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The Correspondence of Henry, Lord Brougham, with Henry, Lord Holland, 1831-1840: Additional m.s 51564

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THE CORRESPONDENCE OF HENRY, LORD BROUGHAM,
WITH HENRY, LORD HOLLAND, 1831-1840:
ADDITIONAL MS. 51564

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of History
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

by
Laura Jones Dooley
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APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Dale Hoak

Approved, September 1987

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The Papers of Thomas Jefferson
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TO GARY
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This is the transcription and annotation of the documents contained in Additional Manuscript 51564, a volume in the collection of the Holland House Papers in the British Library. Henry Peter Brougham (1778-1868), first baron Brougham and Vaux, and Henry Richard Vassall Fox (1773-1840), third baron Holland, are the correspondents. Their letters span the period 1831-1840.

Transcription of the letters has been literal; all known persons, places, and events are identified in annotation to the letters. Throughout, editorial notes provide additional information. The letters are dated and presented in chronological order.

The annotated letters provide documentary evidence on the nature of Whig party politics and government in the 1830s, on the lives of Lord Brougham, Lord Holland, their colleagues and their families, on major political events, and on the lives, tastes, and habits English landed society in the Georgian and early Victorian eras.
THE CORRESPONDENCE OF HENRY, LORD BROUGHAM,

WITH HENRY, LORD HOLLAND, 1831-1840
INTRODUCTION

The Georgian Age, like earlier eras in English history, abounded in harsh contrasts: sumptuous splendor and rank poverty; the sophistication of the political elite and the endemic illiteracy of the masses. Birth defined one's station in life and curtailed upward mobility. Yet early nineteenth-century England was also experiencing rapid changes. The Industrial Revolution was making its impact felt both at home—demographically, economically, and politically—and abroad, where the upheaval of the French Revolution and Napoleon Bonaparte's subsequent rise to power threw the Continent into turmoil and threatened monarchy everywhere. In these years came to maturity both Henry Richard Vassall Fox (1773-1840), third baron Holland, and Henry Peter Brougham (1778-1868), first baron Brougham and Vaux.

Only five years separated the birth of the two peers, yet they can be said to represent two opposing aspects of nineteenth-century Britain. If Holland was of impeccable breeding and lineage, Brougham's origins were distinctly more humble. Holland was from birth an insider in the closely kept circle of aristocracy, while Brougham, though tremendously successful in his political career, always remained something of an outsider. Both were politicians, but Holland was a Foxite Whig of the old guard, while Brougham represented something entirely new.

Henry Richard Fox ascended to the peerage at the age of one in 1774, following the death of his father, Stephen Fox, second baron
Holland. Although legally the ward of his maternal uncle, the earl of Upper Ossory, it was his paternal uncle Charles James Fox who became young Lord Holland's friend and mentor, instilling in him a taste for poetry, the classics, and, of course, the grand Whig tradition.

Holland received the standard education of the English aristocracy—Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, followed by a tour on the Continent. In 1806, when Holland was thirty-three, Fox died, and Holland House, the ancestral home, became the meeting ground for the Foxite branch of the Whigs—indeed, almost a shrine to the memory of Charles James Fox and his principles.

Lord Holland had, by the time of Fox's death, lived down the scandal caused by his marriage to divorcee Elizabeth Vassall Webster. The daughter of a wealthy Jamaica planter who had moved his family back to England just before the outbreak of the American Revolution, Elizabeth had been married at age fifteen to Sir Godfrey Webster, with whom she apparently had little in common. Twenty-three years her senior, Sir Godfrey loved the country and the hunt, whereas Elizabeth desired the intellectual stimulation and society of the city. "A Desire for information," she wrote in her journal, "became my ruling passion." Elizabeth met Lord Holland in Naples in 1794, and their romance began. On 3 July 1797 they obtained her divorce by parliamentary decree; they were married three days later.

The scandal of divorce isolated Lady Holland from female society of George III's court. This discrimination and Lady Holland's love of European customs led to her establishment in 1799 of the Holland House salon. Dinner at Holland House quickly came to signify not only a gathering spot for close friends but also a meeting ground for the cream
of English, Scottish, and European intellectuals, literati, politicians, and wits. It was through Holland House that Henry Brougham made his entree into the Whig aristocracy.

Brougham's early years stand in sharp contrast to Lord Holland's. Born in Edinburgh in 1778, the son of an English squire and a Scottish woman of intellectual inclination, Brougham proved himself something of a child prodigy. He began studies at Edinburgh High School at age seven and at age fourteen entered the University of Edinburgh. By 1796 he had completed four years in Humanity and Philosophy, whereupon he began to study law with hopes of being appointed to the English bar. He had already read a paper on optics before the Royal Society at age sixteen, which fueled his reputation as a prodigy. Even in his early years, Brougham had a reputation for brilliance, wit, and astounding memory, although he was also known in these years as a prankster and eccentric.

Brougham came to national prominence through the pages of the liberal Edinburgh Review. In cooperation with two unemployed lawyers—Francis Horner and Francis Jeffrey—and one unbeneficed clergyman—Sydney Smith—Brougham established the journal as a means of disseminating views in opposition to the Tory politics that predominated in Scotland. Brougham was prolific, quickly establishing himself as the Review's chief contributor and writing over 150 articles for the Edinburgh Review in the years 1802-46 on subjects as diverse as church reform, American slavery, optics, Demosthenes (whom he revered), the nature of heat, and the ascent to the summit of Mont Blanc. Throughout his long life, Brougham's energies and interests knew no limits.
The ideology propounded in the pages of the *Edinburgh Review* found a receptive audience in the Holland House circle. In Scottish universities and intellectual circles a doctrine of "sociological evolutionism" was then gaining currency. Drawing on evidence from the new sciences of archaeology and geology, the doctrine posited that society was continually progressing and improving in a linear fashion. Thus cavemen had given way to villagers, who had in turn made way for townspeople; wealth, knowledge, leisure, and political freedom became more widespread with each step forward.¹³ Foxite Whiggery, long a static set of beliefs encompassing both a desire for the reduction of Crown influence in the House of Commons and the championing of such liberal and humanitarian causes as Catholic emancipation, perceived in this explanation of history a "scientific" basis for its ideology. Thus, Lord Holland now spoke of reform as the "progress of improvement," a reflection of society in motion.¹⁴ Holland and the Whigs eagerly supported the Scottish reviewers, who soon came to form the backbone of Holland House society. The spread of the printed word as a vehicle for the propagation of political ideology was well underway by the early nineteenth century, and nowhere was the connection between politics and literature more clearly exemplified than in this bond between Holland House and the *Edinburgh Review*.

Brougham was introduced to Lord Holland in 1805 through Dr. John Allen, a Scottish physician and occasional writer for the *Review* who lived with the Hollands as their personal doctor and official librarian.¹⁵ Brougham became a frequent guest at Holland House in these years. His ready wit, oratorical abilities, and vivacious personality made him an immediate social success (despite his homely looks, his
charm had a devastating effect on women). Holland eagerly took him up as a recruit for the Whig opposition party and secured him positions, first as an electoral agent in 1807 and later, in 1810, as member of Parliament for the duke of Bedford's pocket borough of Camelford. Brougham was not, however, immediately won over to the Whig cause. The possessor of an immense ambition, which often manifested itself in political opportunism, in these early years Brougham also flirted with the Tory party, allying himself with William Wilberforce and his "Saints" in support of the abolition of the slave trade. Although Brougham's sentiments on the injustices of slavery were probably sincere, his alliance with the Tory cause was not, and gradually he shifted allegiance to the Whig cause.

In 1810 Brougham suddenly broke off all contact with the Hollands. Evidently deeply wounded by the breach, Holland wrote:

> For full six years I had no political or private intercourse with a man whom I had been so anxious to place and so successful in placing in the House of Commons, and who never assigned, nor, I believe, could assign any motive for dropping all habits and connection with me.

It is suggested by some scholars that Brougham was opposed to the Hollands' unorthodox and unpopular championing of Napoleon Bonaparte in these years. Lady Holland in particular was a great admirer of Napoleon and kept memorabilia long after his death. It has also been suggested that the cause of the break lay with Lady Holland, who was notorious for her imperious manners. Lady Cavendish wrote in 1807:

> I think I should like Mr Brougham very much. George Lamb says he always leaves Holland House the minute she begins ordering and giving herself airs, and one night George asked him why he went early, he answered--"because I see the fetch and carry work is beginning."

The most likely explanation is that Brougham was simply too much of an
independent thinker to conform to the strict allegiance required of Holland House Foxites, which entailed not only set appearances at mealtimes but also devotion to the late Charles James Fox. In 1816 Brougham resumed relations with Lord Holland as if nothing had occurred and from that time continued to seek Holland's counsel and friendship until the latter's death in 1840.

Brougham's public career was vigorous and many faceted and is detailed here, as is Holland's, in a chronology (see below). His versatility and abilities in almost every field of knowledge were astounding, yet he tended to meddle in others' affairs. In legal circles he rose to prominence in 1811 with his successful defense of Leigh Hunt, indicted for libel for an article in the Leeds Examiner that exposed the abuses of flogging in the military. He began receiving attention in Parliament when he almost singlehandedly secured the repeal of the Orders in Council in 1812. He was prolific throughout his career: as adviser and then chief counsel for Princess Caroline in her separation from and later divorce from the Prince Regent, the future George IV; as leader of the Northern Circuit in the 1820s; as a champion of the abolition of slavery; as a vigorous proponent of legislation for educational reform; and as a founder of the Mechanics' Institutes (1823), the Society for the Dissemination of Useful Knowledge (1825), and London University (1828).

Brougham reached the apogee of his political popularity and power in 1830, when, profiting from dissension among Whig squires and the zeal of radicals and dissenters, he was elected member of Parliament for Yorkshire. As member for Yorkshire, he was one of the leading members of the House of Commons and his future success seemed assured. The
Whigs were now forced to include him in their plans for taking office, which they hoped soon to do. Their opportunity came when the duke of Wellington resigned on 15 November 1830 as a result of his refusal to consider Parliamentary reform of any sort. Lord Grey was asked by George IV to form a ministry. The new ministry was to be the first Whig government since the brief so-called Ministry of All the Talents in 1806. Brougham was an indispensible element of a successful government, but there were those who mistrusted and disliked him. Brougham himself aspired to the mastership of the Rolls, a permanent position that would secure his political future. Instead, on 19 November Brougham was offered the office of lord chancellor, a position that would raise him to the peerage and so to the House of Lords, thus effectively quenching Brougham's power, which lay in the Commons. Brougham initially refused the offer, reasoning correctly that he was more powerful in the Commons. When Lord Grey pleaded with him that no government could be formed without him, he reluctantly agreed to the chancellorship. On 22 November Brougham took the woolsack and was created first baron Brougham and Vaux. It was an action he would later remember with much bitterness, for he recognized that his power was much greater in the Commons than in the Lords.

Lord Holland was also a member of Lord Grey's cabinet, holding the position of chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, which he held under all the Whig ministries until his death in 1840. The sinecure provided Holland with patronage, few responsibilities, and the opportunity to participate in the cabinet. Throughout his later life, sporadic bouts of the gout inhibited his ability to attend the House of Lords at all times, but he was a conscientious cabinet member.
Brougham was lord chancellor of England throughout Grey's ministry and in Lord Melbourne's first ministry, which lasted from Grey's resignation in June 1834 until November of that same year. During this time, Brougham achieved some of his most lasting legal reforms, although often at the expense of his reputation, since he was battling entrenched sinecures, age-old traditions, and other unassailables. He modernized and simplified the procedure in the Court of Chancery by substituting fixed salaries for fees and abolishing sinecures; abolished the death penalty for a number of crimes such as housebreaking, sheep and horse stealing, coining, and forgery; took the first steps towards a codification of English law; established a central criminal court and a uniform procedure at all the courts of Westminster; was instrumental in securing both the emancipation of the slaves and civil marriages for Nonconformists; and created the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which was, as Arthur Aspinall has remarked, "perhaps his most splendid and useful achievement as a lawyer." A chief disappointment was his failure to secure passage of his Local Courts Bill, which would have established a county court system for the addressing of grievances involving small sums of money. A similar bill finally became law in 1845.

If 1830 had marked the pinnacle of Brougham's popularity, 1834 was the turning point in his career, and 1835 the nadir. Blame for Brougham's political fall from grace must ultimately lie with the man himself--although his abilities were astounding, his faults were numerous. Brougham had always been known as a meddler and intriguer, but in 1834 it seemed as if he were courting disapproval. His intrigues were in part responsible for the resignations of Lords Althorp and Grey
in June 1834, and Grey suspected him of coveting the prime ministership for himself. In August, following the prorogation of Parliament, Brougham made a highly publicized trip to Scotland with the Great Seal, which not only incurred royal disapproval but also infuriated Lord Melbourne, now prime minister, who thought his actions deplorable. In November, only days after William IV had demanded the resignation of Melbourne and his cabinet, Brougham made the highly impolitic gesture of offering himself for cabinet office in the Tory government. His reputation at an all-time low, Brougham headed for France until the New Year.

He never held government office again. When Sir Robert Peel's brief ministry failed in April 1835 and Melbourne returned to form a new Whig government, Brougham was excluded. Melbourne could not forgive what he saw as Brougham's connivance and manipulation. To soften the blow of not being asked to resume the office of lord chancellor, Melbourne placed the Great Seal in commission, but the damage was done. And although in later years other ministers, such as Lord John Russell, pleaded with Melbourne to give Brougham government office, Melbourne remained adamant.

Throughout the remainder of the decade, Brougham remained active in the House of Lords, allying himself on various issues, notably national education, with Tories, Radicals, and Whigs alike. However, following the death of his beloved eighteen-year-old daughter, Eleanor Louisa, of tuberculosis in December 1839, Brougham began to retire from political life. He spent much time at Cannes, where he was building the Chateau Eleanor Louisa. He lived to the extraordinary age of ninety and continued his scientific and intellectual pursuits until his death at
Brougham's life was full of contradictions. Alternately lauded and abused, his genius was in his quicksilver mind, his passionate avowal of causes, and his eloquence. His changing party allegiances and his vast ambitions were often difficult to understand and even more difficult to forgive. He considered interest above party and was therefore isolated from the mainstream Whig tradition. Hence, although for many years the most conspicuous and popular of the Whigs, he never became his party's leader. His was not the type of personality that attracted followers, and he was himself unable to remain a consistent follower of party. The blame for his political demise must rest solidly on his shoulders, but one must wonder at his multiple achievements and following all the more remarkable because of his obscure background and lack of ties to the aristocracy. Perhaps that very ambition for which he was denounced was the essential ingredient in Brougham's success in an age where talent meant little if one lacked proper connections. Lord Holland was born into the peerage; that Brougham was able to scale the social and political ladder as he did is a testimony to his character and, ultimately, his talent.

* * *

This brief biographical sketch of Brougham's political career and his relationship with Lord Holland serves as an introduction to the letters of Additional MS. 51564, a volume in the collection of the Holland House Papers in the British Library. The fifty-seven letters and two fragments of letters comprise 153 folios, the texts of which, but for one copy, written in another hand, of a letter contained in the collection, have never been published. The correspondence is virtually
one-sided, from Brougham to Holland. As such, a greater impression of Brougham than of Holland is formed, but something of Holland's own concerns and attitudes come through the letters as well.

The letters span the decade of the 1830s, the first being written in 1831 and the last in 1840, only weeks before Holland's death. The bulk of the letters, thirty-eight, are from the final three years of Brougham's position as lord chancellor, 1831 to 1834. Fourteen letters date from the time of the dissolution of Melbourne's first ministry in November 1834 until Brougham's discovery that he was not to be returned in Melbourne's new government in May 1835. The final seven letters span the last five years of the decade, touching on various political matters and on the hoax of Brougham's death in 1839. From the letters it is evident that following Brougham's exclusion from government office, relations between the two men were more strained and formal. Brougham was bitter about what he considered his betrayal and abandonment by a party for which he had long struggled, and it shows in his letters.

Aside from providing a glimpse into the political career and personal feelings of Lord Brougham, however, the letters also demonstrate quite effectively the nature of politics and government in early nineteenth-century England. As shown in this collection, a select group of men from a tightly knit social and political elite controlled government. Although one's position as a Privy Council member was strictly defined, various duties and responsibilities overlapped greatly. Hence, the letters portray Brougham and Holland debating foreign and domestic policy, legal reform, clerical and political patronage, and a host of other issues. The personal nature of government comes through clearly in Brougham's letters to Holland.
The letters also offer a window onto English landed society in Georgian and early Victorian England. Brougham's travels are perhaps typical of the type of sightseeing the fashionable set enjoyed: visits to the country, trips to noted estates to admire art collections and architecture, seaside vacations in Brighton every October to mingle with society, and trips back to one's family estates for respite from the bustle of London life.

Transcribing and annotating the collection presented numerous obstacles, chief among which were assigning dates of composition to the vast majority of letters and deciphering Brougham's handwriting. Brougham rarely placed anything more specific than the day of the week at the head of a letter, sometimes adding a location. Every attempt has been made to assign as precise a date as possible to each letter, dates are indicated at the head of a letter in square brackets. Inevitably, it has been impossible to date certain letters more precisely than to a particular year or season or even that to some time during Brougham's years as a member of the Privy Council. Letters for which not even a specific year has been assigned have been placed at the back of the collection.

Brougham's handwriting has been acknowledged by his biographers as presenting rare challenges to the reader, but increasing familiarity with these letters has diminished this obstacle. Brougham was a lazy writer who frequently skipped letters, especially vowels, in his written words. Hence, he usually penned Friday as Fridy. Since deciding whether a particular letter was included or omitted in Brougham's scrawl was at times impossible, words have been silently expanded, unless it was evident that Brougham had used an abbreviation, such as Coms for
Transcriptions follow the originals quite literally. Brougham's punctuation and use of capital letters, as well as the form of his paragraphs, have been retained. Dashes used as punctuation have been retained. Punctuation missing at the end of a sentence has not been supplied. Errors in spelling of proper names and places have been retained. Contractions and abbreviations have been retained as written unless meanings are unclear, in which case they have been expanded in square brackets, as, for example, B[righton]. Illegible or mutilated material has been indicated by [illegible]. Deleted material has been placed within angle brackets < >. The ampersand has been retained. Superscript letters have remained superscripts. Interlineations have been inserted into the body of the text. Datelines appear where located in the documents.

All places, persons, and events have been identified where possible and are placed in endnotes following each letter. Headnotes have also been added in cases where a more lengthy explanation of a letter or group of letters was required. Several biographies of Henry Brougham, notably Frances Hawes's *Henry Brougham* (1956), Chester W. New's *Life of Henry Brougham to 1830* (1934), Arthur Aspinall's *Lord Brougham and the Whig Party* (1927), and, most recently, Robert Stewart's *Henry Brougham, 1778-1868: His Public Career* (1985), have provided valuable biographical information. Although there are no biographies of Lord Holland, two works by the earl of Ilchester--*The Home of the Hollands, 1605-1820* (1937) and *Chronicles of Holland House, 1820-1900* (1937)--proved helpful in providing biographical information about Lord Holland and his family. Of tremendous assistance in identifying persons and events and in

In addition to consulting such standard sources of biographical and geographical information as the *Dictionary of National Biography*, *Webster's Biographical Dictionary*, *Burke's Complete Peerage*, and *Debrett's Illustrated Peerage*, 1985, newspapers, Parliamentary debates, printed collections of contemporary correspondence, and numerous secondary sources, all listed in the Bibliography, have been examined.
NOTES TO INTRODUCTION


Brougham later noted:

One of our constant exploits, after an evening at the Apollo, or at Johnny's, was to parade the streets of the New Town, and
wrench the brass knockers off the doors, or tear out the brass handles of the bells. . . . The number we tore off must have been prodigious.


16. For his early affair with 'Caro George' Lamb, see Hawes, *Henry Brougham*, pp. 85-86.


22. Leslie Mitchell has remarked: "To the end of his career, Brougham remained an irritant and an enigma. The Hollands could not understand why a man of such great talents found it impossible to work within the established conventions of a system based on patronage" (Holland House, p. 179).

23. New, Life of Brougham to 1830, pp. 52-54.


25. For Brougham's many achievements before entering office as lord chancellor, see, for example, Hawes, Henry Brougham, chap. 6; Garratt, Lord Brougham, chap. 10; New, Life of Brougham to 1830, chaps. 17-20; and Robert Stewart, Henry Brougham, 1778-1868: His Public Career (London: Bodley Head, 1985), chaps. 8-10.


29. Sir Denis Le Marchant, Brougham's private secretary from 1830 to 1834, described the circumstances of Brougham's initial refusal and later acceptance of the office of lord chancellor in vivid detail in his diary. See Arthur Aspinall, Three Nineteenth Century Diaries (London: William and Norgate, 1952), pp. 2-6.


32. Aspinall, Brougham and the Whig Party, quotation on p. 230; New,

35. See letter dated 22 November 1834 in this collection.
37. Ibid., pp. 261-67. Lord Grey was eloquent on Brougham's behalf in a letter to Lord Melbourne of 1 February 1835:

In concerting the measures to be taken, how can you reject, from merely personal reasons, which it is difficult to assign, th co-operation of a person like Brougham, who was intimately connected with you in office, who professes the same principles, and who, whatever may be the justice of the censure which he has so generally incurred, will, immediately after the meeting of Parliament, by his extraordinary activity and talents, again attract the attention, and not improbably conciliate the favour of a great portion of the Public?


38. Hawes, Henry Brougham, pp. 275-77, 278.
39. Ibid., chap. 11.
HENRY PETER BROUGHAM

CHRONOLOGY

1778: 19 September. Born in Edinburgh, son of Henry Brougham, Sr. (1742-1810), and Eleanor Syme Brougham (1750-1839).

1780: Birth of brother James (d. 1833).

1785: Birth of brother John (d. 1829).

1788: Birth of brother Peter (d. 1800).

1789: Enters Edinburgh High School.

1791: August. Graduates from high school.

1792: October. Enters Edinburgh University.

1795: Begins legal studies.


1798: First visit to London.

1799: August. Tours Western Islands.

1800: Called to Scottish bar, southern circuit.


Becomes a fellow of the Royal Society.
14 November. Enters Lincoln's Inn.

1804: Publishes *A Concise Statement of the Question regarding the Abolition of the Slave Trade* (London).

Spring. Travels on the Continent.

1805: Introduced to Whig society and Holland House circle.

1806: Spring. Publishes *An Inquiry into the State of the State of the Nation at the Commencement of the Present Administration* (London).

Appointed secretary to Lords Rosslyn and St. Vincent, who send him on a mission to Portugal.


November. Called to London bar, northern circuit.

1808-09: Writes copiously for Whig press organs such as *Morning Chronicle*.

1809: November. Becomes MP for Camelford, close borough for duke of Bedford.


5 March. Maiden speech in House of Commons.

15 June. Makes first of speeches that make his reputation as a great orator; subject: abolition of the slave trade.


16 October. Concedes failure in Liverpool contest.

1812-14: Veers toward Radicals.


Summer. Receives seat in House of Commons from Lord Darlington at Lord Grey's request.


Spring. Presents imposing program of social and law reform; brings forth question of education; works successfully to defeat income tax on 19 March.

July–October. Travels on Continent.


3 July. Loses race against earl of Lonsdale for seat of Westmorland.

August. Brought in again for Winchelsea.

1819: 1 April. Marries widow Mrs. Spalding, the former Mary Anne Eden (1785-1865).

25 November. Birth of daughter Sarah Eleanor (d. 1821, aged 20 months).

1820: 11 April. Presents appointment as Queen Caroline's attorney general in general court.

June. Puts forward education bill; unsuccessful.

3 October. Begins successful defense of Queen Caroline on charges of adultery and treason; birth of daughter Eleanor Louisa.

1823: 11 November. Founds London Mechanics' Institute with Dr. George Birkbeck.

1825: Publishes *Practical Observations upon the Education of the People, Addressed to the Working Classes and Their Employers* (London).

30 January. Begins work to create London University.

April. Elected rector of the University of Glasgow.

1826: January. General election leaves HB increasingly dissatisfied with exclusion from power.


1827: March. Founds Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge and series *Library of Useful Knowledge*.

April. Influence with Canning enables three Whigs to be brought into coalition cabinet.


1828: 1 October. Opening of London University.

1828-29: Grows increasingly estranged from Whig leadership.

1830: Publishes *Observations on Two Pamphlets Addressed to Mr. Brougham* (London).

27 July. Begins canvass of Yorkshire; platform: (1) revision of Corn Laws; (2) abolition of remainder of East India Company's trading privileges; (3) extinction of colonial slavery; (4) parliamentary reform: triennial act, household vote, representation of great towns.
8 August. Elected MP for York.

19 November. Accepts the Great Seal under threat that refusal would break up new Whig government.

22 November. Takes woolsack and is created first Baron Brougham and Vaux.

1832: 18 May. Meets with Grey and William IV, who agrees to create enough peers to ensure passage of the Reform Bill through the House of Lords.

1834: Spring. Organizes, with Althorp, the commission that inquired into the operation of the Poor Law.

7 July. Suspected of duplicity when Grey and Althorp resign in wake of O'Connell affair.

August. Tours Scotland with Great Seal, creating great sensation.

22 November. Sends damaging letter to Lord Lyndhurst offering to take office of chief baron of the Exchequer under new Tory government.

December. Travels to Paris.

1835: February. Returns to England but is shunned by most Whigs.

15 April. Informed by Melbourne that the Great Seal is to be put in commission.

Summer. Publishes Discourse on Natural Theology (London).

1836: Does not attend Parliament; lives in Cannes, where he begins work on a chateau.

1839: 29 October. Carriage accident near Brougham Hall, Westmorland; false rumor of his death.

December. Death of daughter Eleanor Louisa of tuberculosis.


1857: October. Elected perpetual president of Association for the Promotion of Social Science.

1860: May. Elected chancellor of Edinburgh University.

1865: Mary Anne, Lady Brougham, dies.

1868: 7 May. Dies in his sleep and is buried at Cannes.

HENRY RICHARD VASSALL FOX

CHRONOLOGY

1773: 21 November. Born at Winterslow House, Wiltshire, only son of Stephen, second baron Holland, by Lady Mary Fitzpatrick, daughter of John, second earl of Upper Ossory.

1774: 16 December. Death of father; elevation to the peerage as third Baron Holland.

1778: Death of mother; entrusted to care of maternal grandfather and uncle Charles James Fox (d. 1806).

1781: Enters Eton.

1790: 19 October. Enters Christ Church, Oxford.

1791: Summer. Visits Paris, Denmark, and Prussia.

1792: 20 June. Receives M.A. from Christ Church.

1793: March. Leaves England for travels to Spain and Italy.

1794: Autumn. Settles in Florence, where he meets Elizabeth, Lady Webster (1770-1845), wife of Sir Godfrey Webster and daughter of Jamaican planter Richard Vassall.

1796: Spring. Returns to England with Lady Webster, who resides with him.

Birth of illegitimate son, Charles Richard Fox (d. 1873).

5 October. Takes seat in House of Lords.
1797: 3 July. Lady Webster's marriage to Sir Godfrey is dissolved by Parliamentary decree on grounds of her adultery.

6 July. Marries Elizabeth Vassall Webster.


1799: January. Birth of son Stephen (d. in infancy).

1800: Assumes additional surname "Vassall" by royal license.

Summer. Visits Germany, Netherlands, and France.

1802: March. Birth of son Henry Edward (d. 1859), fourth and last baron Holland.

Autumn. Travels with Lady Holland to Paris and to Spain, where they reside in Madrid until spring 1805.


1806: Publishes *Some Accounts of the Life and Writings of Lope Felix de Vega Carpio* (London).

Birth of daughter Mary Elizabeth.

20 August. Appointed to meet with Americans Monroe and Pinckney about alleged British infringements of U.S. neutrality.

27 August. Sworn of privy council.

15 October. Enters Ministry of All the Talents as lord privy seal.


March. Dismissal of Ministry of All the Talents.
1808: September. Travels to Spain.


1809: Birth of daughter Georgina Anne (d. 1819).

1811: 4 January. Leads opposition to establish a regency through legislation.

1813: 2 April. Attacks treaty with Sweden by which Britain agrees to abet Swedish designs on Norwegian territory.

1814: Visits Murat in Naples.

1816: 6 April. Opposes bill for detention of Napoleon Bonaparte as a prisoner of war.

1817: Moves for papers regarding Napoleon's treatment at St. Helena.

1821: May-September. Travels with Lady Holland on Continent.


1828: Proposes forcible intervention in favor of usurped queen of Portugal Dona Maria.

1830: 25 November. Enters Whig ministry of Lord Grey as chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster.

1834: 10 May. Resigns as chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster.


1836: Publishes Parliamentary Talk; or, The Objections
to the Late Irish Bill, · · · (London).

1840: 22 October. Death after a short illness at Holland House.

28 October. Burial at Millbrook Church, near Ampthill, Bedfordshire.

1845: 16 November. Death of Lady Holland; burial at Ampthill Park.


LIST OF SHORT TITLES AND ABBREVIATIONS

Brougham and the Whig Party.

Aspinall, Arthur. **Lord Brougham and the Whig Party.**

DNB.

Stephen, Leslie, and Sidney Lee, eds. **Dictionary of National Biography.**

Hansard.

**Hansard Parliamentary Debates.** 3d series (1830-91).

Henry Brougham.


HB.

Henry Peter Brougham, first baron Brougham and Vaux.

HHD.


Life of Brougham.

New, Chester W. **Life of Henry Brougham to 1830.** 1931;
Melbourne.


Palmerston.


Public Career.


Treasures of Britain.


WBD.


WGD.


Who's Who of MPs.


VH.

Henry Richard Vassall Fox, third baron Holland.
We have had a kind of manifesto (Ld Grey & I both consider it) from Lambton & things look like a crisis in that quarter—G. is quite resolved.

A meeting in the city. They are for or at least not against the Land operation, I hear—but much agt. the embargo—& tho' they profess not to be hostile to govt many who are take advantage of the thing.

Things look more like holding out in Holland than they did. I almost reckon for certain in the French Monarchy & only fear we may be puzzled with a late offer to sign the 24 Arts—& so gain time & make more [illegible].

The Suffrein is to remain in the Downs—and the others to go tomorrow off the coast. Much reinforcing of guns & men in Waldhaven & the Scheldt—but that wont do them any good.

Villaneuve & all his officers indecently violent Carlists.

1. John George Lambton (1792-1840), first earl of Durham (1833) and known as Radical Jack, was lord privy seal from 1830 until his resignation in April 1833. One of the framers of the Reform Bill, he was ambassador to Russia, 1835-37, and governor-general of Canada, 1838. He was married to Lord Grey's eldest daughter, Lady Louisa. DNB: Complete Peerage.

2. In August 1830 Belgium revolted against its union with the Netherlands as mandated by the Treaty of Vienna. William I of Holland appealed to Great Britain, Prussia, Austria, and Russia, who responded
by forming a conference of the four powers and France in London in October 1830. Belgian independence was recognized on 20 December 1830. The conference was empowered to set the terms of separation, and, in exchange for Belgium's acceptance of the British candidate for the Belgian throne, Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, Belgium received a favorable separation in the eighteen articles of 26 June 1831, which stated Holland's territorial limits as those of the Dutch Republic of 1790, all the rest to comprise Belgium; gave liberal terms to Belgium for apportioning the Netherlands's national debt; and made Belgium a neutral state, the five powers to maintain her territorial integrity. William I, however, was unhappy with these terms; on 2 August 1831, one week after Leopold had ascended the Belgian throne, Dutch troops invaded Belgium. France promptly responded by sending troops to assist Belgium's weak army. England's response to the military invasion was to send a British squadron to the Downs, as the Times reported on 8 August. British concerns were fourfold: to ensure the security of the English Channel; to maintain control in the Scheldt Estuary, indispensable waterway to Antwerp and thus vital to British commerce and security; to ensure France's withdrawal of troops from Belgium (fearing a potential French takeover); and to prevent any escalation of the conflict to a full-scale war. William I immediately removed his troops from Belgium and the French left in September. As a result of William's maneuvers, the eighteen articles were modified in October to the twenty-four articles, more favorable to the Netherlands. William I rejected them, however, with the result that the Netherlands in the 1830s was isolated diplomatically in Europe. Palmerston, pp. 332-43; E. H. Kossmann, The Low Countries, 1780-1940 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), pp. 154-60; HHD, pp. 11-12, note 76; and Times (London), 8 Aug. 1831, p. 4f.

3. The Downs, a roadstead in the English Channel along the east coast of Kent, is protected by a natural breakwater and affords excellent anchorage. WGD.

4. Extreme royalists, Carlists supported Don Carlos, younger brother of Ferdinand VII (1784-1833), king of Spain, 1808-33. The Carlist program, ultimately unsuccessful, included such demands as the exile of all liberals in government, the impeachment of the ministry, and the restoration of the Inquisition. Raymond Carr, Spain, 1808-1975, 2d ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 150.

Private

[1831]

Monday Evening

My dear Ld H.

When the man died (insolvent, suicide & defaulter) I resolved to appoint a Barrister—if I could get one to take it. A first cousin of
Lady B's (ruined by a West India Estate) applied for the place—and I promised it to him if given to any but a Barrister. Then Ld Grey applied very pressingly for a Solr. who I believe was some way connected with Ld Ponsonby—and I told him exactly what I have now said—but added that I saw he wished it much & therefore I should endeavour to get released from my promise to Lady B's kinsman-& give it to Ld Grey's man <supposing>in case I could not prevail on any Barrister to take it. I have still been unable to get one who will accept tho' the salary is £450---& the work very light. This day I heard that Enfield of Nottm. had a son in town, in the profession tho' he had not applied---& I immediately resolved to ask Ld G. to let me off—that so excellent a Whig might have something—which I thought would be of use to the party. I had intended to offer it thro' some one who knew him—as I know none of the family except by name & fame. You will therefore be the proper person—supposing all the above ifs—turn out right. Of the chances of that I leave you to judge—I think (but am not quite sure) I can announce for this House—I mean for the Tenants of it.

But I have still a hope of being able to prevail on some Barrister—tho' so many have refused. I always feel pleased when my patronage goes a begging, for it shows I am trying to get people to take places who are conferring a favour on the publick by taking them.

Yrs ever

H. B.

What a d——d delay this is at Antwerp! Denman applied to me this morning for the place for another person---& I answered as above---& mentioned Enfield's Son—of whom he, of course had not heard.
1. On 1 April 1819 HB married Mary Anne Eden (Mrs. Thomas) Spalding (1785-1865), a widow with two children, John and Marianne. An apparent hypochondriac, Lady Brougham was rarely seen with HB, spending much of her time at Brighton for health reasons. In the 1820s and 1830s there was much private speculation about her mental state, and HB's biographer Frances Hawes, who has examined Lady Brougham's journal and the couple's correspondence, states that she was completely insane by the 1840s. HB was always solicitous of her comfort, but the couple did not live together in the final years of their marriage. Henry Brougham, pp. 86-90, 290.

2. Eminent statesman Charles Grey (1764-1845), second earl Grey, served as MP, 1786-1807, entering the Ministry of All the Talents as first lord of the admiralty. On Charles James Fox's death, he was made foreign secretary. Grey became recognized as the senior spokesman for the Foxite Whigs after Fox's death. He served as prime minister, 1830-34, after which he retired from politics. DNB; WBD.

3. John Ponsonby (?1770-1855), second baron Ponsonby, served as minister at Buenos Aires, 1826-28, and at Rio de Janeiro, 1828-30, as envoy at Brussels, 1830-31, as secretary to the English legation at Berlin, 1831-35, as minister at Florence, 1835-38, as minister to the German Confederation, 1838-40, and as minister at Turin and The Hague in the 1840s and 1850s. DNB; Complete Peerage.

4. Perhaps Henry Enfield, town clerk of Nottingham, and one of his sons: Edward (1811-80), Unitarian philanthropist and president of Manchester New College, London, or William, a leader of philanthropic efforts in Nottingham. DNB.

* * * * *

[1831-32]

Saturday

I dont understand what you say of Mr Offley. Has the other man been appointed? I dont believe it. But if he has it is no doing of mine as you would <be> see plainly enough if you knew any thing at all of what has passed—which you clearly do not. But I should like to know who says he is appointed.

1. Foster Cunliffe-Offley (1782-1832), served as MP for Chester City, 1831-32. Who's Who of MPs.

* * * * *

[1831-32]

Saturday
Dear Ld H.

Mr Hutchinson\(^1\) writes in perfect ignorance of the matter. The bill is not brought in which may give the power of appointing official Asses—and it is not intended to exercise the power (if given) at first in Liverpool. Moreover if it were I should certainly not appoint the offl. asses there any more than I did in London where there were above a thousand candidates. There will be almost as many in the country and I shall have the choice made there as I had here—as nothing could have succeeded better.

Yrs ever

H. B.

\(^1\) John Hely-Hutchinson (1787-1851) of Knocklofty, County Tipperary, served as MP for County Tipperary, 1826-30, 1831-August 1832, when he became the third earl of Donoughmore. His father, John Hutchinson (1757-1832), second earl of Donoughmore, was a great friend of HB's and was closely involved with HB's work on behalf of Queen Caroline. DNB.

* * * * *

[12 February 1833]

1/2 past

7 Oclock

I have just come from the Lords (where Wynford\(^1\) &c kept me) & the battle in the Coms. was won before I came away.

Althorp's\(^2\) first part was coldly received. I suppose after last week, they thought something \textit{very strong} was necessary to justify support. However Shed A. (the 10 Bishops) carried all before it & after that it was all loud cheering & almost like the Reform Bill.\(^3\)
O'Connell professed himself quite satisfied—Inglis is to follow—agt it of course & so is Goulbourne—and friends (it is said).

The Irish & English Radicals all satisfied—except Hume—who is angry at our succeeding—Cobbett not there.

1. William Draper Best (1767-1845), first baron Wynford, served as MP, 1802-06, 1812-18, and as chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas, 1824-29. Complete Peerage.

2. John Charles Spencer (1782-1845), known as Viscount Althorp until he succeeded his father as third earl Spencer, served as an MP, 1804-30, and as a junior lord of treasury, 1806-07. Leader of the Whig opposition in 1830, he was made chancellor of the exchequer and leader of the House of Commons in Lord Grey's administration. He retired from politics following his elevation to the peerage in 1834. DNB; WBD.

3. On the evening of 12 February 1833, Lord Althorp, assuming Chief Secretary for Ireland Stanley's place, introduced the Irish Temporalities Bill, a measure for the reform of the established Church of Ireland, whose membership stood at about 800,000. His presentation was restrained; he declared that it was not then necessary to "decide whether Parliament has or has not the right to interfere with Church property." The Whigs hoped that a modest measure would win broad support: indeed, it caused an immediate sensation, loud cheering accompanying the final parts of Althorp's presentation.

As finally passed on 30 July 1833 by the House of Lords, the law provided for the elimination of ten sees—four archbishoprics became two and eighteen bishoprics became ten. A new board, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for Ireland, was empowered to allocate funds received from a revised system of taxation of church land. Tenants of church lands now gained control of the land in exchange for the price of purchase and an annual fee. Perhaps most significantly, the act challenged the rights of private church property, thus paving the way for later reforms of the Church of England. Hansard, 3d ser., 15 (1833): 561-77; Edward Brynn, The Church of Ireland in the Age of Catholic Emancipation (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1982), pp. 274-75, 287-88; Olive J. Brose, Church and Parliament: The Reshaping of the Church of England, 1828-1860 [Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1959], pp. 109, 112.

4. Daniel O'Connell (1775-1847), "the Liberator," Irish nationalist leader, was first elected MP in 1828. He took his seat in Parliament, however, only after the duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel were forced to approve Catholic emancipation. He fought the Coercion Act of 1833 and led agitation for the abolition of tithes and of the established church in Ireland. On 12 February he followed Althorp's speech, "expressing the great satisfaction and delight which he felt on the introduction of such a measure." DNB; WBD; Hansard, 3d ser., 15 (1833): 578.
5. Sir Robert Harry Inglis (1786-1855) served as MP for the borough of Dundalk, 1824-27, for Ripon, 1828, and for Oxford University, 1829-55. A Tory of the old guard, he opposed Catholic emancipation, reforms in the established Church of Ireland, and, later, the repeal of the corn laws. Inglis spoke that evening against the measure, stating it to be inconsistent with all the principles on which the Church of England was established. DNB; Hansard, 3d ser., 15 (1833): 578-88.

6. Henry Goulburn (1784-1856) was a Tory MP, 1808-56, sitting for Cambridge University, 1831-56. His numerous government appointments included: chief secretary for Ireland, 1821-27; chancellor of the exchequer in Wellington's ministry; home secretary in Peel's first ministry; and chancellor of the exchequer, 1841-46. He did indeed speak against the measure that evening. DNB; Hansard, 3d ser., 15 (1833): 588-91.

7. Joseph Hume (1777-1855), radical politician, was MP for Weymouth, 1812, for the Aberdeen burgs, 1818-30, 1842-55, for Middlesex, 1830-37, and for County Kilkenny, 1837-41. HHD, p. 58, note 306.

8. William Cobbett (1763-1835), English journalist and essayist, edited the weekly Political Register from 1802. At first a Tory journal, in 1806 the Political Register became radical in nature, championing social and political reform. Cobbett became a spokesman for many radical causes in the years before passage of the Reform Bill. Cleared on a charge of sedition in 1831, Cobbett became an MP in the first Reform Parliament in 1832, where he served until 1835 as leader of a small group of extreme radicals. DNB.

[8 September 1833]

Private

Brougham

Sunday

My dear Lord H. From a letter I have today I find that the D. of Bedford & you are endeavouring to befriend Fisher as a candidate for the place of Solr. to the W. J. Conn. and as I have more than once expressed to you my favourable opinion of him (from report of others, however, and before late events)—I wish to let you know that I have been asked, first 6 weeks ago or 2 months ago & again a fortnight ago—to bear my testimony in behalf of another candidate—namely—Vizard & Co which I did as strongly as I could—knowing that both for talents
experience & integrity I know and never did know any one in the profession who came near Vizard. As to his perfect integrity—having known him among untold gold (in the Queen's Service) I feel a confidence in him which I hardly have in any one else.  

But in case you should fancy (as people are apt to do) that I have the least degree of favour towards him from any obligation I may have owed him—as an old client—I must add—that my first acquaintance with him was my naming him as Sol on the Orders in Council and my next—was naming him as the Pss of Wales Sol—& that I only recollect one brief I ever had from him in my life. But such was opinion of his ability & honesty—that I have always employed him in any business (electioneering or other) I had to do—tho' I had a cousin at the head of one of the great Sol's. Houses. You will therefore not wonder at my giving him the full benefit of my testimony—& I must really add—that I should feel extremely surprised if the Commissaries were even to hesitate in appointing him—so much depending on high professional name, in such a case.

Yrs ever

H. B.

1. Postmark date.

2. John Russell (1766-1839), sixth duke of Bedford and elder Whig statesman, was one of the originators, with Lord Grey, of the Friends of the People. Established in April 1792, the Friends of the People drove more conservative Whigs to the support of William Pitt but also gave the remainder of the Whigs their first sense of group cohesiveness. "The benign ascendancy of the aristocracy and the relative rigidity of class distinctions constituted its unassailable social premises." DNB; quotation from HHD, p. xviii.

3. William Vizard, solicitor to Queen Caroline and one of HB's private secretaries during his chancellorship, was greatly admired by HB. On securing Vizard's appointment as the queen's solicitor, HB later wrote:
Her solicitor was Vizard, whose strictly honourable character and professional talents, with his sound judgment, made him a valuable associate; and his trustworthiness, the most essential recommendation in so delicate a case, led to my treating him as one of the council rather than the solicitor only. The experience which I had of him in the great commercial question of the Orders in Council, 1808, when I recommended him to the petitioners, and afterwards, in 1812, when I represented them in Parliament, left me no doubt about recommending him to the Queen.

Vizard later served briefly as solicitor to the Home Office in 1841.


* * * * *

Private

[12 September 1833]

Brougham

Thursday

Dear Ld H.

I mean to give this "bolus"1 to you—because I have not time to make up two & your Letter requires I should administer to you—I mean it to purge off vain hopes and clear away delusions—so it will be more wholesome (like most good drugs) than pleasant. I fear Milady wants it too.

No one feels more entirely with you than I do & always have done on the Howard subject.2 (so does Milady—for she will tell you she & I have again & again discussed it)—I hold it on any account publick as well as private, clear—of course any thing agreeable to such excellent finds would be the most pressing wish we could have—but on publick grounds merely, I hold it quite necessary. Is it not scandalous that
none of the Whig names should be found high in the Church? You have your Bagots, & Murrays & Beresfords & Percies so on but no Howards. We should be too glad to have the opportunity. This then is quite undeniable. So at Urseton[?] I broached the subject with Ld Althorp & after discussing Ned Grey (which we both did with all candour—admitting as I distinctly do that he has suffered extremely by his transference & also that his being by Grey's brother makes it possible to do what in the face of <the> his abominations would otherwise have been quite intolerable <otherwise>). We both agreed that this stall fixed him—and that of course there must not, happen what will, be the least possibility of his further promotion. A. said he as good as understood G. to admit this—but whether he does or not—it is too clear for argument. Then we discoursed of the next Bishoprick and I came upon the necessity of Howard (brother). But I found that a certain Allen (not our friend Don Juan—as you may perhaps think but A[ltorp]'s Cambridge pater) is as good as Bp. in Reversion. Now tho' I own this disappointed me yet I cannot deny that he is a most excellent, & indeed an unexceptionable man & a perfect politician. If he is not—that is if we are at all confounding present politicks with past—(a thing at this moment carefully to be avoided) then of course the arrangement must be resisted. But if his Whiggism is of a full body & sufficient age for use—that is if it is more than 3 years old—I dont see how it can be helped. Only it is a disappointment I acknowledge. Then I certainly shall press Howard strongly notwithstanding—with the view of having it clear he shall come next—and such at all events the next Stall should be his. The bitterness of a certain Ex-minister, I can tell you is not without its effect on this matter. I can in no otherwise account for G.
hearing the subject mentioned without discouraging it. My writing would
do no good till a vacancy occurs—but I shall probably go over to
Howick & in that case shall certainly have the whole matter tabled.
But don't you relax.

Yrs ever truly

H. B.

Pray tell Allen that I have heard from the office & it is all
safe, as to Holmes. Stokes refused it & he (H.) has it.

1. A bolus is a large pill usually combining several medicines.

2. Henry Edward John Howard (1775-1868), youngest child of Frederick
Howard, fifth earl of Carlisle, and brother of George Howard, sixth
earl, was ordained deacon and priest in 1820. He held the livings of
Slingsby and Sutton-on-the-Forest, Yorkshire, 1822-33. In November 1833
Howard became dean of Lichfield and rector of Tatenhill, Staffordshire,
and in 1834 he obtained the rectory of Donington, Shropshire. He was
never created bishop, although he was known for his eloquence as a
preacher and for his scholarly abilities. DNB.

3. Richard Bagot (1782-1854) was bishop of Oxford, 1829-45, and of Bath
and Wells, 1845-54. DNB.

George Murray (1784-1860), second son of Lord George Murray
(1761-1803), bishop of St. David's, 1800-1803, became bishop of Sodor
and Man in 1814 and transferred to the bishopric of Rochester in July
1827. In 1828 he became dean of Worcester, where he remained until his
death. DNB.

Lord John Beresford (1773-1862), archbishop of Armagh, 1822-62, was
primate of all Ireland. DNB.

Hugh Percy (1784-1856), third son of Algernon, first earl of
Beverly, served briefly as bishop of Rochester, July-November 1827,
becoming bishop of Carlisle in November 1827, which bishopric he held
until his death. DNB.

4. Edward Grey (1782-1837), Lord Grey's brother and dean of Hereford,
1830-32, was bishop of Hereford from 20 May 1832 until his death. DNB.

5. Joseph Allen (17707-1845), bishop of Bristol, 1834-36, and of Ely,
1836-45. Of Allen's appointment on 7 December 1834 as bishop of
Bristol, VH wrote:

The new Bishoprick was filled up by a Clergyman of respectable
character, Dr Allen, chiefly remarkable as tutor of Lord
Althorp and consequently liable to the negative censure of not
encouraging active friends in the Church, but exempt from that
at first very liberally bestowed upon it, of promoting a
 treacherous friend or hidden enemy. Dr Allen if not a warm is
 a good Whig, and an honourable man."

DNB; quotation from HHD, p. 265.

6. Howick, Northumberland, was the family seat of Lord Grey, who
retired there whenever possible to be with his wife and fifteen
children. Herbert Van Thal, ed., The Prime Ministers: From Sir Robert

7. Scottish physician John Allen (1771-1843) was introduced to VH and
Lady Holland in 1801. He was "their friend, fellow-traveller, Lord
Holland's occasional amanuensis and, at Holland House, dilettante, clerk
and librarian-in-residence." Allen lived at Holland House from 1805
until his death, leaving only for visits to Dulwich College, where he
was warden, 1811-20, and master, 1820-43. Leslie Mitchell, Holland

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[14 September 1833]
Brougham
Saturday

Private

Dear Ld H. What I meant by calling my last letter a Bolus was simply
this. <You> It was in answer to yours', in which you said my former one
had done Milady good & desired me (quoting some Oxford Doctor) to
"repeat the Bolus." It is well the newspapers dont know what we are
writing about, or they would say we were turned Doctors. I see they are
amusing themselves with an account of my having a most painful &
dangerous complaint, for which I am obliged to take huge quantities of
Laudanum—that I was in a sleep which lasted 50 hours, all the way down
from Town—& could not be awaked.¹ What the disease is I dont know &
cant guess—except that Loch² told me t'other day he heard it was only a
cancer in one or both testicles. If so—it is the most agreeable of all
maladies—for I had not before I heard of it, the most remote suspicion
that any thing ailed me—& as for opium & Laudanum—I never tasted opium
in my life—and of laudanum only once above thirty years ago when I took a few drops for the toothache—which it did not relieve. My sleep is equally true—for it happens to be the only time in my life that I ever travelled without sleeping in the carriage—at least—not above an hour or two the whole way—and to do that required a very strong & skilful sleeper—the carriage being an old open one—that shook one to pieces. It is curious that the inventions of the Duke of Cumberland (for I take him to be the great artist in all these things) should thus fill the newspapers—and should differ from those of all the other masters of the Art—for they generally take some peg of truth to hang their fictions upon—but he alone weaves his gossamer in the <hea> air, & spins it out of his own brain.  

I agree in what you say upon the whole that Bpricks should for the present be given to those whose promotion will more mark that they owe it to eminent qualities & sound principles—Allan's promotion would only shew that a man must be both a Whig & a Lords jester—Howards—a Whig & a Lords brother—Butter man far better—but I fear we shall not be gratified with this—Grey has got a notion that it is only the enemy who abuse Ned's Stall—I have written to undeceive him & to beg that he would make C. Wood let the defence be known himself—the great loss he sustained by his promotion.

Yrs ever

H. B.

1. The following account appeared in the *Times*:

A paragraph was inserted in our last week's publication, extracted from the *John Bull*, which stated that "the lord Chancellor in order to allay pain of a distressing nature, was obliged to have recourse to laudanum." We have received a
communication from his Lordship's brother, James Brougham, dated Brougham, September 19, utterly contradicting the statement of the John Bull. "I have great satisfaction in telling you," says Mr. Brougham, "that the Lord Chancellor has no pain or complaint of any kind whatever,—that he never took laudanum or opium in the whole course of his life,—that he is enjoying the very best health,—and that there is no man of his age, not even among the Mountaineers of these counties, more likely to live 30 years than the Lord Chancellor; and as for the story of his sleeping 50 hours, which the same paragraph gives, I was with him the whole way, and I do not think he slept five hours in the carriage, contrary to his usual habit, and probably because he came in an open carriage." We are most happy to give this testimony to Lord Brougham's healthfulness and haleness.—Carlisle Patriot.

Times (London), 26 Sept. 1833, p. 3a.

2. John Loch (1781-1868), a longtime friend of HB's, was director of the Board of Control from 1821 to 1833, when he was made chairman. DNB.

3. Ernest Augustus (1771-1851), ultra-Tory duke of Cumberland and later king of Hanover, was the fifth son of George III. WBD.

4. Joseph Allen was made bishop of Bristol in spite of HB's objections.

5. Of Edward Grey's promotion to the bishopric of Hereford, VH noted on 4 May 1833:

The King insisted on making Grey's brother Bishop of Hereford. Would take no refusal . . . and accompanied what he called this testimony of regard and gratitude with some equivocal phrases that had a sound of somewhat a valedictory nature, especially when combined with some incidents and expressions that have lately come to our knowledge.

HHD, p. 174.

* * * * *

[18 September 1833]

Brougham

Wednesday

Private

Dear Ld H. I never saw anything so disgraceful as W. Russell¹ letting that cursed woman² (I might give her another name) lead him by the nose in this way. Recalling him would be very painful—but at any rate Ld
Anglesey should go as you suggest & then if he likes to stay, W. R. should come home. I certainly should greatly prefer his being recalled—but if he is virtually superseded, it comes to the same thing & lets him down more gently. I have written to Ld. G fully my mind on this—and except that his nature so always to have a prepossession against whatever anybody suggests, merely because they suggest it, I should hope he will do it. But let us understand one another upon this matter—If you mean by your remark on the existence of the [illegible]—that we are to be at the old child's play which would have done in 1782—of going out because any one thing goes wrong—then I say "I will go out now & get rid of all connexion with such a set of people. The extreme ridicule of putting the existence of the Govt. on every one thing that happens, at home or abroad, does not suit my notions at all—I don't comprehend it. Going out is a thing I have not the least objection to—Indeed at all times I am quite ready to do so voluntarily—but at no time on account of defeats either at home or abroad. Therefore—if we are to depend on the proceedings of a villain like Pedro—and his success—or on the fooleries of a woman like the one above alluded to—and to say "the Govt. stands on this"—all I say is—that I don't belong to any such twaddling crotchet-mongering unintelligible & fantastic a concern—any more than I belong to the Duke of Newcastle or Lord Wellington—or Mr Pelham's administration.

Yrs ever

H. B.

1. Lord William Russell (1767-1840), third son of the fourth duke of Bedford, and Lord John Russell's elder brother, was sent to Lisbon in the summer of 1832 to aid the British representation there. He was chosen for the post because of his extensive military service.
Unskilled in diplomacy and ambivalent about the respective qualities of Dom Pedro and Dom Miguel, Russell, it soon became apparent, was out of his league. Soon after the fall of Lisbon to Dom Pedro in August 1833, the British ambassador to Lisbon sent Palmerston some captured Miguelista letters that not only exposed the duping of Russell but also hinted at Lady Russell's adultery with a Miguelista. The Grey ministry, already displeased by Russell's lackluster performance, used the restoration of Queen Maria in September 1833 as an excuse to recall Russell. He was murdered in 1840 by his valet, Courvoisier. *DNB; Palmerston, pp. 468-69; Times (London), 7 May 1840, p. 5c.*

2. Lady Russell (1793-1874), née Elizabeth Anne Rawdon, married Lord William in 1817. Her openly expressed Tory sympathies only increased Russell's difficulties as negotiator in Portugal. *Palmerston, p. 469.*

3. Henry William Paget (1768-1854), first marquess of Anglesey, was lord lieutenant of Ireland, 1828-29, 1830-33. *Complete Peerage.*


5. Dom Pedro (1798-1834), eldest son of John VI of Portugal (1767-1826), declared himself emperor of Brazil in 1822, Brazil's independence having been achieved in part through British intervention. When John VI died in 1826, Pedro renounced his title to the Portuguese throne in favor of his seven-year-old daughter, Dona Maria (1819-53), whose succession was associated with the concession of a constitution for Brazil. Pedro's younger brother, Dom Miguel (1802-66), seized power from Dona Maria in a coup d'état in May 1828, his arbitrary rule tending to confirm that Portugal was divided between absolutists and constitutionalists. Driven from Brazil by a revolution in April 1831, Dom Pedro arrived in England on 26 June 1831 to claim the Portuguese crown for his daughter. In July 1832 Pedro organized an expedition with the help of the British and French and seized Oporto. Success against the Miguelistas followed, and Dom Miguel finally fled Portugal in May 1834. *WBD; Webb, Modern England, pp. 170, 302.*

6. Ultra-Tory Henry Pelham Fiennes Pelham Clinton (1785-1851), fourth duke of Newcastle, was later the political patron of William Gladstone. *Complete Peerage; HHD, p. 177, note 149.*

7. Thomas Pelham (1756-1826), second earl of Chichester, was home secretary, 1801-3. *Complete Peerage.*

* * * * *
Dear Ld. H. I left for this last evening after eliciting as much intelligence as emanated from the Office in Downing Street—upon the occurrences that transpired during the <course> currency of the past week including Bourmont and his compatriots and which Shee narrated to me (who competes <in> with you in advocating interference). Having on the road had access to read the publick prints you will perceive the amelioration of style which has transpired & how much I have profited of the talented gentleman of the diurnal Press.

I leave for the Metropolis next morning & shall be with you at dinner next evening.

My coming to town was not at all owing to any illness here but partly for some private business & partly I admit from some anxiety to have a little talk with such of you as are about town upon Spain & Portugal—and also to hold a conference with our Capn. Commissioner in chief. Drummond (Lieut.) was with me in the North & I brought him to town (& indeed here) so that I had a most agreeable as well as useful travelling companion.

Yrs ever

H. B.

I am to have a person on business with me till six tomorrow. If you dine before 1/2 past six pray send me notice to Brighton. I guess that I may alter the appointment.
1. Comte Louis-Auguste-Victor de Chaisne de Bourmont (1773-1846), French general and politician, supported right-wing causes in France and on the Continent. He opposed the July Revolution, supported the plot of the duchesse de Berry in 1832, and supported the cause of Dom Miguel in Portugal. He lived in exile in Portugal and Rome, 1832-40. WBD.

2. Sir George Shee (1784-1870) was permanent under secretary for Foreign Affairs, 1830-34, ambassador at Berlin, 1834-35, and ambassador at Stuttgart, 1835-44. HHD, p. 40, note 223.

3. Until a falling out with Times editor Thomas Barnes in the spring of 1834 precipitated a series of vicious attacks on HB in the Times, HB was frequently eulogized in the daily papers. Typical is this excerpt from the Times:

   "The Chancellor may despise his enemies; we do not think he has any reason to be afraid of his friends, but there is a class of persons whose praises he should regard with caution,—persons who hate him in their hearts, though they eulogize him publicly, and even privately, when they think their eulogy will reach his ear. But, no: the sagacious mind of Lord Brougham cannot be so entrapped. He accepts his praise as his due; he returns courtesy for courtesy; but his mind keeps the one great object in view,—not the conciliation of enemies, nor the flattery of friends,—but permanent public good."

   Times (London), 3 Aug. 1832, p. 3b.

4. Drummond is doubtless the same Lieutenant Drummond mentioned in House of Commons debates on the Reform Bill. Drummond had been entrusted with the job of compiling statistics on the constituencies of England's counties and boroughs for the purpose of carrying out franchise reforms. Hansard, 3d ser., 10 (1832): 536-37.

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[December 1833]

Thursday

Private—

Dear Ld. H. I can only say as to Mac^ that I sent a note to Sergt Spankie¹ (Company's Council) who was in the Ct. of Chy. today and his answer was that he had not heard officially of what was done yesterday but that "he understood Mr^ was the man."² I had not named him but only asked who had been appointed. I wrote to Grant but have not got his answer.³ On Sunday I had a long discussion wt Ferguson⁴ about it—and I
think I reversed his main objection which was founded on a total mistake as to M. whom he suffered a Benthamite! However he still had great difficulty. On one subject he was quite inexorable (and I think quite right) that of his having both places. I never urged a thing with less satisfaction to myself--& should not have done it had not Grant and others begged me.

If you could hint to Grey the incalculable mischief his croaking & talking of going out is doing—you would render a good service. He never had less intentions of the kind—he would be mortified beyond all description, I know, were he to be taken at his word—but he goes on talking & writing (as I find today by Letters from two of our friends in the Country) in such a way that all people are naturally enough believing in a break up of the Gov't. and the consequence will be—he will remain in Office & find he has conjured up a very much stronger opposition to himself than would otherwise exist.  

1. Sergeant-at-Law Robert Spankie had been a reporter on the Morning Chronicle as a student. Shortly after being called to the bar, he traveled to India, where, after practicing for many years as attorney-general, he amassed a considerable fortune. On his return to England, he served as standing counsel for the East India Company. Of moderate reform principles, he was MP for Finsbury, 1832-35. Who's Who of MP's.

2. Historian Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800-1859) was elected MP for Leeds in December 1832. Just before the election he was appointed secretary to the Board of Control, of which Charles Grant was president. His service there was brief; on 4 December 1833 he accepted the appointment of a seat on the supreme council of India and sailed for India in February 1834. DNB.

3. Charles Grant (1778-1866), created (1835) Baron Glenelg, was one of the Canningites in Grey's cabinet. He served as president of the Board of Control, 1830-35, and as colonial secretary, 1835-39. A Claphamite and distinguished classicist while a student at Cambridge University, he retired in 1839 under pressure that stemmed from a general sense of his incompetence. DNB; Complete Peerage.
4. Robert Cutlar Fergusson (1768-1838), MP for Kirkcudbrightshire, 1826-38, was judge advocate general, 1834, 1835-38. He is remembered, with Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart, for advocating Polish independence. DNB.

5. In fact, Grey's resignation was narrowly averted. VH described the situation thus:

We dined at Althorp's (14 January 1834) and Grey was to carry his resignation to the King next day; when he left Lord Althorps, The Chancellor called the attention of the Cabinet . . . to the perilous situation in which the retirement of Lord Grey and the consequent dissolution of the Ministry would leave both the King and the Country. He exhorted us to press Lord Grey to remain, insisting, with his usual vehemence and exaggeration, that the question relating to Portugal was as nothing . . . . We signed a paper deprecating Lord Grey's retirement from office and painting the consequences of it in strong colours, but not touching upon, much less underrating or deprecating, the grounds which had inclined him to contemplate such a step.

This plea and the King's entreaties had the desired effect: Grey was persuaded to remain in office. Quotation from HHD, p. 248.

* * * * *

[Winter 1833-34]

Friday

I would fain come to see you this evening but the horses are not footed—and I doubt if the road is practicable yet—as they did not set half enough of hands on it this morning to dig through the snow. But if you should be able to come to town tomorrow I shall call on you in the Evng—as I am obliged to dine at a Royal Society dinner <with> at the D. of Sussex's.¹

About Macgregor² or the service he can do, I really am no judge—but I doubt it being popular from what I heard before—he took a most offensive & odious part agt. Arnley last time.

The accounts not quite so good today. Willoughby³ wont stir—and is I fear worse than neutral. They came to me to beg I would write to him—and I have done so in the strongest way possible—but he is extremely
odd & very obstinate.

Name your day & your small comp\(^Y\) except next Thursday—& I promise to ask no one else—& your house 6 exact.

1. Augustus Frederick (1773-1843), duke of Sussex, was the sixth son of George III and the younger brother of William IV. He was president of the Royal Society, 1830-38. DNB; WBD.

2. John Macgregor (1797-1857), utilitarian statistician, traveled Europe and compiled a vast collection of commercial statistics, 1832-39. A strong free-trader, in 1840 he was made a joint secretary of the Board of Trade. He served as MP for Glasgow, 1847-57. DNB.


[7 December 1833]

Saturday

Private

My dear Ld H. I have broken ground for Aber.\(^1\) & it is admirably received & will do. But it is delicate & I tremble till it be done--because any interference whatever now will hurt--Pray then let no one speak a word on it one way or t'other.

Yrs ever

H. B.

Ask Milady if Sunday 15th will do—The Lievens\(^2\) dine with Grey on Friday.

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1. James Abercromby (1776-1858), first baron Dunfermline, "a dour, selfish man who had come to prominence by keeping the accounts of the Duke of Devonshire" and MP for Edinburgh, 1832-39, was considered for the Speakership of the House of Commons in 1833. Instead, Edward John Littleton (1791-1839) was chosen to oppose Edward Manners-Sutton (1780-1845), Speaker of the Commons since 1817. Manners-Sutton won
election and remained Speaker until 1835, when he was created Viscount Canterbury. Abercromby was again nominated for the Speakership in 1835, this time successfully; he was elected on 19 February 1835. He entered the Whig cabinet as master of the Mint in 1834. DNB; quote from Melbourne, p. 191.

2. Christopher Andreievitch (1774-1839), Prince Lieven, served as Russian ambassador to the Court of St. James, 1812-34. Dorothea Christophorovna (1785-1857), Princess Lieven, was a notorious social gossip. The intimate of Castlereagh, Metternich, Canning, Wellington, and Grey, among others, in later years she was virtually Russian ambassador. HHD, p. 34, note 200.

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[8 January 1834]
Brougham

Wednesday

Private & Confidential--

Dear Ld H. I have received your Letter about Howick's appointment-- which I shall, as you ask it, very possibly tell you my opinion of--tho' I had before only heard a rumour of it. 2

I think Melbourne the best natured & most practical man I know (beside all his great & good qualities which no one knows better than I) and his submitting to this is a strong proof of it. He may & probably will prevent a quarell from being picked with every Ld Lieut. & every magistrate in the country--& he may also keep other things straight--but it will require all his management to do so. That therefore is not my objection. But after such behaviour as last Session—only to be equalled, certainly not excelled by Lambton's treatment of J. Russell in the autumn—after attacks on the department he <has> (Howick) had just left & a disclosure wholly unprecedented, both in parl't. & in a pamphlet of the most delicate official secrets—surely there will be the utmost difficulty in having any communication with him upon the important measures which must come from that department & speedily. If
you add to this—the blindness of Lord G. who not 2 months ago hearing
that I was (according to the duty of my office & also according to my
*professional* qualifications tho much against my will--) examining the
subject of Secondary punishments gave me a broad hint that Howick was
the proper person to consider that!!!

Surely you will see reason for
my feeling some alarm at the prospect before us—for no Govt *can* nor
ought any Govt to be able to go on in this country which is to be
actuated by mere personal & family communications & to correct the most
important publick measures into means of gratifying personal or family
feelings. You will then ask whether I am glad of the arrangement & when
I say—upon the whole yes—you will naturally ask why? Partly for the
reasons you give—but *more* because agt. all I have said of Howick, & in
aid of his merits, which are very considerable, I have to set the
invaluable quality of his *principles*—I mean his *political* feelings. Of
these I am sure. I am as secure of his always being on the right side
<as I> & only erring by going sometimes too far—as I am of Stanley
being always disposed to go wrong—and when he does not, of his erring by
falling short of the mark.

I cannot tell how soon it may be my fortune
to find myself with the remnant of the Whig party, standing up for
liberal opinions—against what I wont name. Every personal feeling,
therefore, must give way—and whether it be Howick or Lambton or any one
else, I must rejoice in whatever keeps them with us. I need hardly say
that this is quite for yourself.

Yrs ever

H. B.

P.S. Notwithstanding what I say of Howick's appointment & my utter
disposition to sacrifice *every* feeling & prejudice to the great
consideration of political principle—you must not let me be too hard ridden in this way. Now one thing I fairly say I will not swallow—viz—Bear Ellice coming into the Cabinet. 6 Never was any thing more certain than that one or two people <are bewilder> have bewildered themselves about him & thought him of use to the Govt. merely because from good nature & feeding the members he got popular as a Secy of the Treasury. In any other capacity (except in never contradicting anybody—mainly the King) he is absolutely below par, and was felt as such by every one last Session & will this Session entirely fail in the situation he has been forced up into. There are other reasons which are quite insurmountable—but this is enough—namely—that nobody could bear it, and I really do hope it will not be left upon me alone to object. Ld G. sounded me last July—& I at one said "It is wholly & absolutely out of the question"—& then told him the real state of the fact as far as was necessary & also—what the universal feeling would be. But others should take some of this odious office.

1. The Times reported on 13 January that HB had returned from "Brougham-hall, Westmoreland" the previous day (p. 2c).

2. Henry George Grey (1802-94), styled viscount Howick, afterwards third earl Grey (1845), was MP, 1826-45, under secretary for the colonies, 1830-33, under secretary at the Home Department, 1834, secretary at war, 1835-39, and secretary for the colonies, 1846-52. DNB; Complete Peerage.

In January 1834 George Lamb, Melbourne's brother and under secretary at the Home Department, died after a long illness. Prime Minister Grey proposed Howick as Lamb's replacement. Melbourne disliked Howick, but did not quarrel with Grey over the appointment, although he did caution Grey on 5 January 1834 that he hoped Howick "is not infected with any of these wild notions . . . respecting the awfulness of inflicting capital punishment. If he is, surely it is a decisive objection to his accepting the place." In fact, Howick and Melbourne could not have differed more: Howick impetuous, ambitious, energetic, espousing radical ideas, Melbourne phlegmatic, conservative, and unimaginative. The collapse of the Grey administration six months later surely halted what was developing into a purely antagonistic

3. A vehement supporter of the total abolition of slavery, Howick had resigned from his position of three years as under secretary for the colonies.

4. As home secretary, Melbourne's duties encompassed such areas as secondary punishments and the administration of the poor law. The first he suggested Howick write a paper on, only to dismiss it as too radical, and the second he handed over to HB, who bore chief responsibility for the framing and passage of the unpopular New Poor Law Act of 1834. Melbourne, pp. 163-66.

5. Edward George Geoffrey Smith Stanley (1799-1869), created the fourteenth earl of Derby in 1851, was one of the greatest parliamentary orators. Among other positions, he was chief secretary for Ireland, 1830-33, colonial secretary, 1833-34, 1841-44, and prime minister, 1852, 1858-59. DNB.

6. Edward "Bear" Ellice (1781-1863), wealthy official of the Hudson's Bay Company, served as MP, 1818-26, 1830-63. One of Lord Grey's son-in-laws, Ellice served in the Reform ministry as joint secretary of the Treasury, 1830-32, and entered the cabinet as secretary for war, 1833-34. DNB.

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[February 1834]
Stanhope St. 1
Friday Evening

Private

My dear Ld H. You are under a mistake as to vacating seats. The ordinary mode has been of late years when a person in Parlt was made Kings Council, to give him the office "without the emoluments thereunto belonging"—in order to avoid vacating his seat. I & many others were so made. Formerly it was thought it could not be done & therefore we took patents of precedence. But now it has become the common course—or at least had, before Althorp abolished the Salary of King's Council:—Therefore——appointing a man in Parlt to the A.G.ship without the £10 salary, would <could> be only following the general rule. But—even if it were not so——Blackburn is just as much in Parlt as Pollock—being
member for Huddersfield & he is the only thing like a Whig who is in Kings Council or even a leader of any kind on the N. Circuit. 2

There is nothing in the instance you give of Cross—for he was the head of the Circuit. 3 Indeed it works the other way—for he was in very much less business than either Wm or myself—and far from being in opposition, I had a chief hand in forming the administration—yet it was reckoned improper to pass him by & take either of us. The rule of taking the first in rank has very seldom, I believe, been departed from & never unless where there was great superiority of practice. In the present case Pollock is by ten years the senior of Blackburn—and by more than ten times superior in business. No one can feel more strongly than I do the temptation of making Blackburn a most excellent man "et mihi conjunctissimus"—I may say "per multos amor"—also a man of the very best principles—and a most able barrister—not to mention the great space he now occupies in the publick eye by being at the head of the Corporation Commission—<as> (of the existence of which you somewhat surprised me by not seeming to be aware). 4 But my difficulty is this. You are not giving away a place. You are saying who shall in every case be the leading council (i.e. the only council that signifies talking about) for the Dutchy & for the Crown—and in all cases civil & criminal & also fr. the Bank of England. If you dont chuse the known leader on the Circuit, you both lose the benefit <for> of his assistance, to all those causes—and you ensure having the leader against you in them all. Having Cross agt Wm. & me was perhaps not very good for the Crown & Dutchy—but then he was the first in rank—being King's Serjt., & he was, deservedly or not, the head of the circuit—and that prevented any thing being said. I own—with every inclination to favour Blackburn—I feel a very great
difficulty in it. However—I am unwilling you should decide agt. him till I have had some talk with a safe man & B's most intimate friend—& I will let you know on Sunday. Of course there is nobody except B. as to whom you could hesitate even for a moment. The others are enemies & without any pretensions.

Yrs ever

H. B.

1. Palmerson acquired a house with a 39 1/2-year lease at No. 9 Stanhope Street in March 1813. This remained his London base. Palmerston, pp. 254-55.

2. John Blackburne (d. 1837), was MP for Huddersfield, 1834-37. He was commissioner of the London board of the Commission on Municipal Corporations and was one of the drafters of its 1834 report.

Sir Jonathan Frederick Pollock (1783-1870), called to the bar in 1809, soon acquired an extensive practice at Westminster and on the northern circuit, where his chief competitors were HB and Sir James Scarlett (later Lord Abinger). On 2 May 1831 he was elected MP (Tory) for the close borough of Huntingdon, which he held for the remainder of his parliamentary career. He was appointed as attorney general in Peel's first ministry on 17 December 1834 and was restored to the office when Peel returned in 1841. In April 1844 Pollock was created lord chief baron of the Exchequer, a position he held for twenty-two years. He was created a baronet on his retirement in July 1866. DNB.

3. Sir John Cross (1766-1842), called to the bar in 1795, became a king's sergeant in 1827. He succeeded Lord Abinger as attorney-general of the Duchy of Lancaster and on 2 December 1831 was appointed judge of the court of bankruptcy, where he remained until his sudden death in 1842. DNB.

4. Having achieved a measure of reform in Parliament, the Grey ministry now found itself facing the question of making similar reforms in municipal corporations. One major reason for this need was that many now enabled to vote for their MPs were still unable to participate in borough affairs. A royal commission to study municipal corporations and make recommendations for reform was formed in July 1833. John Blackburne was the chairman of the commission, which visited 185 towns. A bill based on the recommendations passed relatively smoothly through both the House of Commons and the House of Lords in September 1835. Chief among its provisions was the establishment of a uniform municipal electorate of all male rate payers of three years' residence. Geoffrey B. A. M. Finlayson, Decade of Reform: England in the Eighteen Thirties (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1970), pp. 24-27.
Private

[February 1834] Monday

My dear Ld. H.—I have recounted the matter & spoken to Denman C. J.¹ and there is no doubt about it—We cannot put off the appointment & Denman thinks it clear that no success of Blackburn could justify so strong a measure as fussing over Pollock.²

Cross's case was very strong—He being in opposition to the Govt. of the day which I supported, was put over my head—<he> as Atty. Gen. because he was the leader of the circuit tho' I was in the full business & he had little or none.

There is this to be said as to Pollock also—he is a tory but has manfully stood by the Govt. & me personally in all Law Reforms. He is one of my Law commissaries & has done (gratuitously of course) very heavy duty & reported in favour of my Local Courts Bill.³

I own I upbraid myself for having hesitated about it an hour.

Yrs ever

H. B.

1. Sir Thomas Denman (1779-1854), afterwards (1834) first baron Denman, was MP, 1818-26, 1830-32. Attorney general, 1830-32, he became lord chief justice of the King's Bench in 1832, which position he held until 1850. He had been a leading advocate, with HB, of Queen Caroline. DNB; Henry Brougham, pp. 144-52.

2. In fact, Sir John Campbell (1779-1861), later first baron Campbell, solicitor general, 1832-34, was appointed attorney general in February 1834, when Sir William Horne (1774-1860) was promoted to the Court of Exchequer. Campbell's numerous appointments under the Whigs included Irish chancellor, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, lord chief justice, and lord chancellor. His Lives of the Lord Chancellors (1849-65) is a standard work. DNB.
3. HB had introduced his Local Courts Bill on 29 April 1830. The bill would have created a system of county courts with simplified rules of procedure to hear cases involving small sums. Local courts were to sit monthly under judges who were to be barristers of at least ten years' experience. The assize court system then in existence met only twice a year, and delays and heavy costs meant that people were unable to sue without incurring costs far in excess of the amount claimed. The bill succeeded neither in the session of 1830 nor when HB reintroduced it in 1831, 1833 (when it was defeated by a margin of two in the House of Lords), 1837, and 1842. A county court system was not created until 1846. Although Brougham is justly renowned for his creation of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, passage of the Local Courts Bill would have "set the seal on his fame as a judicial reformer." Life of Brougham, p. 402; Brougham and the Whig Party, quotation on p. 230; Public Career, p. 320.

* * * * *

[Spring 1834?]

Tuesday

Private

Dear Ld H. I sent yesterday the Map--& it will be ready in three days--

Yrs ever

H. B.

I gave Ellenbro¹ a parting hit last night after you went. He could not understand what Grant could mean by "use your utmost efforts" unless he meant using force. I said--You (E.) have used your utmost efforts agt Grant tonight--but you have used no force & then the curtain dropt.

¹ Edward Law (1790-1871), second baron Ellenborough, had served as president of the Board of Control in the duke of Wellington's ministry. He was governor-general of India, 1841-44. DNB; Complete Peerage.

* * * * *

[Fragment: HB to VH]

[20 February 1834]

All as much as possible We did the Commons refusal well--by giving in
upon the delicate & difficult Religious amendment.¹ <I think>

Grattan gave in on the Rejection of the Tythe bill—& gave up his mission²—Aussi tout va bien—I am dining with L. Bonaparte³ at Lord D. Streets & your Letter to [illegible] being brought to me (taking me for him as was natural enough) I could [illegible] read it (being open) then found it—& so here is <my> the answer to all your Questions. Tell Ly. H. we had an alarm about the little girl⁴ last night but in falseness.

1. On 20 February 1834 the House of Commons voted against a government proposal presented by Edward John Littleton, chief secretary for Ireland, 1833-34. The proposed amendment would have converted tithe property into a land tax with a redemption period of five years; if not paid within five years the tax would have converted to a rent charge. The amendment failed 219 to 42. See Hansard, 3d ser., 21 (1834): 581-82, 627-28; DNB.

2. Henry Grattan (1789-1859), son of Irish statesman Henry Grattan (1747-1820), was MP for Dublin, 1826-30, and for Meath, 1831-52. Grattan offered a motion recognizing the right of Church of Ireland clergy to government support but contending that they were overpaid. His advice to the government was that "no final or satisfactory settlement of Church claims in Ireland can take place without a previous revision of the appreciation of Church property, an abolition of clerical sinecures, and an arrangement of disproportionate income." His motion was rejected 190 to 66. DNB; Hansard, 3d ser., 21 (1834): 615-28, quote on col. 618.

3. Lucien Bonaparte (1775-1840) was the younger brother of Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821). Exiled for opposing Napoleon's policies and for marrying against his wishes, Lucien was on his way to the United States in 1810 when he was captured by the British and held as a prisoner of state. In 1814 he was created prince of Canino. WBD; HHD, p. 212, note 25.

Private

My dear Ld H.

I am up to the middle in causes here & have only an instant to write—but it is of much consequence how Grey is first spoken to—I mean for himself & his own comfort—as to us & the party & the country it is nearly indifferent for nothing can make such men as Howick & Wood of the least might to ruin what is going on for any length of time. But just let Grey consider how he will like those he must love being held up to general odium—which they never will get over?

I see ten times more of all the shades of our people than you possibly can do. They come daily to me & speak freely & the cry is getting up "The popular party shall not be made a plaything for Ld Greys children"!¹

If G. himself says one word in the same sense with his boys, rely on it his popularity is gone in four & twenty hours.

I speak avec connaissance de cause & solely for Grey's sake whom we all must love in spite of his amiable weaknesses the worst of which is seeing with his children's eyes—

Yrs ever

H. B.

¹ Lord Grey received much criticism for his nepotism. Members of his family to receive powerful government positions included his son, Viscount Howick, who was under secretary at the Colonial Office and the Home Department, and his three son-in-laws: Edward Ellice, who served as joint secretary of the Treasury and as secretary at war; Durham, who was lord privy seal; and Charles Wood, who succeeded Ellice as joint
secretary of the Treasury.

* * * * *

[20 May 1834]

Woburn

Tuesday

We have had a delightful drive to Ampthill—Tall was charmed with it.

If it were mine I should live much time thereat.

All here are well—it is impossible not to be so in such weather.

I think you said I might come to dine tomorrow. If you are come to town send a line to me to stop me.

Yrs ever

H. B.

1. The duchesse de Dino noted in her memoirs that HB joined a gathering at Woburn Abbey consisting of "Lord and Lady Grey with their daughter Lady Georgiana, Lord and Lady Sefton, Mr. Ellice, Lord Ossulton, the Duke and Duchess [of Bedford], three of their sons, one of their daughters, M. de Talleyrand and I." She praised the home at Woburn as "certainly one of the finest, the most magnificent, and the greatest in England." [Dorothee Talleyrand-Perigord], Memoirs of the Duchesse de Dino, 1831-1835, ed. Princess Radziwill (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), pp. 56-57.

Located in Bedfordshire, Woburn Abbey was given in 1539 to John Russell, first Baron Russell, by Henry VIII at the dissolution of the monasteries. Elevated to the dukes of Bedford by William III, the Russells did not live at Woburn until the seventeenth century, when they built a house on the monastic site. That house was largely rebuilt in the eighteenth century and today houses a magnificent art collection. Treasures of Britain, pp. 492-93.

2. Ampthill is considered one of the most attractive towns in Bedfordshire. WBD.

3. Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand-Perigord (1754-1838), prince de Bénévent, eminent French statesman, served as ambassador to Great Britain, 1830-34. WBD.

* * * * *
[June 1834]
Ct of Chy
Wednesday

Private

Dear Ld H— I really wish you would look at this for Grey and try to make J. Russell a little more reasonable— he really seems resolved— for what reason God knows except anger at Lambton claiming the credit of the Reform 1—to break up the Govt at the morn 2—when it has no other serious difficulty except what its silly members raise up for themselves. If we are such incomparable miserable asses as to let this plot agt ourselves succeed, the name of Whig is for ever consigned to contempt. I will share none of it— let Stanley & Ld J. settle it how they may. Our ingratitude is black to our steady supporters.

Yrs ever

H. B.

1. VH reported in his diary that in response to scurrilous writings in the Times HB either wrote or caused to be written an article in the Edinburgh Review "which Lord Durham and even Lord John Russell very naturally considered as a libel upon them. The former retaliated in a speech at his Glasgow dinner, where his vanity and presumption led him to assume the Character of the great popular leader of Reform." HHD, p. 264.

In August 1834, after Parliament was prorogued, Brougham headed north. This was his usual custom, since his family home was at Brougham Hall, Westmorland. After visiting his mother at Brougham Hall, Brougham made an extensive tour of Scotland, where he was enthusiastically received, being presented with freedoms of cities and other honors. Back in London, however, his actions were seen less favorably. Today politicians are expected to walk the pavements and canvass their constituencies. In the 1830s, however, such behavior was unheard of and was considered highly inappropriate. In addition, Brougham had taken the Great Seal with him without royal consent. He had split earlier with his former ally, Thomas Barnes, editor of the Times, following the Grey ministry’s enactment of the Poor Reform Bill, an extremely unpopular measure and one for which Brougham had overseen passage. The Times now seized on Brougham with apparent glee and made a spectacle of Brougham’s tour. Other papers followed suit, and Brougham’s every move was watched and remarked on—usually unfavorably.

What was Brougham’s reaction? Although he makes some mention of the press in his letters to Lord Holland, he seems largely oblivious of the impact of his actions. Both Lord Melbourne, who was now prime minister, and William IV were angered by Brougham’s decision to take the Great Seal on tour. This trip to Scotland marked the end of Brougham’s political popularity.*

*Henry Brougham, pp. 250-56; Brougham and the Whig Party, pp. 208-09; Public Career, pp. 312-13, 314-16.

* * * * *
Graham made a very poor thing of his explanation at a Sherrif's dinner—all are disgraced or ashamed.

[22? August 1834]

Brougham

Thursday

I suppose as your society is now thinned a line from the remoter parts of the plains may be less tiresome then usual. But I cannot be expected to make bricks without straw—not being a Jew—so little but "a personal narrative of travels"—can be expected—of which Plumshott being asked the meaning said that lawyers distinguished between what "is personal & what is real." However mine will be real. We got to Bolton to dinner on Sunday having started early on Saturday & slept at Newark. We found Burlingtons, Lascelles, Morpeth & W. Cowper (to whom from jealousy I did not convey your passion disclosed to me in the moments of confidence at dinner) also Ld Ventry—before whom I had as soon swallow poison, (perhaps should) as whisper a word of Brook's Baronetcy. The Duke in excellent health & shooting daily—No Ld Chamberlain ever was less lame.5

We were delighted with the ruin which I had never seen since 1815—& then not from the right points.

Next day we came on to [Leeds?] and in time to go into Court where the Bar received me most graciously—and after I dined with them—above 80 many of whom had remained over Sunday to meet me. I was received not as a guest—but insisted on my higher title, of leader of the N. Circuit & took the chair as I had done before.7 We sat carousing from 6 to 1 in the morning—and were out before 7 at our usual mornings walk. I then breakfasted at 8 with the Judge (Grevy) and was in Court at nine.
have not been nearly so happy since four years ago—when I left them at
the same place—& made a peer & a fool of myself by quitting the Bar &
the H of Commons.

We came here round by Windermere that Miss S. might see that fine
lake which she had not before. 8

I had a letter from the Pope—who called on his way—but being too
late for dinner, did not venture to sleep—as he said he found the
family in an "Agony of preparation for the new married pair." The agony
continues—for they dont come till this evening—having been living tete
a tete since Tuesday week—and as I should imagine being now dead sick
of one another.

Her aunt/sister of the renowned Pow. is now here with A. Eden—(her
husband) and a Barony—her daut. So I have to go and show them
Lowther—before it begins to rain. 9

Addio, Donna—I start for the North Monday or Tuesday. Ld Grey
will I think accept the Edin. dinner. 10

[Quotation in Greek]
[Translation:] The Wit has lulled the Peer—breathe soft or will up and
put to sleep both Wit & be thee.

The attitude in which the animal is, like the Bear, most powerful.
viz. on his hinde legs—called "Lositis Narcotica" 11

1. Sir James Robert Graham (1792-1861) was first lord of the admiralty,
1830-34, and home secretary in Sir Robert Peel's cabinet, 1841-46. He
was one of four cabinet ministers who resigned from the Grey ministry in
late May 1834 from a wish to disassociate themselves from any idea of
appropriating church property or revenues for purposes other than those
of the established church. DNB.

2. The municipal borough of Newark lies in Nottinghamshire in north
central England. Located on the ancient Posse Way, it is a historic
market town. WGD.
Bolton, situated eleven miles north of Manchester, is one of England's oldest woolen trade centers. WGD.

3. William Cavendish (1808-91), fifth earl of Burlington, succeeded his grandfather to the peerage in May 1834. In 1858 he succeeded his cousin as seventh duke of Devonshire. Burlington was chancellor of London University, 1830-56, and of Cambridge University, 1862-91, in addition to serving as lord lieutenant of Lancashire, 1855-58, and of Derbyshire, 1858-91. DNB.

Edward Lascelles (1796-1839), styled viscount Lascelles, died and was buried in Munich. His father, Henry Lascelles (1767-1841), second earl of Harewood, was lord lieutenant of the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1819-41. DNB; Complete Peerage.

George William Frederick Howard (1802-64), styled viscount Morpeth, later (1848) seventh earl of Carlisle, served as MP for Morpeth, 1825-30, for Yorkshire, 1830-32, and for West Riding, 1832-41, 1846-48. Irish secretary, 1835-41, he was a member of Melbourne's cabinet from 1839. He later served as lord lieutenant of Ireland, 1855-58, 1859-64. DNB; Complete Peerage.

William Francis Cowper (1811-88), created (1880) baron Mount-Temple, was Palmerston's illegitimate son by Emily, Lady Cowper. He was secretary to his uncle Lord Melbourne. Complete Peerage; Palmerston, p. 203.

4. Thomas Townsend Aremberg (1786-1868), third baron Ventry, of Ventry, Country Kerry, succeeded his uncle to the peerage in 1827. Complete Peerage.

5. William George Spencer (1790-1858), sixth duke of Devonshire, was lord chamberlain of the household, 1827-28, 1830-34. DNB.

6. London University opened in October 1828. It was the first major degree-granting body in England to impose no religious tests and to examine in such subjects as medicine, engineering, mathematics, political economy, law, and modern languages, in addition to the traditional subjects of philosophy and the classics. The brainchild of Jeremy Bentham and HB, its culmination was one of HB's many services to English education, among which others were the founding of Mechanics' Institutes for adult education and his 1837 proposal in Parliament for a national scheme of education, which resulted in the formation of a National Board of Education that encouraged local authorities to found new schools and improve old ones. HB saw education as essential to the improvement of the condition of the poor and to national progress in general. Although as lord chancellor his duties and projects centered on legal reform, he remained a staunch supporter of state-funded voluntary public education. Dorothy Marshall, Industrial England, 1776-1851 (New York: Scribner [1973]), p. 130; Elie Halevy, A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century, vol. 3: The Triumph of Reform, trans. E. I. Watkin, rev. ed. (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1950), pp. 222-23.

The establishment of London University marked a proud moment in HB's career. As Lord Grey wrote to HB on 7 October 1828:
It must afford the truest satisfaction to everybody who thinks, as I do, of the public benefit likely to arise from such an institution. But to you it must be peculiarly gratifying, for you have been the creator of this establishment, and your name will be for ever united with the improvements which may spring not only from this, but from the rival college [King's College, London], which never would have existed but for the success of your exertions.

Quotation from Life and Times, 2:500.

7. HB began serving on the Northern Circuit after being called to the London bar on 22 November 1808. In the spring of 1828 he contested for the lead of the circuit with Jonathan Pollock. Life of Brougham, pp. 49, 312-20.

8. Lake Windermere, at 10.5 miles long the largest in England, is located in the famous Lakes District in the northwest of England. WGD. "Miss S." was Marianne Dora Spalding (?1808-91), HB's stepdaughter. In 1834 she married Sir Alexander Malet. Henry Brougham, pp. 86, 289, 324.

9. HB probably refers here to several of his relatives by marriage, his wife's maiden name having been Eden.

Lowther was located near Brougham Hall. While staying at Brougham in October 1833, HB's personal secretary, Sir Denis Le Marchant, remarked in his diary: "I rode and strolled about the country every day and found something new and interesting everywhere. Lowther, Howeswater, and Ullswater were my favorite haunts." A. Aspinall, Three Early Nineteenth-Century Diaries (London: Williams and Norgate, 1952), p. 375.

10. Grey initially declined but later accepted the invitation to attend the Edinburgh dinner, which was given in his honor on 15 September. HB and his stepdaughter also attended the dinner. Henry Brougham, pp. 254-56.

11. This pun is directed at Edward "Bear" Ellice, whom HB disliked.

* * * * *

[1 September 1834]
Dunrobin
Sunday night

We have been here since Thursday & stay till tomorrow and I don't know that I ever was more interested or amused. Indeed the place & the extraordinary cultivation or rather creation of the estate is worth going twice as far to see. No description can give a true idea of it.
I drove twenty or thirty miles <th> one day thro' a country like Norfolk with houses every step--Two towns & harbours--with frontiers, traffick & the first crops of wheat on and best filled Stock yards in the world & 15 years ago it was all heath.

The Duchess CV returned the week before we came from a tour of 204 miles round her estate--on a finer road than you have in Middlesex, all made by herself.² In short there is nothing like it. Loch³—who manages it capitally—is here & shews me the Lions.

The Buccleughs⁴ were here when we came & Capt & Mrs Yorke⁵--but are gone. The Harrowbys came yesterday.⁶ They & the Surrys⁷ are now here.

We dine & sleep tomorrow at Lovats⁸—and Tuesday at Ld Ruitvers & I go then to a near relatives (a great philosopher & excellent parson) & from thens to Aberdeen—where I have a dinner operation to be performed on me.⁹ This operation is very well meant & therefore I say nothing. Only I have had so many freedoms of Boros to undergo that if I had known it I should have come by steam—or not come at all—as beside other inconveniences it delays me incredibly on the journey.

I go to Mants & Adam's for a day each & am to be in Edin. on Saturday at the meeting of Scientific men—unless I can escape it.

The D. of Bedford comes here I believe today—he had intended to come when we did but was doubtful about room. Indeed L. Edmonds¹⁰ (with me) is obliged to sleep out of the House—which is excellent & comfortable but small. I passed one day with Ellice & one with the D & Dss of Bd. both of whom are quite well.

My letter is very dull—and only gives you a list of places—but the papers are so full of absurd stories—as of our going to Dalkeith¹¹ so that I give you the facts.
The publick opinion is better & more reasonable in Scotland than England—I mean they are less impatient & not so foolish as to complain that govt does nothing—when it changes the whole state of things in two years.12

H. B.

1. Dunrobin Castle in Sutherland, northeastern Scotland, overlooks the Moray Firth. Principal residence of the dukes of Sutherland, parts of Dunrobin date back to 1401, making it one of the oldest inhabited residences in the kingdom. The nineteenth-century gardens are in the style of Versailles. Part of the castle is today a boys' school. Treasures of Britain, p. 171.

2. Harriet Elizabeth Georgiana (1806-68), third daughter of George Howard, sixth earl of Carlisle, married in 1823 George Granville Leveson-Gower (1786-1861), created (1833) second duke of Sutherland and (1839) twentieth earl of Sutherland. In 1833, the duke of Sutherland held over 1.3 million acres of land, far surpassing the holdings of any other peer in the realm. The bulk of this land (1.1 million acres) was in Sutherland. The duchess of Sutherland was for many years mistress of the robes to Queen Victoria and was a leader in London society. DNB; Complete Peerage; acreage figures from Complete Peerage, 12: app. H.

3. James Loch (1780-1855) trained in law but soon became interested in the management of estates. He was simultaneously auditor to the marquess of Stafford (afterwards the first duke of Sutherland), to Lord Francis Egerton (afterwards the earl of Ellesmere), and to the earl of Carlisle, among others. The "Staffordshire clearances" of 1811-20, by which fifteen thousand crofters were moved from their inland homes to the seacoast, were carried out under his supervision. Entering politics for the Whig interest, Loch served as MP for St. Germains, 1827-30, and for the Wick burghs, 1830-52. Loch named his second son Henry Brougham Loch after HB. DNB.

4. Walter Francis Montagu-Douglas-Scott (1806-84), fifth duke of Buccleugh, was lord privy seal, 1842-46. DNB.

5. Captain Charles Philip Yorke of the Royal Navy, a conservative, was MP for Reigate, 1831, and for Cambridgeshire, 1832-35, at which time he retired from politics. Who's Who of MPs.

6. Dudley Ryder (1762-1847), first earl of Harrowby, was a leader of the "Waverers," who opposed the Reform Bill in 1831 but supported it in 1832. DNB.

7. Henry Charles Howard (1791-1856), styled the earl of Surrey, 1815-42, was a Whig MP for Horsham, 1829-32, and for West Sussex, 1832-41, succeeding his father as thirteenth duke of Norfolk, earl of
Arundel, Surrey, and Norfolk, and earl marshal, in 1842. He was married in 1814 to Charlotte Sophia, eldest daughter of George Granville Leveson-Gower, first duke of Sutherland, and was thus the brother-in-law of the second duke. Under Queen Victoria, Lord Norfolk served as master of the horse, 1846-52, and as steward of the household, 1853-54. DNB; Complete Peerage.

8. Perhaps Thomas Alexander Fraser (1802-75), created baron Lovat of Lovat, Inverness, in 1837. The barony had been forfeited in 1747 when Jacobite Simon Fraser, eleventh baron Lovat, was beheaded for treason. Thomas Fraser began petitioning the Crown for the restoration of the barony in 1825, and it is possible that he was known locally as Lord Lovat even before his request was granted. Complete Peerage.

9. The Times published the proceedings of the dinner given in Aberdeen in HB's honor. Notables present included Lord Panmure and Sir A. Bannerman, MP. Times (London), 16 Sept. 1834, p. 3a-b.

10. "L. Edmonds," although otherwise unidentified, is doubtless the Lennard Edmonds mentioned in HB's letter to VH of [November 1839], for which see below.

11. Dalkeith is a burgh ten miles southeast of Edinburgh in Lothian. Dalkeith Palace, a twelfth-century stronghold rebuilt c. 1700 by Vanbrugh for the Duchess of Buccleugh, was the residence of several British monarchs. WGD; Treasures of Britain, p. 157.

12. Across the country, newspapers were marking HB's every move. The Times carried, among others, a story entitled "Lord Brougham in the Provinces" from the Spectator, which stated:

There is every reason to believe that Lord Brougham will be unusually active during the recess. He is aware that his proceedings and speeches during the past session have very considerably damaged his influence and popularity in the country.

Remarking on a dinner given in honor of HB in Lancaster the previous week, the Examiner stated: "The Chancellor has the usual fate of those who endeavour to please all parties—he pleases none." Both from Times (London), 25 Aug. 1834, p. 1d.

During the first week of September, HB was conferred with the freedom of the town of Inverness. There he was quoted as remarking, "One set says we move too slowly, that is safely; the other as pertinaciously contends that we are going too fast." The Times rather maliciously responded, "The people of Inverness are going 'more slowly' than any other class of the community, if they have failed to learn that no party in the empire accuses Lord Brougham of going safely." The Liverpool Albion exclaimed:

Done TOO MUCH rather than TOO LITTLE! . . . The secret is now out. The Whigs, we have Lord Brougham's own authority for the fact, did little during the last session, not because there
was too little to do, but because 'they feared they had done too much' before! The country may prepare itself, so far as ministers are concerned, for fresh disappointments. The Whig may now be styled 'The Do-Little Ministry.'

All from *Times* (London), 9 Sept. 1834, p. 2c; 10 Sept. 1834, p. 3e.

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[14 September 1834]

Sunday

Leach died at 11 this morning of erysipelas—with some impatience & obstinacy.¹ Got here early & am just going to meet Ld Grey at Oxonford—& leave this Tuesday or Wednesday night.

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¹ Leach died at age seventy-four at Simpson's Hotel, Edinburgh. Echoing HB, VH wrote in his diary: "Sir John Leach, after surviving so many dreadful operations, died suddenly of erisipelas and obstinacy in travelling with it upon him at Edinburgh." HHD, p. 265.

Erysipelas, or St. Anthony's fire, is a severe infectious disease in which the skin becomes swollen and inflamed.

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[7 October 1834]

Portsmouth

Tuesday

We came from Goodwood¹ to Isle of Wight, which I had never seen—& went there for one night & two days. It is really fine scenery and climate very fine indeed & highly worth seeing. The climate as fine as any I ever saw. Myrtles [illegible] all in the hedges, & I am sure Argus would grow if tried—as Ld Lampleter means to do.²

Yarbro³ had left Appuldercombe⁴ just before we arrived—which was rather lucky as we had only an hour to spend at it. It is very fine. The rooms (especially Marble Hall⁵ & Lilly) superb—& some of the finest pictures in Egld. The Titians—both Supper & Alexn. VI & a Nun—-are
such as I never saw out of Italy, and a curious one of Bloody Mary & Philip the former by A. More & one of Essex by the same are worth going to see. Car. I. seen by himself for an attempt made by the worldly of that day to rescue him, is fine—but I reckon it a disgrace to the House--& bad as a Hen VIII & his eldest son (whom I dare say he murdered) by Holbein given when that beastly prototype & forerunner of Geo IV. visited the place.

We were much delight[ed] with all this--but I durry [daresay] you have seen it.

We drove to Newport--& looked at Carisbrook--& then back to Ryde--Yarbro' came over with us in the Packet.

Tomorrow we go to Longford for a day or two--& then back to Brighton unless we should take London in our way.

The Little girl is much pleased with her trip--& indeed nothing can be more delicious--having had but one mishap--namely--a deputation from this side of the water overtook me at the Shanklin firm (Isle of W.) & got into my bed room, when I was asleep--the people of the House not having been before aware who I was--and after I had slept an hour longer, a P. Office express awoke me at three--with my Letters which I did not want to have.

Yrs ever

H. B.

1. Goodwood House, Sussex, home of the dukes of Richmond and Gordon, was built in Sussex flintwork, 1780-1800, by Charles Lennox (1735-1806), third duke of Richmond. Designed by architect James Wyatt, the home contained paintings by Canaletto, Van Dyck, Romney, and Lely. Treasures of Britain, p. 214.

2. The Isle of Wight is often called "the Madeira of England," for its pleasant climate. A guide to the island declares, "Myrtles and other

3. Charles Anderson-Pelham (1781-1846), second baron and later (1837) first earl of Yarborough, an ardent Whig, was for many years commodore of the Royal Yacht Squadron. He died on board his yacht, Kestrel, off the Portugese coast. Complete Peerage.


5. The "Marble Hall" to which HB refers is known today as the Great Hall or Colonnade Room; it contains pillars of rough scagliola, a porphyry imitation. The floor, however, decorated in a shining star motif, is marble. Hyland, Wight, p. 244.

6. Tiziano Vecelli (1488 or 1490-1576), known as Titian, was the chief master of the Venetian school. The painting to which HB refers is The Supper at Emmaeus, today in the collection of the earl of Yarborough at Yarborough, Brocklesby Park, Lincolnshire. Held to be a work of Titian's workshop, 1525-30, it is the first of several versions of that subject. Francesco Valcanover, All the Paintings of Titian: Part 2, 1488-1545, trans. Sylvia J. Tomalin (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1960), pp. 3-11, 84-85, plate 125.

7. Sir Antony More (1512 or 1525-75), Dutch painter, was sent by Emperor Charles V to England, where he painted his masterpiece, a portrait of Queen Mary for her bridegroom, Philip of Spain, in 1553. Many copies of the portrait are in existence. WBD.

8. Hans Holbein the Younger (14977-1543), portrait and historical painter, was court painter to Henry VIII, c. 1536. As a designer and artist, he shaped the taste of Henry's court and is considered one of the greatest portraitists in history. Current lists of Holbein's work do not include a portrait of Henry VIII and Edward VI. WBD; David Piper, ed., Holbein: Every Portrait (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1979).


10. Carisbrook Castle, Isle of Wight, is the castle in which the Roundheads kept Charles I from 1647 until shortly before his execution on 30 January 1649. Building on the site dates from the Roman occupation of Britain. A Norman keep was built in the reign of William I. Outworks were added in 1588 when the south coast of England was threatened by the Spanish Armada. Treasures of Britain, p. 126.

11. Ryde is a popular seaside resort on the Isle of Wight. Hammond, Isle of Wight, p. 121.
12. Longford Castle, Wiltshire, seat of the earls of Radnor, is a sixteenth-century residence built on a triangular plan. *Treasures of Britain*, p. 364.

13. HB's daughter, Eleanor Louisa.


A messenger takes this to town

[9 October 1834]

Longford C.

Thursday

We got here after much delay yesterday by Portsmouth & Fareham meetings & kindesses—and I have Salisbury to undergo tomorrow. Marsh dined here yesterday—he is almost quite well again. His son writes inflaming Letters from Poland against Russia—and will make M. an ultra liberal in his old age.

This is a very fine place—and the Pictures superb. Ld Stuart is here much delighted with his Norway Tour—and much more moderate in Politics than I ever saw him.

I leave this Saturday & stop at Stoke—and on Sunday shall be in town. In case you are to be at Hd House make them drop me a message at A. Street.

Poor Bourne is just arrived here & I fear Melbourne has been unable to do any thing—but I am going to see him & will continue something to keep him.

1. Longford Castle, Wiltshire. On 13 October the *Times* carried two articles about HB's visit to Longford. The first stated:

The Lord Chancellor having been since Wednesday on a visit to the Earl of Radnor, at Longford Castle, a deputation from
the inhabitants of Salisbury, consisting of W. B. Brodie, Esq., M.P., Mr. Alderman Sparshott, and [others], waited on him on Thursday at Lord Radnor's, to know when it would be agreeable to his Lordship to receive the address voted unanimously at a public meeting of the inhabitants, when his Lordship fixed Friday at 12, at the White Hart Inn.

The second piece, an editorial, carried forth:

It appears that Lord Brougham prosecutes his political canvas throughout the country with an alertness and eagerness not to be exceeded by the Irish agitator [Daniel O'Connell] himself. Whatever may be his Lordship's cause, his successors will be at no loss for a precedent, should they desire to add the Chancellorship of England to the number of circuit going Judges . . . . It may be remarked, in passing, that of 18 members of Parliament who are returned by the county of Wilts and of its several boroughs, one only—-to wit, Mr. Brodie, of New Sarum . . . appeared to do honour to Lord Brougham.

Both from Times (London), 13 Oct. 1834, pp. 1b, 2e.

2. Fareham is located on Portsmouth Harbor, six miles north of the city of Portsmouth in Hampshire. WGD.

3. The Reverend Chancellor Marsh was listed as among those attending HB's address. Times (London), 13 Oct. 1834, p. 1b.

4. Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart (1803-54), eighth son of the first marquess of Bute, was MP for Arundel, 1830-37, and for Marylebone, 1847-54. He advocated Polish independence, for which he solicited public donations and parliamentary grants. DNB.

5. Stoke is a village in Nottinghamshire, near Newark. WGD.

6. William Sturges Bourne (1769-1845) was, like Lord Melbourne, a Canningite. He later succeeded Sir Robert Peel briefly as home secretary but disliked holding office and resigned. DNB.

* * * * *

I inclose a Letter (from) H. R— as it mentions the Foxes

[15 October 1834]

Brighton

Wednesday

A very extraordinary natural phoenomenon has taken place here which puzzles us all. About an hour ago very small drops of some fluid, much
resembling water were observed to fall & this has continued till now--so
that the streets look exactly as if they had water poured on them! I
have examined the liquid & it is not salt, as might have been expected
had the wind blown it out of the sea--but is very like common water. We
are all at a loss what to make of it. Some old people speak of it
having happened in their younger days & then it was called raine or
rane. I shall send some to you in a bottle as a curiosity. The sky was
dark when it fell--but no thunder nor any appearance of an Earthquake.
I shall stop here till Sunday & be in town on Monday when I shall see
you if at home. There's nobody here but Poyntz¹ & the Fitz Spencers, &
Mad. Bathiny² came today--but I have not seen her. I am curious to have
her account of Valency.³

1. William Stephen Poyntz (b. 1770), deputy-lieutenant of Sussex and
Hampshire and patron of six livings, served as MP for Chichester,
1823-26, for Ashburton, 1831-35, and for Midhurst, 1835-37. Who's Who
of MPs.

2. Countess Batthyany (1798-1840), née Baroness von Ahrenfeldt, was
first married to Field-Marshal Count Bubna. Widowed in 1825, in 1828
she married Count Gustave Batthyany Stratman. [Dorothée
Talleyrand-Perigord], Memoirs of the Duchesse de Dino, 1831-1835, ed.

3. Château Valençay, is situated in the Department of Indre, near
Tours. The chateau was built in the sixteenth century by the d'Étampes
family from designs by architect Philibert Delorme. Its holdings
encompassed nineteen thousand hectares and twenty-three communes, which
made it one of the largest feudal holdings remaining in France.
Talleyrand bought the property in the 1790s and soon made it a habit to
return to Valençay every September. He retired to Valençay after
leaving government service in the spring of 1834. Jean Orieux,
Talleyrand: The Art of Survival, trans. Patricia Wolf (New York: Alfred

* * * * *

Mme Bathiny did not go forth thru Dover--I find my faculties going by
being here.
I am very sorry to see you give an indifferent account of yourself—but I hope to find you better when I come.

Here we are all full of Fire. A man (Messenger) entered my bedroom between 4 & 5 in the night & told me the catastrophe & I was afraid the Hall would go—but I find it is safe—I dreamt of fires all the rest of the night. The radicals will, I fancy, take the opportunity of proofing to dispense with a H. of Lds & My Peerage is at their service—if that will help them.  

Mme. Flahault has accounts from F. that look as if Gerard would gain his point and remain. Why the deuce cannot they pass the annuity as to all not connected & leave the Ham villains who are convicted, where they are? The distinction is a plain one & saves all trouble.

Mme. F. is full of fancies & strong convictions about Talleyrand—Mme Dino & every one else being in conflict against Palmerston & the ministry generally—and dwells on it by the hour. I in vain tell her that if all the Talleyrands & Dinos in the habitable globe & all the French parties & all the Russians, were in league to turn out the Govt (or any Govt) here—they could not shake one clerk's place—nay would only strengthen it & that T. & D. know this. She says "oh certainly" but she plainly shews she thinks such things would have influence.

1. On Thursday, 16 October 1834, fire blazed through the Houses of Parliament. Harriet Martineau's description of the origin and destruction of the fire is vivid:
It was necessary to get rid of an accumulation of the old exchequer tallies—about two cart-loads in quantity. . . . The burning was ordered to be done carefully and gradually in the stoves of the House of Lords; but the common workmen, to whom the business was intrusted, did it in rashness and hurry, nearly filling the furnaces, and creating a vast blaze, which overheated the flues. . . . Flames burst from the windows of a neighbouring apartment, and the alarm was spread all over London. . . . Mr. Hume saved a portion of the library of the House of Commons; and many hands helped to throw out of the windows, and carry away, the papers of the law-courts. These law-courts were saved, at the expense of their roofs being stripped off, and the interior deluged with water. The most painful apprehension was for Westminster Hall; but engines were taken into the Hall, and kept at play so abundantly as to prevent any part being caught by the flames. . . . The destruction comprehended the two Houses of Parliament, the Commons' Library, the Lords' Painted Chamber, many of the committee-rooms; the clerk's house, and part of the speaker's, with all the habitations between; the rooms of the Lord Chancellor, and all other law officers; and the kitchens and eating rooms.


The Times reported the next day that "the conflagration, viewed from the river, was peculiarly grand and impressive." Times (London), 17 Oct. 1834, p. 3c.

2. Margaret, Lady Keith (1788-1867), comtesse de Flahault, was the wife of Comte Auguste-Charles-Joseph de Flahault (1785-1870), Talleyrand's illegitimate son. Flahault was later ambassador to Great Britain, 1860-62. HHD, p. 382, note 5; p. 19, note 128.

3. Comte Étienne-Maurice Gérard (1773-1852), French general and politician, was minister of war under Louis-Philippe in 1830 and 1834. WBD.

4. Dorothee de Courlande (1792-1862), duchesse de Dino, daughter of Pierre, duc de Courlande, married Talleyrand's nephew in 1809 but soon became Talleyrand's mistress. She was hostess of his London salon during his mission to Great Britain, 1830-34. HHD, p. 13, note 89.

5. Henry John Temple (1784-1865), third viscount Palmerston, served as a Tory MP from 1807 and was secretary for war, 1809-28. A Canningite, he began to lend his support to the Whigs in 1830. Noted for his belligerent foreign policy, he served as foreign minister, 1830-34, 1835-41, and 1846-51, during which time he effected the independence of Belgium and Greece, negotiated the Quadruple Alliance, delivered Turkey from Russia, and annexed Hong Kong. He later served as prime minister, 1855-58, 1859-65. WBD.
Private

[Autumn 1834]

Friday

My dear Ld. H. I am sorry to say that your kindness & allies operating on Coopers' extreme ignorance of the world has had an effect which I much regret—& I wish you to be on your guard that you may take an opportunity of soothing him, as I really wish him well & am sorry at his being hurt. He asked formally for the office of Sol Gen—a thing quite unprecedented & therefor you had better not mention it—as it would give rise to much blame in the profession. But when another got it he became extremely irritated. Now—I might just as well have made Charles as Cooper. The thing was wholly out of the question. But he says that having been asked to Hd House & Ampthill he concluded Govt meant to make him S.G.!!! & that [John] Allen rather encouraged him to ask—So that it now stands as if you wanted him (which I conclude you never could dream of) and that I, who really am under some obligations to him, prevented him. & that is not right or fair—tho' you are not at all to blame for poor Cs absurd delusion—which however gives me great pain—tho altogether his own fault—A few words incidentally might set this right when occasion offers.

Yrs ever

H. B.

1. Charles Purton Cooper (1793-1873) was called to the bar in 1816. His enthusiasm for legal reform attracted HB's attention, and HB introduced him to the Holland House circle and Whig leaders. HB appointed Cooper secretary of the second record commission. VH did recommend him for the post of solicitor general when Robert Monsey Rolfe (1790-1868), later lord chancellor, 1852-58, 1865-68, was appointed on 6
November 1834. In 1836 Cooper became a bencher at Lincoln's Inn. He was appointed a queen's counsel in 1837 and was for many years a queen's sergeant for the duchy of Lancaster. DNB.

2. Probably VH's eldest, illegitimate son, Charles Richard (1797-1873), who rose to the rank of general in the army with the position of surveyor-general to the ordnance. In 1824, he married Mary FitzClarence, daughter of King William IV and Mrs. Jordan. Fox served as MP for Calne, 1831-32, for Tavistock, 1832-34, for Stroud, 1835, and for the Tower Hamlets, 1841-47. HHD, p. 15, note 106.


On a visit to Ampthill on 21 May 1834, the duchesse de Dino remarked: "The house at Ampthill is gloomy, damp, ill-furnished, and ill-kept—a sad contrast with one of the most delightful parks you could see anywhere." Both VH and Lady Holland are buried there. [Dorothee Talleyrand-Perigord], Memoirs of the Duchesse de Dino, 1831-1835, ed. Princess Radziwill (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), p. 58.

* * * * *

EDITORIAL NOTE

On 10 November 1834 Viscount Althorp's father, Lord Spencer, died. Although the elderly peer had long since retired to his farm and library at Althorp and had little interest in politics, his death profoundly influenced the political scene: the indispensible, albeit reluctant, Lord Althorp, leader of the House of Commons, was now called to the Lords, at which time it was assumed he would retire from politics. The Whigs maintained a majority in the Commons, but Althorp's removal was a strong blow to Melbourne's fledgling ministry. William IV was generally displeased with the liberal tint of the ministry's political agenda, especially regarding the possible disestablishment of the Irish church, and he disliked several of Melbourne's favored political allies, including Lord John Russell, whom Melbourne had unwisely suggested as
Althorp's replacement in the Commons. Indeed, William IV had complained in May 1834 that the resignation of Richmond, Graham, Stanley, and Goderich had cost him his best four ministers. In addition, Brougham's highly publicized autumn trip with the Great Seal to Scotland was regarded by both William IV and Melbourne as an insult to the crown and was held up to scorn in the *Times*, which seemed to have been pursuing a personal vendetta against Brougham since midyear. Despite these difficulties, Melbourne need not have lost the king's confidence. His pessimistic attitude and lack of enthusiasm for both his Whig colleagues and the office of prime minister probably influenced William IV's decision to call in the Tories as much as did the question of a possible Whig split over the Irish church. The king handed Melbourne his dismissal on 14 November 1834 and called in the duke of Wellington, who recommended that Sir Robert Peel be called from Europe to form a Tory ministry. William IV took Wellington's advice, Melbourne retired, somewhat willingly, to his country home, and in December Peel set about the task of forming a ministry.

Peel worked tirelessly to keep his Tory ministry in power. Faced with a minority in the House of Commons, he dissolved Parliament and went to the country for support. The disorganization of the Whig opposition and his manifesto at Tamworth, which laid the foundations of a new conservatism, made Peel initially optimistic, but as his backers suffered defeat after defeat in Parliament, all realized it was a matter of weeks before William IV would be forced to recall the Whigs to lead government. Peel's "hundred days" were the final attempt by a British monarch to force a government on an unwilling majority in Parliament.

At this time Brougham's reputation plummeted to a new low. It was
widely believed that Brougham leaked news of Melbourne's dismissal, which he had been bound to keep in confidence, to the press. Brougham's fellow cabinet members thus discovered their dismissal in the Times the next morning. A few days later, Brougham wrote to Chancellor Lyndhurst on 22 November 1834 (see below) offering himself as chief baron of the Exchequer under Peel, which, he claimed, would save the public several thousand pounds. Although he hotly denied the former highly improbable charge and steadfastly defended the latter action, Brougham's reputation suffered great damage. Brougham wisely absented himself from England with a trip to Paris in December 1834, returning to England in February 1835.*


Nov. 22 [1834]

Having resigned the Great Seal I was of course by the Law entitled to my Pension which was granted to me under the Act of Parlt. as a compensation for the large professional income which I sacrificed as well as for the expence I incurred by the burthen of the Peerage.

Upon yr. Lordship's resolving to keep the office of Chancellor that of chief Baron of the Exch. will become vacant, & I beg leave to state that I am willing to take upon me the duties of that office, whereby the
country will be saved the charge of my pension.

Altho' this would throw upon me great labour & effect a considerable saving with a very small addition to my income not exceeding 1000. a yr. yet as I well know all men's motives are liable to be misrepresented & as I am resolved that no man shall have the possibility of misrepresenting mine, I shall positively refuse to take the salary belonging to the office beyond the expence whatever it may amount to of the circuits & any expence of Chambers & Court, but the whole of which cannot exceed 800. or 1000., & I shall take less if the natural charges are less.

By this arrangement the country will be saved about 6000. a year & if there be (which I understand there is not) any patronage attached to the office I shall also decline to exercise that.

My chief motive in thus agreeing to undertake very laborious & responsible duties with any remuneration is of a higher nature than merely saving the public money. I am not unfit for the discharge of those duties, because I had extensive practice in ye Common Law & I have recently had for 4 years a very extended, experience of Equity business, while I presided, in the Court of Chan. & the House of Lords. My belief is that with the Court of chancery the Rolls & the Equity side of the Exch. so filled and pledging myself to render the best assist. I can in the H. of Lords upon Appeals the office of V. Ch. may soon be saved to the country & the business of chancery restored to its former condition when no arrears & no complaints were known save those which are necessarily incident to such jurisdiction. I have not delayed making this tender of justiciary service upon the present occasion because I was anxious that it should upon being accepted not interfere.
with any other arrangements in contemplation & create as little
disappointment as possible to others

I have the honor to be

(Signed) Brougham

Lord Brougham
to Chancellor
Lyndhurst

1. This is VH's copy, written in another hand, of HB's letter to
Chancellor Lyndhurst.

2. John Singleton Copley (1772-1865), first baron Lyndhurst, was lord
chancellor, 1827-30, 1834-35, and 1841-46. DNB.

Hyde P. Terrce Nov. 23 [1834]

My dear Lord

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of yr. letter of yesterday. I
have communicated the contents of it to the D. of Wellington. The Duke
of Wellington and myself hold our respective offices merely for the
purpose of carrying on the King's government untill the arrival of Sir
R. Peel to whom the King has entrusted the forming of the new
Administration. It is our intention rigidly to abstain from making any
permanent appointment or giving any pledge of any description either as
to persons or measures during this interval. <On Sir R. Peel's return>
I shall immediately on Sir R. Peel's return communicate to him your
letter and it will rest with him and the individual who may hold the
Great Seal in his government to decide as to the course to be pursued as
regards to the proposition which you have made.2

I remain

My dear Lord

Your faithful Serv'\t

(Signed) Lyndhurst

The Lord Brougham & Vaux

1. This is VH's copy, written in another hand, of Lyndhurst's reply to HB.

2. Of this incident, VH noted the following in his diary:

Brougham, the day after he was out, wrote to Lyndhurst to offer himself for Chief Baron of the Exchequer, which he would hold without any addition to his pension and thus save the publick 5 to 7000 per annum. Lyndhurst answered that till Peel arrived, to whom the King entrusted the forming of the new Ministry, he and the Duke of Wellington abstained from giving any appointment or making any pledges about places or measures, and Brougham went off to Paris on the 25th. of November 1834.

HHD, p. 278.

The newspapers were not so generous in their estimation of the incident. From the Courier comes the following:

We view Lord Brougham's offer, in all the circumstances of the case, to be one of the most extraordinary that ever was made by any public man. . . . If Lord Brougham really wish [wishes] to save the public money, he has only to do what Sir James Graham has done—refuse to take it. We might say more, but we content ourselves with merely remarking that of the various characters which Lord Brougham has performed, his friends certainly do not consider that of a judge to be the one in which he has been most successful.

From the Times (London), 29 Nov. 1834, p. 2d.

* * * * *
Private--

Paris

Friday

[7 December 1834]

Dear Ld. H. In case you may like to know what is doing here--le voici. The Tiersparti had less success agt the Govt then was expected--chiefly because, (like the Tories last year) they were not ready with a ministry.\(^1\) The ministers let it be known that if they were beaten--or did not carry it by above 20. they would resign that day--& Dupin\(^2\) was not sorry to be beaten--tho' he is angry they had so large a number. The debate was all \(<f>\) agt the Govt. except Thiers\(^3\) last speech--universally praised--but I heard it not. His first was poor & really conservative tho' pretending to be liberal--Guyzots\(^4\) bad--& Persil's\(^5\) tho good not remarkable--Dupin's admirable--tho by no means one of his best (he is so far beyond all the rest that they are distanced & have no place at all--except Sauzet\(^6\)--a debutant & excellent). No one but Joubert\(^7\) (proseur) spoke for the Govt. The ministerial coxcombs say Thiers is far better then <Guyzot> Dupin--& they know & feel the country--Yet they go on to say not only that he pleases better here but that in Egld--"Ah--je suis sur il produirat un beaucoup plus grand effet!" Now this being said to me--I thought it a little strong so I answered--"Cher Messieurs--me voici qui ai passee ma vie de 35 ans a entendre des discours plus ou moins bons et a en faire de plus ou moins mauvais--et j'ose vous le dire qu'entre M. D. & M. T. chez nous il n'y auroit pas la moindre comparaison--meme que chez nous l'on n'ecouterait pas Mr. T. une Seconde fors tendis que M. D--est chez mon opinion un ovateur sans contradict de la premiere classe."
This mot of mine I really think—as well as what I said of Sauzet (whom the asses tried to run down & silence) has had some effect—at least so they tell me.

Dupin [illegible] refuse touching the Govt. chiefly because the King insists on sitting all day in the Cabinet & having the affairs of each department—down to the smallest appointment—discussed in Cabinet—& freedom of Speech there is none—I plainly see how it is—but H. M. is a far abler man than all his ministers & almost all his opposition put together.8 The

I have seen Talleyrand—he is looking very well—but his bad leg annoys & indeed alarms him. Then he is very influential. He mounted two pair of Stairs to see me & did the same, the same day in three other places. I gave him a lecture for it—and so did Ly Clanricarde9—but he is obstinate in proposition as he is alarmed & I believe he has a running in one, if not in two places—He had nothing to do with our change of course—but M. Flahault &c would laugh at me loud enough to be heard at H. if they saw this)—Yet T. is not sorry to see the extpt tried. I therefore set before his eyes some facts & some arguments—and he could say admitting that a much greater blunder had never been made then by certain good men doing as he had done without having any opportunity to justify it. One thing I told him as applicable & he was so much stuk I must give it you. Geo. 3 (whose memory be cursed) was an able artist10—Your uncle died 13 Sept 1806.11 He sent for Grenville12 & gave a broad hint to turn out the Whigs—G. struck his thigh & refused to take the hint. G. 3 had had 2 months notice—i.e. am sure your uncle was tupped. He waited 3 or 4 months longer watching his opportunity—well resolved to strike the moment he
could. The Pss of Wales told me this—which I knew just as well before she said so. But what I knew not—was what she added—that he got impatient about Xmas & had fully resolved to turn you all out on her affair & the delicate Investigation—a plain blunder you had committed of either doing too much or too little—the Prince too being very unpopular & the cry being about immorality & conjugal fidelity &c.

But while he was [preparing?] his explosion—he found a religious outcry was ready to his hand & so he took that opportunity. She complained always that this put her aside.

Our gracious mentor is not quite so clever in watching & seeing opportunities & One consequence will be—that all the Country by now quite prepared (& quite angry) at to have reforms proposed by Peel & Co (W will I think stand on one side) if he proposes such—they will be furious & say—"Give us any thing but reform which from your hand is an insult"—Whereas if they give no reforms at all—the same people will cry out—"What! Not even a reform or two? Well this does exceed all enduring!"

Yrs ever

H. B.

I find all accounts from Egld are the same—except of course & thank God, for it leaves no doubt Far. who alone, like true Far writes that the Tories will Stand!!!

1. The July Monarchy of King Louis-Philippe of France was characterized by a series of short-lived ministries as Louis-Philippe sought to play opposing factions against each other and thereby gain increased control over the country. In October 1834, after the retirement of Marshal Soult from politics, a ministry containing the following cabinet members was declared: Marshal Gerard, war minister; Guizot, public instruction; Thiers, interior; de Rigny, marine; Humaun, finance; Persil, justice; Duchâtel, commerce. The King refused to accept this ministry and so on
10 November a new ministry was formed: Lieutenant-general Bernard, war minister; Teste, education and protean public instruction; the duke of Bassano, interior; Charles Dupin, marine; Passy, finance; Persil, justice and ecclesiastical affairs; Bresson, foreign affairs. The quick collapse of this "three days' ministry" left the king with no choice but to call back the October ministry, but the situation through the winter of 1834-35 remained extremely fluid, and political intrigue abounded. Louis Blanc summed up the situation thus:

Thus were revealed, after four years of reign, the thousand possibilities of a constitutional regime. What had been the facts displayed in that interval? The crown labouring to make tools of ministers by dividing them; the ministers coalescing to throw obstacles in the way of the personal government of the King; all the ambitious subalterns of the parliament leaguing together to snatch at place; an obstinate struggle on the part of the crown against the Chamber, of the Chamber against the crown;—in short, there was anarchy in every direction, and under every possible form.


2. André-Marie-Jean-Jacques Dupin (1783-1865), called Dupin the Elder, was a French lawyer and politician who took part in the Revolution of 1830. He served as president of both the Chamber of Deputies, 1832-37, and the Legislative Assembly, 1849-51. WBD.

3. Louis-Adolphe Thiers (1797-1877), liberal French politician, historian, and first president of the Third Republic, 1871-73, held under Louis-Philippe the ministries of interior, 1832, 1834-36, and of trade and public works, 1833-34. He also served as premier of France, 1836, and as minister of foreign affairs, 1840. WBD.

4. François-Pierre-Guillaume Guizot (1787-1874), French historian and politician, was currently serving as minister of education, a post he held 1832-37. Following this appointment, he served as foreign minister, 1840-47, and as premier of France, 1847-48. He was forced into retirement by the Revolution of 1848. WBD.


6. Paul Sauzet (1800-1877), a member of the Lyons bar, was elected deputy in 1834 and in 1836 was made minister of justice in the Thiers cabinet. At this time he was a member of the tiers parti. Memoirs of the Duchesse de Dino, p. 341.

7. Vicomte Joseph-Antoine-René Joubert (1772-1843), French general. WBD.
8. King Louis-Philippe of France (1773-1850) reigned July 1830-February 1848. He abdicated the throne during the Revolution of 1848, which resulted in the establishment of the Second Republic (1848-52). WBD.

9. Henrietta, Lady Clanricarde (1804-76), was the only daughter of statesman George Canning. In 1825 she married Ulick John de Burgh (1802-74), second marquess of Clanricarde, who served as under secretary for foreign affairs, 1826, as ambassador to Russia, 1838-41, as postmaster general, 1846-52, and as lord privy seal, 1857. Complete Peerage; DNB.


11. Charles James Fox (1749-1806), renowned English politician and orator, was also VH's uncle and the head of the Whigs in opposition to Tory rule. His death left VH as symbolic head of the Whigs. Leslie Mitchell, Holland House (London, 1980), p. 37; DNB.

12. William Wyndham Grenville (1759-1834), first baron Grenville, a conservative, was prime minister, 1806-07. DNB.


14. The delicate investigation was prompted by rumors of Princess Caroline's indelicate speech and behavior and was forced by George, Prince of Wales, on his Whig ministers. Although the princess was cleared of any wrong-doing, her reputation was damaged, and she left England for the Continent soon afterwards. Fulford, Trial of Queen Caroline, pp. 26-28.

15. The Prince of Wales had violated the Royal Marriages Act of 1772, which forbade royalty to marry without the king's consent, by marrying in secret a Roman Catholic widow, Mrs. Fitzherbert, in 1795. Although he and Caroline of Brunswick were forcibly married by George III in 1795, Prince George continued to live with Mrs. Fitzherbert until 1803. Following the birth of Princess Charlotte Augusta in 1796, he openly deserted Caroline. Christopher Hibbert, George IV: Prince of Wales, 1762-1811 (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), pp. 146-47, chap. 15.

* * * * *

[Spring 1835]

I will [with] much pleasure—but I am crippled. My arms--especially the right, can hardly move--& I write this with infinite difficulty.
It is owing to the action—which I used after being released from
the Gown & wig—& being returned to my old habits of beating the table.
If I can I will—if not I will call as I want to see Milady.

* * * * *

EDITORIAL NOTE

On 13 April 1835 Brougham received the news from Lord Melbourne
that he was not to be included in Melbourne's new ministry. Although
Whigs such as Lord John Russell and Lord Holland pleaded for Brougham's
restoration to the lord chancellorship, Melbourne was adamant. He had,
in fact, decided to drop Brougham months earlier. In February 1835 he
had written Lord Grey that he would not deal with Brougham, Lord Durham,
or Daniel O'Connell in a future ministry. He banished, as one historian
has remarked, "the three men among the Whig adherents who really wanted
to get things done." He thus ensured himself not only of a relatively
peaceful tenure but also of a government of which it was said that it
did the least possible good in the longest possible time.

Brougham's and Holland's correspondence from the days immediately
preceding and following Brougham's exclusion from office portray Holland
attempting to conciliate an angry and bitter Brougham. Melbourne had
tried to soften the blow, attributing Brougham's exclusion to William
IV's personal dislike of him. Thus encouraged, Brougham worked
tirelessly during the session of 1835 on a host of issues: law reform,
education, taxes on paper, slavery, and prison administration. And
although in private he refused all correspondence with his former
colleagues, in public he firmly supported the ministry. Despite his
reformed behavior, Brougham continued to be abused in the press and ignored by Melbourne. At the end of the session he retired wearily to Brougham Hall, Westmorland, not returning to Parliament until the session of 1837.*


[10 April 1835]

Thursday

Private & confidl.

Dear Ld H. I think you might perhaps hereafter suppose you had a right to complain of me as a very old friend & also a Colleague--& member of the same party--if I did not give you a suggestion which I am sure is not unnecessary--from all I perceive. I have seen Ld Melbourne <& told him> at his own desire & he is the only one of <many> the late Cabinet whom I have spoken to--or communicated with--(& I only shall show this to J. Russell.) He knows all my opinions & sentiments. But he is plainly under the influence of I know not what knot of persons who (for some purpose of their own) chuse to represent themselves as speaking the sense of many others as to me. It would only be kind towards him if you undeceived him. Dont wait till a fortnight shews you that they really are nobody.

I dont ask any one to go on much out of his way for me--Nor do I dream of my having the least claims on any one--or any party. But pray avoid getting into a great error which all of you will be sorry for. Dont let people who can carwigg & backbite on any account induce you to do any, thing or make any arrangement which can make a breach
Irreparable, which will be of no use to any human being but one.

Yrs ever

H. B.

* * * * *

[14 April 1835]

Errol unwilling to trouble Grey or Melbourne while occupied with the formation of a ministry & yet anxious they should be in possession of his views wishes from a conviction that they are both willing to desirous of promoting them as far as possible came to explain them to me. He cannot return to his old office & he is too poor to renounce all thoughts of holding one under a friendly administration—he conceives that a Lordship of the Bedchamber would both in rank & profit be (far) below his pretensions. His ultimate object & ambition (should Albemarle ever retire) would be to be Master of the Horse, but he of course only suggests his claims when those of Ld Albemarle are removed, not in any degree to put them in competition with his. The office of groom of the [Horse?]—or the Parlt. office would gratify as well as satisfy him—that of the Buckhounds if no other could be obtained, would accept—but he would not like it because liable either to the inconvenience of deriving little or no profit from it, or to the mortification of discharging it with less magnificence than his predecessors or than some think the office requires. His claims are unquestionably well furnished & there are many reasons of policy as well as feeling which should induce a Reform Government to gratify him as far as true—justice to others can match them. He is too modest & reasonable to wish them to do more & I have
only undertaken to put Grey & Melbourne in full possession of his feelings & views on the subject.

1. At the foot of the letter VH wrote: "Correspondence . . . Me & Brougham 14 Apr. 1835 VH."

2. William George Hay (1801-46), eighteenth earl of Errol, was master of the horse to the queen consort, 1830-34. He was appointed master of the buckhounds on 30 May 1835, which position he held until December 1839. Complete Peerage.

3. William Charles Keppel (1772-1849), fourth earl of Albemarle, was master of the horse, 1830-34, 1835-39. Complete Peerage.

[14 April 1835]

Dear Brougham,

Be assured that any suggestion from you comes recommended to me by long & sincere friendship & as a mark of confidence & kindness is & ever <will> must be gratifying to me. <As> I have not seen Melbourne since he saw you. I do not exactly understand what annoyance you attach to which can make a breach irreparable—I hope none can & I am sure none ought to have that others havent—but in justice to him I must say that I am satisfied that the communication he had to make to you was as painful to his feelings as I believe it is to all your old friends & Colleagues & I assure you impassionedly to none more than myself. My conviction that <whatever happens> happen what will <your> you never will cease in intention to <promote the great> devote your wonderful powers to that publick cause you have so splendidly & successfully served <adds greatly to the> far from diminishing <as much> adds greatly in my mind to the pang of <such> our official [illegible]. I trust it is no other separates between us. On the other hand my Dear Brm <I hope you will [be] persuaded that it is not backbiting or earwigging—not
private or undiminished hatred but just as an [illegible] be persuaded that no earwigging or backbiting can (if any there be) & indeed nothing <ever> has or can but a conviction [illegible] if we fall into any error in our judgement of such as of about sacrifices but do not suspect us of the breach or weakness of listening to backbiters or earwiggers.>

do not I intreat you imagine that any arrangement which can directly or indirectly affect you, <whether> (be it an error in judgement or not) can be produced by earwigging or backbiting a practise which I am satisfied, <we are sure> of Melbourne is <in> neither foolish nor base enough to encourage--I can assure you that this painful resolution

[End of Letter]

1. This is a draft of the following letter.

* * * * *

14 April [1835]

Private

Dear Brougham

Be assured that every suggestion from you, public or private, comes to me recommended by long and unabated friendship and that as a mark of confidence and kindness it is and ever must be gratifying to me. I have not seen Melbourne since he saw you. I therefore do not really <know> understand what arrangement you allude to which can make a breach irreparable—I hope none can and I am sure none ought to have that effect, as none can be devised with any such intention. I must in justice to Melbourne say, I am satisfied that the communication he had
to make was so painful to his feelings as to those I believe of all his Colleagues, and I can assure you more unfeignedly to mine. My conviction founded on long intimacy with you, that happen what will, you will never cease in intention to devote your unparalleled powers to that public cause you have so long and so nobly served, far from diminishing adds greatly in my mind to the pang of an official, for I trust it is no older separation between us. There may b supposing it unavoidable—but be assured my Dear Brougham that no opinion which leads to so painful a conclusion or indeed that can affect you directly or indirectly has been or can be produced by earwigging or backbiting, a practise, which if it exists, Melbourne is neither foolish, weak or base enough to encourage. These I assure you are my real feelings, though the more than [illegible] to which they all relate quite spoils the relish one should otherwise feel at the triumphant restoration of Melbourne's government.

Yrs most truly

(Signed) Vassall Holland

* * * * *

Holld. Hse. 14 April [1835]

Dear Brougham

When I wrote I only knew that Melbourne had communicated to you his request that it was out of his power to recommend you for the Great Seal and consequently considered your observations as referring to that point only. My answer applied of course exclusively to that, as I fear, unavoidable but painful determination—but I have since understood that you advised a Commission as preferable to any other method of discharging of the Great Seal & that such an arrangement would be less disagreeable to your feelings that [than] any other. This I apprehend
in Melbourne's mind as in mine must be in itself be the strongest possible recommendation & quite sufficient to induce him to adopt that course, unless upon Enquiry (in church I believe him to be now employed) he should unquestionably find the state of business to be such as renders it impracticable. In the mean state I have sent him a list of the commissions furnished me by his [Gender?] since 1689 for his guidance—& I have not hesitated to express my sincere conviction that whatever is least disagreeable to you, if practicable, is that which will be to himself and to his late Colleagues most eradicable, comfortable, and satisfactory—I am afraid you will think this a very little acting, but I assure you it is the sense of the feelings I have expressed and must ever entertain. I could say and some day or other God willing I will say much to you, my dear Brougham, connected with this subject—but I cannot say it now lest you should imply that I have more authority than I have & that at expressing my own opinion I meant to convey that of others, of which in truth I am ignorant—Sincerely hoping that this very very painful incident may be terminated in the way least unpleasant to your feelings I am Dear Brougham

Ever Yours

(Signed) Vassall Holland

* * * * *

[14-15 April 1835]

My dear Ld H.

Your expressions are extremely kind—& I should deem a very little acting in some such sense—still more so. Believe me as no man in the whole history of party or of Govts. ever yet was treated in such a way no men can feel it more deeply—To be thrown overboard without any one
of you having ever had the fairness to say what I am charged with—was bad enough—Melbourne having only said that the Lawyers were agt me—& that the Stanley people were also. But in addition, to find a determination taken (as I understand by J. Russell's note) that the arrangement shall be made in the very way most disgraceful & insulting to me, & after asking what I should wish—Oh—it is foul, foul, foul!

I am in the middle of this—somewhat moved to pity at your glorying in "your triumphant Restoration to Power"—a Triumph it is of which I should in your position feel deeply ashamed. But truly it is likely to be a kind of triumph that will be ensured by no one.

Yrs truly

H.B.

* * * * *

[16 April 1835]

H of Lds

Wednesday

Private

Dear Ld H. I shall of course in publck follow my own line according to my own opinions & principles and I hope the Govt will be such in its conduct as to mark it a duty as it will be a pleasure to support them always—& as I dont do things by halves—I may not be found—even by this Govt—quite a superfluous supporter.

As for my conduct out of doors I am to judge of that and I will suffer no one to make me answerable for things in pamphlets & newspapers & for speeches of other men, by my own deeds and words & not by what any silly woman in Brooks's gossiper,¹ or Lords' toad-eater, and rumer & cases-dropper may chuse to make Grey or Melbourne or Ly H. suppose I
wrote or said.

I am aware that they who resolved in my absence on lightening the ship by throwing me overboard, also deemed it a safe thing to destroy me by slanders—in order that I might never be able to defend myself or to take my revenge. I am also aware—that their failure has been compleat—and this is about to be seen & felt. But one thing they may be very right about—I may be insignificant & my opposition may be of as little hurt as my support has been of help—However—I must judge & act for myself.

For Ld Melbourne—laboring under a delusion artfully propagated—and which he cannot explain or say what it goes on—except by saying he cannot help it—for him who thus thinks he is acting under an overriding necessity—I can make every excuse & nothing can or shall affect my friendship private & publick for him—of the rest—who labour under no delusion but that of overvaluing a short reign in office—& who (under their hands) have avowed that they dont at all agree with M.—for them I have or can have no feeling but pity-& something more—It is no fault of <them> some of you that in order to have the miserable vanity of getting a new Chancr. to talk about & job with & give dinner to—I was not cast overboard to be devoured by the Sharks of the Press (whom I doubt not some of them were more or less directly in league with—one I know was). It was no fault of theirs that I was not this very day reduced to the humbling necessity of exposing in defence of my own honour & in justice towards my many friends (whom you blind people who see ten or 12 people in a year dont believe to exists). It was no fault of theirs that I was not compelled to shew the people which of their Reform Ministers they were indebted to for standing by them in bad & good fortunes—Nor was it
any fault of theirs that I was not thrown by absolute necessity of self
defence, into regular & bitter opposition—Their folly their
stone-blindness—their anxiety to court the Stanley & Graham
people—equalled only by their fickleness, almost perfidy. I conclude
that there will be a Commission. If not—the fault is not mine—and I
am not answerable for what may follow—indeed for what as far as I am
concerned—must follow.

I hope sincerely it will be otherwise. But as to any private
intercourse—the thing is out of all question—I must live with those
whose firmness I can trust.

One thing you are so wrong about that I must set you right—I went
to Melbourne with the most firm resolution to refuse the Gt. Seal (which
I was told he meant & which the King & the tories said he meant to offer
me) I had announced this to Lyndhurst—to my Mother1 by Letter—to the
Edinburgh & other people to prevent a Resolution on the subject.
Nothing could have made me take it—at least for the present.

Yrs ever

H. B.

1. Brooks's Club was the preeminent London Whig club. Formerly
Almack's, which was established in Pall Mall in 1764 and which included
among its twenty-seven founding members Charles James Fox, Brooks's
moved from Pall Mall to No. 60 St. James's Street and opened its doors
in October 1778. John Timbs, Clubs and Club Life in London, (1872;

2. Eleanor Syme Brougham (1750-1839), to whom HB was very close. Henry
Brougham, pp. 15-16.

* * * * *
Private

[May 1835]

H of Lds

Monday

Dear Ld H. I'll thank you to let me know if the Courier (Evening Paper) is in any way considered as connected with Govt—or as a Govt. Paper—or has any communication with Govt.

I need hardly add that I care absolutely nothing for newspaper abuse & did—and that I never read that or any other paper of the kind. But I am so urged that I can no longer refuse to take legal notice\(^1\) of the systematic abuse of me which I understand is there carried on by partners under whose hand I have access to evidence of either villainy or insanity—and moreover—when I avoid all attacks of the Govt. either in the press or elsewhere—and on all occasions support the Govt. as <far> well as I possibly can—if the return is constant abuse by the organs of those I am supporting I incur disgrace by this course. The Govt. of course can have no power over any paper but it can interdict all connexion with a paper which dishonours it by casting imputations on its (Govt's) good faith.

Yrs ever

H. B.

\(^1\) HB never took this contemplated legal action.

*   *   *   *   *   *
Private

Dear Ld H. It is very possible you may not know of it—and others may shutdown their eyes to it—but that vile miscreant to whom you allude and who avows his authorship under his hand is constantly at the Treasury & offices & was even while I was in office—till Drummond had the honesty to drive him away. He was also at the slander shop kept by the party in Cleveland Square—where next to the Tory Govt. (or more) I was the subject of hourly abuse all the while I was about tho' no one ever has yet—had the manliness (to say nothing of fairness) to give me any intimation of what was laid to my charge.

The continuance of abuse in a government paper is so far indifferent to me—that I am sure out of the Cabinet (who are slaves to all the newspapers and Clubs) it will not affect any one. But there is something so degrading to any government in such conduct—something so silly & wild too in the Irish chance of trying to write one down by means of one obscure paper that I really out of old recollections had much rather not have it to lay your to the government's charge—My "Summary of Transactions" (which I have purposely reserved for the end of the Session when it can do the Tories the least good) will be bad enough without this piece of mean spite & folly—& I may add impotency & I would fain be able to omit it.

Yrs ever

H. B.

* * * * *
Private

[late September 1835]

Brougham

Thursday

Dear Ld H.

I don't want to enter into controversy—and therefore I only write two lines to protest agt my silence being constrained into agreeing with any thing you say.

You totally misaffected the meaning of my long Letter if you fancy it was to shew that some other kind of Govt. should have been formed. You had no other people to form it out of—Grey could not—Althorp would not—and I went to Melbourne with the most positive determination to refuse the Seal—which I had announced to two persons by letter before I went—one of them high in office. Of course I never for a moment doubted of the offer being made.

As for what you say of Durham—and his "way of talking imprudently" I should not just have applied that mild expression to a distinct offer of reconcilement on one condition—viz. my breach of judicial duty—Yet this was the proposition—

Yrs ever truly

H. B.

I cannot give you joy of your new admiralty—Whigs will do things that Tories never durst have dreamt of—Of course the board painted Admiralty is removed from the Street and "Adelphis" put up—but it will puzzle the hackney coachmen.
1. VH's diary entry for 10-26 September 1835 contains the following:

The Cabinet parted without a dinner but with plenty to digest before they meet again in the gloomy and ominous month of November—such as Registry Bill, Irish Church measure, and last but most difficult of all, arrangement about Great Seal. Brougham naturally enough waxes impatient. He wrote me a letter full of bitter complaint and reproach but meant in truth for a pump rather than a ducking. . . . Though B[rougham] sarcastically observes that Adelphi should be substituted for Admiralty on the Board of Minto's office, the appointment is generally approved.

HHD, p. 328.

Gilbert Elliot (1782-1859), second earl of Minto and ambassador to Prussia, 1832-34, was appointed first lord of the admiralty on 15 September 1835. He held this position until the resignation of the Melbourne government on 30 August 1841. Complete Peerage.

* * * * *

Private

Brougham

Oct. 1 [1835]

Dear Ld H. On looking over my long Letter to you, I am apprehensive there are some things in it you might think unkindly expressed—I should have altered them at once had I thought them capable of such a construction—That is perhaps quite enough to say—as neither you nor I are men of much palaver one towards another—tho' we may speak enough on other subjects.

In fact I only wished my Letter to be read by some one Minister as a kind of protest or explanation of my motives for supporting the Govt. & to prevent any possibility of it being suffered that I did it either from insensibility or from a notion of courting favour. I could only convince you of this by letting you see the whole state of my mind on the subject.

The same observation must be applied to what I have since been doing for the Govt. viz. trying all I could to undo the damnable
mischief sure to result from the radical outcry about the Lords--&c as well as other matters. This in the Edn Review¹--& I think contains proofs of magnanimity. However--I do it from hatred of the common even much more & from love of my own opinions making progress.

Yrs truly

H. B.

My reason for addressing these protests to you is that Melbourne is so cursedly careless they might get into anybody's hands.

1. HB probably refers to a speech of his published in the April–July 1835 issue of the Edinburgh Review. In a splendid piece of oratory, HB lambasted those MPs who were Whigs at heart but who dared "not act, as fain they would, for fear their real principles should be found out, and they should stand convicted of practising a fraud on the honest electors." He thus argued that the so-called "Opposition" to the Whig ministry was less than it appeared to be. "Speech of Henry, Lord Brougham, on the Address in the House of Lords, on Tuesday, 17th February, 1835," Edinburgh Review 61 (1835): 242-51.

* * * * *

Private

[late November 1837]

Friday Evening

Dear Ld H.

I am very anxious from what I have just heard this evening that we should avoid the route some of our friends are urging us upon. Rely on it--John Russell¹ will in a week's time find himself at the head of as nice a little sorry party of 30 or 40 old whigs, as any man needs desire to lead. More then that number he has not a chance of--& possibly he and Howick & Charles Wood may be the whole Set.

This is the inevitable result of the resolution he has found to do nothing that Howick dislikes--& I fear Ld Grey agrees so far with Howick
as to make war not only on O'Connell but on such excellent & honest & respectable man—men of true principles & real independence—as Grote!²

For myself—if I had any selfish feeling about the matter—I should say "Let J. R. play this silly & unintelligible <game> part & welcome."

For my wishes of real & salutary & therefore extensive reform that I have (& which I do not deny) never can be more compleatly answered then by such a total Split of the Whig Party—& such an everlasting annihilation of it as contrarily wished for the popular party in the Country. But (basely & brutally & ungratefully & unbearably as I have been used) I still retain an old prejudice in favor of those I have so long acted with & whom I have served like a slave for 30 years & with every sacrifice & with no interruption.³ Therefore I regret to see this old concern so broken up—& as nothing will ever induce me to take office with them again, (which I believe they will be as well pleased with as I am at the riddance) Surely my present advice to keep them together & enable them to change the Govt. is at the least very disinterested.

I therefore give you this warning—and it had as well not be disregarded. I know what I go upon. If J. R. continues but a few days longer to refuse all communication with the party at large—if he will hold no meetings—if he will not bring the various bodies together, of which the present opposition is confined—then the others will meet without him—and his leadership will be at an end except <ower> over a very very few indeed. I give this warning also on account of J. R. himself—and for his sake. I am anxious he should not be in a ridiculous & humiliating position.

I repeat it—intrest personally I neither have & can have nor ever
will have any in the matter.  

Yrs ever

H. B.

1. Lord John Russell was home secretary, 1835-39. DNB.

2. Historian George Grote (1794-1871) was MP for the City of London, 1833-41. DNB.

3. HB was introduced to Holland House society in 1805 by Dr. John Allen and was first brought into Whig politics in 1807 as an electoral agent through VH's influence. Henry Brougham, p. 48; Brougham and the Whig Party, p. 15.

4. Allen's diary entry for 26 November contains the following explanation of the situation:

There was a meeting yesterday at the Reform Club at which 50 members of Parliament were present. Molesworth made a speech against Ministers, O'Connell answered him and said that if they wished to bring in a Tory Government they must not count on the support of the Irish members, and that he in particular would do his utmost to expose them to the indignation all true Reformers. I know not else who spoke but there were only five—Molesworth, Leader, Wakley, Grote, and Whittle Harvey—who were for withdrawing their support from the Ministry. Brougham is supposed to have had some share in getting them on these proceedings. . . . Lord John's unnecessary and ill-judged declaration in favour of the landed interest against the towns had given offence to many. . . . The general opinion is that the Ministry will go on till February, and that it will depend on the measures they bring forward whether they have the support of the Radicals or not. Many who are anxious they should not go out are nevertheless dissatisfied with them. . . . Lord Melbourne thinks this is a beginning of the dissolution of the Govt.

On 13 December he added that "Brougham has been very active of late, making speeches, not directly hostile to the Ministers, but full of insinuations against them."

VH also commented on the ill-advised actions of Russell in December:

[Russell] was misunderstood to say that the reform bill was 'final', a stand should be made, which is a form of defence against proposed improvements vicious in itself and particularly odious to all class of reformers. . . . and on the 2d. day's speech on the report, . . . he unluckily stated with some complacency and triumph that the reform had left the land a considerable ascendancy over the boroughs or monied
interest, that it was intended to do so by its framers, and that it was right that it should be so. An imprudent and ungracious declaration! Imprudent as shaking the confidence of all town reformers in his designs, ungracious as exulting over the weakness of his Chief supporters, the town representatives and their constituents, and approving of a political superiority in the class where he and his friends were least likely to meet any favour, viz the land.

HHD, pp. 375-76, 377.

* * * * *

Private

[late November 1837]

Saturday

My dear Ld H. In much of what you say I don't differ—but you are wrong & only [illegible] immaterial in saying that a loss of a small is as bad as a loss of a great number. 260 holding together (& it would be 280) whatever personal folly & vanity Howick & C. Wood might shew—would—now must end in the whole 320 rallying with them & they start with the Country at once—whereas J. R. sticking by the 30 or 40 (I am absurdly exaggerating the Howick Section—it is not 10) will inevitably alienate the 260 or 280.

I speak not without bosh when I make the number 260 at least who will hold a meeting & act on principles if we don't go along with them. But I agree with you in hoping much from Ld Grey's sense of duty & his total want of all selfish & vain feelings—in which he excels all men. Only he is too much swayed by hatred of Oconnel—also I hope something from Ellice.

Your idea of speedily turning out the Govt. weighs little with me for I fear there are difficulties you are not quite aware of in replacing them. It was easy enough to say "All will go right if we
can only throw that cursed old chancellor over-board"—He has got a Ship of his own now—so that the "Brooks's Whig Schooner" no longer Suffers from him, but I doubt if she is much the nearer St James's Harbour.

Yrs ever

H. B.

Writing to Grey is worse than useless. He sees with other peoples' eyes

* * * * *

EDITORIAL NOTE

The following three letters deal with a mysterious event that occurred in October 1839: a letter purporting to be from a cousin of Brougham's was sent to Lord Wellesley on 22 October; it stated that Brougham had been killed in a carriage accident. The rumor spread and all London papers but the Times published obituary notices the following day. It was then discovered that the entire incident had been a hoax—there had been a carriage accident, but no one, including Brougham, had been injured. Immediately the speculation surfaced that Brougham himself had contrived the hoax and authored the infamous letter. Lord Holland's description of the incident in his diary details the suspicions then current:

The Reported death of Lord Brougham at first shocked both friend and foe exceedingly, but afterwards enlivened the town by an eager controversy (in which Brougham took much the largest share) about the author of the hoax. It was generally suspected to be himself. He denied it distinctly and with a vehemence which implied more serious guilt in so bad a joke than it would, if of his own perpetration, have actually involved. In the course of the Correspondence about it to me and others, he professed some personal regard and much feeling for many of his old friends in office, insinuating a strong inclination to reconnect himself with them, talked of having held out flags of truce which had been fired upon, and ended by denouncing battle on the late acquisitions to the Cabinet and against Lord Clarendon and Lord Normanby in particular.
He was thought by those best conversant in such matters to shew a great desire for office of any sort, for he chiefly reproached the Government with not offering station or promoting either him or his friends. . . . He writes in all directions vindications, explanations, and boasts, and he is not unlike the inkfish who, to elude his pursuers, involves himself in obscurity by spreading around all his actions a vast mass of that opaque fluid of which gall seems, but really is not, the chief "ingredient."

It has proved impossible to ascertain the author of the hoax letter, but there are several reasons to doubt it being of Brougham's own invention, despite contemporary opinion. Brougham's beloved daughter, Eleanor Louisa, was then exceedingly ill, and he had written only weeks before that he was despondent about her condition. It also scarcely seems likely that Brougham would have sent such a letter to Lord Wellesley, who was among his closest friends. Always noted for his kindness towards his dear friends, it seems highly improbable that he would torment Wellesley in this manner. Furthermore, hoaxes of this sort were not all that uncommon. Sir James Scarlett had several years earlier been the victim of such a prank.

Whomever the author, Brougham was at the time held responsible for the hoax, and the incident no doubt sealed whatever slim possibility of his reentering the government had existed.*  


* * * * *

[Fragment: HB to VH]

[26 October 1839]

Brougham

Saturday

Then silly newspapers have enough of real deaths I should have thought,
& of heavy topics to tell without killing such small game as me or
giving you the trouble of writing—Poor Piggott¹ a [illegible]. As far
as regards myself the time of the report was not well chosen—for I
never have had a moments ailment of any kind since I left town.

1. Perhaps George Grenville Wandesford Pigot (1796-1865), who sat as MP
for St. Mawes, 1830-32. Who's Who of MPs.

[29 October 1839]¹

Brougham

Tuesday

Private

My dear Ld H. I am moved to trouble you with a Letter in order to
express my concern at hearing Lady H. has been so ill & above all that
the Stupid & extremely malicious jest (meant probably to have me mangled
put mention in all the Govt. papers) which has failed in aiming its
intention has given her pain during her recovery—I can tell her I once
shed salt tears on some one reading aloud among the deaths "At <deleted>
Kensington, Lady Holland"—(I believe some Ly Douce is so called).

But I find you are curious to know if poor Bob Shafto's humour was
original or borrowed.² Neither—he never wrote a line to A. Montgomery³
in his life—None ill ce la croyance—for had A. M. known his hand he
must have seen it was a fabrication—I had the precaution to write two
Letters to London that post which must have carried the Hoax Letter—for
I wrote and sent them the evening of the accident (Saturday) and they
must have been in London on Monday morning—Unfortunately neither A.
Eden⁴ nor Miller my old Club were in town till Tuesday—Tho' their
absence was out of all regular course of things. I also sent a letter
to A. Montgomery himself by the same post & how he did not get it till Tuesday I cant conceive. All this precaution I deemed necessary from recollecting that when there had been no accident namely April 1821 & last October, I was put to death without any ceremony by the London Papers--& on both occasions a life was never lost--if not four lives--for Ly B. heard it bawled in the Streets & was then far gone with child--in 1821 Mary Spalding last year was as near hearing it [illegible] two days delivered.

I draw from Lives one moral—that no despotism of crowned heads is so unbearable as that of the press under which we no live—& groan—. For example—what right had 4 men to come here & inquire in my house into all particulars—in order to trace a supposed joke of my cousin living as a guest in my private House—a joke of which A. Montgomery, another very private individual—had a right to complain—but certainly not the newspapers—for they (the papers) were the wrongdoers—who circulated the story—and gathered it by listings at a club—& preferred making laudatory paragraphs & living the newspaper doggerel writer (L. Moore I presume) to write & publish rather than send to Grafton Street to learn the truth?—In short I wish I were near the author of the stupid or spiteful joke—to prompt him that he should come forth & avow it & say "If Mr. M. or Lt W. (whom it made ill) demand apology I will ask pardon of the one & go out with the other—but with the Press I have no concern—for I never did anything to that <p> body—We have sent for the letter to [illegible] at Penrith have little hopes of tracing the writer. It was probably some traveller who knew A. M. & Shafto.

I have another hoax to expose—which lately was played on Milady & repeated by her at H^d House—I mean about a Hastings Conversation
You are perhaps not aware that I am on the other side that both Ly B & I did all we could to prevent the last pub n of Hastings—that I refused to speak to him on his whole case for some months till asked to do so by Tavistock & that I was T's friend & not his in the matter—

Yours H. B.

1. The letter was postmarked 30 October 1839.

2. Either Robert Eden Dubcombe Shafte (1776-1848), who married a cousin of Lady Brougham's, or his son of the same name (1806-89). It is unclear which man was the presumed author of the hoax letter. Henry Brougham, p. 324.

3. The letter was addressed to Alfred Montgomery (1814-96), Lord Wellesley's secretary, rumored to have been his son. Immediately on receipt of the letter, Montgomery took a postchaise to Lord Wellesley to inform him of the news. Ibid., p. 273.

4. Probably one of HB's in-laws.

5. In 1821, Lady Brougham was pregnant with their daughter, Eleanor Louisa. Within two months of this incident, Eleanor, aged eighteen, died of tuberculosis and was buried at Lincoln's Inn. Henry Brougham, p. 275.

6. HB's house in London was located on Grafton Street. Who's Who of MPs.

7. Richard Colley Wellesley (1760-1842), first marquess of Wellesley, was the duke of Wellington's older brother. He served as foreign secretary, 1809-12, and as lord lieutenant of Ireland, 1821-28, 1833-34. At this time he was perhaps HB's closest friend. DNB; Complete Peerage.

8. Penrith, Cumbria, today a tourist resort on the edge of the Lakes District, provided at that time the nearest postal service to Brougham Hall. WGD.

9. George Augustus Francis Rawdon (1808-44), second marquess of Hastings, was the brother of Lady Flora Hastings (1806-39), lady of the bedchamber to Victoria Mary Louisa (1786-1861), duchess of Kent and Queen Victoria's mother. Francis Russell (1788-1861), styled the marquess of Tavistock and later (1839) seventh duke of Bedford, MP, 1812-32, entering the House of Lords as baron Howland of Streatham in 1833, was Lord John Russell's eldest brother. His wife, Anna Maria, was the queen's lady of the bedchamber.
The Hastings and the Tavistocks became at odds in 1839 over the matter of Lady Flora's fatal illness, which produced a swollen stomach resembling a pregnancy. Although a physical examination proved her virginity, the court doctor was reluctant to completely rule out pregnancy. This misdiagnosis provided an excuse for factions hostile to the Hastings to attempt to lessen the Hastings's influence at court. The rumor that Lady Flora was pregnant, perhaps by the duchess of Kent's personal secretary and comptroller, Sir John Conroy, spread rapidly. Tempers flared and the respective factions of the duchess of Kent and Queen Victoria flung increasingly bitter accusations back and forth, going so far as to publish their correspondence in the public press. Matters came to a head when Lady Flora died on 5 July, whereupon Lord Hastings published a mass of new material blaming certain members of the court for Lady Flora's death. Although the affair died down after Lady Flora's funeral, Queen Victoria was for a time jeered in public and was chastised at court for having allowed the situation to grow so completely out of hand. It was a royal scandal on the scale of Queen Caroline's trial in 1820. Complete Peerage; HHD, pp. 401-5; Elizabeth Longford, Queen Victoria: Born to Succeed (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), chaps. 8, 9; Cecil Woodham-Smith, Queen Victoria (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), pp. 164-80.

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[November 1839]

Grafton St.

Thursday Evening

Dear Ld H.

I dare say you'll think the story of the Hoax about my death so threadbare as to be too tiresome & also to be too trifling for another Letter from me. But finding that you misunderstood me when I last wrote about Milady's illness & that you supposed I was contradicting that most absurd (for it is even more absurd than malicious) story which they put about (I believe from Court) of my being the author or originator or in any manner of my concern in it. I must write you one or two lines. I was not any really aware of having alluded to it—Allude to the slander I never could—& My letter was entirely written in consequence of one I had from Charles¹ about Milady's illness. This at
least is my recollection of it—tho' having had so many dozens to write on the same self subject I may here be mistaken. But on one thing I cannot be in error or doubt—and that is that the instant I heard of this vile calumny being spread I wrote the most positive denial that I had words to express, & if any other can be found stronger for the purpose—those I desire to be understood as using—After this I really do expect that it will be no longer suffered possible—

But you will ask why I am so anxious to deny what is no kind of imputation except that of making a big conceit in a very dull joke—a thing most men have often to answer for? My renown is—certainly not at all owing to the Papers or the Publick. For I maintain (being still unenslaved by the newspapers & still refusing the Gentlemen of the Press access to my House either in town or country when I have company—a refusal I mean to persevere in & which I should hope is general) I maintain that the Press has no kind of right either to open my letters or those of any persons in my house & then finding their contents erroneous to demand the authors of the statements which they may have published—Therefore I speak only of the letter itself—which being now published contains a reference[?] to Lord Wellesley—which whoever can believe I could have been so cruel & brutal as to have sent or suffered to be sent must believe me the greatest savage that exists—For all the rest I am utterly indifferent—But I require those who speak on this subject to believe my positive denial of the whole—on account of that. I hope this is sufficient. I know no stronger words to use—else I would use them.

I must add that I greatly wonder how any person of your sagacity can for a moment have failed to perceive the impossibility of any person
at Brougham writing that letter. Whoever did it knew A. Montgomery—but knew nothing of either Shafto or his relations with A. M. or even his name—or of the family at Brougham—However I will only mention two of 100 proofs of this—He writes to A. M. with Ld Ws correct Town Address—Therefore he risks being known to A. M. for nobody in the Country about Brougham knew that—But he is all wrong as to Shafto & in every particular. That could not be a blunder—else why not [illegible] direct A. M. at Ld Ws? Why betray his knowledge of the address? Then "Lennard is arriving shortly"—Suppose any one said [illegible] Holland House "John is gone to Ampthill to look at Johnson's Dicty[?]"—what should you say of his knowledge of the carte du fuys[?]? Neither A.M. nor Shafto nor any one but myself ever called Mr Edmunds, Lennard, or anything but Edmunds but strangers who hear me call him so often write "to Mr Lennard—taking it for his name—A. M. himself admits that had he reflected by one moment, he never could have been taken in—but he lost his head—I say nothing of the amaturity of the case—a head crushed by an empty carrie [carriage] in a ditch—but how could S. be alone in a home with all the family & his own wife? However my denial is absolute & not argumentative—& I only give these reasons to shew how impatient you have been to condemn.

Yrs ever

H. B.

P.S. I lament the line the Court & the leading ones among you have thought proper to take on this occasion—on my own account—to you all it is a matter of indifference—But this is the second time within three months that my flag of truce has been fired on—& I will send no third till I have fight [fought] another compaign—However now my quarrel is
no longer with the Party—They have behaved admirably--& as well as the people at large have shewn me a degree of affection which I never should forget were I to live a thousand years—or until my faculties became as incapable of weighing probabilities as those of some folks I could name.

I had been very much touched with this spontaneous demonstration & having done enough to satisfy my own pardon—was disposed to rest but I must now buckle to for some more sport. I pity the hounds—the short-sighted hounds rather—among whom some very high folks have fallin—They will before they are much older find they are led towards difficulty & even peril.

By the way I have said nothing in the included Letter of the ridiculous absurdity of supposing I should write by the same post 3 letters one of them to A. Montgomery himself, to contradict the Hoax & observe it can be proved by the persons themselves that their not being on the spot to receive them was utterly unknown to any one—thus unexpectedly accidental. But I again say my denial is absolute & unarguable & not argumentative.

1. Charles Richard Fox, VH's eldest, illegitimate son.

Private

Dear Lord Holland—Though you may be surprised at receiving a letter from me, I am sure you will not *be* wonder at my being now (as I have been these three months & more) full of anxiety—such as on no publick,
& very few even private, grounds, I have even known. My hope still is that we shall be spared the last of calamities—rendered the more unbearable (you must excuse me for saying, when I compare 1792.3 with the present case) by the circumstances.\(^1\) However I of course don't now trouble you for <to> the purpose of entering into any discussion at all—because neither of us would be very likely to convince the other. But my reason for writing is this—I hope & trust we are for the present out of the scrape notwithstanding the madness on the other side of the water & the delusions on this—notwithstanding the French may have put themselves in the wrong on the petty controversial issue raised—without our putting <us> ourselves in the right on the real & great matter. This I willingly hope and I further hope & indeed believe that the madness on t'other side is not at all so general as is believed—(I know the National Guards are not parties to the frightful address of their agitations for instance.)

But supposing it all over for the present & with a view to the practical purpose of preventing our getting again so near the brink of the precipice, it is very fit you should be aware answers <both> as I have uniformly given indeed most of the applicant began to me. But I can speak for myself—and for the motive & the only one which influenced me & which prevailed with those who had applied to me. "Be quiet—make no kind of demonstration. I entirely agree with all you say—Nothing can be more wild than this folly—Nothing more dreadful than an interruption of the Peace. But things are in so critical a state that any demonstration of a publick feeling at this moment with the folly prevailing in France, is almost certain to make the way out of our scrape the more difficult—and to ensure the very calamity we are so
anxious to escape." It is more critical now than when I on the same
ground refused to speak in Parlt."

Now you may rest assured—I am telling you a fact & not giving you
a speculation, when I assert that this feeling alone has prevented a
manifestation of publick opinion—I am not referring to one or two—but
to many communications.

The extreme folly of the knot of Urquhart² people—some of whom
indeed seem deranged—and some worse—has had little effect in the same
direction—I mean in keeping others quiet—in disinclining respectable &
rational men to move at all on ground any portion of which they saw
occupied by such a crew. But this would not itself have restrained
them—what I have stated has been the true reason of nothing being
done—and you may depend upon it that two things are as true as
possible—(one quite certain—the other as certain as any thing future
can well be)—namely—first that you would fall into a grievous error
were you to supose the country generally as indifferent upon the subject
as the boro' Jobbers or newspaper adherents would represent—persons who
would cry "anything to keep out the Tories"—if it were a question to
declare the Crown absolute & abolish trial by jury. Secondly. that the
same quiescence is not to be expected the next time we get into a
similar discussion. I really should not have felt easy in my mind if I
had not given you this information—if it be such—if not there is no
harm done. Rely on it I speak avec connaissance de cause.

Palmerston is too boring to be written to—Lansdowne is out of
town—so is Duncannon³—and I therefore trouble you—Dont take (on any
account) the trouble to answer this. But believe me very sincerely yrs

H. Brougham
1. In 1793 England declared war on France.

2. David Urquhart (1805-77), a Tory, was secretary of the embassy at Constantinople in 1837 and author of *Turkey and Its Resources*, among other works. An unsuccessful candidate for Sheffield in 1841, he served as MP for Stafford, 1847-52. He later founded both the *Free Press* (1855) and the *Diplomatic Review* (1866). *Who's Who of MPs.*

3. John William Ponsonby (1781-1847), viscount Duncannon and later fourth earl of Bessborough, was a Whig leader in the House of Commons, 1805-34, when he succeeded to the earldom and entered the Lords. He served as home secretary in Lord Melbourne's first ministry and as lord lieutenant of Ireland, 1846-47. *Complete Peerage.*

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The letters that follow all appear to have been written in the years 1824 to 1834 but for lack of corroborating information have not been more precisely dated.

* * * * *

Private--

Sunday

My dear Ld H.

You must positively refuse to be satisfied with this silly note of Woods. Every one knows that such an arrangement is to be made & always was to be made. But Stuart was to be the man who took both places--that is--he was to be appointed Collector of the Customs--vacant by the death which also causes the receivership to be vacant--& then at the reduced Salary he (Stuart) holds the office.

The pretension of the Customs to fill up vacancies with their own people, in fact makes Govt. the slaves of their own Servants. We really must resist this--& above all we must not be satisfied with such
thoughtless letters as C. Woods.

Yrs ever

H. B.

* * * * *

Tuesday

Dear Chancellor of the Dutchy—¹

There are great difficulties in the way, as you say—but not exactly those you wot of—for the Law commissioners are zealously bent upon total abolition. However I am to see them today.

As for the safety of the Patronage—I dont at all agree with you—What cares a Lay Chancellor of a Dutchy for the opinion of West? Hall? Gos.h. [Goderich?] would name a young Tory & You, a young Whig whom the place might suit, & never ask whether he suited the place. When I see those Coms. [commissioners] I shall be sure to praise your virtue—& as sure to hear of W. Russell.

I wanted to see you on Sunday about <another> a very different matter—& was obliged to run away from the Cabinet. It is was to ask you to look over a very bad at least meagre hope of Erskine—²—accompanying his print.

I have sketched several passages to add to it—& shall send you the whole together—that you may add or alter. Tom has it now to look at some of the dates in.

Yrs ever

H. B.

I am in my third grippe tell Milady & I cant call—

¹. VH was chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, 1830-34, 1835-40. As chancellor of the duchy,, he had forty-four clerical livings at his
disposal. HHD, p. lvi, note 75.

2. Thomas Erskine (1788-1864), judge, was called to the bar in 1813, becoming a king's counsel in 1827. HB appointed him to the chief judgeship of the Bankruptcy Court of Review. On the death of Sir James Alan Park (1763-1838), Erskine succeeded to the bench of Common Pleas, also retaining, until November 1842, the bankruptcy judgeship. DNB.

* * * * *

Thursday

Private—

My dear Ld H.

The M. R. ¹ is utterly mistaken about the clause—as to Mihis. It was stated to the Com ee.--and as a demonstration that it was, I will add that Lyndhurst asked me if I had spoken to M. R. about it & said—"Certainly not—for this table is "not so Red (the cloth is Scarlet) as he gets the moment the subject is mentioned all discussion of it is out of the question with him." Ld Eldon² laughed—& Lyndhurst then told the [illegible] of your interfering before & made himself merry on Leach's anger at him.

As to his nephew³—it was an oversight & can be set right by these words—I had directed this to be done yesterday—before I saw Eldon or Lyndhurst—and told Ld Shaftesbury.⁴ Pray let him know this—

Yrs ever

H. B.

I cannot answer for the H. of Coms. in all this—for it makes much talk in the profession.

¹. Sir John Leach (1760-1834) was master of the rolls, 1827-34. He had previously served as MP for Seaford, 1806-16, and was knighted in 1817. DNB.

². John Scott (1751-1838), first earl of Eldon, was lord chancellor, 1801-06, 1807-27. Complete Peerage.
3. Leach's nephew, Richard Howell Leach (d. 1883), son of his youngest brother, Thomas Leach, was the senior chancery registrar, 1868-82. DNB.

4. Cropley Ashley Cooper (1768-1851), sixth earl of Shaftesbury, served as a Tory MP for Dorchester, 1790-1811, and as chairman of committees, 1814-51. He was deputy speaker of the House of Lords briefly in 1829 and acting lord steward of the household in 1831. Complete Peerage; DNB.

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Sunday night

Dear Ld H. Byfleck was given away that is an arrangement was made for its exchange ages ago—and it is six weeks at the least since I signed the Fiat. I am really sorry for it—both because I am aware of the merits of Mr Norton—which I knew—and chiefly on account of Mrs Fox.

I wish you would tell Mylady [Lady Holland] that there must have been some mistake about her asking Melbourne on Monday—I had not the least disinclination to it—quite the contrary.

Yrs ever

H. B.

I am very desirous to see Mylady again—it is like a long time since I saw her.

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1. George Chappie Norton (d. 1875), barrister-at-law, married poet Caroline Norton (1808-77) in 1827. In 1831 Lord Melbourne appointed Norton to a metropolitan police magistracy, more on account of an affair Melbourne was having with Caroline than for any of Norton's own merits, which were generally held to be few. Norton eventually brought charges of adultery against Melbourne, but an 1836 trial resulted in his acquittal. Lord David Cecil, Melbourne (1939; reprint ed., New York: Harmony Books, 1979), pp. 224-25, 296-304; DNB.

2. In 1784 Charles James Fox formed a relationship with a Mrs. Armistead, formerly Elizabeth Bridget Cane (c. 1750-1842). They married in 1802. After Fox's death in 1806, Mrs. Fox lived at St. Anne's Hill, a property she had purchased in 1778. She received an annual pension of £500 from the Crown from 1824 until her death. DNB; A. Aspinall, ed., The Letters of George IV, 1812-1830, vol. 3: February 1823–June 1831 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938), p. 499.
Private

Dear Ld H. From what I heard in the Lords last night in a way not to be mistaken, I am clear that Philpot, by the Grace of God, Bishop of Exeter—has got the High Church & Subscription into an inextricable scrape and that if this is well worked infinite good may come of it.

I found they had reckoned on it all passing off quiet—& when they found I was aware of the opening given us & took advantage of it, the [illegible] got quite angry—tho' God knows they had no right to be disappointed. But what I want is that this true faith of subterfuge should be well worked—Depend on it, it is well worth while. A Protestant Bp. avows that the youth of the aristocracy are trepanned systematically into signing their assent to things they are afterwards to be instructed about but they sign first and assent aftd—as if that left them free to dissent! Pray set Allen on this—

Yrs ever

H. B.

1. Henry Phillpotts (1778-1869) was bishop of Exeter, 1830-69. A vigorous opponent of the Whigs, he was a staunch defender of the Church of England's property rights. He gained notoriety in 1831 when he attacked the reform bill so harshly that his palace had to be protected from the mob. DNB; Public Career, p. 167.

2. Subscription is the acceptance of ecclesiastical articles of faith attested by the signing of one's name.
Private

My dear Ld H? I shall be here till four & can see you at five--but it will be very difficult. I am to be at J. Russells at the pay office at <1/2> half past 4--if you could be there then--it would make it all easy. I wholly agree with you & will do all I can.

Yrs ever

H. B.

* * * * *

Private

Wednesday night

My dear Ld H. I got your Letter just as I was going to D[owning] Street. I saw both A. & Ld G. separately & was with the latter till eleven. I was enabled to go very fully & deliberately & most amicably into every view of the matter & all consequences publick & personal. I was well satisfied with the aspect of the whole--& upon the whole--I removed, I hope, one or two errors--& tho' nothing definitive was stated--I left him, I think, in a good disposition.

Some things occured since & I have written to him at length on them which he will get in the morning before he goes.

Yrs ever

H. B.

Burn this.

1. This was likely written the same day as the preceding letter, and two days before the following letter.

* * * * *
Private

I have sent Ld Gs answer round in the Box. But you may not get it so early as I could wish—so this is to say—"All is right"--& Ld G's conduct is really beyond all praise & all thanks--The closest secrecy is of course indispensably necessary.

H. B.

* * * * *

Private

Thursday

Dear Ld H.

You now perceive what it is to have church patronage & how just people are towards its dispensers. You & I are at present the objects of deep & fierce indignation in Whursts--& it extends to Cambd. & Edin.

It seems Park whom you appointed is a wrong man & low & not associated with—but what is worse he turns out the Curate--Mr. Hawly—a scholar & a gentleman—a stout friend in politics & one of my warmest supporters--& grandson of old Allan--Whig & Banker at Edin. & nephew of the philosopher--& worse still—the Tory—Cooper—had given him up the whole profits of the Living ever since he held it!

Now—all this is exactly their own fault—but I know that to be the very reason why they now [illegible] us—whose fault it is not. Therefore—I dont reason with them but humbly writing[?] to submit to their better judgment, the possibility of my not knowing who each living in England has for a curate—& therefore that I did not know & that they did not tell me, Hawly was the Curate of Hawkshead. I have promised to
repair our fault by giving Park another living [illegible] if I can.

This has little effect in allaying the storm.

Yrs ever

H. B.

1. Anthony Henry Ashley Cooper (1807-58), third son of the earl of Shaftesbury, sat as MP (Tory) for Dorchester, 1831-47. DNB.
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