, July-October, XXXVI, 1841, 160, which references the work in article VII on 'Physical Force Era in France', reviewing *Mort de Barrère*, Dumas's *Memoirs of his own Time; and* Histoire du Règne de Louis XVI, pp. 151-67.

154 Bryan Edwards (1743–1800), a politician, historian and defender of slavery.

155 Netley Abbey, a thirteenth-century Cistercian Abbey, close to Southampton Water.

156 See note 129 above.

157 Cesarem vehis – or Ceasarem vehis, Cesarique fortunam – was reputedly said to pirates who had kidnapped Julius Caesar on a stormy sea, meaning 'You carry Caesar and Caesar's fortune'.

158 Horne Tooke's father purchased a perpetual curacy of New Brentford for his son in 1760 (who was then 24), and he retained it until 1773.

159 Sophia Holcroft (d.1850), Thomas Holcroft's daughter by his second marriage, who married William Cole, a merchant from Exeter, in 1794.

160 Godwin and Holcroft were both firm defenders of the virtue of absolute candour, without respect for prudence or sentiment.

161 Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–1797), author of *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792). Wollstonecraft does not use the exact phrase, although she talks about a 'Masculine education' and 'masculine qualities' – and comments at the end of the Introduction: 'I presume that RATIONAL men will excuse me for endeavouring to persuade them (women) to become more masculine and respectable.'

162 Diogenes the cynic was said to have told a young man in love that love was for those who had nothing better to do and that it is impossible to be free if one has a wife and children; Horne Tooke had two illegitimate daughters who lived with him, suggesting a strong disinclination to the wedded state; Immanuel Kant, also a stranger to marriage, comments in his 'Conjectural Beginning of Human History' (1786) on Eve's imagination leading her to taste the forbidden fruit, and in general sees the sensual world as risking man's reason; Achilles, according to the Roman poet Statius, disguised himself in girl's clothing at the court of the king of Skyros, only to fall in love with one of the princesses; Pope's 'Rape of the Lock' suggests that romantic attachment is superficial; and Edward Young's 'Night Thoughts' is a long didactic poem on death inspired by the deaths of his wife, his stepdaughter and her husband.

163 Mary Wollstonecraft's *An Historical and Moral view of the Origin and Progress of the French Revolution and the Effect it Has Produced in Europe* (London, 1794).

164 John Almon's *The Political Register and Impartial Review of New Books* was published between 1767 and 1772, and it may have been an old copy to which Turner refers. It may also have been an incorrect reference to Debrett's *Parliamentary Register*, which was the main source for parliamentary debates between 1780 and 1803.

165 Charles Holland (1768–1849), actor at Drury Lane from 1796.

166 A reference to Julius Caesar's decision in 49 BC to take his armies across the river Rubicon, which marked the boundary between the Italian Republic and the Cisalpine Republic, thereby launching him into war with the Pompey and the Senate of the Roman Republic.

167 Heracles, the ancient hero, rather than Strephon, the rustic and mourning lover that appears at the beginning of Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* (1590).

168 See note 73 above.

169 William Woodfall (1746–1803), parliamentary reporter and theatre critic.

170 See note 88 above.

171 Lord Chief Justice Sir James Eyre (1734–1799), who was the presiding judge of the Treason Trials of 1794. Eyre set out the case for treason in his capacity as lord chief justice to the grand jury of Middlesex on 2 October 1794.

172 Charles Lennox, Duke of Richmond (1735–1806), a politician and supporter of parliamentary reform in the early 1780s.

173 Colonel William Sharman (1731–1803), a member of the volunteer movement in Ireland. The Duke of Richmond's *Letter to Lt Col Sharman of the Irish Volunteers, 15 August 1783* was a political tract which Hardy claimed influenced the nature of his political activity and in which Richmond says 'It is from the people at large that I expect any good', suggesting that popular political activity is both legitimate and necessary.

174 Philip Francis (1740–1818), a politician and lawyer and a member of the Friends of the People who urged that reform should be instigated by parliament.

175 Maurice Margarot (1745–1815), the first chairman of the London Corresponding Society. He was sentenced to be transported to Australia for sedition in the Scottish trials of the winter of 1793 to 1794.

176 Charles Grey (1764–1845), a statesman, introduced a motion for parliamentary reform on 6 May 1793.

177 James Maitland, Lord Lauderdale (1759–1839), a Scottish peer, a supporter of the reform societies and a strenuous opponent of Pitt's policies.

178 The Scottish Convention began as a meeting of the Scottish reform societies but expanded its invitations to reform organizations in England, so representatives of the London Corresponding Society, the Sheffield and Norwich Constitution societies, and others attended. The reconvened, and expanded, convention of 180 delegates met in Edinburgh on 19 November 1793. On 5 and 6 December, a number of the most prominent delegates were arrested and charged with sedition. Over the next three months they were tried in Scotland by Robert MacQueen, Justice Lord Braxfield (1722–1799), who handed down sentences of up to 14 years' transportation, to the consternation of English Whigs and reformers.

179 Vicory Gibbs (1751–1820), a lawyer and subsequently a judge, assisted Thomas Erskine in the defence.

180 Hartshorn: ammonium carbonate, an early form of smelling salts.

181 John Scott (1751–1838), attorney general 1793;created earl of Eldon in 1799.

182 A phrase used in Paris referring to hanging aristocrats and royalists from public lampposts.

183 John Mitford (1748–1830), solicitor general from 1793; created Baron Redesdale in 1802.

184 Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France and on the Proceedings of Certain Societies in London Relative to that Event. In a Letter Intended to have been sent to a Gentleman in Paris* (London, 1790); Thomas Paine, *Rights of Man* (London 1791) and *Rights of Man: Part the Second, combining principal and practice* (London, 1792). The pamphlet exchange during the French Revolution involved several hundred different contributions from across the political spectrum.

185 Edward More, *The Gamester* (1753). It was regularly performed and played often in London at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane in the 1790s.

186 Mr Byrnes – possibly William Byrne (1743–1805), a landscape engraver and a likely associate of Watts.

187 See note 131 above.

188 General Alexander Surovov (1730–1800), a Russian military leader who suppressed the Polish uprising in Warsaw in 1794, resulting in (despite his leniency) extensive loss of life for the civilian population of the suburb of Praga. He had previously led two successful onslaughts by Russia against the Ottomans, the first between 1768 and 1774 and the second between 1787 and 1792.

189 General Joseph/Ivan Ivanovitch Hermann von Fersen (1743–1800/1801), a German-born Russian general who joined forces with Surovov to take Warsaw.

190 Battle of Brześć (Brest) in modern day Belarus, which occurred on 18 September 1794 when Surovov's forces defeated a major Polish force led by Karol Sierakowski (1752–1820).

191 Isaac Hunt (1742–1809), a lawyer and Church of England clergyman. Originally from a Barbadian family, he studied in Philadelphia and became a lawyer in that city. He was an outspoken loyalist and left America for England, becoming a clergyman.

192 Brigida Banti (1757–1806) was an Italian soprano who performed across Europe and was the leading soprano at the King's Theatre in London from 1794 to 1802. The librettist Lorenzo da Ponte commented on her dissolute habits.

193 Lord William Henry Cavendish-Bentinck (1774–1839), a soldier and statesman.

194 General Walmoden, reported in the *London Gazette Extraordinary* on Friday 16 January 1795 and reported in *The Times* (London) on Saturday 17 January 1795; pg. 2; Issue 950117. Walmoden is likely to be Johann Ludwig Reichsgraf von Wallmoden-Gimborn (1736–1811), a German lieutenant-general and illegitimate son of George II.

195 William Harcourt, Earl (1743–1830), a cavalry commander under the duke of York in the Flanders Campaign. Reported in the *London Gazette Extraordinary* on Friday 16 January 1795 and in *The Times* (London) on Saturday 17 January 1795; pg. 2; Issue 950117.