

**1 February – 12 March 1789: An Annotated Selection  
from the Journals of Frances Burney (1752-1840)**

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February 2000**

**A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
of the degree of Master of Arts  
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### Abstract

From the age of fifteen until her death, the British female novelist Frances Burney (1752-1840) kept a detailed journal. Although thousands of extant manuscript pages exist, only three inadequate editions of her journals have been published.

The Burney Project at McGill University was founded in 1960 by Dr. Joyce Hemlow and is now under the direction of Dr. Lars E. Troidt. The mandate of the Project is to print a critical edition of the entire, unexpurgated journals and letters of Frances Burney with scholarly annotations. As a small part of the Burney Project, my thesis selection falls within the first half of Burney's life and encompasses roughly one and a half months of her journal, from 1 February to 12 March, 1789 (MS pages 3656-3749, Berg Collection), when Burney lived at Court as an attendant to Queen Charlotte. Many of the manuscript pages in this thesis have never before been published.

### Abrégé

Depuis l'âge de 15 ans et jusqu'à sa mort, la romancière anglaise Frances Burney (1752-1840) a tenu un journal. Bien que nous soyons en possession de milliers de pages de ce manuscrit, seulement trois éditions – inadéquates de ses journaux ont été éditées.

En 1960, le Dr. Joyce Hemlow a été l'initiatrice du "Projet Burney," à l'université McGill, project sous la direction actuelle du Dr. Lars Troide. Le mandat de ce Projet est de publier une édition critique intégrale de l'ensemble des journaux et de la correspondance de Frances Burney accompagnée de notes critiques. Ma thèse, qui fait partie du "Projet Burney," porte sur la première moitié de la vie de Frances Burney et couvre à peu près un mois et demi de son journal, du 1<sup>er</sup> février au 12 mars 1789, pages 3656 à 3749 du manuscrit, Collection Berg, alors que Frances Burney vivait à la cours comme dame d'atours de la reine Charlotte. Plusieurs pages du manuscrit, dans cette thèse, n'ont jamais été publiées auparavant.

### Acknowledgements

- Lars Troide, my mentor and supervisor. Not only is he an excellent scholar, but an inspired teacher, who has instilled in me a life-long love of Burney. Thank you.
  - The Graduate Admission Council for their Travel Grant and the Graduate Faculty in awarding me the Alma Mater Travelling Grant, without which the road to New York would have been a lot more expensive.
  - Maggie Kilgour, Chair of the Graduate Committee (English Literature), for her patience.
  - William Wees, former Chair, without whose understanding, I would never have entered the Master's Program.
  - Joyce Hemlow, whose pioneering spirit and deep love of Burney could be felt everywhere in the Burney Project which she founded.
  - Alvaro Ribeiro, SJ, who had many suggestions.
  - Kendall Wallace and the Reference Staff of McGill University for their spirited help.
  - Elizabeth Gibson for her assistance and kind generosity with the microfilms.
  - The Staff of Government Documents.
  - The Staff of the Interlibrary Loans at McGill University.
  - The Circulation Staff and Susy Slavin who occasionally waived fines.
  - The Staff of the Music Library who lent me their Dr. Burney book (*An Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster-Abbey and the Pantheon, May 26th, 27th, 29th; and June the 3<sup>d</sup>, and 5<sup>th</sup>, 1784. In Commemoration of Handel*) from their special collection for six months.
  - The Staff of the Rare Book Room, especially the mysterious gentleman who helped me to decipher the Book of Common Prayer.
  - Rodney Phillips, Curator of the Berg Collection, NYC as well as the entire staff of the Berg Collection, who allowed me those precious extra minutes to copy down fragments of the manuscript.
  - Rosine Knai for her excellent translation of my Abstract.
  - Anna Malicka of the Yale Walpole Library in Farmington, Connecticut.
  - To an unnamed scholar and gentleman in the Berg Collection who spent some of his priceless time peering through a magnifying glass at some of FB's scribbles.
- 
- My parents, Anthony and Patricia, who accompanied me on my trip to New York, and provided untold emotional and financial support. Without them, this thesis would never have been finished.
  - My sisters, Nadia and Tania, who listened to my endless rantings about Burney (and can now finally sort of spell her name).
  - My beloved future-husband, Matthew Myszak, who is always so patient, gentle, and understanding.
  - My future-in-laws, Anna and Ryszard, for their insistence that I focus on my work and not on their son.
  - My grandmother, Nonna, whose spirit and strength is with me always.

## Introduction

Frances Burney (1752-1840) was at first glance a conventional enough woman in her time, rather conservative and prudish, but she lived an extraordinary life. She was one of the first female novelists in Britain and published four novels in her lifetime: *Evelina; or, the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World* (1778), *Cecilia; or, Memoirs of an Heiress* (1782), *Camilla; or, A Picture of Young* (1786), and *The Wanderer; or, Female Difficulties* (1814). She also wrote eight plays (one incomplete), which were issued posthumously and thus never gained critical approval in her lifetime.

The huge success of her first novel, originally published anonymously, skyrocketed her into the bluestocking and literary circles of eighteenth-century London. She interacted with such period luminaries as Samuel Johnson, James Boswell, Christopher Smart, Hester Lynch Thrale Piozzi and Mary Granville Delany.

The last introduced Frances Burney to Queen Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz who appointed Burney as Second Keeper of the Robes *vice* Joanna Haggerdorn, who retired due to ill health. From 1786 to 1791, Burney lived at Court and was an intimate of the Royal Family and of other major political and social dignitaries. She witnessed the intimate details of Court life, including King George III's first serious "madness" during 1788-9, and reported the events around her accurately and thoroughly in a journal that she began in 1768 at the age of 15 and which ended with her life.

In FB's Court Journals, as the MS from 1786-91 is known, we have both objective descriptions and subjective opinions of major players of the time, such as of the members of the Royal family, of the Prime Minister William Pitt, and of the Lord Chancellor Edward Thurlow. We also have names and sometimes characterizations of the otherwise faceless women and men (such as of FB's cantankerous man, Columb), who, despite being faithful attendants of the King and Queen, do not even appear in the *Royal Kalender* or in the Royal Household Index, Windsor. We are also privy to FB's personal struggles to master the complex rules of etiquette and of the heart.

My thesis selection from FB's Court Journals, which covers the period from 1 February to 10 March 1789, offers casual readers and serious scholars alike a rare gem: writing that is timeless, articulate, lively, and historically valid. FB could not have

invented a more exciting plot. The fate of the British government and the monarchy lay in a King who was battling a “madness,” and the collective intake of the breaths of a people isolated from the events that affected them could be heard in the concerned letters and journals of the time. FB recorded from within the secure confines of the Court walls the hidden and crucial events that happened to the King as his loyal followers pushed him to recover, knowing, as the King did not, that his son was poised to take the throne as Regent. As well, against this backdrop of the Regency Crisis, FB filled the heavy time at Court with a bizarre and emotionally wrenching 'friendship' with the Queen's Lord Chamberlain, who would later betray her and marry one of FB's colleagues at Court, a woman whom he had in fact openly disavowed.

### **The Manuscript of the Journals**

The state of the manuscript some 200 to 150 years after the journals were written is remarkable considering its age. It has survived ink obliterations, cutting, and, in some cases, submersion in water. Although the bulk of FB's life-long journal is housed in two main locations, in the Barrett Collection in the British Library, London, England and in the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection in the New York Public Library, New York City, USA, I only comment, specifically, on the state of manuscript pages (3656-3749) and various fragments which constitute the general run of my thesis selection and which are housed in New York City.

### **FB and her Manuscript**

Although always secretive about her journals--in 1788 she locked them up in a "Red Port Folio" (Berg: 15 July 1788)--it appears that until the age of 36, FB kept most of her journals and letters intact until a critical day in 1788 when she had the following conversation with Stephen Digby:

"You do not, cried he, returning, burn your Letters?"

I was too fairly detected for evasion; but I assured him I kept none dishonourably; none that I was bid | destroy.

He then said he thought it a bad and dangerous custom to keep them.

"But what fortitude, cried I, does it not require to burn them, when they are written by those we wish to write them! --"

"And what, cried he, is to become of yours, if any thing happens? -- Think but how they will be seized! -- every body will try to get some of them, -- what an outcry there will be! -- Have you seen Miss Burney's Letters? -- Have you got any? -- I have a bit! -- & I have another! -- & I! -- and I! -- will be the Cry all round. --"

No, no, I assured him I was not quite so inconsiderate of consequences: All my Papers would fall into the Hands of one of the most honourable Characters in the World, though A pretty near Relation of mine, -- a certain Sister, in whose discretion & delicacy I had a reliance the most perfect. And I was sure, I said, I might depend upon the Queen that they should be safely transmitted to her. I could not, therefore, conceive there could be either danger or crime, so situated, in retaining them.

He did not, however, quite acquit me; his sincerity is proof against every thing but the fullest conviction: & he told me it was commonly a mere visionary notion that of reading over Letters in future times: those times <generally> brought their own | Letters, & avocations, & all such hoards were as generally useless, as they were frequently hazardous.

O could he see my hoards, what a conflagration would he make for me! -- However, he has really, by his reasoning, wrought upon me a resolution to take a general review of my manuscript professions, & to make a few gentle flames, though not to set fire to the whole.

By the end of FB's life, her manuscripts, bequeathed to her great-niece and executrix Charlotte Barret, were riddled with gaps where the MS had been destroyed, with ink obliterations of sections within journal papers from one word to many lines, and with paper paste-overs (known as pasteboards) of entire sections of one MS page or of even an entire MS page.

At the end of her life, perhaps subconsciously prompted by her conversation with Stephen Digby, FB decided to "edit" her manuscripts. She removed any traces of juvenilia from her early journals and corrected syntactical errors. However, the sections that she most heavily obliterated or even destroyed mostly dealt with exceedingly personal information as it related to FB or to others. It seems that regarding the last point, she



foresaw the future publication of her work and did not want to incriminate or offend anybody still living.

### Past Publications of the Journals

There have been three inadequate publications of the journals in the years following FB's death. Her niece and executrix, Charlotte Barrett, published a limited seven-volume edition, *Diary and Letters of Madame d'Arblay, Author of Evelina, Cecilia, &c.: Edited by her Niece* (1842). In the late nineteenth century, Annie Raine Ellis issued a two-volume edition, *The Early Diary of Frances Burney (1768-1778): With a Selection from her Correspondence, and from the Journals of her Sisters Susan and Charlotte Burney: Edited by Annie Raine Ellis, Author of "Sylvestra;" Editor of "Evelina," and of "Cecilia," by Frances Burney* (1889). Lastly, Austin Dobson edited a six-volume reissue of the compacted Barret edition, *Diary and Letters of Madame d'Arblay (1778-1840): As Edited by her Niece: With Preface and Notes by Austin Dobson* (1905).

### The Burney Project, McGill University

Interest in Burney has waxed and waned over the centuries. The Burney Project which Dr. J. Hemlow founded in the 1950's and which Dr. L. Troide continues enhances Burney's reputation with the volume by volume publication of the definitive, annotated, edition of her journals and letters. Twelve volumes of the latter half of Frances Burney's life (1791-1840) have been issued as well as three volumes of her early diaries and letters.

The mandate of the Burney Project is to recover the original state of the manuscript. This includes the disregard of Burney's own later corrections. For that

reason, an operation undertaken with this purpose in mind has recovered about 90% of the obliterated material in the corpus. I have utilised this expertise in my selection and further uncovered some ink-obliterated passages based on my familiarity both with Burney's own handwriting and with her personal idiom.

### Obliterations

#### The Pasteboards and Operation "Float Off"

Charlotte Barrett, FB's first editor, glued sheets of paper over selections that she thought unfit for public scrutiny. These suppressed sections either had unflattering comments or observations about people or were too personal in nature. FB mostly used blank paper, composed of the same rag material as the journal paper. Sometimes, however, if Barrett deemed an entire page to be destroyed, she would cut it up and use the fragments as pasteboards. This recycling happened only once in my thesis selection.

In 1979, Althea Douglas, a Burney scholar and sometime co-editor of some volumes of *JL*, performed what was known as a "Float Off" operation on the manuscripts in the Berg from 1768 to 1791. It was important to see what was under these pasteboards to get a true sense of Burney. Photocopies of my thesis selection manuscript pages before the operation show that about 75% of the manuscript was covered, mostly the sections that dealt with the "friendship" with Digby. Because the manuscript was composed of high quality rag paper and because FB used oxgall ink, both of which are resistant to water contamination, the MS could be submersed in water until the glue dissolved and the pasteboards floated off. The result was that 100% of the MS was visible, such as it was, with ink obliterations and missing pages.

## Ink

We know that Burney did completely destroy some of her work by burning it; however, many of her corrections remain on the original manuscript, mostly in sections that were under the pasteboards. Her corrections, or obliterations, encompass two forms: light or heavy black swirls over the material. Either the original material can still be seen through the swirls or enough of a letter to spur an educated guess remains above or below the swirl (ascenders and descenders).

## Approaches to Editing this Manuscript

### The Road to New York: Preparation

When I first began my Master's degree, I was handed a disk by Dr. Lars Troide which included a transcription of my thesis selection. My task was to edit a selection of the journals of the British female novelist Frances Burney (1752-1840). Briefly, the process of editing a particular selection includes proofreading the transcription of material against the original and annotating any obscure name, place, event, or otherwise.

An editing thesis differs from a traditional thesis in a variety of ways. First, the body of the work is already present. The annotator's job is to prepare the work for scholarly examination by critics who seek a richer understanding of a particular topic. Second, because the thesis largely comprises the writing of notes, it is more research-intensive than writing-intensive.

The first step in approaching the editing thesis is to ensure a flawless transcription of the original letters and journals. Once the transcription has been produced, it must be carefully proofread to ensure that there are no deviations from the original. Because of

the fact that my original manuscripts were in New York City, I was forced to work with the typescript copy--which had been obtained through the hard work of research assistants over the years with a magnifying glass in one hand and photocopies of the original MS in another--and save the final verification until I was able to make the trip to New York, which Dr. Troide and I decided would be near the end of my annotation work.

The next step, then was the annotation stage, which involves highlighting any obscure references to persons, places, events, works of literature, and so on. I had to decide which references I deemed necessary to clarify. Although in the Burney Project tradition people are automatically identified, I also had to envision a particular audience, e.g. a Canadian versus a British audience, in deciding whether or not to annotate certain cities, occurrences, public attractions, etc.

The information for my notes was found in a variety of sources. The short-title page includes just the main, seminal texts needed, and range from original texts from the period such as the *Gentleman's Magazine* to nineteenth- and twentieth-century texts such as the *Dictionary of National Biography*. I also consulted numerous encyclopedias, dictionaries, peerages, period newspapers, and other documents. These sources are all listed in the Bibliography. As well, there was the invaluable help of scholars and librarians, all noted in the Acknowledgements.

Once the annotations were prepared as well as they could be with the typescript that I had in hand (for example, I tried and failed to annotate "Anbury" in the typescript then realized in New York that the word was the easily identifiable "Norbury"), I proceeded to the Berg Collection in New York City Public Library.

#### The State of the Manuscript

I was presented with two white boxes, each measuring approximately 2 feet by 1 foot. Inside there were little yellow folders which held a page or a few pages of the smaller than expected pages of the MS. I discovered that Burney had used *cahiers*, much like Hilroy notebooks of today, which had been sewn together in the middle. The papers inside of the folders had been separated and were usually ordered according to the faint red-brown ink numbers on the top right corner either marked by FB herself, by Charlotte Barrett, or by the printers of the original, bowdlerized journals in the mid 19th-century. The notes of Althea Douglas, a Burney scholar, on the tops of the yellow folders aided my understanding of the ordering when these ink numbers did not follow.

Any pasteboards which had been floated off were meticulously included in the yellow folder in white envelopes with notes on them to indicate to which MS page they belonged. These pasteboards were often fragile, small and had mirror text on the back, which made it easier for me to place them onto the MS so that I could envision how the covered MS would have appeared. In some cases, the pasteboards had writing on them, but this usually happened when they were meant to cover over the name Digby with Fairly or Falkland.

Burney's journals have not been handed down through the centuries chronologically intact, as she wrote them. This is due to the burnings already discussed and to the various mutilations over time, usually with scissors, both by Burney herself and by others. The fact that the folio pages were separated out of their *cahiers* makes it difficult to piece together any conjugate pages, unless the first page had a specific tearing pattern along the margin which could match a conjugate page. As well, the conjugate page was not necessarily the next page chronologically because of the structure of the

*cahiers*. For example, if the *cahier* consisted of 8 pages, the structure would be as follows:

- 1 - conjoined with - 8
- 2 - conjoined with - 7
- 3 - conjoined with - 6
- 4 - conjoined with - 5

Because of this disjoining of the MS and of the scissor work, there are many undated MS fragments, some as small as one word, and others as long as one page. As the editor, I had to try to piece into my selection the fragments that I found in the boxes that I thought might possibly be related to the time frame of my thesis--i.e., if I could grasp the gist of the fragment. I was able to insert a few loose fragments into the mish mash that occurred at the end of February 1789, when the hitherto beautiful continuity of the MS ceased.

At the beginning of March 1789, I was able to reconstruct a page of the MS, which was obviously not numbered and which I would label **a** or **b**, with both free-floating fragments and with a fragment that came from a pasteboard off of the preceeding page. This means that this reconstructed page had never been printed in any form and has not been intact for close to two hundred years.

### **Journal as Historical Record**

In FB's Court Journal of February 1789, we have a rare glimpse of what life was like 'on the inside' during a time when strict rules limited the comings and goings from Court. Although others associated, but not necessarily intimate, with the Court, such as Lady Harcourt and Fulke Greville kept spotty diaries during this period (the screenplay for the Hollywood movie *The Madness of the King* was based on Fulke Greville's diaries), we have no real way of proving many things that FB wrote while ensconsed at Kew. The fact

remains, however, that in the corpus of her journals, FB has consistently proven to be accurate in her recording of the daily events around her when compared with many other reputable sources, such as Horace Walpole's correspondence (*YW*) and the newspapers and other period texts from the time. The extant text shows her sometimes brutal honesty, such as in her sometimes unflattering opinions of prominent people, such as Mrs. Schwellenberg and Edmund Burke, and in her emotional struggles with the Revd. George Owen Cambridge and Stephen Digby. Eminent Burney scholars, such as Joyce Hemlow, the founder of the Burney Project, and Dr. Lars Troide, its present Director, accept the essential veracity of FB's journals. I follow their example.

## Short Titles and Abbreviations

Persons

CB	Charles Burney (Mus.Doc.), 1726-1814
CB Jr.	Charles Burney (DD), 1757-1817
EAB	Elizabeth (Allen) Burney, 1728-96
EB	Esther Burney, 1749-1832
EBB	after 1770 Esther (Burney) Burney
FB	Frances Burney, 1752-1840
FBA	after 1793 Madame d'Arblay
GMAP	Georgianna Mary Ann Port, 1771-1850
GMAPW	after 1789 Mrs. Waddington
JB	James Burney (Rear-Admiral), 1750-1821
MA	Maria Allen, 1751-1820
MAR	after 1772 Maria (Allen) Rishton
SEB	Susanna Elizabeth Burney, 1755-1800
SBP	after 1782 Mrs Phillips

Places

Great Britain unless otherwise stated; [S] for Scotland or [I] for Ireland.

Editorial Symbols

< >	Matter obliterated by FBA but recovered
[ ]	Text or information supplied by the editor
( )	Uncertain readings
	Indicates the end of an MS page in the appendices



Works, Collections, Etc.

Standard encyclopedias, biographical dictionaries, peerages, armorials, baronetages, knightages, school and university lists, medical registers, lists of clergy, town and city directories, court registers, army and navy lists, road guides, almanacs, and catalogues of all kinds have been used but will not be cited unless for a particular reason. Most frequently consulted were the many editions of Burke, Lodge, and Debrett. In all works London is assumed to be the place of publication unless otherwise indicated.

<i>Alumni Cantab.</i>	John Venn and J. A. Venn, <i>Alumni Cantabrigienses</i> , 10 vols., Cambridge, 1922- 54.
<i>Alumni Oxon.</i>	Joseph Foster, <i>Alumni Oxonienses</i> , 8 vols., 1887-92.
AR	<i>The Annual Register, or a View of the History, Politics, and Literature . . .</i> , 1758-1859.
Aspinall	George III, <i>The Later Correspondence of George III</i> , ed. A. Aspinall, 5 vols, Cambridge, 1962.
Barrett	The Barrett Collection of Burney Papers, British Library, 43 vols., Egerton 3690-3708.
Berg	The Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection, New York Public Library.
BL Cat.	Catalogue of Printed Books in the British Library.
Brooke	John Brooke, <i>King George III</i> , reprint, 1973.
Burke (1900)	John Burke, <i>Peerage and Baronetage</i> , 1900.
Burke (1970)	John Burke, <i>Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Peerage Baronetage and Knightage</i> , ed. Peter Townend, 105 <sup>th</sup> ed., 1970.
<i>Burke Corr.</i>	Edmund Burke, <i>The Correspondence of Edmund Burke</i> , ed. Thomas Copeland <i>et al.</i> , 10 vols., Cambridge, England, 1958-78.

Burke, <i>Extinct Peerages</i>	Bernard Burke, <i>A Genealogical History of the Dormant, Abeyant, Forfeited, and Extinct Peerages of the British Empire</i> , 1866.
CB <i>Mem.</i>	<i>Memoirs of Dr. Charles Burney 1726-1769</i> , ed. Slava Klima, Garry Bowers, and Kerry S. Grant, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1988.
Cobbett	<i>Cobbett's Parliamentary History of England, from the Earliest Period to the Year 1803.</i>
<i>Commem.</i>	Charles Burney, <i>An Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster-Abbey and the Pantheon, May 26th, 27th, 29th; and June the 3<sup>d</sup>, and 5<sup>th</sup>, 1784. In Commemoration of Handel</i> , 1785.
<i>Daily Adv.</i>	<i>The Daily Advertiser</i> , 1731-95.
<i>Delany Corr.</i>	<i>The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delany: with Interesting Reminiscences of King George the Third and Queen Charlotte</i> , ed. Lady Llanover, 6 vols., 1861-2.
DL	<i>Diary and Letters of Madame d'Arblay (1778-1840)</i> , ed. Austin Dobson, 6 vols., 1904-05.
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography.</i>
ED	<i>The Early Diary of Frances Burney, 1768-1778</i> , ed. Annie Raine Ellis, 2 vols., 1913.
<i>Eton 1698-1752</i>	Richard Arthur Austen-Leigh, <i>The Eton College Register 1698-1752</i> , Eton, 1927.
<i>Eton 1753-1790</i>	Richard Arthur Austen-Leigh, <i>The Eton College Register 1753-1790</i> , Eton, 1921.
EJL	Frances Burney, <i>The Early Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney</i> , ed. Lars E. Troide <i>et al.</i> , 1988- .
GEC, <i>Baronetage</i>	George Edward Cokayne, <i>The Complete Baronetage</i> , 6 vols., Exeter, 1900-09.
GEC, <i>Peerage</i>	George Edward Cokayne, <i>The Complete Peerage</i> , rev. by Vicary Gibbs <i>et al.</i> , 13 vols., 1910-59.

<i>GM</i>	<i>The Gentleman's Magazine</i> , 1731-1880.
Hedley	Olwen Hedley, <i>Queen Charlotte</i> , 1975.
<i>HFB</i>	Joyce Hemlow, <i>The History of Fanny Burney</i> , Oxford, 1958.
<i>Hist. Mus.</i>	Charles Burney, <i>A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period</i> , 4 vols., 1776-89.
IGI	International Genealogical Index (formerly the Mormon Computer Index).
<i>JHC</i>	<i>Journals of the House of Commons</i> .
<i>JHL</i>	<i>Journals of the House of Lords</i>
<i>JL</i>	Frances Burney, <i>The Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney (Madame d'Arblay)</i> , 1791-1840, ed. Joyce Hemlow et al., 12 vols., Oxford, 1972-84.
<i>LG</i>	Bernard Burke, <i>A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland</i> , 2 vols., 5 <sup>th</sup> ed., 1875.
Lodge (1832)	Edmund Lodge, <i>The Genealogy of the Existing British Peerage, With Brief Sketches of the Family Histories of the Nobility</i> , 1832.
Lodge (1845)	Edmund Lodge, <i>The Peerage of the British Empire as at Present Existing: Arranged and Printed From the Personal Communications of the Nobility . . . To Which is Added The Baronetage</i> , 14 <sup>th</sup> ed., 1845
Lonsdale	Roger Lonsdale, <i>Dr. Charles Burney: A Literary Biography</i> , Oxford, 1965.
Macalpine	Ida Macalpine and Richard Hunter, <i>George III and the Mad-Business</i> , 1969.
<i>Mem.</i>	<i>Memoirs of Doctor Burney, Arranged from His Own Manuscripts, from Family Papers, and from Personal Recollections</i> , by his daughter, Madame d'Arblay, 3 vols., 1832.

Mercer	Charles Burney, <i>A General History of Music</i> , ed. Frank Mercer, 2 vols., 1935.
Namier	Sir Lewis Namier and John Brooke, <i>The House of Commons, 1754-1790</i> , 3 vols., 1964.
<i>Nat. Union Cat.</i>	<i>The National Union Catalogue, Pre-1956 Imprints.</i>
<i>New Camb.</i>	<i>New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature</i> , ed. George Watson, 5 vols., 1971.
<i>New Grove</i>	<i>The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> , ed. Stanley Sadie, 20 vols., 1980.
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary.</i>
Osborn	The James Marshall and Marie-Louise Osborn Collection, Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut.
Papendiek	Mrs. Papendiek, <i>Court and Private Life in the Time of Queen Charlotte: Being the Journals of Mrs. Papendiek, Assistant Keeper of the Wardrobe and Reader to Her Majesty. Edited by her Grand-Daughter, Mrs Vernon Delves Broughton</i> , 2 vols, 1887.
Paston	George Paston, <i>Mrs. Delany (Mary Granville): A Memoir 1700-1788</i> , 1900.
Rees	<i>The Cyclopaedia; or, Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Literature</i> , ed. Abraham Rees, 45 vols., 1802-20. CB contributed the musical articles in this work.
RHI	The Royal Household Index, the Queen's Archives, Windsor Castle. Verified by Joyce Hemlow.
<i>RK 1789</i>	<i>The Royal Kalender; or Complete and Correct Annual Register for England, Scotland, Ireland, and America, for the Year 1789</i> (London, for J. Debrett, 1789), reel 1399 - item 13792 - Goldsmith-Kress Collection.
<i>RRS</i>	<i>The Record of the Royal Society of London: For the Promotion of Natural Knowledge</i> , 4 <sup>th</sup> ed., 1940
Scholes	Percy A. Scholes, <i>The Great Dr. Burney</i> , 2 vols., 1948.

<i>Scots Peerage</i>	<i>The Scots Peerage</i> , ed. Sir James Balfour Paul, 9 vols., Edinburgh, 1904-14.
Sedgwick	Romney Sedgwick, <i>The House of Commons, 1715-1754</i> , 2 vols., 1970.
Thraliana	<i>Thraliana: The Diary of Mrs. Hester Lynch Thrale (later Mrs. Piozzi), 1776-1809</i> , ed. Katharine C. Balderston, 2 <sup>nd</sup> edn., 2 vols., Oxford, 1951.
Wheatley	Henry B. Wheatley and Peter Cunningham, <i>London Past and Present: Its History, Associations, and Traditions</i> , 3 vols., 1891.
<i>Wraxall's Mem.</i>	Nathaniel William Wraxall, <i>The Historical and the Posthumous Memoirs of Sir Nathaniel William Wraxall</i> , ed. Henry B. Wheatley, 5 vols., 1884.
<i>YW</i>	<i>The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence</i> , ed. W.S. Lewis <i>et al.</i> , 48 vols., New Haven, 1937-83.

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1789

February

Kew Palace<sup>1</sup>

Sunday, Feb<sup>y</sup>. 1<sup>st</sup>. The good King,<sup>2</sup> thank Heaven, gives now Daily & long intervals of all we can wish of recovery.<sup>3</sup> The Queen,<sup>4</sup> & some of the Princesses,<sup>5</sup> spend every

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<sup>1</sup> FB was staying in the now non-existent Queen's Lodge at Kew, Surrey. Austin Dobson notes that it was "sometimes called Kew House and the White House. It was also known as Kew Palace and Kew Lodge" (*DL* iv. 190 n.1; see also *DL* ii. 434 n.1). The Royal family had used the White House as the main headquarters of their "summer" palace or alternate, "country," residence at Kew since the summer of 1772 (Hedley, 111-12). See the plate in *DL* iv. between pp. 254, 255 for a diagram of the layout of the buildings at Kew in 1785. Kew is a village on the river Thames, Surrey, in the borough of Richmond and 6 miles from Hyde Park Corner, London (Gazetteer). The Court removed to Kew on 29 November and stayed until 14 March 1789. The Royal Physicians decided that the isolation and the gardens (see n.7 BELOW) of Kew would better suit the ailing and apparently insane King, George III (see nn.2-3 BELOW). See November 28-30 1788 for a full description of the removal to Kew (Berg). See Appendix A for the assignment of the rooms in Kew Palace to the members of the Household.

<sup>2</sup> George William Frederick (1738-1820); George III, King of England (1760-1820), crowned 22 September 1761.

<sup>3</sup> Sometimes known today as "Mad King George," George III probably suffered from acute intermittent porphyria, a chemical imbalance of the metabolic system unknown in the 18th century. See Ida Macalpine and Richard Hunter, *George III and the Mad-Business* (1969) for a modern-day diagnosis. This rare hereditary disorder is characterized by purple urine, blistering skin when exposed to light, inflammation of the nerves, abdominal pain, and delirium (*Bantam Medical Dictionary* (New York, 1990), 345). Despite two precursors of his illness -- a brief episode in 1768, and a two-week "bilious attack" in June 1788 which occasioned a trip to Cheltenham in July to drink of the waters -- the King's first real attack of "madness" occurred late in 1788. The King's physical health had declined steadily from 17 October 1788, when he had suffered another "bilious attack," which Sir George Baker, M.D. (1722-1809; *cr.* Bt 1776 – *YW* xlv. 118) thought was occasioned by the King's walking around in wet stockings. However, a developing delirium was noticed on 22 October. FB herself noted "the great change" in the King in her journal of 1<sup>st</sup> November 1788: "[H]e grows so weak, that he walks like a gouty man, yet has such spirits, that he has talked away his voice, & is so hoarse, it is painful to hear him" (Berg). On 5 November, "a Dreadful Day," FB recorded that "[t]he King at Dinner had broken forth into a positive Delirium, which long had been menacing all who saw him most closely . . ." (Berg). He had thrown the Prince of Wales, George Augustus Frederick (1762-1830), against the wall (*HFB* 207). The King recovered in February-March 1789, only to lapse into periods of insanity in 1801, 1804, and increasingly from 1810 until his death in 1820. During a sane period, on 5 February 1811, he would agree to the Regency Bill, which would empower the Prince of Wales, later George IV (Bonamy Dobree, ed., *The Letters of George III* (1968), 272).

<sup>4</sup> Charlotte Sophia (1744-1818) of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, Germany; m. (1761) George III of England. FB was introduced to the Queen by Mary Pendarves Delany, nee Granville (1700-88) on 15 December 1785 at Mrs. Delany's residence on St. Albans Street in Windsor. FB described the

Evening with him, in company with the Willis Family.<sup>6</sup> Nothing can be more promising than the present appearance of things. He walks out Daily, in Kew or Richmond Gardens,<sup>7</sup> & will soon -- I hope & believe, be quite himself.

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Queen at that time with the same air of enchantment that would henceforth characterize her writings of the Queen: "The Queen is a most charming Woman. She appears to me full of sense & graciousness, mingled with delicacy of mind & liveliness of Temper. She speaks English perfectly well, with great choice & copiousness of language, though now & then with foreign idiom, & frequently with a foreign accent. Her manners have an easy dignity, with a most engaging simplicity; & she has all that fine high breeding which the mind, not the station, gives, of carefully avoiding to distress those who converse with her, or studiously removing the embarrassment she cannot prevent" (Berg). In 1786, the Queen chose FB to succeed Johanna Louisa Haggerdorn/Hagedorn (b. c.1731) as Second Keeper of the Robes; FB began on 17 July 1786 and continued until 7 July 1791 when she retired due to ill health. See Hedley, 36 for Haggerdorn/Hagedorn's approximate age. See also Hedley, 133-34, *HFB* 195-96 for FB's first interview with the Queen and King.

<sup>5</sup> There were six princesses in total: Charlotte Augusta Matilda (1766-1828), Princess Royal; Augusta Sophia (1768-1840); Elizabeth (1770-1840); Mary (1776-1857); Sophia (1777-1848); Amelia (1783-1810).

<sup>6</sup> Francis Willis (1718-1807), a physician to the King; and his sons John (1751-1835), a physician, who attended the King in 1788-89 with his father and alone in 1811, and Thomas (1754-1827), a clergyman and not a physician (see *JHC* xlv. 56, interview with Sir Lucas Pepys). FB recorded in her journal on 5 December 1788 that "Our Dining Parlour now is turned into a two Bedded Room, for Dr. Willis, & Dr. John Willis, his son, who has accompanied him hither, & who is a Physician in the same practice" (Berg). On 16 December 1788, "another son now, a clergyman, Mr. Thomas Willis, ha[d] joined their forces" (Berg). He appears less frequently in the MS than Francis and John Willis. See also n.83 BELOW.

Dr. Willis, "a physician of Lincoln", had been sent for "by Express," FB reported on 4 December 1788, because of his "peculiar skill & practice in intellectual maladies" (Berg). Although labelled a "mountebank" by the King's other physicians -- possibly for allegedly practicing medicine without a license until 1759 when Oxford conferred on him the degree of M.D. -- Dr. Willis believed from the first that the King could be cured of his "madness" (*DNB* xxi. 488-89; see also examination of King's Physicians by a Committee of the House of Commons, *JHC* xlv. 47-87). However, at the close of FB's 1788 journal, "the King went on now better, now worse, in a most fearful manner. . . . [T]he Management of Dr. Willis & his two sons was most wonderfully acute & successful. Yet so much were they | perplexed & tormented by the interruptions given to their plans & methods, that they were frequently almost tempted to resign the [xxxxx 1 word] undertaking, from anger & confusion" (Berg: 22 December 1788).

FB "made acquaintance with Dr. Willis & his Son," John, on 3 January 1789: "I am extremely struck with both these physicians. Dr. Willis is a Man of Ten Thousand; open, honest, dauntless, light-Hearted, innocent, & high-minded. -- I see him impressed with the most animated reverence & affection for his Royal Patient; but it is wholly for his Character, -- not a whit for his Rank. -- Dr. John, his Eldest Son, is extremely handsome, & inherits, in a milder degree, all the qualities of his Father; but living more in the general World, & having his Fame & Fortune still to settle, he has not yet acquired the same courage, nor is he, by Nature, quite so sanguine in his

I am very anxious about my poor Marianne Port,<sup>8</sup> -- she has proposals made for her a marriage very advantageous in point of affording her an asylum, -- which she cruelly wants, -- but which seem(s) to offer little or no other recommendation: -- Her family are very desirous of the connection, -- & she is almost broken-hearted with the conflict she suffers in her hard alternative. -- Poor & sweet Girl! -- her unhappiness & her best qualities seem to rise to an height hand in hand!<sup>9</sup> -- I give her what advice I

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opinions. The manners of both are extremely pleasing, & they both proceed their own way, not merely unacquainted with court etiquette, but wholly, & most artlessly, unambitious to form any such acquaintance" (Berg 1789).

<sup>7</sup> The two main gardens found around Kew Palace, Surrey. Regular walks seem to have been prescribed by the Willis' as part of the King's treatment. On 11 December 1788, FB reported: "To Day we have had the fairest hopes; the King took his first walk in Kew Garden! There have been impediments, hitherto, that have been thought insurmountable, though, in fact, they were most frivolous. The Walk seemed to do him good, & we are all in better spirits about him than for this many & many a long Day past! --" (Berg).

<sup>8</sup> Georgiana Mary Ann Port (1771-1850), known as Marianne Port or Porte (*JL* i. 61 n.9), or "Frisketten/Frisketta" in the correspondences between FB and SBP (Berg; Osborn). Daughter of John Port, of Ilam, Esq. and Mary Port, daughter of John Dewes of Westbourn, Esq. and Ann Granville (*Delany Corr.* 2<sup>nd</sup> ser. i. 359). Great grand-niece of Mary Pendarves Delany, née Granville (see n.41 BELOW), Ann's only sister (*JL* i. 61 n.9; *DL* ii. 197 n.2).

A life-long confidante, FB met Miss Port sometime in 1784 at St. James's Place, London (*DL* ii. 255). Miss Port had visited Mrs. Delany at St. James's Place, then lived with her after 1785 on St. Albans Street in Windsor until Mrs. Delany's death in 1788 (*HFB* 256). She was not then encouraged to remain at Court, because, according to Farington's *Anecdotes*, "it would not be prudent to bring her where young men were" (*YW* xv. Appendix 3: Joseph Farington, *Joseph Farington's Anecdotes of Walpole 1793-1797*, 334; *JL* i. 61-62 n.10).

<sup>9</sup> In the summer of 1787, 17-year-old Miss Port had fallen madly in love with Colonel Phillip Goldsworthy (see n.161 BELOW), who was 33 years her senior (*HFB* 257-59; *JL* i. 61-62 n.10). She left Windsor for Bath in 1788, broken-hearted, as the philandering Colonel had no intention of offering his hand (*HFB* 258-59).

Although FB wished in April 1788, after Mrs. Delany's death, that Port "could live with [her] entirely" (Berg), Miss Port was apparently "consigned to her wretched Home" in Derby (Berg; Paston, 277). Mrs. Delany, however, had wanted Marianne put under the care of her uncle, Court Dewes (1742-93), which he initially refused, until FB pleaded Port's case (Berg). George Paston noted that the "arrangement did not prove a happy one" as the bachelor Uncle was "of a cold, ungenial nature; moreover, he is said to have treated his niece with coldness, as well as with neglect of her worldly interests (277). "It is certain," continues Paston, "that Miss Port was far from happy during the years [*sic*] that immediately followed her aunt's death" (278), a point with which FB seems to agree. On 22 July 1788, FB wrote that Port was "very unpleasantly situated: uncertain of her Home, repugnant to her poor miserable Mother, & no where understood or felt for, -- solaced or considered." Because Court Dewes travelled frequently due to ill health, his



can: but at this distance, [*MS torn*] in a situation so perilous,<sup>10</sup> how difficult to judge

[*MS torn - w*]hat may be best! Against any establishment on merely prudential

motives, however, I have decidedly counselled her. On that point, my opinions have

no hesitation.<sup>11</sup> Heaven guide her! -- The

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brother, the Revd. John Dewes (c.1744-1826), later Granville (1775), and his wife, eventually assumed responsibility for Port (Paston, 278).

During a season with the Granvilles at Bath, Port met Benjamin Waddington (1749-1828), an American merchant twenty-three years her senior, whom John Granville arranged for her to marry. Although in February 1789 Port may have still hoped for an offer of marriage from Colonel Goldsworthy, she was guided by her family's wishes and married Waddington on 26 February 1789 (Paston, 277-78). She still pined for the Colonel, however, as she would for the rest of her life. See *JL* i. 61 nn.9-10).

<sup>10</sup> FB is probably referring to the whole country's situation, which was especially felt at Court. The King's illness had rendered the government of England unstable since he was mentally unfit to rule, and Parliament was supposed to report to him as Head of State (see Introduction for a description of the Regency Crisis). The Court absorbed and deflected the political instability occasioned by the King's illness. It became a contained unit and all contact was forbidden with the outside world which believed at first that King suffered from an attack of gout. On 8 November 1788, FB reported that the Prince of Wales "took the government of the House [Windsor] into his own Hands. Nothing was done but by his orders, & he was applied to in every difficulty. . . . From this time commenced a total banishment from all intercourse out of the House, & an unremitting confinement within its Walls!" (Berg). This stricture on the Court carried over to Kew; on 27 November 1788, FB recorded: "The prospect before us, with respect to Kew, is indeed terrible. There is to be a total seclusion from all but within the walls, & those are to be contracted to merely necessary Attendants" (Berg). See also Macalpine, *passim*.

<sup>11</sup> In a letter to CB, dated 3 February 1789, FB contradicted herself: "I feel extremely anxious for [Miss Port] -- the acquaintance was made at Plays and Balls, & I am sorry not to have her know more of what he may be in social life. Her friends approve it very highly. Yet it is by no means what she has hitherto expected in point of station, &c -- nor is His fortune very considerable, -- but she is unhappily situated, & therefore perhaps it may be best she should not be too fastidious" (Berg).

FB apparently favoured neither Benjamin Waddington, although "a good-hearted gentleman of means," nor Colonel Goldsworthy, whom she blamed for Marianne's attachment (*HFB* 258). When FBA wrote *Camilla: or, a Picture of Youth* (1796), seven years after Marianne Port's marriage, William Locke, Jr. (1767-1847), was the inspiration for the lover of Camilla/Marianne. In 1787, FB had desired a match between Miss Port and William Locke, Jr., heir of Norbury Park, and eldest son of FB's beloved William Locke, Sr. (1732-1810), and Frederica Augusta ("Fredy") Locke, née Shaub (1750-1832); however, Marianne Port had been decidedly uninterested in William. See *HFB* 257-59.

Person in question<sup>12</sup> was at Cheltenham.<sup>13</sup> I have no remembrance of seeing him.<sup>14</sup> I have related the affair to the Queen: she advised me to speak of it to Mr. Digby,<sup>15</sup> & ask him to make enquiry about the character of the Person.

She has now, you find, perfectly reconciled herself to our sociability,<sup>16</sup> -- an advice like this, indeed, was highly promoting it. And she is gracious past description. Innumerable are the marks of confidence, in this eventful time, which I have the high honour to receive from her.

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<sup>12</sup> Benjamin Waddington.

<sup>13</sup> Town 109 miles NW of London, 7 miles NE of Gloucester.

<sup>14</sup> On 12 July 1788, FB and some of the Royal Household had left Windsor for Cheltenham: "Early in this Month, the King's indisposition occasioned the plan of his going to Cheltenham, to try the effect of the Waters drank upon the spot. It was settled that the party should be the smallest that was possible, as His Majesty was to inhabit the House of Lord Fauconberg, vacated for that purpose, which was very small" (Berg). Marianne Port had arrived in Cheltenham on 21 July (Berg) and had spent a great deal of time with FB (at many social functions) until FB's departure from Cheltenham on 16 August 1788 (Berg).

<sup>15</sup> Stephen Digby (1742-1800); Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen (1783-92); brother of Henry (1731-94), Baron Digby (1757, 1765), later *cr.* Earl Digby (1790). Joyce Hemlow noted that although FB sometimes referred to him as Colonel, he does not appear in any Army lists and may have been a Colonel of a volunteer-type militia (*JL* i. 137 n.8); however, FB had written on 21 December 1788: "I have been told he relinquished his Lieutenant Colonelship at the [xxxxx / word] request of Lady Lucy, just before the Birth of one of his Children" and on 31 July 1788 that he was "sent early into the Army" and left "to make his way as he could" (Berg). See also *JL* i. 137 n.8; Lodge (1832), 112-13; GEC, *Peerage* iv. 355; *The London Gazette*, "Tuesday, August 19, to Saturday, August 23, 1789," 401).

In the MS, FBA overscored Digby with Mr. Faulkland or, as in this thesis selection, with Mr. Fairly. See *HFB* 205, 493 n.H and photocopies of original journals and letters with pasteovers intact (Burney Project; Berg).

<sup>16</sup> FB first mentioned Digby, in passing, on 10 August 1786, one month after her arrival at Windsor (Berg); later that day: "Colonel Digby . . . taking a Chair next mine, began some of the civilest speeches imaginable concerning this opportunity of acquaintancing" (Berg). This "acquaintancing" evolved into a close "friendship" after the death of Digby's first wife, Lucy Fox-Strangways (1748-87) on 16 August 1787 (Berg). Digby often spent time in FB's room, engaging in *tête-a-têtes*, reading aloud, and writing letters, especially during the July 1788 visit to Cheltenham and during the King's 1788-89 illness, both before and after the removal to Kew. See *HFB* 205-12 for the detailed progression and dissolution of the "friendship" between FB and Digby and the Introduction to this thesis.

Good Mr. & Mrs. Smelt<sup>17</sup> came to Tea.

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Monday, 2<sup>d</sup>. What an adventure had I this morning! one that has occasioned me the severest personal terror I ever experienced in my life.

Sir Lucas Pepys<sup>18</sup> still persisting that exercise & Air were absolutely necessary to save me from illness,<sup>19</sup> I have continued my walks, varying my Gardens from

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<sup>17</sup> Leonard Smelt (1719-1800), Captain of the Royal Engineers (beg. 1757), formerly sub-Governor (1771-76 when dismissed by the King) to the Prince of Wales and Prince Frederick, Duke of York; possibly had an army commission as a Colonel (see Burke, iii. 269); had m. Jane Smelt, née Campbell (d. 23 January 1790 at Kew), niece of Lt.-Gen. Joshua Guest (*JL* i. 94 n.18; *YW* xxviii. 491 n.4; *DNB* xviii. 401-03; Burke iii. 269 n.1; *GM* lxx. ii. 908). A friend of CB, it was "the zealous Mr. Smelt," on behalf of the Queen, who offered FB in 1786 the position at Court (Berg). FB relied on the friendship of Mr. and Mrs. Smelt during her Court visits to Kew, where the Smelts permanently resided until 1792 (Berg: 2 and 16 October 1786; *JL* i. 94 n.18), especially during the removal to Kew during the crisis of 1788-89 when Mr. Smelt was a frequent visitor to the Court, despite the strictures, as a "friend to the King," whom he had met in 1770 (*JL* i. 94 n.18; *DNB* xviii. 402-03). In the Court Journals, Mr. Smelt was FB's chief antagonist about Digby, with his constant "raillery."

<sup>18</sup> Lucas Pepys (1742-1830); M.D. (Oxford, 1774); *cr.* Bt (1784); FRS (1780), m. 1 (1772) Jane Elizabeth Leslie (1750-1810), *sub jure* Countess of Rothes (1773) (*JL* i. 93 n.13; GEC, *Peerage* xi. 205; Burke (1970), 648; *RRS* 552). Pepys was Physician in Extraordinary to the King (beg. 1777); and later Physician in Ordinary to the King (beg. 1792) and President of the Royal College of Physicians (1804-10). He attended the King during his struggles with illness from 1788-89, and would again in 1804. See *Alumni Oxon.* iii. 1097; Macalpine, 40-47, 131; *RK* 1789 90. FB had reported on 19 November 1788: "Sir Lucas Pepys was now called in, & added to Dr. Warren, Dr. Heberden, & Sir George Baker" (Berg). Like Dr. Willis, Dr. Pepys was optimistic about the eventual full recovery of the King (Berg). On 4 December 1788, he had answered, in unison with 4 other physicians (including Richard Warren (see n.138 BELOW) and George Baker), who were being examined by the Privy Council, that although the King was "incapable of meeting his parliament and of conducting any sort of public business" there was "a great probability" of the King's recovery. He maintained his position during the 7 to 13 January examination of the King's Physicians before a Committee of the House of Commons (*JHC* 47-87).

<sup>19</sup> On 19 January 1789, Dr. Pepys noted that FB was on "the verge of an illness" and "recommended Air & Exercise as essentially requisite to save [her] from this menace." She "obeyed his injunctions, the moment [she] could name them to the Queen, for [her] Health [was] now amongst [her] first duties, as far as it may depend upon [her] own care" (Berg). Although the stress from the King's illness probably contributed to this "menace," FB's health was constantly in jeopardy. See Berg: 6 October 1786.

Richmond to Kew, according to the accounts I received of the motions of the King.

For this I had her Majesty's permission, on the representation of Sir Lucas.<sup>20</sup>

This morning, when I received my intelligence o[f - *MS torn*] the King, from Dr. John Willis, I begged to know where I might walk in safety? In Kew Garden, he said, as the King would be in Richmond.

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“Should any unfortunate circumstance, I cried, at any time, occasion my being seen by His Majesty, do not mention my Name, but let me run off, without call or notice.”

This he promised. Every body, indeed, is ordered to keep out of sight.<sup>21</sup>

Taking, therefore, the time I had most at command, I strolled into the Garden; I had proceeded, in my quick way, nearly half the round, when I suddenly perceived, through some Trees, two or three figures. Relying on the instructions of Dr. John, I

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<sup>20</sup> Due to the strict rules enforced at Kew during the King's illness, it stands to reason that FB would have needed permission even to walk out of doors, especially if she could cross the King's path during his daily walks (see n.21 BELOW).

<sup>21</sup> This edict likely had its roots in the removal of the Queen on 6 November 1788 by the Physicians from the bedchamber at Windsor beside that of the delirious King, since, as Digby replied on 24 November when confronted with interceding on behalf of the Royal Children to see their Father, there was “the absolute necessity of strong measures, & of the denial of dangerous indulgencies, while the poor King was in this wretched state: the disease . . . was augmented by every agitation, & the discipline of forced quiet was necessary, till he was capable of some reflection. At present, he spoke every thing that occurred to him, & in a manner so wild, unreasonable, & dangerous as to future constructions, that there could be no kindness so great to him as to suffer him only to see those who were his | requisite Attendants” (Digby, cited by FB in Berg). It is unclear when the universal charge that “every body” was banished from intercourse with the King” was issued, however it probably originated with Dr. Willis (sometime after his 4 December arrival), who firmly believed that any disruption to the King impeded his recovery. In *JHC*, the Physicians, specifically Drs. Pepys, Warren, Baker, Reynolds and Gisborne, noted that around 2 January, 1789, an Order had been pinned up in the Pages Room [*sic* -- see *JHC* xlv. 71] which forbade anyone, even medical professionals, (but not Pages) from entering the King's Room without the accompaniment of Dr. F. Willis or his son Dr. J. Willis (*JHC* xlv. 47-87). Dr. Willis

concluded them to be workmen, & Gardeners; -- yet tried to look sharp, -- & in so doing, as they were less shaded, I thought I saw the Person of his Majesty! --

Alarmed past all possible expression, I waited not to know more, but turning back, ran off with all my might. -- But what was my terror to hear myself pursued! -- to hear the voice of the King himself, loudly & hoarsely calling after me "Miss Burney! - Miss Burney! --"

I protest I was ready to die; -- I knew not in what state he might be at the time; I only knew the orders to keep out of his way were universal; that the Queen would highly disapprove any unauthorised meeting, & that the very action of my running away might

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deeply, in his present irritable state, offend him.

Nevertheless, on I ran, -- too terrified to stop, & in search of some short passage [xxxxxx 3 words] the Garden is full of little labyrinths, by which I might escape.

The steps still pursued me, & still the poor hoarse & altered voice<sup>22</sup> rang in my Ears: -- more & more footsteps resounded frightfully behind me, -- the attendants<sup>23</sup> all

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claimed to the Committee that he had had the sanction of the Lord Chancellor [Thurlow] in this matter (*JHC* xlv. 71).

<sup>22</sup> Hoarseness was one of the main symptoms of the King's "delirium" (Brooke, 325; Macalpine, 22). He talked incessantly and repetitively, once on 19 November 1788 for nineteen hours straight (R. Fulke Grenville, cited in Macalpine, 36). Lady Harcourt noted in her journal of 5 November that the Queen had told her that "the sound of his voice was dreadful; he often spoke till he was exhausted . . . while the foam ran out of his mouth" (cited in Macalpine, 25; also in Brooke, 326). FB herself wrote on 1 November 1788 that "he has talked away his voice, and is so hoarse it is painful to hear him" (Berg).

<sup>23</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine* reported that on 12 December 1788 "his Majesty's usual attendants were withdrawn, and those of Dr. Willis supplied their places, for obvious reasons. Disease pays

running, to catch their eager Master, & the voices of the two Doctor Willis's loudly exhorting him not to heat himself so unmercifully.

Heavens how I ran! -- I do not think I should have felt the hot lava from Vesuvius, -- at least not the hot Cinders, had I so ran during its Eruption. My feet were not sensible that they even touched the Ground.

Soon after, I heard other voices, shriller though less nervous, call out "Stop! Stop! -- Stop! --"

I could by no means consent, -- I knew not what was purposed, -- but I recollected fully my agreement with Dr. John that very morning, that I should decamp if surprised, & not be named.

My own fears & repugnance, also, after a flight & disobedience like this, were doubled in the thought of not escaping; I knew not to what I might be  
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exposed, should the malady be then high, & take the turn of resentment.<sup>24</sup>

Still, therefore, on I flew, -- & such was my speed, so almost incredible to relate, or recollect, that I fairly believe no one of the whole party could have overtaken me, if these words, from one of the Attendants, had not reached me "Dr. Willis begs you to stop! --"

"I cannot! -- I cannot! --" I answered, still flying on, -- when he called out "You must, ma'am, it hurts the King to run. --"<sup>25</sup>

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no respect to persons" (lviii. ii. 1118). Macalpine claims that three "keepers," or "physical assistants" originally followed Dr. Willis to Kew (53).

<sup>24</sup> The unpredictability of the King's behaviour was evident from the beginning of his illness; on 6 November, FB observed: "Who could tell to what height the delirium might rise? -- there was no

Then, indeed, I stopt! -- in a state of fear really amounting to agony! -- I turned round, -- I saw the two Doctors had got the King between them, & about 3 attendants of Dr. Willis's were hovering about. They all slacked their pace, as they saw me stand still, -- but such was the excess of my alarm, that I was wholly insensible to the effects of a race which, at any other time, would have required an Hour's recruit.

As they approached, some little presence of mind happily came to my command; it occurred to me that, to appease the wrath of my flight, I must now shew some confidence; I therefore faced them as

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undauntedly as I was able, -- only charging the nearest of the attendants to stand by my side.

When they were within a few yards of me, the King called out "Why did you run away? --"<sup>26</sup>

Shocked at a question impossible to answer, yet a little assured by the mild tone of his voice, I instantly forced myself forward, to meet him -- though the internal sensation which satisfied me this was a step the most proper, to appease his suspicions

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constraint -- no power, -- all feared the worst, yet none dared take any measures for security!" (Berg).

<sup>25</sup> The King also suffered physical complaints during his illness: the deterioration of his memory, vision, and hearing; abdominal discomfort; an inability to sleep; and severe pain and weakness in his legs (Macalpine, 21-22, *passim*; Brooke, 325). On 16 December 1788, the King's legs hurt him "exceedingly" and he had to be "wheeled" (Macalpine, 64).

<sup>26</sup> Despite increasing periods of lucidity, the King was often unaware of his delirium (Berg; see also *JHC* xlv. 72, interview with Dr. F. Willis). On 6 November, the day after the King threw the Prince of Wales against the wall, he insisted to the Doctors in attendance that he was "nervous, . . . not ill. . . ." He then undermined himself by claiming that the Doctors were lying to him and that

& displeasure, was so violently combatted by the tremor of my nerves, that I fairly think I may reckon it the greatest effort of personal courage I have ever made.

The eff(ect) answered, -- I looked up, & met all his wonted benignity of Countenance, though something still of wildness in his Eyes. Think, however, of my surprise, to feel him put both his Hands (round) my two shoulders, & then kiss my Cheek! -- I wonder I did not really sink, so exquisite was my affright when I saw him spread out his arms! -- Involuntarily, I concluded he meant to crush me: -- but the Willis's, who have never seen him till this fatal illness, not knowing how very extraordinary an action this was from him, simply smiled & looked pleased, supposing, perhaps, it was his customary salutation!

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I have reason, however, to believe it was but the joy of a Heart unbridled, now, by the forms & proprieties of established custom, & sober Reason. He looked about in rapture at the meeting, from the moment I advanced; & to see any of his Household thus by accident, seemed such a near approach to liberty & recovery, that who can wonder it should serve rather to elate than lessen what yet remains of his disorder? --

He now spoke in such terms of his pleasure in seeing me, that I soon lost the whole of my terror, though it had threatened to almost lose me: astonishment to find him so nearly well, & gratification to see him so pleased, removed every uneasy feeling, & the joy that succeeded, in my conviction of his recovery, made me ready to throw myself at his feet to express it.

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he "hate[d] a white lie! if you will tell [him] a lie, let it be black lie! --" (Berg; also cited in



What a Conversation followed! -- When he saw me fearless, he grew more & more alive, & made me walk close by his side, away from the attendants, & even the Willis's themselves, who, to indulge him, retreated. I own myself not completely composed, but alarm I could entertain no more. --

Every thing that came uppermost in his mind he mentioned; he seemed to have just such remains of his flightiness, as heated his imagination, without deranging his Reason, & robbed of all controul over  
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his speech, though nearly in his perfect state of mind as to his opinions.

What did he not say! -- He opened his whole Heart to me, -- expounded all his sentiments, & acquainted me with all his intentions.<sup>27</sup>

The heads of his discourse I must give you,<sup>28</sup> briefly, as I am sure you will be highly curious to hear them, & as no accident can render of much consequence what a man says in such a state [of] physical intoxication.

He assured me he was quite well, as well as he had ever been in his life: & then enquired how I did, & how I went on? & whether I was more comfortable?<sup>29</sup>

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Macalpine, 30).

<sup>27</sup> It would be as out of character (and improper) for the King to confide such personal and political details to FB, a member of the Queen's Household, as it would be to embrace her.

<sup>28</sup> FB was addressing her younger sister, Susanna, "Susan," Burney Phillips (1755-1800). FB sent most of her journal-letters to this favourite confidante until Susan's death in 1800 when FB avowed: "She was the soul of my soul . . ." (*JL* iv. 386). Many of FB's journal-letters, or "alives" as the sisters called them, were shared by SBP with the Lockes, William Sr. (1732-1810) and Frederica (Fredy) Augusta, née Shaub (1750-1832), of Norbury Park, Surrey. Mickleham, the Phillips' house, was located near the entrance of Norbury Park, the Lockes' estate. FB dearly loved the Lockes, whom she had met in 1784, especially "sweet Mrs. Lock." See *JL* i. 1 n.2, n.3; Duchess of Sermoneta, *The Locks of Norbury* (1940), *passim*.

<sup>29</sup> FB had acknowledged in her journal of 1 December 1788 that "the House is in a state of cold & discomfort past all imagination. It has never been a Winter residence, & there was nothing

If these questions, in their implication, surprised me, imagine but how that surprise must encrease when he proceeded to explain them! -- he asked after the Coadjutrix,<sup>30</sup> laughing, & saying "Never mind her! -- don't be oppressed, -- I am your Friend! -- don't let her cast you down! -- I know you have a hard time of it, -- but don't mind her! --"

Almost thunderstruck with astonishment, I merely courtied to his kind "I will be your Friend" & said nothing.

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prepared for its becoming one" (Berg). Yet even with "naked cold Boards" for floors and "Sand Bags for Windows & Doors" to block the cold draft, "every one is so absorbed in the general calamity, that they would Individually sooner perish, than offer up complaint or petition. I should never end, were I to explain the reasons there are for both" (Berg).

On 2 December 1788, Queen Charlotte had presented FB with one of six carpets bought by Mr. Digby to cover the cold floor of her room, later "deemed impracticable [*sic*] for a Sleeping Room to any one." The Queen arranged for FB to switch rooms on 3 December: "My new Apartment [xxxxx / *word*] at the end of the long dark passage I have mentioned, with Bed Room Cells on each side it. It is a very comfortable Room, | Carpetted all over, with one window looking to the front of the House, & two into a Court Yard. It is the most distant from the Queen, but in all other respects is very desirable. I have made it as neat as I could, & its furniture is far better than that of my own Natural Apartment, which my Fredy thought so succinct! I should, nevertheless, have preferred that, as it had a Bed room annexed; & here, I have only one Apartment, like the poor Cobler's [*sic*] stall, for all purposes, useful & ornamental! --" (Berg).

<sup>30</sup> Elizabeth Juliana Schwollenberg, alternately Schwollenbergen, (c.1728-97), Keeper of the Robes to Queen Charlotte from 1761 until death (*JL* i. 6 n.23). Mrs. Schwollenberg had accompanied the Queen from Germany to France in 1761 along with FB's predecessor, Mrs. Hagedorn, who had retired in 1786 after 25 years of service due to ill health (*YW* xxi. 530). Mrs. Schwollenberg was an influential woman, as FB illustrated when was offered the Court position in 1786: "Her Majesty . . . proposed . . . making me belong to the Table of Mrs. Schwollenberg, with whom all her own visitors -- Bishops, Lords or Commons, always Dine . . ." (Berg). See also *YW* xxxii. 168 and n.14.

As FB's immediate superior during her Court years, Mrs. Schwollenberg, the "Coadjutrix," was tyrannical and insensitive, causing FB much misery; FB often alluded to her as the "Cerbera", the guardian dog of hell in Greek mythology (e.g. SBP to FB, AL, Osborn, dated 6 August 1787, 78 pp., 19 4tos). In 1789, SB described her as having "the heart and temper of a Fiend, w<sup>th</sup> the grossness & undissembled violence of the lowest & most vulgar of mankind -- she seems to be that sad counterpart of which she so cruelly & continually reminds us" (SB, cited in *HFB* 341 n.2). See Appendix C for a vivid example of Mrs. Schwollenberg's cruel treatment of FB.

Then presently he added, "Stick to your Father,<sup>31</sup> -- stick to your own family,<sup>32</sup>  
 -- let them be your objects, -- "

How readily I assented! --

Again he repeated all I have just written, nearly in the same words, but ended  
 it more seriously, he

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suddenly stopt, & held me to stop too, & putting his Hand on his Breast, in the most  
 solemn manner, he gravely & slowly said "I will protect you! -- I promise you that, --  
 & therefore depend upon Me! --"

I thanked him; & the Willis's, thinking him rather too elevated, came to  
 propose my walking on. No, no, no, he cried, an hundred times in a Breath; -- & their  
 good humour prevailed, & they let him again Walk on with his new companion.

He then gave me a history of his Pages,<sup>33</sup> animating almost into a rage, as he  
 related his subjects of displeasure with them; particularly with Mr. Ernst,<sup>34</sup> whom he

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<sup>31</sup> Charles Burney (1726-1814), musicologist and writer; Mus.Doc. (1769); FRS (1773); appointed organist at the Royal Hospital, Chelsea (1783); "Extra Musician" in the King's Band (1767 to death) (*EJL* i. xlii; Scholes, ii. 321). See Scholes and Lonsdale.

<sup>32</sup> Charles Burney m. 1 (1749) Esther Sleeppe (1725-62); m. 2 (1767) Elizabeth Allen, née Allen, (1728-96). His union with Esther Sleeppe produced six children: Esther (1749-1832), m. (1770) Charles Rousseau Burney (1747-1819); James (1750-1821), m. (1785) Sarah Payne (1758-1832); Frances (1752-1840); Susanna Elizabeth (1755-1800), m. (1782) Molesworth Phillips (1755-1832); Charles, Jr. (1757-1817), m. (1783) Sarah, "Rosette," Rose (1759-1821); Charlotte Ann Burney (1761-1838), m. 1 (1786) Clement Francis (c.1744-92). CB's issue with his second wife, Elizabeth Allen, included: Richard Thomas (1768-1808), m. (1787) Jane Ross (1772-1842); Sarah Harriet (1772-1844). Elizabeth Allen brought three children by her first husband, Stephen Allen (1725-63), to her marriage with CB: Maria Allen (1751-1820), m. (1772) Martin Folkes Rishton (c.1747-1820); Stephen Allen (1755-1847); m. (1772) Susanna Sharpin (1755-1816); Elizabeth, "Bessie," Allen (1761-c.1826), m. 1 (1777) Samuel Meeke (d. c.1796) (*EJL* i. xli-xlv). FB was very close to her father and to the rest of her family.

<sup>33</sup> According to *The Royal Kalendar* (1789), his Pages of the Presence (25 pounds *per annum*) were: Fr. Shaw, J. Eldred, Dav. Clarkson, J. Gerken; his Pages of the Back Stairs (80 pounds *per annum*) were: Pen. Hawkins, Geo. Ernst, Wm. Ramus, T. Stillingfleet; F. Palman, J. Chamberlain,

told me had been brought up by himself; -- I hope -- & wish > his ideas upon these Men are the result of the mistakes of his malady.

Then he asked me some questions that very greatly distressed me, relating to information given him in his illness, from various motives, but which he suspected to be false, & which I knew he had reason to suspect;<sup>35</sup> yet it was most dangerous to set any thing right, as I was not aware what might be the views of their having been stated wrong. I was as discreet as I knew how to be, & I hope I did no mischief; but this was the worst part of the Dialogue.

He next talked to me a great deal of my dear Father, & made a thousand enquiries concerning

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T. Braund, Esqrs; and his Pages of the Bedchamber (80 pounds *per annum*) were: John Hannington, Edw. Dawson, W. Ramus, Isaac Walton, Ed. Smith, C. Downes, Esqrs. (89). Dr. Willis, in his examination of 10 January 1788 before the Committee of the House of Commons also named, along with a Mr. Braund, a Mr. Compton as a Page in the Pages Room [*sic*] (*JHC* xlv. 70).

<sup>34</sup> George Ernst, the King's Page of the Back Stairs. His father was Page of the Back Stairs from 1761 until his death in 1767. George Ernst was dismissed early in 1789 for threatening to reveal the true nature of the King's illness, i.e. his "insanity," during the Regency Crisis (see n.35 BELOW). He was unable to obtain compensation for his dismissal, or a pension for either himself or for his mother, Dorothy. See Aspinall, iii. 37 and n.4. The only other reference to George Ernst in FB's journals occurs on 8 August 1788 (Berg).

<sup>35</sup> Probably the Regency Crisis. By 2 February, the Houses of Lords and Commons had agreed to five "Resolutions," which basically stated Parliament's intent to give the Regency to the Prince of Wales. The Prince would rule England in place of the King, with "Limitations and Exceptions." The Queen was entrusted with the care of "His Majesty's Royal Person." Both the Prince and the Queen had been informed of their future roles at the end of January 1789 and of an impending Bill, which would be presented by Pitt to the Commons on 5 February and which would incorporate and expand upon the 5 Resolutions. As well, by 2 February, the House of Lords had drafted, on behalf of the King, a text for the opening of Parliament on 3 February by Commission, which was being communicated to the Commons during this morning of the 2<sup>nd</sup>. (*JHC* xlv. 88-93; *JHL* xxxviii. 336-45)

his history of Music.<sup>36</sup> This brought him to his favourite Theme, Handel;<sup>37</sup> & he told me innumerable anecdotes of him, & particularly that celebrated tale of Handel's saying of himself, when a Boy, "While that Boy lives, my music will never want a protector. --"<sup>38</sup> And this, he said, I might relate to my Father.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period, to which is prefixed, a Dissertation on the Music of the Ancients*, by Dr. Charles Burney. Published in London, in 4 volumes, from 1776 to 1789 (*New Grove* iii. 491). After the last two volumes were published in 1789, CB immediately sent to the publisher the first volume, which he had decided to reissue after extension revision of the first chapter and after other numerous small changes were added throughout the volume. The *Annual Register* of 1789 reviewed the *History*, this "elaborate work" of an "indefatigable historian" (see *AR* xxxi. "Account of Books," 183-92). See also *New Grove* iii. 490-91. The *History* generally received mixed reviews during 1789-90 (see Lonsdale, 343-46).

<sup>37</sup> George Frideric (Frederick) Handel, or (Ger.) Händel (1685-1759), one of the greatest composers of the Baroque period (c.1600-1750) of both vocal and instrumental music: operas, sonatas, oratorios, cantatas, and fugues. He became English, although of German birth, and was influenced by German, Italian, French, and English traditions. (*New Grove* viii. 83-140; Mercer, ii. 734).

Admirers of Handel included King George III and CB, FB's music historian father, who referred to Handel, "perhaps the only great Fughist," often in his *History of Music* (Mercer, ii. 96, *passim*). CB described Handel in *Commém.*: "The figure of Handel was large, and he was somewhat corpulent, and unwieldy in his motions; but his countenance, which I remember as perfectly as that of any man I saw but yesterday, was full of fire and dignity; and such as impressed ideas of superiority and genius. He was impetuous, rough and peremptory in his manners and conversation, but totally devoid of ill-nature or malevolence . . ." (31; cf. "Handel" entry in Rees, xvii). CB claimed in *Commém.* that he had "acquired considerable knowledge of [Handel's] private character, and turn for humour" (34-35) since CB had been a musician (violin and tenor) in Handel's band in London in 1745 and had seen Handel at rehearsals at the composer's house and elsewhere, and at the homes of others (CB, cited in Scholes, i. 31).

<sup>38</sup> FB was referring to an anecdote about the King as a boy, not Handel as a boy, as the faulty syntax indicates. Handel had apparently asked the young George, then the Prince of Wales, if he had liked Handel's music. When the Prince had warmly expressed his appreciation, Handel was said to have cried, "A good boy -- a good boy. . . . [Y]ou shall protect my fame when I am dead" (Robert Southey, *Southey's Common-Place Book. Fourth Series. Original Memoranda, etc.*, ed. John Wood Warter (1876), 425; cf. W.S. Rockstro, *The Life of George Frederick Handel* (1883), 393).

<sup>39</sup> CB knew of this tale at some point in his life; W.S. Rockstro in *The Life of George Frederick Handel* (1883) pointed out that: "Burney tells the . . . story in different words; and accompanies it with substantial proof of the truth of the prophecy inasmuch as he, the most learned music critic of his day, confesses himself indebted, in certain instances, to the acuteness of the King's critical remarks upon the peculiar genius of Handel's Music" (393). Rockstro does not indicate where and when Dr. Burney wrote of the tale.

Then he ran over most of his Oratorio's,<sup>40</sup> attempting to sing the subjects of several airs & chorusses, but so dreadfully hoarse, that the sound was terrible.

Dr. Willis, quite alarmed at this exertion, feared he would do himself harm, & again proposed a separation. "No! no! no! he exclaimed, not yet, -- I have something I must just mention first."

Dr. Willis, delighted to comply, even when uneasy at compliance, again gave way.

The good King then greatly affected me, -- he began upon my revered old Friend, Mrs. Delany!<sup>41</sup> -- & he spoke of her with such warmth, such kindness, -- "She

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<sup>40</sup> Handel's first oratorio, *Il trionfo del Tempo e del Disinganno*, was likely composed early in 1707 in Rome, Italy, with the words by Cardinal Benedetto Pamphili (*New Grove* viii. 84, 117). At least 24 other extant oratorios are attributed to him: 2 Italian, 18 English, 4 English secular; although precise figures are impossible due to smaller works which are not easily classified. See *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11<sup>th</sup> ed.), xii. 915. CB, however, in *Comm.*, recorded in his prefixed "Sketch of the Life of Handel" that "Esther, composed for the duke of Chandos, in 1720, was the first Oratorio which Handel set to music" (22). As well, in the "Handel" entry of Rees, xvii, most likely written by CB, claimed that between 1740 and 1751, Handel "produced fifteen original oratorios, and adapted English words to the music of a serenata, or morality, 'Il Trionfo del Tempo,' (the Triumph of Time and Truth,) which he had set to Italian words at Rome, 1709."

<sup>41</sup> Mary Pendarves Delany, née Granville (1700-88); m. 1 (1717) Alexander Pendarves (c.1657-1724), m. 2 (1743) Revd. Patrick Delany (1685-1768), Dean of Down (1744), intimate of Johnathan Swift (*JL* i. 198 n.38 and ii. 224; *DNB* v. 758-60, v. 760-61 s.v. "Delany, Patrick;" *YW* xlv. 1144 s.v. "Granville, Mary"). An intimate of the Royal Family, Mrs. Delany had been universally admired for her virtues and loved for her kindness. She was also remembered for her creativity, especially for her paper-flower mosaics which she invented at age 73, and which were even noted by the scientist and poet Erasmus Darwin (1731-1802) (Berg; *DNB* v. 759; *YW* xlv. 712). See Berg: 19 January 1783 for FB's description of "the new art which she has invented," the *Delany Corr.*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ser., iii. 94-97 for "the Editor's" account; Ruth Hayden, *Mrs. Delany: her life and her flowers* (1980); and Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting* (London, 1786), 4<sup>th</sup> ed., cited in *YW* xlii. 179 n.2, see also n.1.

Mrs. Delany had met King George III and Queen Charlotte in August 1776 at Bulstode, the home of Margaret, "Maria," Cavendish Harley (1714/5-85), Duchess of Portland, where Mrs. Delany spent her summers. When the Duchess died on 17 July 1785, the King furnished a home for Mrs. Delany on St. Albans Street in Windsor, which was close to the Queen's Lodge and which Mrs. Delany took possession of on 30 September. He also granted her a pension of 300 pounds *per annum*. (Hedley, 132-33; Mrs. Chapone, cited in *HFB* 195; *Delany Corr.* 2<sup>nd</sup> ser., iii. 273; *YW* xxxiii. 497-98 and n.14; *GEC*, *Peerage* x. 592-93 s.v. "William Portland").

was my Friend! he cried, & I loved her as a Friend! -- I have made a memorandum when I lost her! -- I will shew it you --"

He pulled out a pocket-Book, & rummaged some Time, but to no purpose --

The Tears stood in his Eyes, -- he wiped them, -- &

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Dr. Willis again became very anxious, -- "come, sir, he cried, now do you come in, & let the lady go on her walk, -- come, now you have talked a long while, -- so we'll go in, -- if your Majesty pleases."

"No! -- no! -- he cried, I want to ask her a few questions, -- I have lived so long out of the World, I know nothing! --"

This touched me to the Heart, -- we walked on together, & he enquired after various people, -- particularly Mrs. Boscawen,<sup>42</sup> because she was Mrs. Delany's Friend! Then, for the same reason, after Mr. Frederick Montagu,<sup>43</sup> of whom he kindly

Hester Chapone, née Mulso (1727-1801), the writer, introduced FB to Mrs. Delany on 19 January 1783 at Bulstode (Berg; *YW* xlvi. 1813 s.v. "Mulso, Hester"). FB described Mrs. Delany in her journal entry for that day: "She is still Tall, though some of her height may be lost; not much, however, for she is remarkably upright. She has no remains of beauty in Feature, but in Countenance I never but once saw more, --" (Berg). "For myself," FB continued, "I am so much in love with her, that I have talked of no one else since I have seen her" (Berg). FB especially sought comfort in Mrs. Delany during her first two difficult years at Court, often visiting with Mrs. Delany at her home in St. Albans Street or at Windsor, until Mrs. Delany's death in 1788.

See also *GM*'s lengthy obituary notice: lviii. i., 371-72, 462-63 and *Delany Corr.* *passim*.

<sup>42</sup> Frances Boscawen, née Glanville (1719-1805); m. (1742) Edward Boscawen (1711-61), M.P. for Truro, Cornwall (1742-61), Admiral of the Blue (1758). Mrs. Boscawen, a well-known bluestocking hostess, was an intimate friend of Mrs. Delany (*JL* i. 93 n.10; *GM* lxxv. i. 289; Namier, ii. 102-03). See also Cecil Aspinall-Oglander's books about Mrs. Boscawen: *Admiral's Widow* (1943), and *Admiral's Wife* (1940).

<sup>43</sup> Frederick Montagu (1733-1800); called to the Bar (Lincoln's Inn, 1757); M.P. for Higham Ferrers, Northamptonshire (1768-90); P.C. (1783); later D.C.L. (Oxford, 1793) and F.R.S. (1792) (Namier, iii. 153-55; *Alumni Oxon.*, iii. 970; *Alumni Cantab.*, i. iii. 201; *DNB* xiii. 691; *GM* lxx. ii. 801; *RK* 1789 91). Montagu had joined the Opposition in November 1766 and remained in Opposition after 1783 after the resignation of both Rockingham's Ministry in 1782 and Portland's Ministry in 1783 (Namier, iii. 155; *Delany Corr.*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ser., iii.109 n.2).

said "I know he has a great regard for me, for all he joined the opposition." Lord Grey de Wilton,<sup>44</sup> Sir Watkin W(i)nn,<sup>45</sup> the Duke of Beaufort,<sup>46</sup> & various others, followed.

He then told me he was much dissatisfied with several of his officers, & meant to form an entire new Establishment. He took a paper out of his Pocket Book, & shewed me his new List.

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His mother, Ann Montagu, née Colladon, m. (1725) Charles Montagu (d.1759), was "my Mrs. Montague" in the *Delany Corr.* to differentiate her from the other Mrs. Montagu, Elizabeth Robinson (1720-1800), the famous society woman, who had m. (1742) Edward Wortley Montagu (1713-76), bluestocking (*DNB* xiii. 691; Namier, iii. 152 s.v. "Montagu, Charles;" *YW* xlvii. 2254 s.v. "Robinson, Elizabeth"). There are also 13 respectful yet affectionate letters from Frederick Montagu to Mrs. Delany in the *Delany Corr.* (see 2<sup>nd</sup> ser., iii. Index: 572); thus he is "Mrs. Delany's Friend" in his own right (*DNB* xiii. 691; *Delany Cor. passim*). She also bequeathed to him "the portrait of Madame de Sevigné, in oil, copied after one in the possession of Mr. Horace Walpole," in a will which included mostly family members (*Delany Cor.* iii, 2<sup>nd</sup> ser., 485).

<sup>44</sup> Thomas Egerton (1749-1814); *cr.* Baron Grey de Wilton (1784); later *cr.* Viscount Grey de Wilton and 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Wilton of Wilton Castle (1801); formerly M.P. for Lancashire (1772-84) (*GEC*, *Peerage* xii. ii. 723-24; *IGI*; Namier, ii. 385). According to Namier, although he initially voted at first with the Opposition, in 1784 he announced his support of Pitt (ii. 385).

<sup>45</sup> Watkin Williams-Wynn or Wynne (1748-29 July 1789); 4<sup>th</sup> Bt of Wynnstay, Denbigh (1749); M.P. for Denbighshire (1774 to death); DCL (Oxford, 1771); Lord Lieutenant of Merioneth (1775 to death). He voted with the Opposition until 1775 when he desired the lieutenantcy of Merioneth, at which time the King wrote: "I consent to Sir Watkin Williams being lieutenant of Merioneth, if he means to be grateful, otherwise favours granted to persons in opposition is not very political" (George III, cited in Namier, iii. 672). Wynn supported Government for 4 years after, but then returned to voting regularly with the Opposition and opposed Pitt. His general attendance in Parliament was poor. (Namier, iii. 671-72; *YW* xxiii. 60 n.6, xxxix 152 n.17; *GM* lix. ii. 765; *Alumni Oxon.* iv. 1621; *GEC*, *Baronetage* iv. 149).

<sup>46</sup> Henry Somerset (1744-Oct. 1803); 5<sup>th</sup> Duke of Beaufort (1756); later Baron of Botetourt (confirmed June 1803), *jure matris*; D.C.L. (Oxford, 1763); formerly Master of the Horse to Queen Charlotte (1768-70); Recorder of Cambridge (1788-99), and of Scarborough (*Alumni Oxon.* iv. 1328; *GEC*, *Peerage* ii. 55, ii. 236 s.v. "Botetourt;" *GM* lxxiii i. 590). The obituary notice in *GM* stated: "In politicks he supported a tranquil, dignified independence. He never engaged in the ranks of Opposition; and the support of he generally gave to his Majesty's Ministers could never justly be attributed to any motives but such as were perfectly consistent with the integrity which distinguished his honourable life" (*GM* lxxiii. ii. 994).



This was the wildest thing that passed; & Dr. John Willis now seriously urged our separating; but he would not consent; he had only (9) more words to say, he declared; & again he conquered.

He now spoke of my Father, with still more kindness, & told me he ought to have had the

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post of Master of the Band,<sup>47</sup> & not that little poor musician Parsons,<sup>48</sup> who was not fit for it: "but Lord Salisbury,<sup>49</sup> he cried, used your Father very ill in that business -- &

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<sup>47</sup> Because CB had unsuccessfully tried once before, in 1779, to secure the position of Master of the King's Band, his appointment after the death of Stanley in 1786 could have been "a thing of course" if Lord Salisbury had not named William Parsons (see n.48 BELOW) so quickly, seemingly without consulting the King (Scholes, ii. 326-27, 23-24, 323-24). FB recorded this incident, of how CB was again not chosen for this position on Sunday, 21 May (Berg) (*cf. Mem.* iii. 71-80). Mr. Smelt had advised Dr. Burney: "Take your Daughter, he said, in your Hand, & walk upon the Terrace; -- the King's seeing you at this time he will understand, & he is more likely to be touched by a hint of that delicate sort, than by any direct application." Although Dr. Burney "had a Bow every time the King passed him, & a Courtsie from the Queen," it was FB who received notice from the Royal Family: "the graciousness shewn to me, which indeed in the manner I was accosted, was very flattering -- &, except to high Rank, I am told very rare" (Berg). It was indeed "a bad prognostic" as Dr. Burney thought, that he had not been noticed, because when they arrived home, they were "then informed that Lord < Brudenell > had called, to say Mr. Parsons had a promise of the place from the Lord Chamberlain" (Berg). Instead, it was FB who was offered a position at Court subsequent to this visit to the Terrace, as Second Keeper of the Robes, perhaps, as Anne Somerset suggests in *Ladies in Waiting: From the Tudors to the Present Day* (1984), because "it would to some extent atone for Dr. Burney's recent disappointment at being overlooked for the post of Master of the Queen's [*sic*] Band" (239). See also *Delany Corr.*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ser., iii. 352, 355.

<sup>48</sup> William Parsons (c.1747-1817), Master of His Majesty's Band of Musicians, Conductor, and Composer of odes and minuets for his Majesty's Birthday (beg.1786-probably to death); later D.Mus. (Oxford, 1790), and knighted (1795) (*Alumni Oxon.* iii. 1076; *DNB* xv. 424-25; *GM* lxxxvii. ii. 92; *DL* ii. 360 n.2). *GM* reported in the 1817 death notice that "Sir William was a great favourite with the Royal Family, whom he had taught music" (*GM* lxxxvii. ii. 92). In 1770, Dr. Burney had befriended the young Parsons in Rome and had arranged for some of his musical education (Scholes, i. 179, ii. 24). See also *Mem.* iii. 78-79, for CB's description of this arrangement and for his belief that Parsons was blameless in the whole affair.

<sup>49</sup> James Cecil (1748-1823); 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Salisbury (1780), later *cr.* Marquess of Salisbury (Aug. 1789); Lord Chamberlain of the Household (1783-1804); Colonel of the Hertfordshire Militia (1773-1815); D.C.L. (Oxford, 1773); P.C. (1780); F.R.S. (1784) (*GEC*, *Peerage* xi. 410-11; *YW*

so he did me! however, I have dashed out his name, & I shall put your Father's in, --  
as soon as I get loose again! --"<sup>50</sup>

This again -- how affecting was this! --

"And what, cried he, has your Father got, at last? -- nothing but that poor  
 thing at Chelsea?<sup>51</sup> -- O fie! fie! -- fie! -- But never mind! I will take care of him! -- I  
 will do it Myself!"

Then presently he added, "As to Lord Salisbury, he is out already, -- as this  
 memorandum will shew you,<sup>52</sup> -- & so are many more, -- I shall be much better  
 served, -- & when once I get away -- I shall rule with a rod of Iron! --"<sup>53</sup>

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xxxix. 495 n.4; *The London Gazette*, "Saturday September 12, to Tuesday September 15, 1789," 597). Horace Walpole described the Earl in 1783 as "a stately simpleton" ("Mem. 1783-91," s.v. Dec. 1783, cited in *YW* xxxix. 495 n.4).

<sup>50</sup> Parsons continued in his position after the King's recovery and Dr. Burney never became Master of the King's Band. This was Burney's seventh and last attempt to procure a royal appointment (Scholes, ii. 326-27, *passim*).

<sup>51</sup> CB had been voted in as organist at the Royal Hospital Chelsea in December 1783 at 50 pounds *per annum* by Edmund Burke (1729-97), see n.129 BELOW, who was then Paymaster General in the Portland Ministry of Apr.-Dec. 1783 and Treasurer of the Royal Hospital (Chelsea). Although the sum was ridiculously low compared to the minimum 1,500 pounds *per annum* Burney made giving private music lessons, he had wanted to escape London in order to live a more retired life. He only moved into Chelsea Hospital or College in 1787, however, when the First Chaplain's five-room apartment, at 12 pounds *per annum*, became available. In 1798, he was ejected from this apartment and forced to rent the smaller Second Chaplain's apartment on the second floor, for 30 pounds *per annum*. The King eventually honored Burney in 1806 by approving a pension for him of 200 pounds *per annum*, which his friends, including William Windham (1750-1810), see n.134 BELOW, had tried to procure for him for many years. FBA inflated this figure to 300 pounds *per annum* in the *Memoirs* (iii. 368). Although CB died in 1814 in his second floor flat and was buried on the grounds of the College, by 1798 he had relinquished his duties at Chelsea to a deputy, whom he paid 12 pounds *per annum*. (Scholes, ii. 55-61, 327, *passim*; Lonsdale, 457-9; C.G.T. Dean, *The Royal Hospital Chelsea* (1950), 248-49, 301; *Mem.* ii. 373-75).

<sup>52</sup> Lord Salisbury remained Lord Chamberlain of the House until 1804.

<sup>53</sup> The subtext here could be the loss of the American Colonies from 1778-1783. The King's deep bitterness over their loss was thought at the time of his illness to be a major factor in his "mental decline." His avowal to "rule with a rod of iron" perhaps reflected his desire to compensate for his failure with the American Colonies. This assertion also could have doubled as a self-directive, as the King recovered from a complete loss of control over his own faculties.

This was very unlike himself, & startled the two good Doctors, who could not bear to cross him, & were exulting at my seeing his great amendment, but yet grew quite uneasy at his earnestness & volubility.

Finding we now must part, he stopt to take leave, -- & renewed again his charges about the Coadjutrix "Never mind her! he cried, Depend upon Me! -- I will be your Friend -- as long as I live! -- I here pledge myself to be your Friend! --" And then,

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he saluted me again, just as at the meeting, & suffered me to go on.

What a Scene! how variously was I affected by it! -- but, upon the whole, how inexpressibly thankful to see him so near himself! so little removed from recovery.

I went very soon after to the Queen, to whom I was most eager to avow the meeting, & how little I could help it. Her astonishment, & her earnestness to hear every particular, were very great. I told her almost -- all, -- some few things, relating to the distressing questions, I could not repeat; nor many things said of Mrs. Schwellenberg, which would much, & very needlessly, have hurt her.

This interview -- & the circumstances belonging to it, excited general curiosity, & all the House watched for opportunities to beg a relation of it. How delighted was I to tell them all my happy prognostics!

But the first to hasten to hear of it was Mr. Smelt, -- eager & enchanted was the Countenance & attention of that truly loyal & most affectionate adherent to his old Master: yet he saw me so extremely shaken by the various exertions of the morning,

that I could with difficulty persuade him they would not make me ill: never, I assured him, where the result was well,

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did any agitation essentially hurt me.

He wished me to see Lady Harcourt<sup>54</sup> & the General,<sup>55</sup> & to make them a brief relation of this extraordinary rencontre: but for that I had not effort enough left: -- & brief indeed it might have been!

I did what I could, however, to gratify the curiosity of Colonel Greville,<sup>56</sup> which I never saw equally excited. I was passing him on the stairs -- & he followed me, to say he had heard what had happened. I imagine from the Willis's. I told him, with the highest satisfaction, the general effect produced upon my mind by the accident, -- that the King seemed so nearly himself, that Patience itself could have but little longer trial.

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<sup>54</sup> Elizabeth, née Venables-Vernon (1746-1826), daughter of George, 1<sup>st</sup> Baron Vernon of Kinderton, and Martha, née Harcourt, sister of Simon, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Harcourt; m. (1765) her first cousin George Simon Harcourt (1736-1809), 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Harcourt (1777), and later Master of the Horse to Queen Charlotte (1790 to death); Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Charlotte (beg. 1784) and had a close friendship with the Queen (GEC, *Peerage* vi. 301; Hedley, 140, *passim*; Burke (1970), 1240, 2710 s.v. "Vernon;" GM xcvi. i. 187).

<sup>55</sup> William Harcourt (1743-1830), brother of George Simon, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Harcourt, and thus Lady Harcourt's brother-in-law; later 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Harcourt (1809); Groom of the Bedchamber to the King (1766-1808); formerly M.P. of Oxford (1768-74); Major-General in the Army (1782), later General (1798). (Namier, ii. 581; GEC, *Peerage* vi. 301-02; RK 1789 88).

<sup>56</sup> Robert Fulke Greville (1751-1824); Equerry to the King (1781-97); formerly M.P. of Warwick borough (1774-80); Captain and Lt.-Col. (1777) 1<sup>st</sup> Regiment of the Foot Guards; later Groom of the Bedchamber (1800-18/20) (JL i. 112-13 n.14; Namier, ii. 551; GM xciv i. 644-45; YW xxxii 296 n.6). He was a diarist whose journals also provide some insight into the Court during the King's 1788-89 illness.

FB designated Colonel Greville "Colonel Welbred" in her Court Journals, probably because of his excellent character and manners. See Dobson iii, *passim*, for references to "Colonel Welbred." When FB met Colonel Greville on 1 February 1787, she observed: "He is Tall, his figure is very elegant, & his face very handsome; he is sensible, well-bred, modest & intelligent. I

He wanted to hear more particulars: I fancy the Willis's had vaguely related some: -- "Did he not, he cried, promise to -- do something for you? -- take care of you? --" I only laughed, & answered "O yes! -- if you want any thing, apply to Me, -- now is My Time!"

[*the rest of page, about six lines' worth of space, was left blank*]

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Teusday. [*sic*] 3<sup>d</sup>. I had the great happiness to be assured, this morning, by both the Dr. Willis's, that his Majesty was by no means the worse for our long conference.<sup>57</sup> Those good Men are inexpressibly happy themselves in the delightful conviction given me, & by me spread about, of the near recovery of their Royal Patient.

While I was dressing, came Mr. Digby: I could not admit him, but he said he would try again in the Evening. I heard by the tone of his voice a peculiar eagerness, & doubted not he was apprised of my adventure.

He came early, before I could leave my fair companion, -- & sent on Goter.<sup>58</sup> I found him reading a new pamphlet<sup>59</sup> of Horne Tooke:<sup>60</sup> a comparison between the late

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had always been told he was very amiable & accomplished, & the whole of his appearance confirmed the report" (Berg; *JL* i. 112-13 n.14).

<sup>57</sup> In fact, the King was allowed to shave himself (Brooke, 335; although *cf.* Dr. Willis' examination before the House of Commons' Committee, *JHC* xliv. 80). Also, *cf.* the the gloss of the Physician's Report in *The London Gazette* of 3 February 1789 regarding 2 February: "His Majesty passed Yesterday quietly, has had a good night, and is much as usual this morning" (Saturday January 31, to Tuesday February 3, 1789, 57). See *JHC* xliv. 47-87 for questions to the King's Physicians regarding the truth of their Reports.

<sup>58</sup> Elizabeth Goter (1770-post 21 August 1821), possibly the daughter of William Goter of Richmond, was FB's maid at Court (Berg, *IGI*). Later known to be Mrs. Goter Smith (FBA's Mayfair Diaries for 1821), an Elizabeth Goater m. (1808) Charles Smith of Richmond (*IGI*). On 19 June 1786, before FB entered Court service, she had written that the appropriate maid would "be a person of whose Character & principles I can be responsible." On her first day at Court, 17 July 1786, however, FB had had to report: "My Maid, whose name is (Sconz)field, has been recommended to me by Mrs. Ord: I shall hope, therefore, to keep her till I can have my good

Lord Chatham<sup>61</sup> & the present William Pitt,<sup>62</sup> with the late Lord Holland, Mr. Digby's uncle,<sup>63</sup> & the present Mr. Fox, his first Cousin!<sup>64</sup> I cannot say his Relations have

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Nanny, though she neither suits the place, which requires the most vigilant punctuality & diligence, nor the Mistress who wishes for a chearful & obliging Character. She is conceited & unpleasant; but as I hope to part with her, it is no matter" (Berg). It is unclear when and if (Sconz)field had left FB's service; however, the last mention of her was on 18 January 1787. FB had first named Goter in May 1787 when she was "up stairs with her Mother & Sister," on what could have been the Maid's first day in FB's service, since from then on "Goter" was largely substituted for the word "Maid." Although FB and Goter had a tumultuous relationship, e.g. Goter would often irritate FB by entering her room without rapping, on 7 July 1791, FB's last day at Court, "the Tragedy of Tragedies" would be "parting with Goter!" since "that poor Girl [had done] nothing but cry incessantly from the time she [had known] of [their] separation. . . . [I]t [would be] impossible to be unmoved at her violence of sorrow" (Berg).

<sup>59</sup> "Two Pair of Portraits, Presented to all the Unbiassed Electors of Great-Britain; and Especially to the Electors of Westminster." By John Horne Tooke, an Elector of Westminster (see n.<sup>60</sup> BELOW). London, 1788. Printed for J. Johnson, no.72, St. Paul's Church-Yard, and J. Stockdale, Piccadilly.

The first pair of portraits compared William Pitt (Lord Chatham) and Henry Fox (Lord Holland). The second pair of portraits contrasted William Pitt, second son of Lord Chatham, and Charles James Fox, second son of Lord Holland. Each pair of portraits contained two politicians "of diametrically opposite principles and practices." Tooke divided his pages in half vertically; the Pitts are praised, in their respective portraits, on one side of the page, and point by point, in comparison to the Pitts, the Foxes are denounced on the other side. The pamphlet also contained a "Remark" section with Tooke's conclusion, a challenge to Charles James Fox to "enumerate what he has *left*" to the the King and People, and with two questions for his readers:

"1<sup>st</sup> Question. Which two of them would you chuse to hang up in your cabinets; the PITTS or the FOXES?"

2<sup>nd</sup> Question. Where, on your consciences, should the other two be hanged?" (30).

<sup>60</sup> John Horne (1736-1812), afterwards Horne Tooke (1782); politician and philologist; author of various pamphlets, novels, speeches; hostile to the Whig aristocracy; admitted to Inner Temple (1756); ordained priest (1759/60); after engaging in political controversy, was burnt in effigy by the mob (1771); gave up clerical life in 1773 (although not his orders) and resumed law studies even though he was later refused admission to the Bar because he was still in orders; later would be charged with high treason and committed to the Tower before being tried and acquitted in 1794 and would be M.P. for Old Sarum, Wiltshire (1801-02), which would cause an Act to be passed making clergymen ineligible for Parliament. The *Alumni Cantab.* described him as "[a] complex personality, who rendered unquestionable service to the cause of public justice and popular rights. His undoubted consistency [is] mainly responsible for his unpopularity with time-serving politicians" (ii. iii. 444). See also G.F. Russell Barker and Alan H. Stenning, *The Record of Old Westminsters* (1928), ii. 923; *YW* xi. 78 n.7; *Eton 1753-1790* 278; *DNB* xix. 967-74; *GM* lxxxii. i. 302; and Minnie Clare Yarborough, *John Horne Tooke* (New York, 1926).

<sup>61</sup> William Pitt, the Elder (1708-78); *cr.* Earl of Chatham, co. Kent and Viscount Pitt of Burton Pynsent, co. Somerset (1766); M.P. from 1735-66; Groom of the Bedchamber to the Prince of Wales (1737-45); F.R.S. (1743/4); P.C. (1746), Paymaster General of the Forces (1746-55), Lord Privy Seal (1766-68); considered Prime Minister from 1766-67; m. (1754) Hester, née Grenville

much been flattered! -- but, with his usual candour, he confessed the Portraits, in their general line, to be very ably drawn.

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(1720-1803), *cr.* Baroness Chatham (1761) (GEC, *Peerage* iii. 144-45, 143-44; Namier, iii. 290-99; *AR* xxi. Chronicle: 225, 238-244; *GM* xlviii. 238).

<sup>62</sup> William Pitt, the Younger (1759-1806); 2<sup>nd</sup> son of William Pitt, the Elder; Chancellor of the Exchequer (July 1782-Apr. 1783); Chancellor of the Exchequer and Lord of the Treasury, Prime Minister of England (Dec. 1783-1801, 1804-death); called to the Bar (Lincoln's Inn, 1780); M.P. for Appleby, Westmoreland (1781-84) and for Cambridge University (1784-death); P.C. (1782) (Namier, iii. 299-301; GEC, *Peerage* iii. 146 n.a; *Alumni Cantab.* ii. v. 134; *RK* 1789 27).

Horace Walpole, in a letter to Horace Mann dated 12 February 1789, stated that "[b]efore his madness," the King "was indisposed towards Pitt" and wondered if the King would "be better pleased with [Pitt] for his new dictatorial presumption" (*YW* xxv. 680-81, see also notes for those pages). Wraxall, in his *Memoirs*, described Pitt as he appeared at the beginning of the Regency Crisis, in late 1788: "Pitt, by acts of noble personal renunciation, by financial measures of acknowledged wisdom and public utility, sustained by councils not less judicious than energetic, had attained to a point of popularity scarcely surpassed even by his father. . . ." If the Prince had become Regent and dismissed Pitt, it "would have been considered by a great majority of the nation as a calamity of no common order" (*Wraxall's Mem.* v. 196).

<sup>63</sup> Henry Fox (1705-74), *cr.* Baron Holland of Foxley, co. Wiltshire (1763); M.P. from 1735-63; Lord of the Treasury (1743-46); P.C. (1746); Secretary of State (1755-56); Paymaster-General (1757-65); Leader of House of Commons (1762-63); Clerk of the Pells [I] (1762 to death); m. 2 (1744), clandestinely, Georgiana Caroline, nee Lennox (1723-74), *suo jure* Baroness of Holland, co. Lincoln (1762), eldest daughter of Charles, 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Richmond, who refused to consent to the marriage. Fox supported Robert Walpole, and then the Court after the accession of George III. He was an unpopular figure; *DNB* described him as "devoid of principle, and regardless of the good opinion of his fellow-men, he cared more for money than for power. . . . Though at one time the rival of Pitt [the Elder], Fox never rose above the rank of political adventurer" (vii. 564). (GEC, *Peerage* vi. 541-42, 541 n.e; Namier, ii. 461-66; Burke, *Extinct Peerages*, 223; *DNB* vii. 562-64).

Lord Holland was Stephen Digby's uncle by blood and by marriage. Charlotte Fox, Stephen Digby's mother, was Lord Holland's sister (Berg: 3 August 1788). As well, Lord Holland was the younger brother of Stephen Fox (d.1776), later Fox-Strangways (1736), *cr.* Earl of Ilchester (1756), who was the father of Lucy Fox-Strangways, Digby's late wife (Burke (1900), 819-20). See also *GM* lxxix. i. 726.

<sup>64</sup> Charles James Fox (1749-1806), 2<sup>nd</sup> son of Henry Fox; Leader of the Opposition; M.P. from 1768-1806; admitted to Lincoln's Inn (1764); P.C. (1782-98; 5 Feb. 1806 to death); Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (March to July 1782, April to December 1783--when he retired and William Pitt, the Younger, became premier; Feb. 1806 to death) (Namier, ii. 455-61; Burke, *Extinct Peerages*, 223). During the Regency Crisis, Fox supported his friend the Prince in obtaining the Regency since he believed that it was the Prince's hereditary right to rule without restriction, unlike Pitt who tried to place limitations on the Regency.

Charles James Fox and Stephen Digby must have been first cousins since, according to FB, Lord Holland and Charlotte Fox were siblings (Berg: 3 August 1788; also *GM* lxxix. i. 726). Also, Charles James Fox and Stephen Digby's late wife, Lucy Fox-Strangways, were first cousins;

"How long, he cried, it is since I have been here! --"

I was not flippantly disposed, or I would have said I had thought the time he spent away always short, by his avowed eagerness to decamp!

He made so many enquiries of how I had gone & what I had done since I saw him, that I was

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soon satisfied he was not <mis>informed of yesterday's transaction. I told him so; he could not deny it; but wished to hear the whole from himself.

I most readily complied. He listened with the most eager, nay, anxious, attention, scarce breathing, -- he repeatedly exclaimed, when I had finished, "How I wish I had been there! -- how I should have liked to have seen you! --"

I assured him he would not wish that, if he knew the terror I had suffered. He was quite elated with the charges against Cerberic tyranny, & expressed himself gratified by the promises of favour & protection in a manner that marked the deepest interest in my affairs & situation.

When this subject was fully discussed, he took from his pocket a very small Book,<sup>65</sup> -- & holding it out to me, gently said "To shew that I did not forget you -- but thought of you when I was away -- I have brought < you > the Poem I promised you. --"

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their fathers, Lord Holland and Lord Ilchester respectively, were brothers. Thus, Fox is also Digby's first cousin by marriage. (Burke (1900), 819-20).

<sup>65</sup> The *Original Love-Letters, between a lady of quality and a person of inferior station* (1784), by William Combe (1741-1823) (see *BLC* lxvii. 59). This was the first of two volumes, which Digby had promised her on 21 January 1789. She had already read the second volume, which Digby had offered FB on 16 July 1788 because he had found it full of "nothing but good sense, moral reflections, & refined ideas, cloathed in the most expressive & elegant Language" (Berg).



I was so far from considering an unaccepted offer as a promise, that I was quite disconcerted, -- he continued to hold it out to me, -- I determined, by quick impulse, not to accept it, but to borrow it; I therefore took it, with a slight bow, & said I should be glad to read it again. But I have no thanks for the remembrance, lest they should be mistaken for belonging to the Gift.

As I put it down, quietly, upon the Table, he presently

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took it up, saying "I hope I have not brought you that in which I had written my own name! --"

He turned to the Title Page, & exclaimed "O yes! -- I have! -- but it can soon - - be scratched out. --"

This marked the Present pretty strongly, & I therefore called out, with quickness, Why so? -- why scratch it out?" --

He made no answer; I was glad to avoid a discussion, & therefore I put it aside, composedly, & resolved to read & return it, as a thing of course.

"Well but, cried he, presently, I saw Mr. Smelt this morning, & I asked him -- of course -- how you did -- & he said you had an anecdote to tell me?"

"I have nothing, I answered, but what I have just related; -- & that, probably, is what he meant."

If he asked of course, I hope it is a mark Mr. Smelt has dropt his waggery.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Mr. Smelt was one of FB's chief tormentors with regards to Digby. On 20 December 1788, after noting Mr. Smelt's "provoking" behaviour upon discovering Digby in her room, FB exclaimed: "How can Mr. Smelt behave thus! -- I have seen him hitherto in every character the most respectable & amiable; in that of a Wag never before" (Berg).

I desired to know what was my threatened scold, as I had not heard a word of it.

I could obtain no information; -- he looked very drolly, but said he did not remember, -- & that it was nothing -- or only that I had gone out without my Clogs, or some such imprudence.

This is impossible, Mr. Smelt never having interfered in any such matters. However, I was forced to be content.

I enquired if he had been in time with his pacquets.

"Yes, cried he, laughing, &, after all their messages, both

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Lord Aylsbury<sup>67</sup> & Lord Waldegrave<sup>68</sup> thought I had been very quick, when they heard I had copied 10 pages, -- they had only feared -- I had been retarded with -- a little -- flirtation! --"

I cannot say I was taken in to believe this; I was satisfied he would not have told it me had it been true: but I suppose I looked a little struck, -- for he very hastily,

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<sup>67</sup> Thomas Bruce Brudenell (1729-1814), afterwards Brudenell Bruce (1767); 2<sup>nd</sup> Baron Bruce of Tottenham (1747), *cr.* Earl of Ailesbury (1776) (*EJL* ii. 175 n.67); formerly Lord of Bedchamber to George III (1760-*pre* 1789); Queen's Treasurer, and Lord Chamberlain of her Majesty's Household (*pre* 1788-*post* 1789); K.T. (1786), P.C. Edmund Burke (1729-97) described Lord Bruce on 30 May 1776 at the time of his appointment as Governor to Prince of Wales (a position which he refused): "Lord Bruce, the New Governor is remarkable for nothing, but cold manners, a reserved and awkward address, and a violent declared jacobitism" (*Burke Corr.* iii. 269). FB declared him "a very polite & agreeable man, though of no *prévenant* Face; he is Tall, Thin, & plain" (*EJL* ii. 175 n.68, also ii. 175). See also GEC, *Peerage* i. 63; *Burke Corr.* iii. 269 n.1, 272 n.2; *RK* 1789 75, 86, 100; *YW* xxi. 460; Berg.

<sup>68</sup> George Waldegrave (1751-Oct.1789); 4<sup>th</sup> Earl Waldegrave (1784); Master of the Horse to the Queen (1784 to his death); P.C. (1782); formerly M.P. for Newcastle-Under Lyme (1774-80) and Vice-Chamberlain of the Household (1782-84); Col. in the Army (1782) (Namier, iii. 592; GEC, *Peerage* xii. ii. 311; *GM* lix. ii. 962-63; *The London Gazette*, "Saturday July 19, to Tuesday July 22, 1789," 349; *RK* 1789 86).

& earnestly, called out "No! no! -- they did not! -- they said nothing at all about it! --

„69

Struck, however, I was -- & am -- to see, by this little badinage, he is so well aware of what might be said! -- he had seemed unconscious of such a possibility. I own myself, my dear Friends, not well pleased with this. An incaution so extreme to appearance & conjecture could only be defensible by a perfect unconsciousness -- What can Mr. Digby mean by suspecting suspicion, yet exciting it?

This made me grave, -- & he took up Horne Tooke's Pamphlet; but I know not what he read in it; -- after a while, he said "This must not take place of the little Book!--" & asked for the original Letters.

I gave them to him: asserting, truly, I had not looked at a sentence beyond what he had left off.

"No, answered he, seriously, I do not think you capable of that! --"

I always reverence a strict sense, so rare! of what is due to a promise, even in matters the most trifling.

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He then read those charming Letters, till a few minutes before 9 o'clock; he knew the Queen was with His Majesty, & would expect him, at that Hour, to Hand her up stairs. He regretted this new ceremony, but declared he would again, if possible, return. --

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<sup>69</sup> The female in question was probably FB herself. Although many in the House, especially FB's man-servant, believed that Digby came courting, rumours had also been circulating since as early as July 1788 about his possible attachment to Miss Gunning (Berg: 23 July 1788). FB probably looked "struck" because her sense of propriety was offended at the thought that she was the object of the "flirtation" and thus of such open conjecture. See *HFB* 209-10.

He did, & read on near an Hour longer.

You must certainly read these Letters, my dear Friends: sense & sentiment united I have rarely seen in an equal degree.

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Friday, 6<sup>th</sup>. These last three Days have been spent very unpleasantly indeed! all goes hardly & difficultly with my poor Royal Mistress, -- & I hear from my dear & unhappy Marianne Port that she has decided to marry! this -- I greatly fear, is a step as desperate as hazardous<sup>70</sup> -- I am grieved -- & alarmed for her inexpressibly --

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Saturday, 7<sup>th</sup>. Mr. Digby, with many apologies & doubts about the seasonableness of the Time, made me a long visit this morning, saying "I play truant now so much in the Evenings, that I must come to you as I can -- & when I can. --"

His Majesty is now, thank Heaven, so much better that he generally sees his Gentlemen in some part of the Evening: & Mr. Digby having no particular taste for being kept in waiting whole Hours for this satisfaction of a few minutes, yet finding himself

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if in the House, indispensably required to attend with the rest, he has changed his Kew visits from nights to mornings.

He brought me the Regency Bill!<sup>71</sup> -- I shuddered to hear it named! -- it was just printed, & he read it to me, with comments & explanations, which took up all our

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<sup>70</sup> The step may have been "hazardous" to FB because FB knew of Port's strong attachment to Col. Goldsworthy.

<sup>71</sup> See Appendix E for the full text of the Bill.

Time, & in a manner, at present, the most deeply interesting in which it could be occupied. -- 'Tis, indeed, a dread event! -- & how it may terminate who can say? -- My poor Royal Mistress is much disturbed. Her Daughters behave like angels. They seem content to reside in this gloomy solitude for-ever, if it prove of comfort to their mother, or marks their dutious affection for their Father. --

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Monday, 9<sup>th</sup>. Have I mentioned that I now walk on the Road side, along the Park Wall, every fair morning, as I shall venture no more into either of the Gardens.

In returning this morning, I was overtaken by Mr. < Digby, > who rode up to me, &, dismounting, gave his Horse to his Groom, to walk on with me.

< He was just come from Richmond Park,<sup>72</sup> whither he meant again to return, after paying his duty to the Queen, & receiving her Commands. He was not well,<sup>73</sup> & Mrs. Stuart<sup>74</sup> had undertaken to cure him.

He walked till I came to the Door, & then bid me adieu for some time, meaning to nurse himself well before he re-visited Kew. I urged him not to fail. >

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<sup>72</sup> On the other side of the Thames from Kew Park and Kew Palace, there were some houses that were either not Royal property or not occupied by Royals (see Hedley, 107, 48, *passim*), one of which was occupied by Digby's friend Mrs. Stuart (see n.74 BELOW) (Berg: 1788, *passim*).

<sup>73</sup> Probably from an attack of the gout, to which he was prone. On 25 July 1788, FB reported that "that dreadful disorder had been frequently & dangerously in his family . . ." (Berg). See *HFB* 206.

<sup>74</sup> Margaret Cunyngham(e) (d.1808); m. (1766/7) James Archibald Stuart-Wortley(1795) Mackenzie(1803) (1747-1818), Lt. Col, MP, 2<sup>nd</sup> son of John Stuart, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Bute, who was First Lord of the Treasury and Prime Minister (1762-63). She was known for her beauty and her virtue and was an intimate of James Boswell (1740-95). Digby had pronounced her "a Woman of uncommon parts" on 27 July 1788 when he had first mentioned her to FB (Berg). His daughter, Charlotte, regularly boarded with Mrs. Stuart and her daughter when Digby was confined to Court. (Lodge (1832), 387 s.v. "Wharncliffe;" Burke (1900), 238 s.v. "Bute," 1577 s.v. "Wharncliffe;" GEC, *Peerage* xii. ii. 590 s.v. "Wharncliffe," ii. 441-42 s.v. "Bute;" *GM* lxxviii. i.

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About 2 Hours after, I was, however, surprised by a visit from him in my own Room. He came, he said, only to ask me a second time how I did, as he should be here now less & less, the King's amendment rendering his services of smaller & smaller importance.

He brought me a new political parody<sup>75</sup> of Pope's *Eloisa to Abelard*,<sup>76</sup> From Mr. Eden<sup>77</sup> to Lord Hawkesbury,<sup>78</sup> -- it is a most daring, though very clever imitation: it introduces so many of the present household, that [xxxxx *1 line*].

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93; James Boswell, *Boswell: The Applause of the Jury 1782-1785*, eds. Lustig and Pottle (1981), 81 n.6, *passim*).

<sup>75</sup> No further information found. Diana Donald, however, in *The Age of Caricature: Satirical Prints in the Reign of George III* (1996), claims that "[o]pen association with political prints would evidently have been discreditable to women in polite society" (16). Thus, FB, as a woman who had an "interest in political satire," may have "violated eighteenth-century ideals of femininity" (16).

<sup>76</sup> "Eloisa to Abelard," by Alexander Pope (1688-1744), a 366-line poem, published in 1717 but may have been written before. His "Eloisa to Abelard" was based on an English translation done by John Hughes in 1713 of the *Lettres Portugaises*, which were originally published in Paris (Ed. Geoffrey Tillotson, *The Poems of Alexander Pope*, ii. 295, 314, 311-12). The "Argument" in the 1787 edition of *The Poetical Works of Alexander Pope* was as follows: "Abelard and Eloisa flourished in the twelfth century; they were two of the most distinguished persons of their age in learning and beauty, but for nothing more famous than for their unfortunate passion. After a long course of calamities, they retired each to a several convent [*sic*], and consecrated the remainder of their days to religion. It was many years after this separation that a letter of Abelard's to a friend, which contained the history of his misfortune, fell into the hands of Eloisa. This awakening all her tenderness, occasioned those celebrated Letters (out of which the following is partly extracted), which give so lively a picture of the struggles of Grace and Nature, Virtue and Passion. [P.]" (*The Poetical Works of Alexander Pope, with his last Corrections, Additions, and Improvements* (1787), 4 vols, 169; see also 169-81).

On 13 January 1789, FB wrote of Digby: "He then looked over the rest of [Pope's] his works, praising, commenting, & enquiring my opinion, as he came from one to another, -- till he opened the Epistle of Eloisa, -- & then, suddenly shutting up the volume, he laughed, & said "Mind! I don't ask you how you like that! -- I only know myself 'tis but too beautiful, -- & that is its greatest fault" (Berg).

<sup>77</sup> Possibly William Eden (1744-1814), later *cr.* Baron Auckland [I] (Nov. 1789) and Baron Auckland of West Auckland [GB] (1793); M.P. for Heytesbury, Wiltshire (1784-93); Middle Temple (called 1768); Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Spain (1788-89) and to the United Provinces, or the Netherlands (1789/90-93); P.C. (1783); F.R.S (1786). (Namier, ii.

Mrs. Schwellenberg in [*sic*] now in eternal abuse from all these scribblers.<sup>79</sup>

Lady Harcourt, & many others less notorious to their attacks, are here brought forward. How infinitely licentious! --

While he was reading, I thought I heard a gentle rap at the Door; but he read on, assuring me it was the Wind; -- again I thought I heard it, & he was convinced it was nothing, -- but I opened it, -- & seeing, in effect, nobody, was closing it, when the sound of a step, at the further end of the long dark narrow passage, made me look sharp, -- & I perceived Mr. Smelt!

I earnestly called after him: he turned round, but without moving back, & provokingly called out

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"No! I must not come in now! -- I have taken an improper time! --"

I insisted, & would take no denial; slowly he returned, gravely saying, as he entered, "Now I know I ought not to have come! --" And then, when, on rounding the screen, he saw Mr. Digby, who had kept his seat in the stillest silence to wait the event, he affected a sudden surprise, &, starting back, with hands & Eyes uplifted, "O

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375-79; GEC, *Peerage* i. 333-34; *RK* 1789, 34; S.T. Bindoff, E.F. Malcolm Smith, C.K. Webster, eds., *British Diplomatic Representatives 1789-1852*, Camden 3<sup>rd</sup> ser., 1. (1934), 139-40, 177-78; *RRS* 432).

<sup>78</sup> Charles Jenkinson (1729-1808), *cr.* Baron Hawkesbury of Hawkesbury, co. Gloucester (1786); later *cr.* Earl of Liverpool (1796); D.C.L. (Oxford, 1773); formerly M.P. from 1761-66, 1767-86; Lincoln's Inn (1747); P.C. (1773); Clerk of the Pells [I] (1775 to death); President of the Board of Trade 1786-1804 (Namier, ii. 674-78; GEC, *Peerage* viii. 86-87; *RK* 1789 87). During the last stages of the Regency Crisis, he was apparently at odds with Pitt and with the Queen's "power" (*YW* xxv. 683 and n.22).

<sup>79</sup> Austin Dobson noted in *DL* that early in 1789, "Peter Pindar," really Dr. John Wolcot (1738-1819), "devoted an entire Ode" to Mrs. Schwellenberg, encouraging her to return, permanently, to Germany. She frequently appeared in his satiric works. See *DL* iv. 253 n.1; also *YW* xxv. 638 n.14.

monstrous! he exclaimed, -- O less than ever! less than ever ought I to have entered now! -- "

"And why? Why, Mr. Smelt?" cried I, with some impatience, & much more vexation. But he only laughed for an answer, & continued to abuse himself for his intrusion.

Mr. Digby, now rising, very composedly, but not very pleasedly, said "I only came to read Miss Burney this parody."

"O not a word! not a word of apology! cried Mr. Smelt, laughing still more, if you make a single excuse, I shall immediately think -- all sort of thoughts! --"

"No, cried Mr. Digby more slightly, but gravely, I only mean -- that as I had already had the pleasure of seeing Miss Burney once this morning, I should not have called -- again, -- except to read her this thing here --"

"No excuse! no reason! no apology! not a word

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of the sort!" -- cried he, still more provokingly; & Mr. Digby found it expedient to drop the subject, &, rather abruptly, begin upon the Regency Bill.

I was really most excessively provoked.

He would not stay above ten minutes. Mr. Digby rose at the same time, saying his Horse was waiting for him: however, Mr. Smelt was so quick & abrupt in his motions that he got the start; -- & when once Mr. Digby found he could not accompany him, -- he turned about, & saying he would finish the parody, seated himself once more: -- nor did he again rise, till the Queen's Bell rang for me.



This was the first time of such a summons when he has happened to be with me; I own it gave me an awkward & unpleasant sensation, -- 'tis a mode of authority, & testimony of dependance so disagreeably marking servitude!<sup>80</sup> -- Whether or not he was acquainted with this sonorous discipline I cannot tell, but I suppose my start informed him of its meaning; "Is that for You? --" he cried. -- Yes, -- I answered, instantly rising; -- < but we were going >, to finish the Poem! --

Good Heaven! how little could he know the training I am in! -- I hastily declined hearing any more, -- he rose then too, -- I wished him good

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morning; but he accompanied me along the passage; &, to my great surprise, said he believed he should come again next Day, & to make some stay at Kew!

He is very strange in this perpetual alteration of plan.

But that is nothing -- compared with Mr. Smelt. -- Indeed I am more & more satisfied there can be only one way to account for such open raillery, in a man by nature so delicate, & by acquaintance so partial, -- he surely thinks Mr. Digby deeply in earnest, & that there is something to overcome in the opposite party! -- If he (thinks) the regard on the female side the strongest, I believe in my Heart he would think himself a Savage, if able to play a part so discountenancing.

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<sup>80</sup> On 24 July 1786, FB confessed: "At first, I felt inexpressibly discomfitted by this mode of Call, a Bell -- it seemed so mortifying a mark of servitude, I always felt myself blush, though alone, with conscious shame at my own strange degradation, -- but I have philosophised myself now into some reconciliation with this manner of summons, by reflecting that to have some Person always sent, would be often very inconvenient, & that this method is certainly less an interruption to any occupation I may be employed in, than Messengers so many times in the Day. It is besides, less liable to mistakes.

So I have made up my mind to it as well as I can, -- & now, -- I only feel that proud blush when somebody is by to revive my original dislike of it" (Berg).

All together -- 'tis extremely vexatious. -- And the more, as I know not how to silence him < about (him) Mr. Digby, by any effectual measures, without risking another attack -- of which I wish all idea annihilated. -- The other Day, he told me, [xxxxx *I word*] alone with him, he had made a visit over the water, & seen all the Family, & then named, one by one, all -- -- -- except one -- whom he left out, as if to try if my memory would assist his!<sup>81</sup> -- but you may believe I let his calculation pass! -

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[3680]

Kew Palace.  
Livre 2<sup>mc</sup>

1789.  
February.

Tuesday, 10<sup>th</sup>. The amendment of the King is progressive, & without any reasonable fear, though not without some few draw-backs.<sup>82</sup> The Willis family were surely sent

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<sup>81</sup> Digby was probably referring to his immediate family, i.e. his children, some of whom were residing at Mrs. Stuart's, "over the water" in Richmond Park. However, the reference is ambiguous and he may have been referring to any of his relations in 1789 known or presumed to be alive. His children from his (1771) m. to Lucy Fox Strangways (1748-87) were: Charles (1775-1841); Stephen Thomas (d.1820); Charlotte Elizabeth (1778-1820); and Kenelm (b.c.1785; fl.1788, see Berg 31 July and 1 August 1788). (Burke (1900), 468; Lodge (1845), 172-73; Lodge (1832), 113). On 3 August 1788, he described his childrens' characters to FB: "He gave me the character I expected of his Eldest Son, whose disposition, he said, was all that he could wish it, for native candour, integrity, & honour; but with rather more sensibility tha he could hope would make him happy. His second Son, Stephen, was a very good lad, but the least a Genius, he said smiling, of the family. -- The youngest, Kenelm, -- was made up of sweetness & sweet propensities, but with a promise, even already, of feelings so keen, that his tender Father [xxxxx *I word*] trembles for his future peace. The Daughter appears to be the happiest; she seems, by his account, one of those delightful compositions, that are Born neither to give, nor feel pain" (Berg).

<sup>82</sup> On this day the King asked to see the Lord Chancellor, Lord Thurlow (see n.126 BELOW). When Dr. F. Willis expressed concern, the King replied "I will not do it till you think fit; but I have been ill seventeen weeks and have much to inquire about" (George III, cited in Brooke, 335 and Macalpine, 81). The King's first meeting with the Lord Chancellor occurred on 17 February, two

from Heaven to restore peace & Health & prosperity to this miserable House! I see them now regularly every morning, & I am almost enchanted with both the Doctors, the Father & the Son. The Clergyman<sup>83</sup> I rarely meet.

In the Evening, my Tête à Tête with Mrs. Schwellenberg was interrupted by the entrance of the Princess Royal,<sup>84</sup> upon business; which enabled me to retire: but though this was very early, I saw a Uniform in the passage, which preceded me, very gently, into my apartment. I had not much doubt whom it might be! --

He was surprised to see me so near, when he turned round after his entrance; & said he was just going to see for my little maid, & ask her if I should drink Tea in my own Room.

I was glad this was avoided.

< He was quite well again.

I began the Evening immediately with the subject nearest my Heart, -- my poor Miss Port. -- I briefly stated the affair, but he knew nothing of Mr. Waddington, [xxxxx *I word*] though he >

[3680a]

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days before Thurlow first moved to table the Regency Bill in the House of Lords (see n.148 BELOW), with strict warnings by F. Willis not to discuss the Regency Bill (Brooke, 336; cf. Macalpine, 83). In an audience with the King on the morning of 19 February, Thurlow, who had been designated to inform the King of the recent events, found the King to be coherent, with no trace of the illness remaining (Brooke, 336).

<sup>83</sup> Thomas Willis (d.1827), son of Revd. Dr. Francis Willis (1718-1807), physician to the King; LL.B. (Cambridge, 1781); later LL.D. (Cambridge, 1791); prebendary of Lincoln (1786-1827) (*Alumni Cantab.* ii. vi. 508; see also *GM* xcvi. ii. 474).

<sup>84</sup> Charlotte Augusta Matilda (1766-1828), Princess Royal; later m. (1797), as his 2<sup>nd</sup> wife, Friedrich II (Karl Wilhelm) (1754-1816), King of Württemberg (1806-16) (*JL* i. 2 n.4; *YW* xii. 196 n.5). FB liked and admired the Princess, noting on 25 July 1786: "I am quite charmed with the Princess Royal; unaffected condescension [*sic*] & native dignity are so happily blended in her whole deportment" (Berg).

< believed himself acquainted with one of his Brothers,<sup>85</sup> who had been mathematical Tutor to Prince William, Duke of Clarence,<sup>86</sup> when on Board his own Brother; Admiral Digby's, ship.<sup>87</sup>

He knows so much of this lovely unfortunate, her family & her affairs, that we talked them over very openly. My greatest fear, I told him, was that her chief inducement to this connection was the misery of her native Home: "& that, I said, though the most natural, is the least rational of all inducements to such a step, since the more strongly the power of Home, to render us wretched, is felt, the more potent is the reason for making no change that must be permanent, where there are not the best of hopes & expectations that it will be happy."

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<sup>85</sup> Revd. George Waddington (1753-1824); Chaplain (ordained priest 1781, at sea?) of the *Prince George* and Mathematical tutor (1780-82) to Prince William (1765-1837) while the Prince was on board (1779-82); Vicar of Tuxford, Notts. (1789-1824); Chaplain to Prince William when the Prince, the Duke of Clarence, established his household in 1789 (*Alumni Cantab.* ii. vi. 300; Aspinall, v. 654-93 *passim*, v. 667 n.2; *GM* xciv. ii. 280-81). The first mention of George Waddington in Prince William's correspondence to the King (and Queen) from sea is in a letter dated 6 August 1780: "As for my studies, I have begun opticks with Mr. Waddington, & am now able to keep the ship's reckoning. I believe I am perfect in euclid, trigonometry & that part of astronomy I have read with him" (Aspinall, v. 667). See also Aspinall, v. 671, 689. On 29 October 1782, Rear-Admiral Digby (see n.87 BELOW) wrote to the King when the Prince was to be placed with Lord Hood that he "sd. have judg'd Mr. Waddington might have been of use a few months longer. However [he] thought it much better to yeild [*sic*] to Lord Hood's great aversion to receive him, . . ." (Aspinall, v. 693).

*GM* described Waddington as "one of the most agreeable of men, as he was favoured with an amiable disposition, and the perfect manners of a gentleman" (*GM* xciv. ii. 281).

<sup>86</sup> William IV (William-Henry) (1765-1837); Duke of Clarence (1789), King of England (1830-37).

<sup>87</sup> Robert Digby (1732-1814); Rear Admiral of the Royal Navy (1779) and second in command of the Fleet which sailed under Rodney for the relief of Gibraltar (Dec. 1779); formerly M.P. of Wells (1757-61); later Vice-Admiral (1787) and Admiral (1794). According to *GM*, "it was with him that the Duke of Clarence commenced his professional career" (*GM* lxxxiv. i. 412). In 1779, the King wrote to Rear-Admiral Digby: "I have therefore thought it proper to send my dearly beloved son Prince William, at so early an age, to make his first trial of the naval profession, and I have thought it proper to entrust him to your care, from a thorough opinion of your skill in that profession as well as of the worth of your personal character" (Aspinall, v. 654). The ship was the *Prince George*, a 98-gun flagship. See Aspinall, v. 654 nn. 3-4; Namier, ii. 324-25).

How did my own situation & feelings occur to me during this speech! I was not sorry in so fair an opportunity of making known how little I was disposed to be driven into a new life, merely from distaste to the old one. I wished him -- at the moment -- to have read within me entirely! -- I think if he had, a solid, but an undesigning friendship would have been honourably & innocently secured to me for life. -- >

[3681a]

A long conversation, with the most perfect agreement ensued, upon the cruelty of those friends who urge such irretrievable engagements, against the feelings of either of the parties; & of the vain wish of those parties who voluntarily enter into them from any motives of mere present expediency.<sup>88</sup>

This melancholy discussion -- melancholy to me from what gave rise to it, -- with a little reading in the original Letters, filled up all the Evening; except that a little before 9 o'clock, he went down, according to the new system, to Hand Her Majesty to the King's apartment. But he soon returned, & stayed till 10.

He meant, he said, to be here all next week; -- he took to his own Room at the Prince's,<sup>89</sup> a Volume of Mepastasio,<sup>90</sup> [*sic*] which I had borrowed from Miss Planta:<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Although ostensibly discussing GMAP, FB and Digby could be referring to their own "friendship" and to FB's satisfaction in retaining the *status quo*, despite the gossip and the meddling of the members of the House, such as Mr. Smelt with his constant "raillery." See Berg: 18 December 1788 and *HFB* 209-10.

<sup>89</sup> The Prince of Wales' House at Kew was located on Kew Green across the public road to Kew Gardens from the Queen's Lodge, or "Kew Palace." Austin Dobson defined the Prince of Wales' as "the so-called Dutch House, known first as the Royal Nursery, and then as the Prince's House" (*DL* iv. 195 n.1). In 1771, the Prince of Wales and Prince Frederick were granted Dutch House as their own establishment at Kew. Built in 1631 by Samuel Fortrey, a Dutch merchant, King George III had lived there while Prince of Wales. However, it was only in 1781, that the Royal Family finally acquired the House and its five acres of land, from Levett Blackborne of Lincolns

but he did not like, he added, to read Italian by himself, -- "I should like, he continued, with some hesitation, to read it -- with . . . you! --" However, he took away the Volume; & I am too wretched an Italianist to assist any other.

At night, I told my Royal Mistress I had made enquiries of Mr. Digby, -- & how fruitless they proved.<sup>92</sup>

[3681b]

< Wednesday 11th. This morning, in my return from my Walk, I met, near home, Lady Elizabeth Waldegrave,<sup>93</sup> who was going to the Younger Princesses upon the Green, escorted by Mr. Digby.

"We have been making signs & signals to you, some time, cried Mr. Digby, but all in vain -- I suppose you never saw them?"

"No; I cried, I see nothing at any distance."<sup>94</sup>

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Inn. The House had not been not been purchased for Queen Charlotte in 1761, as Dobson claimed, but, being copyhold, was placed in trust in 1781 for Queen Charlotte. The Prince of Wales' House is the present-day Kew Palace. (*DL* iv. 195 n.1, plate between 254, 255;

<sup>90</sup> Pietro Metastasio (1698-1782), pseudonym of P. Trapassi; poet and dramatist (*Enciclopedia garzanti dello spettacolo* (Milan, 1977), 414-15. See also *Enciclopedia italiana* (Rome, 1949), xxiii. 57-60.

<sup>91</sup> Margaret Planta (1754-1834), English Teacher to the Royal Nursery (1778-1812?); daughter of Revd. Andreas Joseph Planta (d. 1773), who had given Italian lessons to Queen Charlotte. Charlotte Papendiek recorded that when Miss Planta assumed her post in 1778, *vice* her elder sister Frederica who had "died of an accidental illness," she was "well received, and much approved, and the schoolroom now was one of gaiety and cheerfulness" (Papendiek, i. 64). FB and Miss Planta often travelled together between Windsor and Kew. See *JL* i. 11 n.2.

<sup>92</sup> Regarding Benjamin Waddington, Marianne Port's husband-to-be.

<sup>93</sup> Elizabeth Waldegrave (1758-1823), eldest daughter of John, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl Waldegrave (1718-84); Lady of the Bedchamber to the Princess Royal and the elder Princesses (1783-91) and later to Queen Charlotte (1793-1809); later m. (1791) James Brudenell (1735-1811), *cr.* Baron Brudenell of Deene, co. Northampton (1780); later 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Cardigan (1790). (*JL* i. 99 n.6; *YW* xxxiii. 534 n.11; *GEC*, *Peerage* iii. 15-16 s.v. "James (Brudenell), Earl of Cardigan;" *GM* xciii. ii. 83, lxxiii. ii. 1158).

<sup>94</sup> FB was severely short-sighted, which occasioned her some grief at Court, as she was unable to distinguish people at a distance and thus was unsure how to approach them. On 29 November

Lady Elizabeth eagerly begged some account of my interview with the King; & expressed much compassion for the terror in which she had heard I had been seized. I assured her, in the event, it had been amply rewarded, by my conviction of his amendment.

Mr. Digby laughed much about my running, & said he was sure I walked that way, from trusting to my speed.

When I wished them good morning, to pursue my way home, I was not a little surprised to hear Mr. Digby repeat the same words to Lady Elizabeth &, very deliberately, turn back to walk with me!

I am sure she wondered as much as myself -- left to go alone along the Green! -- for she had no servant with her. It is not, indeed, many yards. -- But she looked -- not offended, -- worse, I thought! -- so smilingly complaisant! -- I fear -- if she had had the courage, she would have had the raillery of Mr. >

[3682]

Smelt! -- These things concern & hurt me more than I can say, -- but a little time may set all right.

We were no sooner parted from her, than he told me he should yet stay at Kew another Day, & that he hoped to have the pleasure of seeing me in the Evening to Tea: & he added something, relative to his visits, which I imagined was in the usual disclaiming style against compliment, by imputing them solely to his eagerness to leave the noisy rooms down stairs, -- & therefore, I hastily answered "O, I know all that! &

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1788, FB did not even recognize Mr. Digby -- she was "unable to distinguish the face" -- when he appeared unexpectedly at Kew: "[H]e could hardly believe I had really not known him. I explained

I am quite content to accept them upon those terms! --" but I rather believe I misunderstood him, as I then heard him finish with "-- my own interest, -- they are all made for my own interest. --"

At the Gate, he left me.

< I found in my (room) [xxxxx 1-2 words] a letter from my poor Marianne, (expressing) her [xxxxx 2-3 words] -- ! >

Lady Charlotte Finch<sup>95</sup> had called upon me (two) Days before -- and again finding her way to my Room! -- almost purposely, to enquire concerning the report of this marriage; & she made me promise to acquaint her when I received any further news: & therefore I went to her apartment, at the Prince of Wales's, with this information. Mr. < Digby > I knew was with  
[3683]

the Equeries in our Lodge.<sup>96</sup>

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that my very little expectation of seeing him at Kew, had assisted my near-sightedness to perplex me" (Berg).

<sup>95</sup> Charlotte Fermor (1725-1813); daughter of Thomas Fermor (d.1753), *cr.* Earl of Pomfret (1721); Governess to the younger Royal Children (1771-93) and formerly to the Prince of Wales (1762-71); m. (1746), as his second wife, William Finch (1691-1766), formerly Vice Chamberlain to the King's Household (1742-65) and M.P. (1727-47, 1747-54, 1755-61). During the King's illness in 1788-89, Lady Charlotte was "no hopper, -- she sees nothing before us but despair & horror!" (Berg: 23 November 1788). (*JL* i. 192 n.25; Hedley, 72, 75, 157, *passim*; Namier, ii. 425 s.v. "Finch;" Lodge (1832), 293 s.v. "Pomfret").

It was Lady Charlotte's sister, Lady Louisa (1731-1809), m. (1767) William Clayton, who in 1786 placed FB beside her on the crowded Terrace at Windsor so that FB could be noticed by the Queen and the King during their Walk. It was subsequent to the Royal Couple's short conversation with FB on this occasion that Queen Charlotte, through Mr. Smelt, offered FB a position at Court as Second Keeper of the Robes (Berg: 21 May 1786; *YW* xlv. 897 s.v. "Fermor, Lady Louisa").

<sup>96</sup> The Queen's Lodge, or "Kew Palace."



Lady Charlotte had the Duchess of Beaufort<sup>97</sup> & all the Feildings<sup>98</sup> with her, & therefore I only left a message, by no means feeling spirits for encountering any stranger.

At Noon, when I attended Her Majesty, she enquired if I had walked? -- Yes, -  
- Where? -- in Richmond Gardens -- And no where else? -- No. --

She looked thoughtful, -- & presently I recollected my intended visit to Lady Charlotte, & mentioned it.

She cleared up, & said "O! -- You went to Lady Charlotte? --"

Yes, Maam, -- I answered, thinking her very absent, -- which I thought with sorrow, as that is so small a part of her character that I know not I ever saw any symptom of it before.

Nor, in fact, as I found afterwards, did I [xxxxxx *I word*] see it now! --

It was soon explained.

Miss Gomm,<sup>99</sup> M<sup>lle</sup>. Montmollin,<sup>100</sup> & Miss Planta, all Dined with Mrs.

Schwellenberg this to Day. The moment I joined them, Mrs. Schwellenberg called out -- "Pray Miss Berner<sup>101</sup> for what visits You the Gentlemen?"

<sup>97</sup> Elizabeth Boscawen (1747-1828), youngest daughter of Admiral Edward Boscawen (1711-61), M.P., (1742-61) and Frances Glanville (1719-1805), m. (1766) Henry Somerset (1744-1803), 5<sup>th</sup> Duke of Beaufort (1756) (GEC, *Peerage* ii. 55 s.v. "Henry (Somerset), Duke of Beaufort," Namier, ii. 102-03 s.v. "Boscawen, Hon. Edward;" *YW* x. 228 n.4).

<sup>98</sup> Sophia Finch (1748-1815); daughter of Lady Charlotte and William Finch; m. (1772) Charles Feilding/Fielding (1740-83), Captain in the Royal Navy (1760). (*IGI*; *YW* xlv. 890 s.v. "Feilding, Charles," 910; *GM* lxxxv. i. 280) On 18 July 1786, FB wrote: Mrs. Fielding is one of the women of the BedChamber. She lives with her Mother, Lady Charlotte, & her 3 Daughters, Girls from 10 to 15 years of Age" (Berg; see also *RK* 1789 100).

<sup>99</sup> Jane Gomm/Gomme (c.1753-1822); according to FB was a governess to the Princesses Mary and Sophia in 1786 (Berg: 25 August 1786), according to *RK* 1789 "Mrs. J. Gomm" was an English Teacher to the Royal Nursery in 1789 (101), and according to Hemlow was an English Teacher to the Younger Princesses who was paid 200 pounds per annum from 1792-1816 (*JL* i. 68

"Me? --"

"Yes, You, -- & for what, I say?"

Amazed, I declared I did not know what she meant.

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"O! cried she, scoffingly, that won't not do! -- we all saw you, -- Princess

Royal the same! -- so don't not say that! --"

I stared, -- & Miss Gomm burst out in laughter, & then Mrs. Schwellenberg added "For what go you over to the Prince of Wales his house? nobody lives there but the Gentlemen, -- nobody others."

I laughed too, now, & told her the fact.

"O, cried she, Lady Charlotte! -- ver true! I had forgot Lady Charlotte! --"<sup>102</sup>

"O, very well, ma'am, cried I, -- so only the Gentlemen were remembered! --"

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n.5). Dorothy Margaret Stuart in *The Daughters of George III* (1939) stated that FB "did not like" Gomm (8). There is no direct pronouncement of this dislike in FB's MS, but in 1786 Gomm changed from "short & plain, but sensible, cultivated, & possessed of very high spirits" on 25 August to "very sensible, &, I fancy, well informed: but her manner is not pleasing to strangers, & her conversation, -- perhaps from great inequality of spirits, -- has no flow, -- nothing gliding, -- it is either abrupt & loquacious, like the rush of a torrent, -- or it is lost & stagnant, like the poor little round old fashioned Garden Pond" on 19 November. The following incident in the MS, i.e. Digby and the "attack on FB's character" is probably the strongest example thus far that could indicate some disharmony between FB and Gomm.

<sup>100</sup> Julie de Montmollin (1765-1841); French teacher to the Royal Nursery; later taught needlework to the Princesses (*JL* iv. 561; *RK* 1789 101 cf. *JL* iii. 194 n.21). In December 1788, a "fortunate incident" had happened because of Mlle. Montmollin that offered FB a small reprieve from the tyrannies of Mrs. Schwellenberg: "Mrs. Schwellenberg took a very great fancy to Mlle. Montmollin, & invited her to play at Cards almost every Evening, -- this enabled me not only to keep up my Tea [xxxxx *1 word*], but to lengthen it till 10 o'clock, when I took the place of Mlle. Montmollin . . ." (Berg: 22 December 1788). FB explained on 2 January 1789, however, that "though this is a relief from gloomy Tyranny & fierceness, -- it is yet a life of extremest sadness, -- of solitary discomfort, -- of wasted Existence!" (Berg).

<sup>101</sup> Mrs. Schwellenberg spoke English with a heavy German accent. FB, "Miss Berner," often mimicked the "Cerbera's" speech patterns in her writing (Berg).

<sup>102</sup> Lady Charlotte Finch was assigned a room at The Prince of Wales' House on 29 November 1788 when the Royal Household removed from Windsor to Kew. (Berg; see also Appendix A).

I then found this had been related to the Queen. & M<sup>lle</sup>. Montmollin said she supposed the visit had been to General Gordon! --<sup>103</sup>

In good time! as Mrs. Piozzi<sup>104</sup> says; -- I know not even his face! However, they thought not of General Gordon! of that at least I am sure.<sup>105</sup> But I laughed, without further affirmation.

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<sup>103</sup> William Gordon (1736-1816), son of William, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Aberdeen [S] and his third wife, Lady Anne Gordon (d.1791), daughter of Alexander, 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Gordon [S]; Groom of the Bedchamber to George III (1775-1812); Major-General of the 81<sup>st</sup> Foot (1781); K.B. (1775); former M.P. (1767-80) (Namier, ii. 518-19; *Scots Peerage* i. 91; *The London Gazette*, Tuesday October 21 to Saturday October 25, 1789, p.509; *RK 1789* 74).

<sup>104</sup> Hester Lynch Salusbury (1741-1821); m. 1 (1763) Henry Thrale (?1729-81), brewer and M.P. (1765-80); m. 2 (1784) Gabriel Mario Piozzi (1740-1809), Italian musician and singer (*EJL* ii. 224 n.24; Namier, iii. 527-29 s.v. "Thrale, Henry"). Namier described Mrs. Thrale as "highly intelligent, with literary ambitions, hard and masculine, yet sentimental" (iii. 529). FB became an intimate friend of Mrs. Thrale in 1778 after the publication of *Evelina* (*Thraliana* i. 329 n.2). The circle at Mrs. Thrale's Streatham Place estate in Surrey included the literatti, such as Samuel Johnson, and the elite of London society, such as Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu. FB's friendship with Mrs. Thrale ended after Mrs. Thrale's 1784 marriage to Piozzi. FB disapproved of Mrs. Thrale for choosing passion over reason and for skirting social convention and maternal obligation by marrying Piozzi, the Italian music master, whom FB considered inferior to Mrs. Thrale in birth and in intelligence. The new Mrs. Piozzi, who resented FB's reluctance to accept her husband after their marriage, ceased all communication with FB. Even during the break in their friendship, however, FB often spoke and wrote of Mrs. Piozzi with kindness and even fondness (see Berg: 6 August 1786, "my poor lost Mrs. Thrale"). FB and Mrs. Piozzi partly reconciled from 1815-17 at Bath, where FB was then living with her husband, Alexandre d'Arblay (1752-1818), the French exile, and their son, Alexander (1794-1837); however, the renewed friendship remained troubled until Mrs. Piozzi's death. (*EJL* ii. 224 n.24; *HFB* 169-86, 384-86, 424-25, *passim*; *Thraliana* ii. 612-13 n.2, *passim*; Berg).

<sup>105</sup> Mrs. Schwellenberg's particular malice during this line of questioning to determine if FB's visit was to a gentleman, and specifically Digby as FB herself hinted, was likely due to her intense dislike of Digby. FB had recorded on 12 December 1788: "Late in the Evening, after Mr. Smelt was gone, Mrs. Schwellenberg began talking about Mr. Digby, & giving free vent to all her strong innate aversion to him" and she accused him of "Spite, Disloyalty, & Calumny! Three qualities which I believe equally, & utterly, unknown to him. -- He was also, she said "very unfeeling; for she had heard him laugh prodigious with the Lady Waldegrave, with Lady Carlile [*sic*], what you call Lady Elizabeth her sister: & this in the King's illness! -- And, in fine, she could not bear him" (Berg).

Miss Gomm told me she had not been so much diverted since the poor King's illness, as by hearing this attack upon my character; < -- & added "I am resolved to tell it to Miss Cambridge! --"<sup>106</sup>

I thought she looked with a little malice<sup>107</sup> when she said this -- but I hope not! -- however, she shrewdly Eyed me, -- & not as if thinking of General Gordon. >

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nor yet of any other officer! --<sup>108</sup>

M<sup>lle</sup>. Montmollin, who did think of an officer -- though not of General Gordon! -- renewed the attack when we were afterwards without our Lady Presidente.<sup>109</sup> but she carried it to another Channel in the military line, -- Major Price!<sup>110</sup> "O yes! she cried -- it is not the General Gordon -- but Major Preece -- he is

<sup>106</sup> Charlotte Cambridge (1746-1823); daughter of Richard Owen Cambridge (1717-1802), wit and author of the *Scribleriad*; and sister of Revd. George Owen Cambridge (1756-1841). FB was an intimate of the Cambridge family from 1782-85. Although FB nursed an unrequited love for Miss Cambridge's brother during the years 1784-86 and possibly later, she continued her friendship with Miss Cambridge even after her entrance into Court in 1786 ended any hope of an engagement with Revd. George (*JL* i. 2 n.6; *HFB* 190, 197, 250; Berg). See *HFB* 187-98 for an account of FB's "friendship" with Revd. George.

<sup>107</sup> If FB did dislike Miss Gomm, as she seems to in this thesis selection, it may have colored her interpretation of Miss Gomm's intention in telling Miss Cambridge about "this attack upon her character." Because FB's friendship with Revd. George Owen Cambridge had been widely believed to lead to an engagement, it is possible that FB assumed that Miss Gomm was acquainted with the rumour. By telling Miss Cambridge the nature of the attack, that FB was accused of stealthily visiting a gentleman, FB may have thought that Miss Gomm wished the knowledge to reach the Revd., through his sister. The "malice" could have been due to the fact that the very existence of the "attack" even if described in jest, would tarnish FB's "character" in front of someone whom Miss Gomm assumed FB to be concerned about the opinions of.

<sup>108</sup> Probably she was thinking of the Revd. George Owen Cambridge and thus not an officer.

<sup>109</sup> Mrs. Schwellenberg.

<sup>110</sup> William Price (1749-1817); Major in the 3<sup>rd</sup> (King's Own) Dragoons (1779); formerly Equerry to the King (1782-87); later Vice-Chamberlain to Queen Charlotte (1792-1801) *vice* Stephen Digby. He was a welcome sight to a FB at Court since he was a friend of the Worcester Burneys, the descendants of CB's brother Richard (1723-92). (*JL* i. 112 n.12; *Aspinall*, ii. 129 n.1).

one of Miss Burney's adoreurs, -- I know that, 'pon m'honneur, -- very great adoreur --"

"But you know, cried Miss Planta, Major Price is not over the way, -- & Mr. < Digby > is if you please! --"

Then followed an open raillery from M<sup>le</sup>. Montmollin of Mr. < Digby's > visits: but I stood it very well, assuring her I should never seek to get rid of my two Prison-visitors,<sup>111</sup> Mr. Smelt & Mr. < Digby, > till I could replace them by better -- or go abroad for others! --

<Miss Gomm again & again protested she would tell the whole to Miss Cambridge!

I am vexed she should think that a step so alarming to me! -- "And you colour so! she cried, -- I'll tell her that! --" This did not make me paler! -- she has surely heard that report -- >

Mr. < Digby >, however, -- little thinking of all this,<sup>112</sup> -- came in the Evening, & very early, & asked for his little Book almost immediately -- "Those -- Love Letters, cried he, laughing, which I mean, by & bye, to read myself to my Daughter."<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> The word is reflective of FB's general dislike of her situation at Court, which she likened to a prison-sentence, and particularly of the confinement at Kew during the King's illness, when she was allowed no visits to or from those outside of Court.

<sup>112</sup> FB constantly mentioned the fact that Digby seemed oblivious to the gossip that surrounded his apparently intimate behaviour with her. See MS BELOW: 18 February 1789.

<sup>113</sup> Charlotte Elizabeth Digby (1778-1820); later Maid of Honour to Queen Charlotte; m. (1803) as his second wife, the Revd. William Digby (b.1774), her first cousin as the son of the Revd. William Digby, Dean of Durham (Lodge (1845), 173).

This was not an unpleasant way of letting me know(n) -- -- what before I was sure of -- that else he would not read them to me.

While I made the Tea, he observed I had only a cup for the Tea & proposed bringing me a Cady<sup>114</sup> of his own! -- "a small silver one, he cried, which has a key, & which would just do, --"

Ah ha, thought I! -- -- no, I have something to return, not to take. -- But I only quietly answered I had one of my own at Windsor, of Norbury<sup>115</sup> workmanship, which I prized above Silver & Gold, & should soon send for it.

He said no more, -- & I spoke of other things.

He shewed a little Letter of his son Kenelm,<sup>116</sup> written by Letty Church yard,<sup>117</sup> so loyal to the King, in its good wishes, that I told him the Queen ought to see it.

"Will you shew it her?" cried he, with quickness.

Not for the World! thought I; -- however, I could still less say so, & he gave it me -- & I put it up! --

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<sup>114</sup> Caddy: "A small box for holding tea" (*OED*). *OED* cites as its first (and earliest) example a line from *Madras Courier* (1792).

<sup>115</sup> Norbury Park, Surrey, home of the Lockes.

<sup>116</sup> Kenelm Digby (b.c.1785-f.1789). His only appearance in the historic records is in FB's journal (Berg).

<sup>117</sup> FB's journal-letters of 31 July and 1 August 1788 point to Letitia/Letetiae "Letty" Church yard as a nurse and/or a governess to Digby's children. On 1 August 1788, Digby read FB a letter "of his inestimable Letty Church Yard" which detailed "the progress of her instruction to little Kenelm" (Berg). On 31 July 1788, FB had noted that "[t]he youngest only is at present under her care" because the two elder sons were at Eton and another school respectively and Charlotte was at Mrs. Stuart's. After his wife's 1787 death, Digby's frequent trips to Court would have necessitated suitable caretakers, such as Letty Church yard and Mrs. Stuart, for the two children not in school. FB recorded on 31 July 1788 that "Mrs. Letetiae Church yard" was "a person of whom [Digby] gave a character so very high, for her principles, her gratitude, her good sense, & her fondness for his Children, that it truly rejoiced me he should have so excellent a Woman with whom to entrust them in his absence" (Berg). Letty Church yard must have been associated with Digby's family for some time since he attributed his eldest son Charles' religious principles, which

He finished the first Volume of his Letters before he went down to Hand her Majesty; when he returned, he proposed reading a part of the second, & then leaving it me to look over by myself, as already he had read it to me at Cheltenham.

In the midst of this lecture, came a smart rap at the Door, & a quick entry, very unusual,

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followed of Mr. Smelt!

He advanced with a quick pace, & a certain air of "I knew where to catch you!" -- in saying, eagerly, "I come for Mr. < Digby >! He is wanted below, -- Dr. Willis wishes to consult him immediately, -- on business of great importance, -- & he must have his opinion without delay."

Mr. < Digby > , quietly, but most consciously, laid down the Book, & rose; -- I was dreadfully afraid Mr. Smelt would have said What are you reading! Oh Heavens! what a laugh for him had he seen the title Page! -- what a mystery, had I held it back!

< Upon the whole, I really think Mr. Digby should not have made so great a point of bringing me a Book liable to such disagreeable consequences. Indeed, if I did not think so very highly of his whole Character, I should feel a blame of this particular in his conduct that would much affect my opinion of him. He never rested till he brought it, -- & he well knows how shy I was of receiving it. I could not refuse it, without seeming to think thoughts still worse than the risk. >

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made him act "as if instead of 14, he were 40 or 50 years of age," to the result of "the early instruction of this admirable Letitia" (Berg: 31 July 1788).

Fortunately, however, Mr. Smelt's eagerness left the Book unnoticed, & saved me this disconcertation.

Mr. Digby <by> wished me good Night, --

"Come, come, cried Mr. Smelt, impatiently, Dr. Willis

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is in the greatest haste. He has wanted Mr. < Digby > all the Evening, but knew not where to seek him -- I told him if he was here -- at Kew, -- I believed I could find him! --"

Mr. < Digby > joined him directly; I was too much flurried (at) [xxxxx 3-4 words] by this last provoking speech, to say a word: but I soon saw Mr. Smelt only affected this haste to teize him, for no sooner were they ready to depart, than he began a long conversation upon the business in question! < And he seemed studiously, while they talked, to [xxxxx 1½ lines]. >

When they had done, he laid his hand on Mr. < Digby's > Shoulder, & exclaimed, laughing, "Come! do come! -- they are all waiting below most impatiently."

Mr. < Digby > again bowed, -- but Mr. Smelt, suddenly placing himself between us, in a most ridiculous manner, gave him a gentle push, towards the door, & said That was the way!

Mr. < Digby > laughed, & cried "He's afraid I shall turn back again! --"

"Ay, to be sure I am!" cried Mr. Smelt, & then affected to be dragging him out of the Room!

O had he seen the Letters! -- What then would have been his raillery! --|

[3689]



Thursday, 12<sup>th</sup>. This morning I found the Metastasio on my Table; & Goter told me Mrs. Schwellenberg's servant<sup>118</sup> gave it her, at the desire of Mr. < Digby! > --

Is it possible Mr. < Digby > can know so little of the World as to suppose the servants will make no comments upon such commissions? -- Perhaps he hopes their very openness may shew the innocence of the intercourse -- Be it but so! --

When Mr. Smelt came for his usual morning intelligence, he told me all that had passed down stairs last Night, & then desired me to interfere with Colonel < Digby > concerning some measure which he disapproved.

For a thousand Worlds would I not take with him any such liberty! or suppose, or appear even to wish for, any influence over him. I gravely declined the task, & Mr. Smelt did not press it, but looked disappointed.

Friday, 13<sup>th</sup>. This morning there was a great alarm in the House, by the appearance of two mad-men!<sup>119</sup> -- I heard it from Columb.<sup>120</sup> Mr. Smelt was so engaged in consultation about them, that he did not even come up stairs: & I remained in the most anxious uncertainty till noon, when my ever ready & kind Informant, Mr. < Digby, > found his way to me.

<sup>118</sup> FB recorded on 29 November 1788 that Mrs. Schwellenberg had two maids named Mrs. Lovel and Arline (Berg); however, this reference probably refers to a manservant. On 6 August 1786 FB mentioned Westerhalhl, one of Mrs. Schwellenberg's Domestics (see n.201 BELOW).

<sup>119</sup> No further information found in *YW*, *HFB* or Brooke; nothing was reported in *Daily Adv.* from "Friday, February 13, 1789" to "Tuesday, February 18, 1789;" *The London Chronicle*, lxv. from 13 to 18 February 1789; or the *London Gazette* from 13 to 18 February 1789.

<sup>120</sup> Jacob Colomb (d.1790), FB's man-servant. His cousin, James Colomb, was the footman of Horace Walpole (1717-97). (Berg; *YW* xliv. 575, xi. 139 n.6, xlii. 290 and n.2).

"I am come, he cried, only for a moment, to acquaint you with the state of things below." He then repeated all the particulars: but as the adventure was [3690]

local, I shall not write more of it than that one of these men, after a long examination by all the Gentlemen, was dismissed, & the other sent to the office of Lord Sydney, Secretary of State.<sup>121</sup>

Nothing so strange as the eternal rage of these unhappy lunatics to pursue the Royal family.<sup>122</sup>

He enquired if I had done with the Letters! No; I had not looked at them. == He had promised them, he said, to a lady,<sup>123</sup> --

I should like to have asked if he was to read them to her, also? & if he goes about reading such Letters.

I assured him I could dispense with a second perusal, well as I liked them; but he said the lady was not pressée, & positively refused to let me get them.

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<sup>121</sup> Thomas Townshend (1733-1800); *cr.* (1783) Baron Sydney of Chislehurst, co. Kent; later *cr.* (June 1789) Viscount Sydney of St. Leonards, co. Gloucester; Home Secretary (Secretary of State) (July 1782 - Apr. 1783; Dec. 1783 - June 1789); President of the Board of Control (1784-90); P.C. (1767); formerly M.P. of Whitchurch (1754-83) (GEC, *Peerage* xii. i. 590-91; Namier, iii. 554-56; *GM* lxx. ii. 695).

<sup>122</sup> On 2 August 1786, Margaret Nicholson, "a mad housemaid," had attempted to stab the King with a dessert knife in her left hand while she offered him a petition with her right. The King handled the situation with mercy and to universal praise decided not to charge the woman with high treason on the grounds that she was insane; she was instead sent to Bedlam. See Berg: 2 August, 1786 for FB's account of the incident. On 21 January 1790, John Firth would throw a rock at George's carriage; again, George would be lenient when faced with the actions of a lunatic. On 15 May 1800, another lunatic, James Hadfield, would try to shoot the King at Drury Lane Theatre, and the King's cool composure would be admired. See *DL* ii. 413 n.1; Brooke, 314-16; Vincent Carretta, *George III and the Satirists from Hogarth to Byron* (Athens, Georgia, 1990), 275.

<sup>123</sup> Possibly Miss Gunning due to the subject matter of the letters and to the fact that although an intimate of FB he did not reveal the name.

He then gave me the particulars of the progress of the Regency Bill,<sup>124</sup> which direful topic lasted while he stayed. O how dreadful will be the Day when that unhappy Bill takes place! -- I cannot approve the plan of it, -- the King is too well to make such a step right. It will break his spirits, if not his Heart, when he hears & understands such a deposition.

[3691]

Saturday, 15<sup>th</sup>. sad & melancholy are my Letters from my poor Marianne! -- but all is settled -- alas --

The King is infinitely better, -- O that there were patience in the Land! -- & this Regency Bill postponed! --

Two of the Princesses regularly, & in turn, attend their royal mother in her Evening visits to the King. Some of those who stay behind now & then spend the time in Mrs. Schwollenberg's room. They all long for their turn of going to the King, & count the Hours till it returns. Their dutiful affection is truly beautiful to behold.

This Evening, the Princesses Elizabeth & Mary came into Mrs. Schwollenberg's room while I was yet there. They sung songs in two parts all the Evening, & very prettily in point of voice, but wholly without [xxxxx *1 line*]. Their good humour, however, & inherent condescension & sweetness of manners would make a much worse performance [xxxxx *1 word*] pleasing.

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<sup>124</sup> At the end of the session of the House of Commons on 12 February, it had been "*Resolved, That the Bill do pass: And that the Title be, An Act to provide for the Care of His Majesty's Royal Person, and for the Administration of the Royal Authority, during the Continuance of His Majesty's Illness*" (*JHC* xlv. 115). It was "*Ordered, That Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer do carry the Bill to the Lords, and desire their Concurrence*" (*JHC* xlv. 115). The Bill was to be carried to the House of Lords by Pitt and others on this date, 13 February, at which time it would be read for the first time (*JHL* xxxviii. 353).

My usual rap came at 8 o'clock. The presence of their Royal Highnesses determined me not to heed it: but, unluckily, Mr. Smelt was present also, & immediately called out "That's for you, Miss Burney, -- your appointment! --"

"What appointment?" cried Princess Elizabeth.

"I don't know, ma'am, he gravely answered, but

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somebody there is who runs away with Miss Burney every Evening. -- some Gentleman, -- but I don't know who."

They stared, -- & I exclaimed, -- & he laughed.

They then concluded it some joke, & Princess Elizabeth desired me, very graciously, to take some Tea. It had been just brought in for their Royal Highnesses.

"No, no, cried Mrs. Schwellenberg, she won't not drink her Tea here."

"No, said Mr. Smelt, she must go to her appointment. She indulges, every Evening, with a ---- Book! -- She takes the best she can get; -- but to take the very best, she should always have one of her own."

I believe he meant to perplex the cause, -- & certainly he succeeded. But I was so much alarmed, that I determined at all events to keep my Ground. Mr. Smelt, all kindness & goodness, though thus bent on a raillery which, for some reason, he will never restrain, yet seemed sorry & shocked to see me remain, & lose my retirement, which he knows I value, without any companion, & he did all in his power to induce me, afterwards, to go quietly.

But my Heart, thank God! permits me to consult my judgement: & therefore,  
 though I believed Mr < Digby > in my room, I was immoveable. Mr. Smelt's  
 behaviour

[3693]

would be torture to me, if my mind were impressed with those hopes & fears which so  
 ill bear trifling with. --

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Feb<sup>y</sup>. 16<sup>th</sup>. All well & well, & the King is preparing for an interview with the

Chancellor!<sup>125</sup> Dr. Willis now confides in me all his schemes & notions, -- we are

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<sup>125</sup> Edward Thurlow (1731-1806); *cr.* (1778) Baron Thurlow of Ashfield, co. Suffolk; later *cr.* (1792) Baron Thurlow of Thurlow, co. Suffolk, Lord Chancellor from 1778 to Apr. 1783 and again from Dec. 1783 to June 1792, when he was dismissed from office by George III when Pitt forced the King, who probably knew by then of Thurlow's Regency Crisis intrigues with the Prince, to choose between himself and the Chancellor; in 1789 Speaker of the House of Lords; Teller of the Exchequer (1786 to death); called to the Bar (Inner Temple, 1758); P.C. (1778); formerly M.P. for Tamworth (1765-78). (GEC, *Peerage* xii. i. 730-31 and notes (730-32); Namier, iii. 529-31; *Alumni Cantab.* i. iv. 239; Edward Foss, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Judges of England* (1870), 663; RK 1789 21, 86).

During the Regency Crisis, Lord Thurlow had secretly negotiated with the Prince and his supporters while publicly appearing to side with the King. Wraxall suggested that it was partly due to the conflict and the rancour between Pitt and Thurlow that helped Thurlow to wonder "whether, if the King's recovery appeared hopeless, he might not retain the Great Seal under a Regency." This conflict, along with "[s]o many concurring reasons or motives[,] might incline him either to open a negotiation with [the Prince and his supporters], or at least to lend a favourable ear to any overtures made from that quarter" (*Wraxall's Mem.* v. 197-98). Pitt apparently discovered Thurlow's clandestine negotiations with the Prince when Pitt found Thurlow's hat in the Prince's closet during a council at Windsor. However, according to Foss in the *Judges of England* (1870), for a time Pitt "submitted to the infliction rather than distress the King by exposure" (663). Fox equally distrusted Thurlow, and Thurlow was called "Iron Pluto" by Edmund Burke (see n.129 BELOW) in a speech in the House of Commons on 27 January, in reference to Milton's *Il Penseroso* (ll. 105-07) (see Foss, *Judges of England* (1870), 663 for the exact reference). Thurlow, who, as Foss noted, made "solemn professions of affection and gratitude" after the King's recovery (663), would see the King on 17, 20, 22 and 24 February. On 19 February, Thurlow moved to table the third reading of the Regency Bill since the King's recovery might make the Bill unnecessary. It was during one of Thurlow's visits between 19 and 23 February that Thurlow, now completely restored to the King's side, related to the King all that had passed during his illness. Cf. Thurlow's lofty obituary notices in *GM* lxxvi. ii. 882-83 and 974-75 despite his collusion with the Prince of

growing the best of friends; & his son Dr. John is nearly as trusty. Excellent people!  
how I love & honour them all! --

I had a visit at noon from Mr < Digby > He hastened to tell me the joyful news  
That the King & Queen were just gone out, to walk in Richmond Garden, arm in arm!  
-- What a delight to all the House!<sup>126</sup>

"But I have got, cried he, a pamphlet for you, well worth your perusal; 'tis a  
Letter from a Member of Parliament to a Country Gentleman,<sup>127</sup> & contains the  
characters of all the Opposition: & here is -- your Friend -- Mr. Burke,<sup>128</sup> done to the  
life!"

He insisted upon reading that passage himself, --'tis skilfully written, but with  
extreme severity; though it allows to him original integrity, which is what I have never  
been induced to relinquish for him, & never can disbelieve.

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Wales. (Foss, *Judges of England* (1870), 661-64; *DNB* xix. 824-29; *YW* xxv. 684-85 and n.26 and n.27; Macalpine, 83-86; Brooke, 336; *Burke Corr.* v. 448 n.4, *passim*; *Wraxall's Mem.* v. *passim*; *GEC, Peerage* xii. i. 730-31 and notes (730-32); Berg).

<sup>126</sup> *The Daily Advertiser* reported on "Tuesday, February 17, 1789" only that "Yesterday, at Eleven o'Clock, the King, attended by Major-General Harcourt and Dr. Willis and Son, walked in Kew-Gardens, where they remained for Half an Hour" (No.18788). See *JHC* xlv. 47-87, the Examination of the Physicians by a Committee of the House of Commons re: the sheltered information issued to the public.

<sup>127</sup> Austin Dobson identified the pamphlet as *A Letter from a Country Gentleman, to a Member of Parliament, on the Present State of Public Affairs*, 1789, by William Combe (1741-1823), describing it as follows: "The writer praises Burke's gifts and integrity; but deplores his devotion to party, and his growing irritability" (*DL* iv. 257 n.1, also 24 n.1).

<sup>128</sup> Edmund Burke (1729-97), spokesperson for the Opposition; M.P. for Malton, Yorkshire (1780-94); P.C. (1782). FB first met Burke in 1782 at Sir Joshua Reynolds' house at Richmond. (*EJL* iii. 142; Namier, ii. 145-153; Macalpine, 20; *RK* 1789 38). Although FB was a self-proclaimed early admirer of Burke, her feelings toward him were mixed during the 1788 Trial of Warren Hastings, when he was violently against Hastings, a man whom FB believed to be innocent. On 13 February 1788 as she attended the Trial at the House of Commons, she conversed with William Windham: "I am the Friend of Mr. Burke, cried I, eagerly, all the time! | Mr. Burke has no greater Admirer! -- & that is precisely what disturbs me most in this business!" "Well, cried he, in a tone extremely good-humoured & soft, I am then really sorry for you! -- to be pulled two ways is

I told him I was now soon expecting in Town my dearest Friends the Locks.<sup>129</sup>

"Do you? -- he cried: & then, after a thoughtful pause, in which he seemed settling something in his own mind,

[3694]

he said "I -- must give up the thought of knowing them -- till you go to Norbury Park, & I make you a visit there. --

A sad shake of my Head was all my answer, -- but he did not see it, nor move his Eyes [xxxxx *I word*] towards me: & presently he added "That is your Hope! -- to go there, & to Mickleham! -- we must all have something to which we look forward, - something to hope -- is it not so? -- & is not this your hope?"<sup>130</sup>

Still I made no answer, -- but a poor sigh! --

He grew graver, -- & said "To meet [xxxxx *I word*] here -- till you look forward to meet -- hereafter." --

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of all things the most painful' " (Berg; see also *HFB* 204). Burke eventually regained the Burneys' affection after his 1790 *Reflections on the French Revolution* (*HFB* 225).

<sup>129</sup> SBP's letter to FB of Wednesday, 13 February 1789 mentioned that the Lockes were preparing for a trip (AL, Berg, 4 pp., 1 4to). In a letter to SBP dated 14 February, FB wrote: "The sight, or expectation of one of Them, from time to time, has kept me alive, & still keeps me so. -- Tis, however, a very short portion of my time that is so relieved: & now -- that I look forward to the vicinity of Mr. Locke & my Fredy, an unkindly spirit of murmuring is ready to creep on, -- & I begin already to feel far less submissive to this state of banishment and confinement" (AL, Berg, 2 pp., 1 4to). FB would eventually see the Locks, but only on 12 March, when she would make an excursion into town (Berg).

<sup>130</sup> According to *HFB*, even after FB retired from her position on 7 July 1791, it was only after the Queen's Birthday in January 1793 when "Fanny at last came to Norbury Park" and Mickleham (229-30). She stayed there until February when she left for Chessington and Chelsea and then returned for her 28 July 1793 marriage to Alexandre d'Arblay. The couple then "secured rooms in a farmhouse, Phenice Farm, at the top of Bagden Hill, a stiff walk from Norbury Park or Mickleham and about a mile from Bookham" (241) until November 1793 when they moved to Fairfield Place in Bookham, which was still within walking distance of Norbury Park and Mickleham. See *HFB* 223-41, 246.

"O, cried I, could I but be sure to meet them here after! -- to go where they go! -- I think I should be quite content " --

"Why no, cried he, smiling, not quite! -- some thing -- some little thing -- would yet be wanting for the mean time!"

"Well -- yes, -- I am afraid that is true! -- the en attendant would always want some relief."

He begged me, when I had read the pamphlet, if he should not return to claim it, which was uncertain, to give it to Mr. Smelt.

[3695]

However, in the Evening I carried these characters, to Mrs. Schwellenberg, & to wile away the time, read them. She abruptly asked "Who gave you them? --" I calmly answered "Mr<. Digby >."

Why should I fear to speak his name? -- < I fear it only with Mr. Smelt! -- because in him I see such a complication of meaning! -- Were his meaning confined to his words, -- he would utter such! -- I feel that, from the whole of his disposition. And that doubles the embarrassment of his attacks.-- 'Tis so hard how to clear so much! -- >

When I came to Tea, I found Mr<. Digby > waiting in my Room. He had left [xxxxx / word] for Richmond Park, but only dined there. I was surprised a little to see him. "You did not, he cried, expect me? -- but I told Columb only to call you to your Tea as usual, & not to name me, lest Mrs. Schwellenberg should invite me!"



I was vexed enough at this, -- Columb already most evidently looks upon him with an evil Eye!<sup>131</sup> Surely, of all men upon Earth, he has the least attended to the opinions & surmises of servants! -- or else he defies them; -- but I am not quite clear it is consonant with his generosity of character to defy them for another! He sometimes perplexes me on this subject very unpleasantly. Yet so sure I feel

[3696]

he intends right, & means right, that I always conclude with believing he has some mode of reasoning which justifies it all.

We had much discuss of state business: the King is so much himself, that he is soon to be informed of the general situation of the Kingdom!<sup>132</sup> -- O what an information! -- how we all tremble in looking forward to it! -- Mr. < Digby > thinks Mr. Smelt the fittest man for this office! -- Mr. Smelt thinks the same of Mr. < Digby >: both have told me this.

< My poor Miss Port was our next discussion: & he lamented her haste with the deepest compassion. He knows but too much of the varied circumstances which render it worthy pity: yet he knows not [xxxxx 7 1/2 lines]<sup>133</sup>

<sup>131</sup> On 12 December 1788, FB reported: "Columb, I cannot tell for what reason, has conceived a most apparent & decided antipathy to Mr. Digby; he hates to have him call upon me, & never, when he can help it, will either do any thing for him, or even deliver me his Compliments" (Berg).

<sup>132</sup> On 16 February in the House of Lords, the Regency Bill was read a second time and then committed to a Committee of the whole House, which was scheduled for the next day. The Committee was resolved on 17 February and Lord Walsingham reported that "a Progress was made" with the Bill and that they would continue with the Committee on the morrow (*JHL* xxxviii. 356; *Cobbett* xxvii. 1274-75).

<sup>133</sup> A few disjointed words and phrases are visible within the next 7 1/2 lines. It appears as though FB, as GMAP's friend, refused to think highly of Colonel Goldsworthy because of his "selfish conduct."

Then again the [xxxxx *1 or 2 words*] (most) opposite of Men, Mr. Lock came into play; -- I told him, plumply, I believed Him a Man without blemish.

He repeated my words with emphatic surprise. "At  
[3697]

least, I cried, there is no fault in him I have ever seen, -- nor yet, that amongst his acquaintance, I have ever heard mentioned."

"What a character!" he exclaimed; & again, forgetting the long delay he had proposed in the morning, he declared he must know him. He asked me various particulars of his way of life; I sketched it all out, with that delight which such a subject communicates to all my ideas, & he is now perfectly well informed of the whole system of Norbury Park.

He began soon to look at his watch, -- complaining very much of the new Ceremony imposed of this attendance of Handing, which, he said, broke into his whole Evening. Yet he does as little as possible. "The rest of them, he said, think it necessary to wait in an adjoining apartment during the whole interview, to be ready to shew themselves when it is over! --"

He now sat with his watch in his hand, dreading to pass his time, but determined not to anticipate its occupation, till half past 9 o'clock, when he drew on his white Chamberlain Gloves, ready for action. But then, stopping short, [& fixing me], he desired me to guess whom, amongst my acquaintance, he had met in London this last time of his going thither. I could not guess whom he meant -- but  
[3698]

I saw it was no common person, by his manner -- He then continued -- "A Tall, thin, -- meagre -- sallow -- black-Eyed -- penetrating -- keen-looking figure --"

I could still not guess, -- & he named Mr. Windham.<sup>134</sup>

"Mr. Windham! I exclaimed, no, indeed, -- you do not describe him fairly, -- he merits better colouring."

He accuses me of being very partial to him, -- however, I am angry enough with him just now -- though firmly persuaded, still, that whatever has fallen from him, that is wrong & unfeeling, on the subject of the Regency, has been the effect of his [xxxxx *I word*] enthusiastic friendship for Mr. Burke, for he has never rose, on this cruel business, but in support of that most misguided of vehement & wild orators. This I have observed in the debates: & felt that Mr. Burke was not more run away with by violence of Temper,<sup>135</sup> & passion, than Mr. Windham by excess of fond friendship & for admiration.<sup>136</sup>

<sup>134</sup> William Windham (1750-1810), scholar and mathematician, devoted friend of Dr. Johnson; M.P. for City of Norwich (1784-1802). FB had met William Windham, probably in 1782/3, when she frequented the house of a Mary Monckton (Berg: 13 February 1788, 4 August 1788). During the 1788 trial of Warren Hastings, Windham sat with FB on 13 February, at which time she noted: "[H]e is one of the most agreeable, spirited, well bred, & [xxxxx *I word*] brilliant Conversers I have ever spoken with. He is a neighbour, too, now, of Charlotte's [Burney]. He is member for Norwich, & a [xxxxx *I word*] Man of family & fortune, with a very pleasing though not handsome Face, a very elegant figure, & an Air of fashion & vivacity." She was sorry at the Trial "to see him made one of a set that appeared so inveterate against a Man I believe so injuriously treated . . ." (Berg). See *JL* i. 4 n.15 for an explanation of why Windham usually appeared as "Capt. Ball" in FB's MS; although not in this selection. (*JL* i. 3 n.11; Namier, iii. 648-50; see also Berg: 13 February 1788).

<sup>135</sup> Namier, ii. 152 indicates that Burke may have been "disturbed," citing numerous examples: Horace Walpole's 1782 description of Burke: "In truth, it had been suspected for above a year that his intellects and sensations had mutually overheated each other . . ." (from Horace Walpole's journal entry for 1 July 1782: *Last Jnls.* ii. 453); Boswell's conversation with Johnson when Burke was presented as "actually mad" (from James Boswell, *Private Pprs.* xv. 234); and Lord John Townhend's recollection of "Burke's ungovernable temper" (from *Fox Corr.* ii. 27).

<sup>136</sup> William Windham, like his mentor Burke, supported the Opposition's case, which advocated the right of the Prince of Wales to be Regent without restriction (Namier, iii. 650; *DNB* xxi. 644).

Mr<. Digby > has, I fancy, been very intimate with him, for he told me he observed he was passing him, in Queen Ann Street, & stopt his Horse, to call out "O ho, Windham! so I see you will not know me with this Servant!"

He was on business of the Queen's, & had one of the Royal Grooms with him.

Mr. Windham laughed, & said he was very glad to

[3699]

see who it was, for, on looking at the Royal Servant, he had just been going to make his lowest Bow. --

"O, I thank you! returned Mr. < Digby >, -- you took me, then, for the Duke of Cumberland. --"<sup>137</sup>

He then explained the reason of his attendant, & then after a little general conversation, without once touching upon politics, they parted . . .

We talked about him a good while; my high admiration of his talents, his style of conversation, & the mingled animation & delicacy of his manners, I enlarged upon without scruple; adding that I should not feel it so strongly, but from a fixed belief, founded on reason & information, that his internal character was amongst the noblest ever formed.

He did not return again: he had business with Lady Charlotte Finch.

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<sup>137</sup> Henry Frederick (1745-90), 4<sup>th</sup> son of Frederick, Prince of Wales, and Augusta, daughter of Friedrich, Duke of Saxe Gotha; brother of King George III; *cr.* (1766) Earl of Dublin [I] and Duke of Cumberland and Strathearn, [GB]; Navy Admiral of the White (1782); P.C. (1766); K.G. (1767); F.R.S. (Jan. 1789) (GEC, *Peerage* iii. 573-74 and notes; *RRS* 434). Lord Melbourne in 1840 described him as "a little man and gay" (cited in GEC, *Peerage* iii. 574 n.b).

Feb: 17<sup>th</sup>. The times are now most interesting & critical. Dr. Willis confided in me this morning that to Day the King is to see the Chancellor! -- How important will be the result of his appearance! -- the whole national fate depends upon it! --

Mr. Smelt has had his first interview also; -- it was all smooth; but, to himself, deeply affecting.

< In my walk, by the Road side, at noon, I heard a quick step running behind me, -- & presently the voice of Mr. Digby called out "How excessively fast does Miss  
>

[3670]

< Burney walk!"

He immediately joined me. He was going to Richmond Park: but he ordered his Groom to walk his Horses to the end of the Green.

He had much to communicate: -- The meeting with the Chancellor was over -- & had passed admirably! -- Thank God! -- that makes all smile at once! -- He related all the particulars, & the plans thence-forming.

I had a Dialogue also with Sir Lucas Pepys, &, in accompanying him through the Hall, we met Dr. Warren!<sup>138</sup> -- "O ho, Miss Burney! cried he, -- What, -- Tete à

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<sup>138</sup> Richard Warren (1731-97), M.D. (Cambridge, 1762), the most sought-after society doctor of the time. In *RK 1789*, Dr. Warren was "Physician in Ordinary to George III" (beg. 1762) and listed in the "Physical Department" of the Prince of Wales' Household (beg. 1787) (90, 277). (See also William Munk, *The Roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (1878), ii. 242-47; *Alumni Cantab.* i. iv. 341; *GM* lxvii. ii. 616-17; Macalpine, 26 and n.; Brooke, 326; *Wraxall's Mem.* v. 199 and n.). Lady Harcourt recorded that the King "had a particular objection" to Warren and that when Warren first tried to enter the ailing King's room the King had said: "You may come here as an acquaintance but not as *my* physician; no man can serve two masters; you are the Prince of Wales' physician, you cannot be mine." (Macalpine, 26 cites Lady Harcourt, *Harcourt Papers* (Oxford, 1880), iv. 25-28). Wraxall also described how "Dr. Warren's partialities decidedly leaned towards the heir-apparent, and his Royal Highness was known to regard him with

Tete with Sir Lucas? -- this is the second time I have surprised you! -- I shall surely inform Dr. Burney, -- nay, I shall whisper it to Lady Rothes. -- <sup>139</sup>

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extraordinary predilection as well as to repose the utmost confidence in his opinion" (*Wraxall's Mem.* v. 199). After being refused admittance by the King, Warren rushed to the Prince of Wales' and opined to the Prince that the King was near death and that even if he did not die, there was little chance that he would recover from his delirium (Brooke, 326-27; see also his examination before a Committee of the House of Commons from 7 to 13 January 1789, *JHC* xliv. 47-87). Warren later told a Committee of the House of Commons on 12 January 1789 that that although initially he was in "great Disfavour at Windsor," he was now in "great Favour," which contradicted Lady Harcourt's observation that "[s]imilar marks of dislike were shewn [Warren] by the King throughout the whole course of his illness" (*JHC* xliv. 75 and Macalpine, 26 cites Lady Harcourt, *Harcourt Papers* (Oxford, 1880), iv. 25-28).

According to FB, on 6 November 1788, "Dr. Warren had been sent for Express, in the middle of the Night, at the desire of Sir George Baker, because he had been taken ill himself, & felt unequal to the whole toil." When Warren had arrived, the King had "refused him admittance," but he was able to gather information from Baker. FB had "expected every moment Dr. Warren would bring her Majesty his opinion" but "he neither came nor sent." Instead, "with the other two physicians," Warren "had left the House too far to be recalled" and "gone over to the Castle -- to the Prince of Wales!" (Berg). As the new "Head Physician," Dr. Warren's preferment of the Prince over the Queen anticipated the Regency Crisis and reduced the Queen to a non-political power who did not need to be informed or considered. It was after a conference on this date, that the Royal Physicians, who clearly deferred to Dr. Warren (Macalpine, 26), decided that "Her Majesty would remove to a more distant Apartment, since the King would undoubtedly be worse from the agitation of seeing her, & there could be no possibility to prevent it, while she remained so near" (Berg; see also Macalpine, 26-27; *JHC* xliv. 75).

FB had first met Dr. Warren on 9 November 1788 when "[i]n coming early from the Queen's Apartment this Morning, [she] was addressed by a Gentleman, who enquired how [she] did by [her] name; but [her] bewilderment made him obliged to tell his own before [she] could recollect him. It was Dr. Warren." When she "eagerly expressed [her] hopes & satisfaction in his attendance upon the poor King," "he would not enter upon that subject." FB "saw, by his whole manner, he held it imprudent to speak with [her] about the only subject on which [she] wished to talk, the King." (Berg). Although an important figure, Dr. Warren did not appear often in FB's journals during the 1788-89 illness of the King.

<sup>139</sup> Jane Elizabeth Leslie (1750-1810), *suo jure* Countess of Rothes [S] and Baroness Leslie and Bambreigh (1775); daughter of John Leslie (c.1698-1767), 10<sup>th</sup> Earl of Rothes, and Hannah Howard (d.1761); m. 1 (1766), by Lic. Bp. London, George Raymond Evelyn (d.1770); m. 2 (1772), as his first wife, Sir Lucas Pepys, MD (1742-1830). When her brother, John Leslie (1744-73), the 11<sup>th</sup> Earl of Rothes, died without issue, she served as heir of entail in the Earldom of Rothes and Lordship of Leslie. Her uncle Andrew, the eighth and only surviving son of John Leslie, the 9<sup>th</sup> Earl of Rothes, contested her right to the titles and estates; however, the Court of Session ruled in her favour on 4 March 1774 and the House of Lords affirmed the decision on 10 May of the same year. (GEC, *Peerage* xi. 203-05; *GM* lxxx. i. 670).

Mrs. Boscawen wrote on 30 September 1772 regarding Lady Rothes' marriage to Sir Lucas Pepys ("a gentleman by birth, and certainly by education and manners; his character, too is excellent"): "One cannot but think it an *unequal match!*" (cited in *Delany Corr.*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ser., i. 463).

I was glad, however, to see him so good humoured upon the subject: he is himself a Person perfectly enigmatical to me, on this occasion, -- his general character previous to these times -- & his particular conduct during them, considered.

Afterwards, I made my congratulations to Mr. & Mrs. Cambridge,<sup>140</sup> at Twickenham, whither I sent them by Columb: for this Day Mr. Charles was married to Mrs. Cockrayne.<sup>141</sup> How sincerely do I hope the nuptials may be as happy to that worthy family as I am sure they are honourable & disinterested. >

[3701]

< [xxxxx 6½ lines]

I wrote also to poor Miss Port, -- her Day is approaching. --

[xxxxx 1 word] >

I am very sorry to say I am satisfied a certain Cerbera has lamented my elopements to the Princess Royal; there is an evident change, & coldness of a high sort, in that lately so condescending Princess! -- I am quite grieved at this. But I will not pay a mean Court, for which I should despise my own self, in order to conciliate with a Person whom I have never offended, but by running away from her when affronted myself. -- I will rather risk every consequence. Time, I think, must stand my Friend.

[3702]

Kew Palace

Liv<sup>re</sup> 3<sup>eme</sup>.

<sup>140</sup> Richard Owen Cambridge (1717-1802), wit and author of *The Scribleriad* (1751); m. (1740) Mary Trenchard (c. 1717-1806), daughter of George Trenchard of Woolveton, Dorset (*EJL* iii. 214 n.21, *YW* xi. 16 n.20; *GM* lxxii. ii. 977-78, lxxvi. ii. 982).

<sup>141</sup> Charles Owen Cambridge (1754-1847), second son of Richard Owen Cambridge, m. Catherine Pitcairn (d.1835), widow of Major Charles Cochrane (1749-81) on 17 February (*JL* i. 174 n.70), confirmed by *AR* xxxi. Chronicle, 234.

1789.

February.

Wednesday, 18<sup>th</sup>. I had this morning the highest gratification, the purest feeling of delight I have been regaled (forth) with for many months: -- I saw, from the Road, the King & Queen, accompanied by Dr. Willis, walking in Richmond Garden, near the Farm, arm in arm! -- It was a pleasure that quite melted me, -- after a separation so bitter, scenes so distrustful -- to witness such harmony & security! -- Heaven bless & preserve them! was all I could say while I kept in their sight.

I was in the carriage with Mrs. Schwellenberg at the time; she overtook me on the road, & invited me in: I knew she would be offended at refusal.

They saw us also, as I heard afterwards from the Queen.

I had very plea(san)t & < chearful answers > to Day from Twickenham. How ear<nestly> do I hope they have found a road for happiness.

In the Evening, Mrs. Arline, Mrs. Schwellenberg's maid,<sup>142</sup> came into the room, after Coffee, & said, to me, "If you please, ma'am, somebody wants you. --"

I concluded it my shoe-maker, or the like; but in my room I saw Mr<. Digby. >

A good deal surprised, "how came you? I cried, & when?"

"Did you not know I was here?" he answered; "I took the liberty to send."

[3703]

"But who did you send?"

"A maiden -- that I met with -- not your's. --"

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<sup>142</sup> FB described Mrs. Arline as "a poor humble thing" on 19 June 1787. She does not appear in *The Royal Kalendar* (1789), 86-102, 277-78.



I longed to say And did you bid her say somebody, & not Mr. < Digby >? --  
 But really it is curious! -- What will all these servants say to themselves?<sup>143</sup> it is truly  
 distressful to me that this never occurs to Mr. < Digby >. My giving him a caution is  
 impossible. I must sooner run every risk under Heaven, than put it in his head myself  
 there is any risk to run. -- yet I wish it would occur to him! -- & I wonder it can fail! --

He was in high spirits. He had seen his Majesty; Dr. Willis had carried him in.  
 He was received with open arms, & embraced, -- he found nothing now remaining of  
 the disorder, but too much hurry of spirits.

When he had related the particulars of the interview, he suddenly exclaimed  
 "How amazingly well you have borne all this!" & then made a quick transition to a  
 subject of all others to me the most (tender) & dangerous, my mode of life, & its  
 agreement with my inclinations.

I made some short answers, & would have taken refuge in some other topic:  
 but he seemed bent upon pursuing his own: & started various questions & surmizes,  
 to draw me on.

In vain, however; I gave but general, or evasive answers. I have objections  
 insuperable to opening

[3704]

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<sup>143</sup> FB's maid, Goter, would enlighten FB on 10 February, see MS BELOW. This was not the first time that a "report" about FB's impending marriage was the subject of servants' gossip; on 28 October, 1789, FB noted: "I have been vexed again, & much astonished, at hearing, from Goter, the continuation of that eternal report about myself; -- she has seen a Letter from the Sister of Miss Gomme's Maid, saying 'Mrs. Goter would soon lose her place at Court, as Miss Burney was going to be married to Mr. Cambridge.' . . . I charged Goter most strenuously to contradict the assertion. 'O ma'am, she cried, I did not believe it, -- but Miss Gomme's Maid says she has heard it not from one, but from hundreds & hundreds! --' " (Berg).

upon this matter, -- & owning, -- to him especially, the total distaste of my inmost Mind to the destiny allotted to my existence.

He pursued it, however, with very unusual perseverance: & so far, that, at last, I frankly said "This is a subject I must not touch upon, Mr. < Digby >!"

He looked at me, more curious than surprised; & yet gave not the matter up; but as it led to some general reflections upon happiness & quiet, in which he asked me some question about [xxxxx / word] Shedding Tears, -- whether they were a relief, or not, to a sorrowing mind? Not liking the subject, to get off, I ridiculously enough exclaimed "I never shed any!"

"No! cried he, with an incredulous laugh, & do you expect to be believed?"

I made some sort of slight unmeaning answer, -- &, presently after, a little seriously, he said "There is no drawing you to any confession! -- You ward off every thing! -- You will speak to nothing but mere generals."

"Perhaps, cried I, laughing, I may avoid coming to the point, upon this subject, lest you should think my opinions -- misbecoming! --"

"But I should particularly be glad to know, cried he, with vivacity, "what it is you think I should judge misbecoming?"

[3705]

"Why -- not crimes alone ! -- I do not think you wait for serious evil only to judge things misbecoming: -- but -- in short, I have something to propose I prefer to this disquisition --"

And I suddenly put before him Young's Works,<sup>144</sup> which I had borrowed of Mr. Smelt.

He looked far from satisfied: but could not, here, help himself. Was I the (stonter,) I wonder, for recollecting a flattery I wish to verify of Mr. Windham's? --  
Yours is a mind superior to complaining, --? --

No, -- not here; for with Mr<. Digby > it would be a confidence [to] relieve me, -- were not all my trust -- & my pleasure in it -- so frequently checked, by inexplicable circumstances of doubt as to his own feelings.

Young, he said, was an Author not to read on, but dip in, & reflect upon, in times of solitude & sadness.

Nevertheless, he opened & read.

What a nobleness of expression, when noble, has this Poet! what exquisite feeling! what forcible ideas! --

A little before 9 o'clock he arose; he said he should be much here next week, "But now, he added, slowly moving off, I must go, with regret, -- I need not say -- but Duty calls! -- To morrow morning I shall go so early I shall hardly be able to see you; but

[3706]

on Friday I come again -- & shall hope to get a glimpse of you -- "

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Thursday, 19<sup>th</sup>. This is my poor young Friends Bridal Day! -- I have written to her, --  
--with [xxxxxx 3-4 words] ! -- Heaven send her happier [xxxxxx 3-4 words]

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<sup>144</sup> Edward Young (1683-1765), poet, author of *The Complaint: Or Night-Thoughts on Life*,

Dr. Willis this morning gave me a crambo song,<sup>145</sup> on his own name,<sup>146</sup> which he has received by the Penny Post.<sup>147</sup> I shall copy & shew it you. It is sportive enough, & loyal.

Mr. < Digby > called for a few minutes, before he went away, & borrowed it: he has a destination for it -- very useful, which, in confidence, he communicated.

This, however, was a sweet, & will prove a most memorable Day: The Regency was put off, in the House of Lords, by a motion from the Chancellor!<sup>148</sup>

Huzza! Huzza! --

And this Evening, for the first Time, the King came up stairs, to drink Tea with the Queen & Princesses in the Drawing Room! --<sup>149</sup>

Death, and Immortality (1742-50) (*New Camb.* ii. 494).

<sup>145</sup> Crambo refers to "[a] game in which one player gives a word or line of verse to which each of the others has to find a rime" (*OED*). Part of this sentence is quoted in the *OED* as an example of a crambo-song.

<sup>146</sup> Not found in *DL*, *YW*, *HFB*, *GM*, *Annual Register*, *Wraxall's Mem.*, Papendiek and is likely not extant because it was probably not in wide circulation. Although FB promised Susan that she would copy the song, it was not seen in the Berg MS and FB's next non-journal letter to Susan of 20 March does not mention it (*AL*, Berg, 4 pp., 1 4to).

<sup>147</sup> For a penny, a letter could be sent to anywhere in the London area (Frances Burney, *Cecilia, or Memoirs of an Heiress*, eds. Peter Sabor and Margaret Anne Doody, *The World's Classics* (Oxford, 1988), 978, n. for p.227). According to Cecil Aspinall-Oglander in *Admiral's Widow*, 2<sup>nd</sup> imp. (1943), "[t]hough postage rates at the end of the eighteenth century were not expensive, it was apparently looked upon as almost a point of honour to evade their payment on every possible occasion. Nor was this difficult, for all that had to be done was to get your package franked by a Member of Parliament or a peer, or, failing this, to address your letter to one of those dignitaries and arrange with him to forward it on, which he could do free of charge, to the proper addressee" (128). FB often had letters franked; as early as 1780-81, there is extant evidence of franking on her letters by Sir Philip Jennings Clerke and by Henry Thrale (Berg). See *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce* (1790) for the "rates of postage of single letters" in England (36). When letters could not be franked, or forwarded, the recipient of the letter paid the postage (Cecil Aspinall-Oglander, *Admiral's Widow*, 2<sup>nd</sup> imp. (1943), 128).

<sup>148</sup> FB was referring to a speech that Lord Thurlow had made that morning in the House of Lords, then in turmoil over the Regency Crisis, in which he announced that because the King's doctors had declared the King to be in a state of recovery, it would improper and indecent for the House to continue with the Regency Bill (*Cobbett* xxvii. 1292; *Burke Corr.* v. 448 n.4).

My Heart was so full of joy & thankfulness, I could hardly breathe! -- Heaven  
 -- Heaven be praised! --

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Frida<y, 20<sup>th</sup>. This morning unkindly opened with a very > unexpecte<d

disappointment: my dearest Friends were > in Town -- < & I discovered I could not  
 see them! -- >

I will not < here recapitulate my sorrow & displeasure & > surprise upon this -  
 - unnecessary -- nay, < cruel privation -- >

[3707]

I < have said so much of it in my Letters that > I will here < proceed on by to what is yet  
 unsaid. >

I had another morning visit from Mr. < Digby >, who told me a world of  
 Regency business,<sup>150</sup> & who made sundry arrangements in my room, to temper it's  
 heat, -- saying he must take care of my nerves. --

I have not mentioned meeting with Colonel Manners<sup>151</sup> on the Green, in one of  
 my Walks; who galloped up to me, eagerly begging some account of my interview  
 with the King, which he said he had heard of in London! --<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> He would do the same on the next two evenings, as FB reported in a letter to CB dated 24 February: "The sweet Princesses are in continual transport -- 3 Evenings following the King has now spent up-stairs with his family, & none other but the good old Doctor Willis" (AL, Berg, 4 pp., 1 4to).

<sup>150</sup> By 20 February, the Regency Bill had been read twice in the House of Lords (*JHL* xxxviii. 356-57).

<sup>151</sup> Robert Manners (1758-1823); Equerry to the King (1784-1801); Captain-Lieutenant and Lieutenant-Colonel 3<sup>rd</sup> Ft. Guards (1787); M.P. for Great Bedwyn, Wiltshire (1784-90) (Namier, iii. 107-08).

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< Friday, 21<sup>st</sup>. This morning, while Mr. Smelt was still with me, during my Breakfast, & hearing my now chearing account, came a tap at my Door, -- the foot-step had already announced who it was; & Mr. Smelt sat silently watchful.

"Who's there?" I called out. --

"Mr. Digby. May he enter?"

"Yes." He opened the Door; & Mr. Smelt, then, with a very exulting voice & laugh, called out "Here's one before you! --"

I began sundry civil enquiries, to silence him: but > he < is truly incorrigible; & before Mr. Digby could well > ans<wer me, he said, with an air of much humility, > "You see, < however, I keep my distance! --" >

[3708]

< His Chair was some way from my Breakfast Table.

"Yes, Sir, cried Mr. Digby, rallying in his turn, -- but my footstep is heard a great way off! --"

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<sup>152</sup> In a letter to CB dated 3 February, one day after her encounter with the King, FB was "all astonished how Mrs. Boscawen heard her tale -- for it is all true!" (ALS, Berg, 4 pp., 1 4to, pm. FE 13 89). Mrs. Boscawen, was residing in Richmond, Surrey at the time; thus, because the "tale" had so rapidly crossed over the Thames (probably the same day) despite the confinement at Kew, FB should not have been so surprised (as her exclamation mark indicates) that Manners had heard of it in London on the 20<sup>th</sup>. There were no published reports of the encounter in *The London Gazette*, *Daily Adv*, *The London Chronicle*, *GM* or *AR*.

After a little chat upon all sort of things, Mr. Smelt abruptly rose, & was making off, french-fashion,<sup>153</sup> but Mr. Digby hastily joined him, scarce bowing, not to be left.

Mr. Smelt, stopping short, & laughing, while he held the Door in his hand, cried "Nay -- you won't go yet?"

"Yes, he answered, I must --"

"That's really -- cruel! --" he muttered; & then they both turned, & bowed together: but Mr. Smelt bolted forwards first, & Mr. Digby stopt to say that if he remained till the Evening, he should beg leave to see me again, to Tea. All here wish me joy of Miss Port's marriage! -- O may She find joy in it!

At night, when my tap came, Mr. Smelt said "you go?" = "Yes! = " "To what?" = "My Tea. = " And to whom?" = "To nobody!" = "

Once more, my dear Friends, what should I do, if my poor Heart was entangled in all that seems suspected! -- But then -- if Mr. Smelt saw serious distress, he >

[3709]

< would be quiet.

I was literally alone: as he soon found, for he made a pretence, & came to me himself. >

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<sup>153</sup> FB was referring to "French leave," the 18th-century French and sometimes English practice of departing from a party or a reception without taking leave of the host/hostess. "*To take French*

22<sup>d</sup>. Sunday. When I came to my Tea, I found Mr. <Dig>by quietly sitting in my room, & reading a sermon of Walker's,<sup>154</sup> which had been lent me by Mrs. Smelt.

He had only arrived late to Dinner. There had been a fête given for the Birth Day of his nephew, Lord C(hi)nthaven,<sup>155</sup> son to Lord Ilchester,<sup>156</sup> & his little Girl<sup>157</sup> had been of the party. He was full of communication about his Children, & of wishes I should see them, < especially Kenelm. He [xxxxxx 3-4 words] for Letty Churchyard(s) [xxxxxx 1½ lines] >

He began next to enquire if I took care of myself -- to [xxxxxx 1 word] wish he had the fattening of me, -- & protest if he lived with me he would not rest without succeeding. --

I got him Young, as better matter of discussion; -- he put it down, smiling, & said "No, no, -- read? -- I like better to converse; -- I can read alone; -- I would rather talk, -- with You! --"

*leave*" is generally to leave or to do something "without permission or notice." (OED).

<sup>154</sup> Probably Revd. Robert Walker (1716-83). A 4-volume edition of his sermons appeared from 1784-96 and were popular (Ed. G.B. Hill, *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., v. 573).

<sup>155</sup> There is no record of this name or this title. FB must be referring to Henry Stephen Fox-Strangways (1787-1858), Lord Stavordale (1787-1802), later 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Ilchester (1802), because he is the only surviving son in 1789 of Lord Ilchester (see n.156 BELOW). Also, Lord Stavordale's birthday was 21 February, which matches this MS since it is conceivable that the "fête" given for his second birthday could have occurred the day after the real event. Lord Stavordale's father, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Lord Ilchester, was the brother of Lucy Fox-Strangways, Digby's late wife, thus Lord Stavordale was Digby's nephew by marriage. (GEC, *Peerage* vii. 47; Burke (1970), 1409)

<sup>156</sup> Henry Thomas Fox-Strangways (1747-1802); 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Ilchester (1776); Captain of the 24<sup>th</sup> Foot (1771); formerly M.P. for Midhurst, Sussex (1768-74). The connection here, in 1789, is through Stephen Digby's late wife, Lucy Fox-Strangways. (GEC, *Peerage* vii. 47; Burke (1970), 1409)

<sup>157</sup> Charlotte-Elizabeth (1778-1820); later Maid of Honour to Queen Charlotte; m. (1803) her first cousin, the Revd. William Digby (b.1774), Prebendary of Worcester, son of the Very Revd. William Digby, Dean of Durham, who was the elder brother of Charlotte's father, Stephen Digby (Lodge (1845), 173).



I was struck -- almost thunder-struck with his manner, -- his voice had a gentleness, & his looks a kindness, that seemed to portend his desire to talk would be gratified by no common subjects: -- I felt much alarmed -- & O how disturbed within what might follow, -- & at what I ought to do! --

My usual expediency, a rapid talk, & frequent change

[3710]

of subject, I flew to immediately -- the Harcourts, the Smelts, -- all I could suggest.

When I named the Smelts, he said he would drink Tea there some Evening this Week, -- "And you -- he added -- You, I suppose, -- could not do such a thing for the World?"

Very true, thought I, (as) to go & meet you There! No, I said, my best friends, the Locke family, were now in Town, & if any license was granted me, it must be for them.

"I am very glad they are so near! cried he; it must be such a cheer to you! And will they come here? --"

"They will, cried I sorrowfully, if they may! --"

This was then talked over -- & sadly enough! --

"Well! cried he, at Norbury Park I must know them, -- when I come -- to see you there! --"

I shook my Head --

"Why would such a scheme be -- --"

"Impossible! cried I, neither more nor less, in my situation here."

"But surely that is -- very hard! -- a confinement such as this --"

I got up, -- to get a Book! --

He took out his Letter case; & after looking it over some time, shewed me a little folded leaf, opening only one corner, & saying, very archly "Do you know -- this hand? --"

I saw it was my manuscript; I started forward, & caught hold of it, -- "O yes! I cried, & pray give it me! --"

[3711]

Looking extremely surprised, "You would not, he cried, be so ungenerous? --" And grasped it so firmly I could not rescue it. I held it, however, still, though I could not draw it away, declaring it was my property, & I had long impatiently waited its restitution.<sup>158</sup>

"And what for?" cried he, still resisting, though so gently I thought every moment he meant to give way. --

"No matter for what, cried I; -- let me but have it! -- "

"You have another, cried he, you told me so."

"Yes; but you have had this long enough, I answered, & I never meant you should have it so long."

"You will tear it! --" cried he

"I do not regard that, -- if I tear nothing else. --"

Upon this, he eagerly disengaged it wholly, -- & putting it up, & pressing it between the leaves with both hands, he emphatically uttered -- almost to himself -- "I

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<sup>158</sup> On 21 January 1789, FB finally ceded to Digby's dogged requests that she show him her manuscript of a "poor prayer" which she had composed: "He held out his Hand with an eagerness

would not -- part with it --! --" & then, turning to me, & more in a common way, he added "to night -- not to night -- I cannot give it you to night. -- I had no more idea of your seizing it than --"

"Than I had of your retaining it!" quoth I --

He begged me to give him some more Tea, protesting I had so nearly torn it from him, that it had made him dry with fright.

"Well, I cried, laughing, -- for this was no time to be serious! -- I have one consolation, -- it is written in the third Person, & therefore if you use it, I know who you must pray for! --"

[3712]

"O! cried he, with a look of the most animated pleasure, but I always pray for my Friends! --"

"But -- after all, Mr<. Digby, > I cried, this is not -- quite fair! --"

He told me, with a laugh, he broke no promise! -- O, I answered, how firm a one I would have had, had I known better what I was about! but I had never dreamt of his keeping it.

He, now, went in search of a Book! -- & read on from Young all the time he stayed -- not ceasing even for a comment. --

< He went early, [xxxxx 3-4 words], but said he would endeavour to come again,

"Though I hope, he cried, at the Door, you have forgot what you struggled for? -- "

He did not wait my answer; nor return.

---

unequalled to receive it, speechless he seemed with impatience." He placed it in his "favourite Pocket Book" (Berg).

Need I say what a new revolution of opinion this Scene has brought about? --  
this high value to my little paper -- & the whole manner of the Evening: --

Heaven direct me! is all I can say! -- & that I am fearfully uttering all Day  
long: a mind less able to develop [*sic*] what is best for itself there is not! --

Nor could you help me, my dearest Friends, if now you knew all! -- I feel that  
so forcibly, I wish to hold back present communication.

When he said -- "I would not . . . part with it! --" he cast upwards his Eyes, as  
if making a vow to Heaven! I never saw him in such emotion before -- >

[3713]

< Monday, 23<sup>d</sup>. Another faint effort to see my dear Friends again was  
disappointed! -- ! --

When I came to my Tea, at night, which I did very late, having been detained  
to a Game at picquet<sup>159</sup> till M<sup>lle</sup>. Montmollin arrived, I found M<sup>r</sup>. Digby quietly  
making memorandums! He had been waiting three quarters of an Hour! -- He had  
told Columb, -- but Columb had declined calling me! --

This is very disagreeable; yet I chuse not the ado in the House of reprimanding  
him. He has conceived a settled aversion to Mr. Digby! --

I was sorry to have him lose so much time, & I really think this way even  
worse than sending, -- for it seems so undue a patience! --

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<sup>159</sup> Piquet: "A card-game played by two persons with a pack of 32 cards (the low cards from the two to the six being excluded), in which points are scored on various groups or combinations of cards, and on tricks" (*OED*). It was Mrs. Schwellenberg's favourite evening pastime and she often exhorted FB to join her picquet table (Berg).

He never received me with a pleasure so expressive -- no thought had he excited last night, that his immediate opening did not confirm! -- how penetrated I felt, -- yet how sad! -- how agitated! --

He enquired minutely about my Health, -- both of body & mind, [xxxxxx 4 words: and did so xxxxx?] with the liveliest interest.

To talk of some one else, I produced a Letter, which I had received but not read, from Miss Port, -- it came just before Din(ner): & a Letter, here, is no apology for one > min<ute's delay of appearance. I read to him here > & ther<e a paragraph, - & let him, at his most earnest > desir<e, read some parts himself. I cannot tell to what >

*[unnumbered page joined to 3712/3 by centre fold of Booklet 3: side a]*

< to attribute his excessive eagerness for this gratification, as he repeatedly gave me to understand he could not possibly feel it on her account, [xxxxxx 1 word?] as he wished her. I am sure I know not what it could have to do with me! -- However, though he disclaimed any personal & particular care about her, save as she was young, pretty, & distressed, (he said), he yet expressed himself quite touched with the warmth even to enthusiasm of her partial friendship, & was almost angry with me that I could burn so affectionate a Letter, -- which I did, on account of some of its contents being most seriously unfit to keep.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> A foreshadowing of FBA's obliteration or destruction nearly half a century later of anything deemed "improper" for posterity in her own written material and in the letters from others.

This made Col. Goldsworthy<sup>161</sup> occur again; & he cried "What an heroick thing it would be, if he would now ride post to Bath -- & rescue her! --"

"No, not heroick at all!" cried I.--

"No? -- why what then? --"

"Why he would obtain an amiable & sweet companion for the rest of the Days, -- which, if he took that step, he would feel no heroism in accepting!" --

He laughed, -- but could not deny this.

"However, cried he, though this makes you a little melancholy, -- You are at least glad it is not your own case?"

"O yes, we have all philosophy enough to (be)ar evils for others! -- however, it never could be my case!" Indeed I feel I could sooner beg bread, than so earn it! --

><sup>162</sup>

[*unnumbered page: side b*]

< Saddened by this subject, we were just fitted for Dr. Young; -- & he read, with a feeling even depressing, -- I could hardly sit quite calm to hear him --

How did I think of my dear Fredy at the time

How sad a sight is human happiness!

I wish to alter sad, to rare. --

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<sup>161</sup> Philip Goldsworthy (c.1737-1801); Equerry (1779-end of 1787); First Equerry (May 1788-post 1790) and Clerk Marshal/Martial (1788-post 1790) to George III; Colonel in the Army (1784); formerly M.P. of Wilton, Wiltshire (1785-88; and again from 1794-1801) (Namier, ii. 509; Berg: 1 January 1788, May 1788; *YW* xvii. 306 n.18; *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce* (1790), 12; *GM* lxxi. i. 91; *JL* i. 108 n.2). FB characterized him on 6 October 1786 as "warmly and faithfully attached to the King and all the Royal Family, yet his favourite theme, in his very best moods, is complaint of his attendance, and murmuring at all its ceremonials. This, however, is merely for sport and oddity, for he is a man of fortune, and would certainly relinquish his post if it were not to his taste" (*DL* iii. 65).

Discontented himself, he put down the Book, -- & again offered, conditionally that I would mark my favourite passages, to supply me with Books from Town.

To be sure it would much enhance the value of his Library! -- But I shall certainly make no such condition.

He mentioned sundry works he wished to bring, & read.

He complained of being hoarse; I offered him more Tea. "Would you give me, he cried, more poison? That last dish will already break my rest."

"For Heaven's sake, then, why did you drink it?"

"Because you gave it me! -- Would you not have me take what you give me? -  
-"

He passed the Time of going down, with his White Gloves, & said nothing about it.

A little before Ten he looked reluctantly at his Watch, & said "I am afraid -- I must leave you, -- ma'am --"

He rose, & walked to the fire; & soon began a very melancholy discourse on the evils of life, -- acknowledged himself in some immediate distress, but without specifying what,<sup>162</sup> & passionately expressed [xxxxx *I word*] his wishes, for retirement, for resigning his office, which [xxxxx *I word*] he had already told >  
[3714]

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<sup>162</sup> Not found; perhaps based on a common expression.

<sup>163</sup> Possibly regarding Charlotte Gunning.

< me he should have done before this time, but for the Queen's disastrous state, -- & of possessing a small Farm & Garden in the Country, &, directing the remainder of his life to Country Exercise, meditation, & devotion.<sup>164</sup>

This is a scheme which he frequently mentions, -- always lamenting some present reason to defer it. But he has already declared it to a Person who is to make it known.<sup>165</sup> --all, however, stops till the King is perfectly recovered.

What will not be my loss, when he retires! --

In the midst of all this, he suddenly exclaimed "Well, ma'am, -- I must leave you -- --abruptly -- "

Not a word did he say, of the little manuscript -- & I cannot mention it myself without some opportunity, as it seems but soliciting solicitation to begin.

How he has passed of not going down stairs at 9 I know not. --

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Tuesday, 23<sup>d</sup><sup>166</sup> This morning opened woefully to me, though gayly to the House, -- for as my news of His Majesty was perfectly comfortable, I ventured in open words, to ask leave to receive my dear Friends in understood sentences, & open looks, I had failed again & again.

---

<sup>164</sup> He was not to retire from his post as Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen until 1792. On 20 December 1788, Digby had "opened" to FB "his whole plan of life, for 4 years to come: he meant to live chiefly with his Relations, till he took Home his Daughter, & then to settle rather more steadily, but still, with his Son, during his vacations, to vary the scene by visiting his numerous friends. And many minuter particulars accompanied the scheme" (Berg).

<sup>165</sup> Probably either Lady Charlotte Finch or FB. On 10 January 1789, FB recorded Digby's frustration with the "the bustle, fatigue, cabal, & restraint, of the House:" "... he wished to settle himself upon a new plan. He had mentioned this already to Lady Charlotte Finch, & he now made it known to me, that each of us, if opportunity should offer, might speak of it to her Majesty" (Berg).



My answer was -- "I have no -- particular objection-- only -- you'll keep them to your Room." --

Heavens! -- Did they ever, unsummoned, quit it? -- or >

[3715]

have they any wish to enlarge their range of visit?

I was silent, -- & then heard a history of some imprudence in Lady Effingham,<sup>167</sup> who had received some of her friends. --

My resolution, upon this, I need not mention: I preferred the most lengthened absence to such a permission.<sup>168</sup> But I felt it acutely! -- & I hoped, at least, that by taking no step, something more favourable might soon pass.

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<sup>166</sup> Tuesday was actually the 24<sup>th</sup> of February, the day before Ash Wednesday. In the MS the "Tuesday" was later scratched out with a pencil.

<sup>167</sup> Elizabeth, "Effy," Beckford (1725-91), Countess of Effingham; m. 1 (1745) Thomas Howard (c.1714-63), 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Effingham and 8<sup>th</sup> Baron Howard of Effingham (1743); m. 2 (1776) George Howard (c.1720-96), Field Marshal, K.B. (1774). (*JL* i. 161 n.45; *GEC Peerage*, v. 13 s.v. "Thomas Howard;" *RK 1789* 74 s.v. "K.B.;" *JL* ii. 232 s.v. "Howard, Sir George"). According to *GEC*, she was Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Charlotte only from 1761-69, but *RK 1789* lists her as a Lady of the Bedchamber, at a wage of 500 pounds *per annum* (100), as does *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce* (1790), 12. FB's impression of Lady Effingham, on 29 July 1786, when she visited the Effinghams at Stoke, their country seat, was that she seemed "a mighty good-humoured, friendly woman, with a style of mock-importance in her opinions, though perfectly unassuming in her manners, but is sometimes a little ridiculous" (Berg). On the same date, FB noted that although a Lady of the Bedchamber, Lady Effingham was also often a "private visitor" to the Queen's Lodge at Windsor. FB added on 4 August 1786, "I believe her to be warmly & gratefully attached both to the King & Queen; & she has received from the Queen very uncommon assistance, I am informed, in | some very distressful situations." On 1 November, one of the King's only poignant recognitions of his illness in FB's journals was to Lady Effingham: "I was present at his first seeing Lady Effingham, on his return to Windsor this last Time: 'My dear Effy, he cried, you see me -- All at once -- an old man!' " (Berg). By 5 November, however, the day when the King had slipped into "insanity," FB was reporting that "even Lady Effingham, the last two Days, could not obtain admission: she could only hear from a Page how the Royal Family went on" (Berg).

<sup>168</sup> FB probably asked Mrs. Schwollenberg and not the Queen, even though FB usually quoted Mrs. Schwollenberg's speech patterns exactly, because of the subsequent relation of the imprudence of Lady Effingham, who was a favourite of the Queen. Mrs. Schwollenberg would also be the most likely person to offer an admonitory example to FB about breaches of protocol,

In the Evening, & early, again came Mr. < Digby; > I have reason to think he took no notice of his being [xxxxx / word] at Kew last Night, to avoid the going down at 9 o'clock! --

He was gay, & full of communication. But, in the midst of general talk, he stopt, & after a long pause, in which he appeared settling how to introduce something, he said "I thought -- t'other night -- of your earnestness to recover that little paper --"

"Well! --" cried I, eagerly bending forward.

"Well! he returned, -- & if you will have it --"

"Yes! I interrupted, I will! --"

"If you will -- be so ungenerous -- I thought, the other Night, -- while I was saying my own prayers -- I must not detain it. --"

"I shall, indeed, be extremely glad to have it again!"

He looked a little disappointed -- but did not produce it: & presently he said "It may seem an odd Time to have had the thought, just as I was at

[3716]

prayers -- but -- it may sometimes happen -- the Creature may lead to the Creator! --

„169

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rather than the Queen herself. Most conclusively, FB would have never implied that the Queen was so obtuse that FB had failed again and again in "understood sentences, & open looks." Additionally, the fact that FB did not name who granted her "such a permission" could be in keeping with the acute dislike that she felt for Mrs. Schwellenberg by this time, which the recipients of her letters would know and thus be able to infer.

<sup>169</sup> Perhaps an echo of Romans 1:25: "Who changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for ever. Amen" (King James). Also probably a line from the prayer which Digby had stolen from her which would explain her subsequent surprise and shame.

Very much surprised, -- &, indeed, ashamed to hear this, I did not now bend forward, -- I only drank my Tea!

"Surely yes, he (returned), there are ways in which the Creature may naturally lead to the Creator, -- where conduct -- sentiments -- character -- are all worthy approbation -- "

He stopt, -- & I drank on, --

He swallowed a dish at a gulp himself, & then, in another, & less serious tone, he cried "There are ways, also, certainly, in which the Creature may lead from the Creator! -- do you comprehend that? -- or shall I -- (laughing) explain?"

"No, no, cried I; in another tone also, I comprendre ver well! as Mrs. Schwellenberg says!"

"Well but -- if you are quite bent upon it, -- & really are so very ungenerous, -- I will return it! --"

"I am bent upon it! I answered; though you should not use words to make me half my satisfaction in the restitution!"

"And Why? -- Why? cried he, eagerly; -- if a Prayer of yours can lead me to devotion when not otherwise inclined to it -- where can be your objection? --"

"Nay, nay, -- but you have already kept it so long!"

"And what, cried he, with quickness, if I keep it to all eternity! --"

There was no answering this - for surprise! -- After

[3717]

< so voluntary an opposite opening!

"I shall not, he presently, & more quietly added, publish it! -- at least not with your name! --"

You may suppose I did not fear that! --

However, another long discussion ensued, -- in which neither convinced nor received conviction, -- but he earnestly exhorted me to write down my objections, -- & make them into a little dissertation.

To be sure! -- & give them to him!

"It may have no weight, I said, with you, but it has with me, that I have regularly & uniformly accustomed myself to keep every thing of this sort most inviolably to myself --"

"O, cried he, laughing, if you have hitherto formed false doctrine, can you not be content to give it up? to broach it no more? --"

I assured him I was too much surprised by a detention of property so unexpected, & of which I had never once [xxxxxx *I word*] an idea, to set about forming any new system upon it! >

The debate ended by reading! -- nothing gained, or lost, either way!

He read the Lessons & Epistle & Gospel for the Day.<sup>170</sup> He seems never so happy as in religious reading, & surely his "character -- sentiments -- conduct" -- never appear to me so fairly, as in this choice.

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<sup>170</sup> According to *The Book of Common Prayer* (1762), the "Lesson & Epistle & Gospel for the Day" of 24 February 1789, the feast of St. Matthias, was: Wisdom 19 and Luke 7 for the two morning Lessons; Ecclesiastus 1 and Ephesians 1 for the two evening Lessons; Acts 1:15 for the Epistle; and St. Matthew 11:25 for the Gospel (*The Book of Common Prayer, And Administration of the Sacraments, and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church. According to the Use of The Church of England: Together with the Psalter or Psalms of David, Pointed as they are to be said*

This over, he declared he would read no more, -- he wanted, he said, much conversation! And

And then, presently, he fell upon various family  
[3718]

enquiries, which he had never made before -- of how many were my sisters, -- which married, -- & to whom, -- & sundry such domestic questions.

He then said the King had declared his intention to do something for him very shortly; but he felt himself very well satisfied, & unwilling to go, anew into (the) line of promotion, the army, as he thought it unfair to those officers who had been in service during his long recess: for he has sold out some years.

He had beside, he said, a very sufficient income, for his moderate & retired views in life; -- & if any further Court favour were shewn him, he should wish to be cast upon his son.<sup>171</sup>

If we went, in a body, to Windsor, he meant to take lodgings there, (for) Letty Church Yard, that Kenelm might might [*sic*] reside there some time; & then he would bring him to see me.

He had another note, to shew me from him; he took out his Letter Case, &, having found it, placed the Letter case on the Table, almost close to me. --

I saw his design, -- that I should make a seizure -- but I had already experienced my insufficiency, unless with his consent! so I gave him a detecting look,

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*or sung in Church.* Cambridge, Printed by J. Baskerville, Printer to the University, by whom they are sold in Cambridge, and by B. Dod, Bookseller, in Ave-Mary Lane, London. 1762.).

<sup>171</sup> Probably his eldest son, Charles Digby (1775-1841).

& said "No! -- I shall fight no more! -- I never fight but to conquer! where I expect defeat, I make no effort! --"

He could not help laughing, -- but when he put up Kenelm's note, complained how full his pocket Book was stuffed, -- "O! cried I, Mr<. Digby, > how glad should I be to give it a little room! --"

[3719]

He would not accept my offer, -- but hastily put it in his pocket.

I was considering what step to try next, --when he began a very serious discussion of the evils we were all prone to commit, as well as destined to suffer, & a most frank lamentation of his own imperfections & infirmities, with a fear that they might rather encrease, than diminish, by added life, notwithstanding his urgent desire to become less unworthy.

He went on for some time in this melancholy strain, but, while speaking of his hopelessness of amending, he very suddenly, -- & with an expression of extremest flattery, turned full upon me, & exclaimed "Unless You . . . would undertake to make me better! --"

Good God how I started! -- involuntarily, -- & up I rose to get -- a Book! --

"You will not? -- he cried, -- you fall back at the very first step? --"

I fetched him Thompson's Seasons. --<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> *The Seasons* by James Thomson (1700-48) appears to have been first printed, independant from a larger work, in 1767 in London, for the Proprietors (BLC cccxxv. 151). An edition was issued in 1789, published in London, and printed for J. Murray, no. 32, Fleet Street, entitled: *The Seasons, by James Thomson. A new edition. Adorned with a set of engravings from the original designs. To which is prefixed An Essay on the plan and character of the poem, By J. Aikin.* In the 1770 edition (Edinburgh), there was "An Account of the Life and Writings of Mr. James Thomson," possibly by a Mr. Murdoch, which described how "in a quarto edition of his works,

He took it -- with a smile half melancholy, half reproachful, -- & turned over the leaves without reading a word.

He asked me something about the shipwreck.<sup>173</sup>

I thought this an opportunity to be understood -- & eagerly said, I I [*sic*] hoped he had not wanted it, for I had yet found no time for reading it.

He lifted up his Head, & stared gravely, saying he had not meant to receive it back again.

"O yes, I cried, lightly, I never take loans for gifts!

[3720]

"But I thought . . . . you might like to have it -- . "

"To read, -- not keep, -- I keep nothing -- that I may borrow again! --"

He said not a word, -- but looked gravely enough.

I am very happy this has passed.

He then read a little of the sweet seasons.

But he was not in a reading humour, & stopt from time to time, to consider whether he ought not to go down, -- confessing more unwillingness than he ever had seriously owned before.

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printed in 1730" the Seasons (previously printed individually) were "placed in their natural order; and crowned with that inimitable Hymn, in which we view them in their beautiful succession, as *one whole*, the *immediate* effect of infinite *Power* and *Goodness*" (xiv).

<sup>173</sup> On 14 July 1789, while at Cheltenham, FB and Digby had begun to read together *The Shipwreck, a Poem in Three Cantos: By a Sailor* (1762) by William Falconer (1732-69): "We then came back to Books, & he asked us if we had read a little Poem called the Shipwreck! neither of us had even heard of it. He said it was somewhat too long, & somewhat too technical, but that it contained many beautiful passages." When FB's guests had left, Digby took up the "very small Duodecimo volume" and read passages to her which she "could not but admire" (Berg; *New Camb.* ii. 655).

"What, he cried, can I do? -- how avoid it? -- I shall not be really wanted -- I am much tempted to think -- Yet the King -- if the King expects to see me -- if he enquires -- he will surely say I am -- writing Letters -- or -- with . . . You! --"

"No, no! cried I, writing Letters he will surely say!"

"No, He looked very hardly at me, & half pronounced "No, -- you -- . . . Learned Company, he will say! -- To be sure our conversation is very learned! --"

"O no, no, no! cried I, -- he will have forgot all that. --"

"No, he will not! --" was the answer<sup>174</sup> & just then we heard a rap at my Door.

"Not for Me, I hope! --" he cried --

I opened it. M. M. a page of the Princesses,<sup>175</sup> presented himself, -- "Mr. < Digby, > ma'am, he cried, is not here? --"

"Yes -- he is. --

"Then Lady Elizabeth Waldegrave begs to speak to him."

I never saw him so disconcerted at a summons: -- he had so fully intended shirking appearing, that he had

[372I]

not even changed his riding Dress: however, though he complained, he laughed at his distress, & called upon me repeatedly to help him to some expedient what to do -- 'tis

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<sup>174</sup> On 20 November 1788, Digby had revealed to FB that the "King had been talking" in his illness and that FB "c[a]me in for [her] share." After the King had berated his Equeries and Gentlemen for drinking for too long at the table and for being late in returning to their waiting, he had claimed that Digby was "as bad as any of them, -- not that he stays so long at Table, or is so fond of Wine -- but yet, he's just as late as the rest; -- for he's so fond of the Company of learned Ladies, that he gets to the Tea Table with Miss Burney, & there he stays, & spends his whole time!" (Berg).



well if he did not mean what to say! -- for I believe that was no small difficulty to him,  
 -- accounting for where he had been, & why he was unaccoutered! --

I was vext too, -- need I say? --

He declared it possible he would return.

And return he did, -- looking so light & so blythe, -- he had only been wanted  
 by Lady Elizabeth about a Letter, & his dishabille had not been noticed.

He then very composedly seated himself to Thompson, reading much of the  
 first Book of the Sweet Spring. -- How did it bring back to me dear Norbury Park! --  
 My Susan, my Fredy, -- the paths on the Hills -- the favourite Seat, -- the little Green  
 Room, -- all -- every spot in which we had read it together! --

"Well -- but I must go! --" he cried, at last, -- determining to be ready, if again  
 called. --

He rose, & was making off: but I had not so soon forgotten his first speech  
 about my property -- & calling hastily after him, -- "Mr< Digby >, I cried -- you  
 offered me that paper? . . ."

He looked extremely surprised; -- & almost stammered as he answered, "yes . .  
 . . but . . . . upon condition . . .

"Condition? I heard no condition? --"

"Yes -- upon one condition . . . that if you are so

[3722]

ungenerous, . . . . . if you will be -- "

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<sup>175</sup> Possibly "an ---- Miiler" [*sic*], Page in the Establishment of the Princess Royal (*The Royal Kalendar* (1789), 102). He is not listed in *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce* (1790), 13.

"No, no, Mr<. Digby, > cried I, you must not use expressions merely meant to deter my claim! --"

"Well -- I must not stop now -- you call upon me just at the moment I am going -- in great haste -- ask me for it at the beginning of an Evening -- when I can argue it thoroughly -- & you shall have it -- if you will! -- but don't take me -- by surprise! -- in this manner --"

And he bowed, & made off. --

There is no such thing as writing any comment -- What can I say upon this determined detention -- & the strange value that occasions it -- which will not occur to yourselves? --

Can I, too, say anything you will not suggest upon the state of disturbance in which I was left? --

Let me mention [xxxxxx *I word*] thing that gave me nothing but pleasure -- The King I have seen again! -- in the Queen's Dressing Room -- on opening the door, there he stood! He smiled at my start, & saying he had waited on purpose to see me, added "I am quite well, now, -- I was nearly so when I saw you before -- but I could overtake you better now! --"

And then he left the Room --

I was quite melted with joy & thankfulness at this so entire restoration.

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Wednesday, 25<sup>th</sup>. This Morning I sent my congratulations -- my earnest & tender wishes, [xxxxxx *I word*], to my dear M[arianne Port] -- I had an opportunity to get

them to Town, whence they will arrive at Bath to-morrow morning -- at the moment, perhaps, when she advances to the altar!

Heaven Preserve -- Protect -- & soften her destiny! -- I could but think of her all Day!

*[unnumbered fragment -- probably from either the evening of 25th February or of 26th February]*

< This brought us again to the old favourite topic, -- the Hill & the Vale,<sup>176</sup> -- which lasted till he produced Moir.<sup>177</sup>

He read three of his sermons: all very inferior to the (g)ist of them which he began. It is an additional volume.

Then again he returned to Thomson.

In the course of this reading, as I returned from [xxxxx *I word*] some fruit from a distant Window, I saw (h)e had again taken out his pocket Book, & laid it on the Table, with a paper taken from it, that by its size & folds, appeared to be mine: but he read on, without mentioning what he had done.

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<sup>176</sup> Possibly from Deuteronomy, Chapter 1, when Moses instructed "all Israel," "in the fortieth year, in the eleventh month:" "Ye have dwelt long enough in this mount: Turn you, and take your journey, and go to the mount of the Amorites, and unto all the high places nigh thereunto, in the plain, in the hills, and in the vale, . . . and possess the land which the LORD sware unto your fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to give unto them and to their seed after them" (King James: Deuteronomy 1:1-8).

<sup>177</sup> Probably the Revd. John Moir. According to the *Nat. Union. Cat.* ccclxxxix. 457, he had written *Sermons on some of the most useful and interesting subjects in religion and life* in 1784 (428 pp.). Another edition, perhaps the "additional volume" that FB referred to, was "printed for the author," in 1789 with the same name and the same number of pages. On 4 December 1788, Digby had asked FB if she "had ever read Moir's Sermons? as he called them, though they were more properly moral & religious Essays" (Berg). She had not.

Notwithstanding his challenge to dispute the (c)harge; I am determined, you may believe, not to (g)ive him the paper; I must therefore be very cautious (ho)w I discuss it, till some effective method occurs.

He soon after put down Thompson, & lent his (h)and on the paper, with a Countenance full of ru(m)ination. I thought him preparing to open upon the (sub)ject; but presently, he begged me to give him a (volu)me of the Rambler;<sup>178</sup> & he looked out a passage (wit)h which he had been very much struck, upon (re)tiring from busy life, to chearful devotion, & private [xxxxx I word]. He read it so expressively, it was utterly impossible to doubt his appropriation of its meaning.

Then, putting it down, he meditated some minutes, -- & afterwards, gravely exclaimed "It is strange we are always meaning to be better! -- always deferring -- but always intending to live! --

I now took out my watch, -- & saw it was half past 10 O'Clock, -- I knew what sarcasms awaited me if: either omitted going to Mrs. Sc: or went yet later & therefore -- I thought it best to remind him that it was not very early.

He looked surprised -- more, I believe, at my telling him this, than at the Hour, -- though, when he took out his Watch, he quite started, saying "I never was more deceived in Time! -- I thought it but just nineteenth! --

Down went the Book, -- up was seized the Letter Case, -- & surely & speedily took repossession of the little Paper. He begged my pardon for being so late, & went off.

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<sup>178</sup> By Samuel Johnson (1709-84). The Rambler was issued on Tuesdays and Saturdays from 20 March 1750 (no.1) to 14 March 1752 (no.208). In 1752, a collected, 6-volume edition was issued (*New Camb.* ii. 1129; *EJL* ii. 95 n.64).

I felt relieved, -- though not happy, -- I thought -- I think still, he meant to open this Evening to very serious matters, -- his manner concerning the little pap(er --) his looks in the "always intending to live, --" were [xxxxx *I word*] of something important -- & his surprise at the Ho(ur) shews how much his attention to what was to come swallowed up what was passing, -- -- he was grave, too >

*[top of a fragment - follows the fragment above -- even if not immediately]*

< I wished to have taken the opportunity of being alone with him, to demand my property: but I never know what may ensue, -- & therefore, eagerly as I seize, I have not courage to make opportunities of introducing it. -- This Evening, too, there was something rather -- strange in him, -- he seemed earnest to press his enquiry -- yet the moment occasion opened, equally earnest to hold back. -- I do not understand him, -- but I think his mind is full, & in a very pondering state. -- >

[3723]

Friday, 27th. No Day has so severely tried -- harassed -- disturbed -- my troubled Mind as this -- Yet I will (make) it brief -- the Cause being all within -- without [xxxxx *I word?*] few facts to relate, or actions to discuss. --

Returning from my walk this Morning, Columb told me (he) saw [xxxxx ½ line] after me on Horseback. I felt -- my dearest Friends, I will own the truth -- as if [xxxxx 3 lines] moment I recollected what she<sup>179</sup> must think of such an avoidance -- my Heart smote me -- & I forced my (swelling) feet to turn round, & meet her --

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<sup>179</sup> Charlotte Cambridge. FB was ambivalent about meeting her because of her feelings about George Cambridge.

She galloped up in a moment, dismounted, & flew to me with that fond & warm affection so invariably hers -- involuntary pleasure seized me; & that, joined to  
[xxxxx 4 lines]

And with respect to her excellent self it was true. -- In fullness of talk & enquiry of no waiting for answers, we arrived soon at the Gate of the Court yard. There we were necessitated to part.

[*fragment*]

< With expressions the most affectionate, she said she would ride the same way the next Day: I promised -- for my Heart was now again all come out to her, -- to meet her if possible. "How many Loves & Compliments should I have brought you from Home,<sup>180</sup> cried she, had they known I should see you! --"

She Coloured high when she had said this, -- I turned off, hastily awswering "Well --bring me them to-morrow & was hurrying away, when, some how misunderstanding me, she caught my arm to stop me, & with Eyes of fire from excess of eagerness, called out "Bring who? -- Who shall I bring? --"

"The Loves!" cried I, laughing, -- & then we parted. But there was a consciousness -- an interest in this little question, -- that I could not mistake. --

Worthy -- sweet amiable & excellent woman! -- I came in with my Heart so full, I had scarce the use of my understanding to know with what it was so oppressed. A total privation of all powers of Happiness -- round (&) round -- & round me depressed -- almost deadened me (all).

---

<sup>180</sup> Twickenham, Middlessex, home of the Cambridge family, and across the Thames from Richmond Gardens.

Was I relieved by reading this paragraph which I shall copy? -- It is in a Letter she gave me herself this (Morn).

"One thing has occurred to me, -- that if my name is mentioned, as I am so near, the Q -- might propose, as most convenient meeting, your coming here. I should (hope) you could see no objection, should that be the case; & this I leave quite entirely to you, & therefore even >

[*fragment*]

< (bear) to express the excessive joy I should have to see under this roof, or the pleasure it would give the whole House."

Perhaps -- after the full & explicit statement of my whole mind, intentions, & feelings, upon this subject, which my confidants [*sic*] have already before them -- (It) may seem strange to hear of such infinite distress by an incident like this -- it is strange (even) to myself! -- No, it is not strange, for it [be]longs not now to this -- but to subsequent circumstances -- to present ideas --

N.B. I cut short what follows of my memorandums here, because I discussed the matter, after they were written, with my dearest Fredy -- & because upon this subject I can never write too little. She will remember the result of my hesitation, was a determination to accept the invitation to Twickenham, -- that is, if indeed, as I then fully expected, there was any view, I might not keep it in suspense. However, I will now briefly own -- I had yet other reason to impel this resolution -- I had so greatly disturbed by the request, that I thought it the (fairest) for my own steadiness, & even a Duty now, when >

[*fragment*]

< expecting a new trial, -- & utterly incapable to [xxxxx ½ line] even a wish as to its event! -- If now, indeed, [xxxxx ½ line] wish for a moment occurred, it was but to fly that [xxxx ½ line]

both -- one, -- as an object of pain in having disappointed all my belief in his superiority, -- the other as a subject of sadness, from the certainty that the greater his worth -- the more I must disappoint him in my turn!<sup>181</sup>

In short -- there would be no end to go back to this cruel Day! -- I shall burn its memorandums of the moment, uncopied, & proceed faithfully with the rest. >

[3724]

Saturday, 28th.<sup>182</sup> This Morning, whilst I was equipping for my Walk, Mr. Digby presented himself at my Door. Goter whisked away the Cap I had changed for a Hat, & flew, colouring, off, --

"Why, cried he, laughing, do you disturb yourself from your Toilette? I visit many ladies who admit me to their's without scruple; & I have been at the Princess Royal's this Morning already."

"That, cried I, was an honour, -- but for me -- besides, I am not in the practice. --"

The moment Goter was gone, "How long, he cried, it is since I have seen you! --"

He always says this when there has been one Day.

<sup>181</sup> Probably referring to the two Cambridges, father and son, and FB's unrequited love for the son.

<sup>182</sup> On this day, "By his Majesty's Command, the Physician's Report is to be discontinued from this Day (*The London Gazette*, Tuesday February 24 to Saturday February 28, 1789, 97). According to *GM*'s "Minutes of His Majesty's Indisposition," 26 February had marked the day on which there was "[a]n entire cessation of illness" (*GM* lix. i. 175, see also i. 263).



Our conversation was of the gravest sort: indeed it was rather an harangue than a conversation, for the subject he started, I know not how nor which way, was the general unhappiness of life, from the particular unhappiness & distresses of the Heart. Unfortunate, -- or impossible attachments for cherishing, were perversely & eternally obtruding themselves upon all the best affections of the Mind to endless mortification, & total destruction of peace. The best chance of safety was in a wisely chosen confident; the regard that was silent was ever the most dangerous, for it always flattered itself to be easy of cure, till some incident -- or some accident -- discovered fatally the mistake, -- & shewed it to be immediately rivetted for life.

[*fragment*]

< I made little or no answer; though referred to perpetually; but I was wholly at a loss whether he had any point in view, or the discourse was accidental.

This, with the present state of the House, filled up his visit. He says we are now speedily to remove to Windsor. >

[*fragment*]

< I had nearly determined not to walk by the road side, so adverse to peace & tranquility was any meeting just now with my poor [xxxxxx 1-2 words]<sup>183</sup> -- but all within upbraided me, & refused to let me suffer her to ride so far, & miss me, when I had power to help it.

She was all kindness, -- I had not settled my plan, & could therefore give no answer, -- but she asked for none -- I fear she saw me in a suspensive state! -- she looked! as if through & through she meant to pierce me! --

She declared she would always ride this way, when not prevented.

She did not even ask if I had read her Letter. -- neither of us mentioned it. -- >

[3725]

End of February

1789.

Dieu Merci!

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<sup>183</sup> Probably Miss Cambridge.

DIARY 5

[*begins Diary MSS V (part 1)*]

[3726]

Kew Palace.

1789.  
March.

Liv<sup>r</sup>. [5<sup>me</sup>]

Sunday, 1<sup>st</sup>. What a pleasure was mine this morning! how solemn, but how grateful!

The Queen gave me the Prayer of Thanksgiving upon the King's recovery! -- It was this morning read in all the Churches throughout the metropolis, & by this Day Week it will reach every Church in the Kingdom.<sup>184</sup> -- It kept me in Tears all the morning, -- that such a moment should actually arrive! after fears so dreadful, scenes so terrible, --

The Queen gave me a dozen, to distribute among the maids: but I reserved one of them for dear Mr. Smelt, who took it from me in speechless extacy -- his fine & feeling Eyes swimming in Tears of joy.

There is no describing -- & I will not attempt it, -- the fullness, the almost over-whelming fullness of this morning's thankful feelings! --

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<sup>184</sup> *GM* reported in the March 1789 issue that the Privy Council, which had met on 28 February, had ordered "that his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury [see n.195 BELOW] do prepare a new form of prayer and thanksgiving to be read in lieu [of the regular prayer, also by the Archbishop], for the present happy state of his Majesty's health. / And it is hereby further ordered, That his Majesty's printer do forthwith print a competent number of copies of the said form of prayer and thanksgiving, that the same may be forthwith sent around, and read in the several churches of England and Wales, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed." After quoting the text of the prayer (see Appendix D), *GM* noted that "[t]he above form of prayer was read on Sunday [1 March] throughout the cities of London, Wesminster, and elsewhere within the bills of mortality; and is to be read in all churches and chapels throughout England and Wales, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed, as soon as the Ministers thereof receive the same: and an order was also made for offering up the prayers and thanksgiving, for the present happy state of his Majesty's health, in the several churches, congregations, or assemblies, in that part of Great Britain called Scotland" (*GM* lix. i. 266).

I had the great gratification to see the honoured Object of this joy, for a few minutes, in the Queen's Dressing Room. He was all calmness, & benevolent graciousness: I fancy my strong emotion had disfigured me; -- or perhaps the whole of this long confinement, & most affecting Winter, may have somewhat marked my countenance; for the King presently said to me "Pray, are you quite well to day?" "I think not quite, Sir, -- "

[3727]

I answered. "She does not look well, -- said he, to the Queen, -- she looks a little -- yellow, I think. --"

How kind & condescending, to think of any body & their looks, at this first moment of re-appearance!

< In the Evening, Mr. Digby came to Tea. -- How gay, how congratulatory was our meeting!

He asked me, with a laugh, if he was not very good for being here to night?

"Yes, I said, if you can help it! --"

"I could! he cried -- I am not wanted here, -- & might have gone --"

I saw an inference implied very rarely admitted, but slightly answered "Nay, then -- I do wonder! --" & I turned to some thing else.--

He had been, he said afterwards, to Richmond Park, "where Mrs. Stuart, to Day, he added, affronted me."

"And how? --"

"Miss Stuart<sup>185</sup> was not there; -- I knew it before I went; she is gone for some Days to Town; & Mrs. Stuart said she should therefore take this visit to herself! -- I asked if she had not many to take to herself? no, she said, the rest she gave to her Daughter; but she knew I must needs continue coming now, in order to preserve the privilege of admission against her return!"

"Nay, then, cried I, laughing, you must go, now! --" >

*[an MS page conjoint to 3726/7 is probably missing]*

*[unnumbered page]*<sup>186</sup>

< yet of a gravity kind -- & imperative -- the resignation of his lowest office is full upon his mind, -- I was not -- I am not -- settled how to receive what I know not any to suppose is not meant to be said -- I have an idea, indeed, -- but it is a painful -- perhaps an injudicious one -- I am glad of a little more time to weigh it.

Monday, 2<sup>d</sup>. Decisive was the result of my weighing (th)is morning, -- & I need not further expound, when I (te)ll you I walked out on the Road by the Park wall -- (&) met Miss Cambridge, -- & I told her I would pay her a visit at Twickenham by the first opportunity. --

I think -- I trust -- this is all was right! -- If a person so long suspected of secret ultimate intentions, preserves them -- he ought to know at once they are erroneous & misplaced; -- if another Person, so long expecting them, finds any self-deceit in a two

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<sup>185</sup> Mary Stuart (1769-1855); later m. (1813) William Dundas (d.1845), Lord Register of Scotland, M.P. for Edinburgh (Lodge (1845), s.v. "Bute," 85; Lodge (1832), s.v. "Wharncliffe," 387; Burke (1900), s.v. "Wharncliffe," 1577). Digby had praised her "understanding" as "as amongst the most superior he has met with" (Berg: 27 July 1788).

<sup>186</sup> This page is probably conjoint to the pasteboard fragments which covered 3727 and which, when pieced together, form the next folio page. A small fragment from this page, a small vertical piece from the margin, was found under the three pasteboards covering 3727.

Year & a half's projected declension -- She ought to know in time her mistake; -- & if a third Person, really plans to soothe the remainder of a sorrowing life by a generous attachment . . . . . HE shall know, & faithfully, the result of >

[*recto*]

< this interview! --

Is this scheme romantic? -- no, my dear Friends, it is surely but just. And till I resolved upon it, my internal perplexity knew no bounds. That, now, feels amazingly relieved; though a piercing suspense of the event corrodes my quiet. --

Little imagining the deep motives by which I am actuated, with what a glow did my dear Friend hear my compliance with her proposal! -- delight, surprise, emotions of heart-felt pleasure, danced suddenly into her conscious Eyes, which betrayed -- O what did they not betray of tenderness & hope! --

My Heart sunk within me -- & could hardly let her hold the hand which she grasped, & seemed as if she wished to grasp forever, in reference to speaking. --

She gave to me a Letter, to read at my leisure, from her dear Sally Baker<sup>187</sup> --- When I came home, I found I found it filled with praise of the Rector!<sup>188</sup> -- he has undertaken almost the sole management of fitting out the new Apartment in Somerset Place<sup>189</sup> -- & the helplessness of both Mother<sup>190</sup> & Daughter, flings them on his kind care, & has made him act as if Son & Brother. -- --

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<sup>187</sup> Sarah Baker (c.1744-1835), friend to the daughters of Richard Owen Cambridge, known to the Burneys and to the Cambridges since at least 1784, companion to Charlotte Cambridge in her later years until the latter's death in 1823 (*JL* i. 81 n.6, ii. 212). Baker would later (1808-32) live in a house in Richmond, owned by Archdeacon Cambridge, George Owen.

<sup>188</sup> George Owen Cambridge.

<sup>189</sup> Possibly on Somerset Street, London, due to the proximity to Twickenham, Middlesex.

She could give me this Letter only to let me know this -- but she can tell me nothing beyond what I think of his general goodness. >

*[the next MS page, which probably follows the conjoint of 3726/7, was cut into three pieces and these pieces were used as pasteboards for 3727]*

*[pasteboard 2]*

< On my return home, -- I found a Letter from my dear Marianne -- Miss Port no longer! -- written on the Day of her marriage -- which was performed at Bath, whence she set out for Ilam, her Father's House. Her Letter is dated (Wadborough),<sup>191</sup> on the Road. >

*[MS cut]*

*[pasteboard 1]*

< barbarously inflicted by one unworthy to excite, much less to trifle with them!<sup>192</sup> -- I am more anxious for her than I can well say, I had never imagined it would thus have ended! Tuesday, 3<sup>d</sup>. Again this morning I met my most kind Charlotte Cambridge, -- & how did I feel, when she told >

*[pasteboard 3]*

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<sup>190</sup> Henrietta Pye (d. 9 Apr. 1793 in Somerset Place); daughter of Henry, esq. (1683-1749) of Faringdon-house, Berkshire, and Anne Bathurst; m. (1742) in Woodford, Essex the Revd. Francis Baker (c.1703/4-49), D.C.L. (Oxford, 1734), and Rector of St. Michael's, Cornhill, Minister of Barnes, Surrey and Residentiary of St. Paul's (*JL* i. 81 n.5; *IGI*; *GM* xix. 429 s.v. "Rev. Dr Baker," xix. 44 s.v. "Henry Pye," *LG* ii. 1140 s.v. "Pye," *Alum. Oxon.* i. 50 s.v. "Baker, Francis, s. Lawrence;" *GM* lxiii. i. 380).

<sup>191</sup> Although the entire word is not clear in the MS, the "—dborough" is. If one traces a route from Bath in Somersetshire to Ilam in North Staffordshire, where Marianne Port was heading, the town of Wadborough is found in Worcestershire, 5 miles outside of the city of Worcester, and is therefore the likely candidate.

<sup>192</sup> FB could be referring to Colonel Goldsworthy and the way that he, in her opinion, had "excited" and "trifled" with GMAPW's emotions.

< me she had thought of nothing else, since we parted, but my re-visiting Twickenham, --  
& that I had sent her home, yesterday, with a [xxxxxx 2 words] happiness beyond what she  
could compare -- or describe! --.

Well! -- the sooner I can go the better! At present, I can go no where.

We talked a great deal of Mr. Digby. I openly told her I had almost been  
supported, during this hard Winter, by him & by Mr. Smelt. She was very glad; but quite  
unmoved, -- I almost wished to have seen her inquisitive, or struck, >

*[recto of reconstructed page]*

*[recto of pasteboard 2]*

< but though I said a great deal, & uttering such panegyric of his character & manners as  
she had never heard from me, save of Mr. Lock, it made no impression -- she neither  
sought, nor shunned(,) the subject; but only [xxxxxx 1 word] & wildly rejoiced such a  
friend had been (sent) at such a time. > *[MS cut]*

*[recto of pasteboard 1]*

< I hear Major Price is arrived, on a visit, to see his restored old Master: with  
what true joy will he see that Sight! Mr. Smelt told me, also, there would be no more  
private parties, as the King had sent for all the Gentlemen to join the Royal set at the  
Card Table every Evening.

I have much reason to be glad of this at present, >

*[recto of pasteboard 3]*

< as I greatly wish this projected visit over, before such another alarm as that of last  
Sunday Evening.



Wednesday, 4<sup>th</sup>. A message from Mrs. Schwellenberg this morning, to ask me to air with her, received my most reluctant acquiescence: for the Frost is so severe, that any air, without exercise, is terrible to me: though, were her atmosphere milder, the rigour of the season I might not >

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regard.

When we came to the passage, the Carriage was not ready. She murmured most vehemently; & so bitterly was I cold, I could heartily have joined, had it answered any purpose.

While thus bad was making worse, a party of Gentlemen in the Uniform passed by the end of the passage; & presently Mr<. Digby, > looking towards us, exclaimed "Is that -- yes, it is Miss Burney, -- I must just ask her how she does! --" &, quitting the Group, he came to me, with a thousand kind enquiries.

He was then entering still further into conversation; but I drew back, alarmed, lest, not having noticed my companion, he should unknowingly incense her by this distinction.

Still, however, he went on, expressing himself fearful I was not well, till I looked full round at Mrs. Sc. . . who was standing, loftily silent, only a few steps above me.

He then addressed her; whether he had not seen, or had not cared about her before, I know not. She instantly began a proud acusatation [*sic*] of her servants, protesting she had never met such a thing before as to wait for such people; but made no answer to his tardy salutation.

Just as well content, he heard her without reply, & returning to me, renewed his attempt at conversation.

More loftily than ever, she then drew up, & uttered aloud the most imperious reproaches on the unexampled

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behaviour of her people, who were never while they lived again to have power to make her wait not one moment.

Frightened at this rising storm, I endeavoured to turn towards her, & to engage her to join in other discourse; but Mr<. Digby > did not second my motion, & I obtained no other notice than "O, ver well! when they will serve me so, they might see what will become! -- no! -- it is not permit! --" &c --

In the midst of this, Colonel Goldsworthy appeared; he came forward, with How do's? -- but I had a feeling at his sight that made it < unwholesome > to me; < he > missed not, however, my greeting; for Mrs. Sc. called him to her, with such unusual civility, & so many kind enquiries about his sister;<sup>193</sup> that it [xxxxx 5-6 words] & I saw it intended to punish Mr. < Digby > for his neglect.

Mr<. Digby, > mean while, thought he might now speak without heeding her, -  
- "How long, he cried, it is since I have seen you! --"

Only two Days, thought I, -- & my fear lest some listener should name that time, almost made me walk away; he told me he was now on a new plan, & only came to Kew in the morning, -- & went to Town in the Evening. He was proceeding, when

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<sup>193</sup> Martha Carolina/Caroline Goldsworthy (c.1740-1816), sub-governess to the younger Princes and Princesses (1774-c.1809), sister of Colonel Philip Goldsworthy (*JL* i. 108 n. 2; *GM* lxxxvi. i. 375; *YW* xxxiii. 497 n.15, xvii. 306 n.18).

Dr. John Willis joined us also: I contrived to make him speak with me, & then glided round, to the other side of Mrs. Sc: for his behaviour, & manner, had so marked a distinction;

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they gave me real uneasiness.

< He knew not, indeed, what I felt implied by his leaving off coming in the Evening, for he knew not Mr. Smelt had informed me, all the Gentlemen who were here, were now summoned every Evening to the Royal apartment! -- yet I think not the mo(re) superficially of his change of measures -- a change so obvious (--) from his not detailing the motives!

Yes -- I must make my project & [xxxxx *I word*] with all (Speed)! > --

Colonel Goldsworthy, not so much rejoicing in the honour shewn him as might be expected, said he would go himself & see about the Carriage: -- & go he did, -- but made off another way, & never returned! --

Mr<. Digby > & Dr. John soon followed him.

Unequalled was the indignation I now saw excited: conscious of its cause, -- a proud feeling of having been treated as second by the first of the party, -- I bore it unusually well, for I could allow something to its haughty working in a mind so irascible.

However, there was scarce any enduring its effects: whatever I said, though I spoke not but with a view to soften & conciliate, was flatly & instantly contradicted,

& with a rudeness & air of contempt truly astonishing. -- This poor Person has never met a friend who has dared say to her Be humble, expect little, & pray!<sup>194</sup> --

In this cold passage we waited, in this miserable manner

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a full quarter of an Hour -- all the time scolding the servants, threatening with exile, sending message after message, repining, thawrting, [*sic*] & contentious.

I am persuaded the carriage had now never been ordered till we came down: but why we came before it was announced, who can tell?

Now we were to go & wait in the King's Rooms, -- now in the Gentlemen's, -- now in Dr. Willis's, her own, -- & this, in the end, took place.

In our way, we encountered Mr<. Digby.> He asked where we were going "To my own parlour!" she answered, -- he made way for her to pass, -- & then coming up to me, again expressed much solicitude about my health -- I suppose I looked blue with cold, for I was almost starved -- & insisted upon Handing me through the passage to the Parlour.

He accompanied me in; &, to chear the gloom, seized some of the stores of Dr. Willis, -- sandwiches, wine & water, & other refreshments, & brought them to us, one after another, in a sportive manner, recommending to us to break through common rules, on such an occasion, & Eat & drink to warm ourselves.

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<sup>194</sup> Likely an expression; perhaps the root is in *Pilgrim's Progress*, by John Bunyan (1628-88), pt. ii, *Shepherd Boy's Song in the Valley of Humiliation*: "He that is down needs fear no fall, / He that is low no pride. / He that is humble ever shall / Have God to be his guide. / I am content with what I have, / Little be it, or much: / And, Lord, contentment still I crave, / Because thou sayest such" (cited in *The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (1955), 99).

But, -- you will believe this did not sooth the storm, when I tell you that, careless of her & her wrath, he brought every thing first to me, & took her but what I rejected. He will not court her, -- nor heed her.

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How was she offended! She stood in stately silence, & bolt upright, scarce deigning to speak even a refusal. Till, upon his saying, while he held a glass of wine in his Hand, "Come, ma'am, -- do some thing exentric for once -- it will warm you! --" she angrily answered "You been reely -- what you call too much hospital! --"

Neither of us could help laughing, -- "yes, cried he, with the goods of others! that makes a wide difference in hospitality!"

"Where do you go? -- cried he, have you any plan in your airing?"

I referred him to her. But he went on, without appeal. "To . . . Richmond, will you go? -- to the Ribbon shop? --"

I saw his meaning; & called out "O, -- to change this Ribbon in my Bonnet? -- very apropos! --"

It was one with which he had quarrelled; -- "Why . . . yes -- he answered, I cannot compliment it --"<sup>195</sup> And then, turning to Mrs. Sc. he asked her opinion of it.

She deigned not to make any answer.

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<sup>195</sup> If Digby had actually openly quarrelled with her ribbon, then FB did not record the conversation. The only references to Digby and her ribbon from the beginning of 1789 until now are on 10 January when she noted that she "had just got on a new [Ribbon], which [she] had observed had already struck his Eye, from its having replaced one which he had never ceased, before his journey, praising & admiring" and on 18 January when he was surprised that FB used 10 yards in her bonnet because "he had been with Miss < Stuart > to a shop, on Richmond Green, where she had bought 7 yards of Ribbon for a Bonnet, & thence he had concluded [FB] used six" (Berg). FB further noted on the 18th: "He always takes amazing notice always of my

"I wish, cried he, you would go to the Richmond shop, & let me make you a present of a new Ribbon, & throw that away -- do! --"

You may suppose this compleated the high treason: To suppose I could direct the airing! -- The rest, too, I doubt not she took in sober earnestness --

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Then he rattled away, upon the honours the room had lately received, of having had Mr. Pitt -- the Chancellor -- the Archbishop of Canterbury,<sup>196</sup> -- &c -- to wait in it. --<sup>197</sup>

This she resented highly, as seeming to think it more honoured in her absence than presence.

At length, he said Colonel Goldsworthy would wait for him, & retreated; & at length we took our miserable airing, in which I was treated with as much fierce harshness, as if I was conveying to some place of confinement for the punishment of some dreadful offence!

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Bonnets, & my Gowns; & I believe all men do much more than is suspected, of all Dress, though we conclude it an attention pretty much confined to frivolous Characters" (Berg).

<sup>196</sup> John Moore (1730-1805); D.D. (Oxford, 1763); Archbishop of Canterbury (1783 to death); P.C. Moore was believed to be the only one, at the time of his death, who had had a child born to him while Archbishop of Canterbury. See his obituary in *GM* lxxv. i. 94-95 for the long list of all of his titles and of his attributes. (Benjamin Vincent, *Haydn's Dictionary of Dates*, 20<sup>th</sup> ed. (New York, 1893), i. 180; *YW* xvi. 280 n.7; *Alumni Oxon.* iii. 975 s.v. "Moore, John, s. Thomas;" *RK* 1789 86)

<sup>197</sup> Pitt had probably seen the King on 24 February after an interval of 3 months (Aspinall, i. 398; Macalpine, 86; *YW* xxv. 685 and nn.27-28; however see *The London Chronicle* "From Saturday, February 14, to Tuesday, February 17, 1789," lxxv. 162 and *Daily Adv.* "Tuesday, February 24, 1789," p.1 which reported the first visit had taken place on 14 and 23 February respectively); the Lord Chancellor saw the King on 17 February (Berg; Macalpine, 83); and the Archbishop on 13 February (*The London Chronicle*, "From Thursday, February 12, to Saturday, February 14, 1789," lxxv. 160; *Daily Adv.* "Saturday, February 14, 1789," p.1).

She would have the Glass down on my side; the piercing wind cut my face, -- I put my muff up to it: this incensed so much, that she vehemently, [xxxxxx 2 words], declared she never, no never, would trobble any won to air with her again but go always sulfs! --

And who will repine at that, thought I! -- <sup>198</sup>

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Thursday, 5<sup>th</sup>. My cold grew worse, -- but I had one pleasure; While we were at Dinner, Major Price was announced: -- he only came in to wish joy on the King's recovery; he is arrived on a visit of congratulation to his Majesty, & will stay some time. He only addressed himself to Mrs. Schwellenberg -- to the very aparent [*sic*] surprise of M<sup>lle</sup>. Montmollin, who dined with us, & looked most curiously at him all the while.

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Tuesday, 10<sup>th</sup>. I have been in too much pain to write these last 5 Days! & I became very feverish, & universally ill, affected with the fury of the cold.

My Royal Mistress, who could not but observe me very unwell, though I have never omitted my Daily three attendances, which I have performed with a difficulty all but insurmountable, concluded I had been guilty of some imprudence: I told the simple fact, of the Glass, -- but quite simply, & without one circumstance. She instantly said

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<sup>198</sup> The raising and the lowering of the glass appeared to be quite a source of conflict between FB and Mrs. Schwellenberg whenever they travelled or aired together. Mrs. Schwellenberg refused to allow FB to raise the glass; the ensuing draft, or "piercing wind" as FB described it, affected FB's health on more than one occasion, including this one, see MS BELOW, although most notably during November 1787 when her eyes became inflamed as a result of a particularly arduous journey with Mrs. Schwellenberg (see Appendix C).

she was surprised I could catch cold in an airing, as it had never appeared that it disagreed with me when I had it with Mrs. Delany! --

"No, ma'am, I immediately answered, nor with Mrs. Lock, -- nor, formerly, with Mrs. Thrale! -- but they left me the regulation of the Glass on my own side to myself, or, if they interfered, it was to draw it up for me. --"

This I could not resist! I can be silent, -- but when challenged to speak at all, -  
- it must be plain truth.

I had no answer. Illness here, -- till of late! -- has been so unknown, that it is commonly supposed it must be wilful, & therefore meets little notice, till accompanied by danger, or incapacity of duty. This is by no means from hardness of heart, -- far otherwise, -- there is no hardness of Heart in any one of them, -- but it is prejudice, & want of personal experience.

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Great, however, has been my disturbance during this season of pain: intelligence of remarks has reached me the most disagreeable in themselves, & the hardest to conquer. They are all from Götter, & I shall give them in a string -- though she has delivered them at different times, in this period, while assisting me with warm applications to my Face.

First, she complained that Columb had not been civil, to Mrs. Lovel, Mrs. Schwellenberg's maid,<sup>199</sup> who had told her she met much more civility in her last place,

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<sup>199</sup> No further information found. She does not appear in *JL*, *EJL*, *HFB*, *YW*, Papendiek, Hedley, and *The Royal Kalendar* (1789), 86-102, 277-78. FB first mentioned Mrs. Lovel by name in the CJ on 29 November 1789 when she discussed what the arrangements of the rooms were to be at Kew to accommodate the King's illness (Berg). She was not named in FB's MS beyond this thesis selection (Berg).



which was living with Lady < Digby,<sup>200</sup> [xxxxx / word] (Sherborne Castle), > where she had always been waited upon herself by a footman, as Mr. Digby, she said, could tell Miss Burney.

Indeed, I gravely answered, I never heard any thing upon the subject.

"O ma'am, cried Goter, Colouring, but Mrs. Lovel says if ever I should see (Sherborne) Castle, I shall know it to be true, -- for there are 3 footmen waiting at the Housekeeper's Table, where Mrs. Lovel Dined. --"

"And what makes you think of seeing Sherborne Castle?<sup>201</sup> --"

"Why, ma'am, because -- because, ma'am, Mr. Weslerholds<sup>202</sup> says I'm much the most likely to get off, of any of the other maids here, --"

"How get off? --"

"Why, ma'am, -- if you was to . . . marry, he says. --"

Enquiring a little further into this, she plainly owned her meaning, & Mr. Weslerholds, that Mr. <Digby> came a courting to me! --

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"And all the maids, ma'am, & Columb, & every body says so!" --

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<sup>200</sup> Mary Knowler (d. 1794); daughter and heir of John Knowler, Recorder of Canterbury; m. (1770) with a fortune of 12 000 pounds, as his second wife, Henry Digby (1731-93), 7<sup>th</sup> Baron Digby of Geashill [I] (1757), *cr.* (1765) 4<sup>th</sup> Baron Digby of Sherborne, co. Dorset, and later *cr.* Earl Digby, co. Lincoln and *cr.* Viscount Coleshill, co. Warwick (1790) (GEC, *Peerage* iv. 355 s.v. "Henry (Digby);" Lodge (1845), 172 "Digby, Earl of;" *GM* lxiv. i. 281). According to the Revd. A.B. Beaven, Henry Digby "adhered to Pitt on the Regency Bill, and got his Earldom from him" (cited by Vicary Gibbs, GEC, *Peerage* iv. 355 n.c.).

<sup>201</sup> The Digbys' seat in 1789 was Sherborne Castle, Dorsetshire (Lodge (1845), 172; *HFB* 205). The Castle, which was built by Sir Walter Raleigh, was located inside the grounds of the remains of a Norman Castle (*Gazetteer of the British Isles*, 9<sup>th</sup> ed. (Edinburgh, reprinted 1972), 614).

<sup>202</sup> Probably Westerhaults, who would appear again in the MS in January 1792 (*JL* i. 109). Joyce Hemlow noted that he was "[a]n attendant (or ? footman) at Court, who does not, however, appear

"Then all the maids, cried I, & Columb, & every body are much mistaken. I desire you will tell them so. I only see Mr<. Digby > as a Friend & acquaintance; -- for any thing further, -- I should as soon think of the Man in the Moon."

I thought this quite necessary, & quite within full comprehension for its expression! She looked extremely disappointed, but presently said "Columb always says, ma'am, that it won't be, -- because he says it's only Mr<. Digby > -- & not you, ma'am, -- for he's sure, he says, you would not be such a fool. --"

Pretty plain language in return! I could not forbear heartily laughing, -- which encouraged her to go on with renewed Spirits.

"Columb don't like Mr<. Digby > at all, ma'am, -- he says he comes in & out, just as if he was his Master, & he says he shan't be that, for he'd sooner go away. He says he knows his reasons why he don't like him. And he says, as to his coming here so much, he knows Colonel Greville would like it just the same, only he has not such assurance. But he says he never calls you for him, & he never will, & he bid me not be so over-officious myself."

I was surprised enough at all this; but only made a general answer, that it was the business of every servant to announce every visitor, & leave the choice to those who received them.

Another time, she began telling me Mr<. Digby > desired his best Compliments to me. She had met him in the

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passage. she said she very often met him, & he always stopt her, to ask how I did, & whether I was in my room. And so he did to Columb too -- & all the maids knew he would, & stopt her, when they saw him coming.

Amazing this, in Mr<. Digby >! -- Is it not? --

“But Columb, she continued, says he never gives his messages, -- nor he ever will.”

“That is very wrong, cried I, gravely; he ought to give every message from every body.”

“Yes, ma'am; but Mr<. Digby > knows his way, I believe, for now he never asks him to call upon you; if he can't find me, he goes to Mrs. Keene, Miss Planta's maid,<sup>203</sup> & asks her to see for your Servant; but he says, always Miss Burney's maid, if you please, -- not her man!”

How very inconsiderate! --

“Columb quite hates him, ma'am, -- when it rains, he always look to see if he's out, & if he is, he says "Look, there's my master! he'll be wet to the skin! I'm glad of it! -- "

You may imagine the sort of answers I made.

“But Miss Planta, ma'am, always asks Mrs. Keene what Company you keep, -- & whether Mr<. Digby > does not come; -- & when she says she don't know, she says she's a fool, & bids her find out his voice, & know against another time. --”

Amazing! --

And Mrs. Schwellenberg, ma'am, always asks Mrs. Arline who's with you; & when I come for you, she says I'm mighty alert about it; & one Day Mrs. Arline went herself, & she asked who wanted you, & when Mrs. Arline

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said she did not know, because Mr< Digby > told her to say somebody wanted you, -- she said, what, are you turned Cupid's mercury too, as well as that pert little Goter? --

"

Good Heaven, what hearings were these! --

Mrs. Arline, ma'am, always says she is sure it will be, & so does Mrs. Sandys;<sup>204</sup> -- but Columb says he likes Colonel Greville a great deal the best, for he's the most the Gentleman among them.<sup>205</sup> But he says you've a rare pack of old Gentlemen coming after you, as ever he see; -- there's nobody but that old sniffing Gentleman, Mr. Bryant,<sup>206</sup> & old Mr. Cambridge,<sup>207</sup> & t' other old Gentleman with the Horn; that ever he sees --"

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<sup>203</sup> Or Kean. Not identified. She does not appear in *JL*, *EJL*, *HFB*, *YW*, Papendiek, Hedley, or *The Royal Kalendar* (1789), 86-102, 277-78. Mrs. Kean's "Cell" was next to FB's during this stay at Kew (Berg: 9 December 1788).

<sup>204</sup> According to *The Royal Kalendar* (1790), Mrs. Sandys was an "Assistant" to the Keepers of the Robes (100). She does not appear in *The Royal Kalendar* (1789), 100. She was first mentioned in FB's Court Journal entry for 12 July 1788 when the Royal Family left for Cheltenham and last mentioned on 7 July 1790, FB's last day at Court, when she "then took leave of Mrs. Sandys, giving her a token of remembrance, in return for her constant good | behaviour. -- & she shewed marks of regard & of even grief [FB] was sorry to receive, as [FB] could so ill return" (Berg).

<sup>205</sup> Apparently other servants seconded his opinion. When Digby was to be married in 1790, Mrs. Oakly, Lady Caroline Waldegrave's maid, claimed that "it was no great loss, for she always thought < Colonel Greville would be much better > for Miss Burney" (Berg).

<sup>206</sup> Jacob Bryant (1715-1804), antiquary and mythologist (*JL* i. 115 n.2; also *DL* iii. 4 n.3). FB was introduced to the "thin, little, wizen old gentleman, with eyes that scarce seemed to see, and a rather tottering gait" by Mrs. Delany on 16 August 1786 at Windsor. She was "very glad to see" this gentleman of "very high character" who "talk[ed] a great deal, and with the utmost good-

This is Mr. Hutton,<sup>208</sup> who is deaf.

"And Columb told Mrs. Keene, ma'am, never to see for you again, -- he said if ever Mr<. Digby > asked, the way was to say you were out, & nobody knew where. He said that was what he always did himself."

I was now obliged to speak angrily of this liberty in Columb, & express my astonishment at his caring so much about my visitors, be they whom they might.

And then come out a curious discovery of what it all meant! -- "Because, ma'am, he says he knows why he hates him --"

"And why? --"

"Because, ma'am, he says he's a Villain --"

Good God, how I started! -- I desired her to explain --

"He says, ma'am, he knows very well, all the time that he is coming after you in this manner, morning, noon & night, he pays his addresses to a Lady in Town -- a very

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handsome lady, ma'am, & a maid of Honour, -- "

---

humour and ease, casting entirely aside his learning, which [she was] nevertheless assured [was] that of one of the most eminent scholars of the age" (*DL* iii. 4). FB probably saw him regularly during the Court years as he was "a friend of the Court" (*HFB* 204) who "live[d] much in this neighbourhood" (*DL* iii. 4). For a list of his letters to FB, which were often very witty, see *Catalogue* (*JL* i. 115 n.2).

<sup>207</sup> Richard Owen Cambridge (1717-1802).

<sup>208</sup> James Hutton (1715-95), bookseller, eccentric, and principal founder of the Moravian Church in England. He was a devoted friend of the Burneys for many years; his introductory letter to CB, in the Osborn Collection, was dated 2 July 1773 (*JL* i. 90 n.26; *EJL* ii. 26 and n.61). Although Bryant and Hutton never seemed to "come after" FB as Columb claimed, her manservant was actually echoing an earlier fear on the part of her friends regarding the elder Cambridge; in 1783, CB, Charlotte Burney, Major Phillips, Mrs. Thrale, and Mrs. Ord had worried that Richard Owen

"Miss Gunning?" cried I --

"Yes, ma'am, that's the very name."

I was very glad this was the clearance of the "Villain" -- I assured her his acquaintance with me was not of a sort that need give Miss Gunning, or any other lady, any anxiety: & repeated my man of the moon.<sup>209</sup>

Nevertheless, this communication has given me inexpressible vexation: I do not mean the latter part, -- I attribute that solely to the old report, & hold Mr<. Digby > as incapable of a duplicity so base almost as an angel of Heaven! -- It serves, however, to exculpate poor Columb, -- who cannot believe this, & think too hardly of him --<sup>210</sup>

But these Servants -- their surmizes -- their assertions, rather, & the extreme defiance of all conjecture in Mr. < Digby > hurt -- embarrass -- disturb me inexpressibly -- I cannot deny I feel disposed to be angry with Mr<. Digby > &, with any thing short of the established opinion I feel of his high honour, -- I should instantly resolve to break off all intercourse with him, except what is official.--

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Cambridge's interest in FB was more improper than proper for a married man (*HFB* 191-92; *JL* i. 83 n.2).

<sup>209</sup> Joyce Hemlow detailed in *HFB* how "[o]thers could tell a story about the Maid of Honour and the green-eyed monster -- how once [24 April 1789: Berg] on Colonel Digby's sudden entrance into the drawing-room, after it was reported that he had been found in Miss Burney's apartment, Miss Gunning reached for her salts and fainted dead away" (209; see Berg: December 1789). FB would eventually have to report in December 1789 that Digby's "intentions" towards her had apparently "exited so vehement a jealousy, that Miss Gunning could not hear the name, nor sit composed when it was spoken!" (Berg).

<sup>210</sup> The previous year, in February 1788, FB had written: "Miss Gunning, who is reported, -- with what foundation I know not, to be likely to become Mrs. Digby. she [*sic*] is pretty, learned, & accomplished: yet, from the very little I have seen of her, I should not think she had Heart enough to satisfy Mr. Digby, in whose Character the leading trait is the most acute sensibility. However, I have heard he has disclaimed all such intention with high indignation at the report, as equally injurious to the Delicacy both of Miss Gunning & himself, so recently after his loss" (Berg).

To Day, at noon, -- he made me a visit; -- I had not seen him since our rencontre in the passage, -- which is the first time he has stretched an absence of visiting me into 3 Days since the 5<sup>th</sup>. of last November!

The first time is it, also, that I have received him with an internal chagrin -- I might almost say displeasure: probably I felt it unjustly, -- but it seemed

[3740]

to me rather too considerate -- for a mind generous & delicate -- to brave thus the world & its ways for another, however he might scorn them for himself. But this may be all explained --

"I come, he cried, but for a minute -- just to see how you do, -- for I hear you are not well."

I assured him very little was the matter, -- but he would not be satisfied without a World of questions, -- & he asked them with all his wonted earnestness & interest.

I enquired, in my turn, about the political state of affairs, which he always expounds with a clearness, conciseness, & confidence, that make me mistress of the Subject for the time being.

But he quickly returned again to me, -- examining me with all his skill & discernment, & finishing with saying -- "But -- if, as you say, you are not really ill -- is . . . . all else smooth? --"

Certainly he saw something involuntarily less cordial in my manner, -- for he looked very anxious, & very curious, -- & when I answered yes, he seemed more dissatisfied than before he spoke.

I talked on about the King -- Queen -- our plans for the Summer, &c<sup>211</sup> -- in the midst of which he exclaimed "Indeed you do not look well? --"

[3741]

And then, after the most minute investigation into particulars, -- he came more to the point, & said he feared something had oppressed my spirits.

I exerted all that I could to drive away this notion, since I certainly could not explain why I was less comfortable with him: -- he was easily answered, & led to other subjects; but not easily appeased, for he looked as if he would have looked me through.

After various gentle & leading returns to his doubts of all being smooth, he asked if any one attended me?

Yes, I said, Mr. Dundas.<sup>212</sup> --

"But you don't -- I fear -- he cried, take care of yourself! -- "

---

<sup>211</sup> In June, the Royal household would leave Windsor, stopping first at Lyndhurst, then proceeding to Dorset on a three-month holiday, with a trip to Devon planned for mid-summer. Glouster House in Weymouth, Dorset would be their holiday headquarters, from which they would make various daily excursions, or visits to other estates, such as to Sherborne Castle (*HFB* 211).

<sup>212</sup> "The Household Apothecary at Kew" (Berg: 25 July 1786; see also *JHC* xlv. 51, interview with Dr. Warren). Probably David Dundas (*pre* 1760-10 January 1826); Royal Surgeon and Member of the Royal College of Surgeons; Apothecary of Richmond, Windsor; later *cr.* Bt (1815) (P.J. and R.V. Wallis, *Eighteenth Century Medics*, 2<sup>nd</sup> imp. (Newcastle Upon Tyne, 1988), 177; *AR* lxviii. Appendix to Chronicle, 222; see also *YW* xlv. 787); although not found in *RK* 1789 86-102, 277-78. The King, in an 1804 letter to William Pitt, would describe a Mr. Dundas (David, see Aspinall, iv. 222 n.1), as "his second Sergeant Surgeon," who, "with the greatest assiduity and attachment" would have attended the King during his 1804 relapse. The King would direct Pitt to approve of a pension of six hundred pounds on the Civil List Establishment, with three hundred for Mr. Dundas and his wife and three hundred for his five children combined (Aspinall, iv. 222). Brooke, in *George III*, noted that in 1811, a David Dundas, "the Windsor apothecary," would attend the King twice a week at 15 guineas per visit at the beginning of what would be the King's last relapse, into permanent insanity (385). As for Dundas' character, FB had noted in 1786: "He is a sensible & worthy man, Miss Cambridge says, & behaved so well, so humanely & attentively to her long-suffering Kitty, that her affectionate Heart has been bound to him for-ever" (Berg: 25 July 1786).



"O yes, I do! --"

He shook his head, incredulous.

"Indeed you may believe me! I cried; this is no good House to be ill in, -- I do all I can to be well here."

"But I fear -- you -- " he stopt --

"What? cried I, -- you think, perhaps, -- I would be ill to get out of it? --"

"I think, indeed, you do not care how soon! --"

"How soon out of it? --"

"How soon . . . . out of all! -- how soon . . . all may be over!"

He walked off quick to the Window, when he had said this, -- whether by accident -- or whether from some kind emotion, I cannot be sure, -- But I did not [3742]

hear such a judgement from him without feeling emotion myself.

After this, he returned to the Fire, & we talked on common matters: till he looked at his watch, & said "I believe I must go down -- however . . . . " unwillingly, I fancy he was going to say, by the modulation of his voice: but he checked the civility, & left the phrase unfinished.

He then ruminated a little while, irresolute, -- "The King, he cried, is with his Council; -- the Queen I have seen, -- & the rest -- no -- I think -- I may have the pleasure to sit a little while here --"

He drew himself a Chair, -- & was just resuming some conversation, while his Eye was incessant in enquiry into what was the matter, -- when a rap came at the Door, -- & Enter Miss Planta! --

Judge, after what I have so lately heard, if this was pleasant!

She drew back, -- begged pardon, -- seemed all confounded, & was going to retreat! --

I called to her earnestly, & Mr. < Digby > rose, desired her come in, & said he was just going. --

What a reason to give for her entrance! -- but her manner I am sure confused him.

She declined it; she had only one word to say, -- & would come again! --

[3743]

He gravely protested he could not stay another moment, whether she entered or not.

"But I did not know any body was here, cried she, or I would not have come! -  
-"

"And why not?" cried I, quite provoked.

They then battled the matter together, -- till he went.

When he was gone, she apologized to me for the intrusion; but I drily answered "And why, Miss Planta, why not as well come in when Mr. < Digby > is here, as when I am alone? -- "

She could say nothing to this; & she had so little else to say, just then, that I have little doubt her visit was simply from suspecting just what she found! --

March 10<sup>th</sup>. This was a Day of Happiness indeed! -- a Day of such heart-felt public delight, as could not but suppress all private disturbance.<sup>213</sup>

The King sent to open the House of Lords by Commission.<sup>214</sup>

The General Illumination of all London<sup>215</sup> proved the universal joy of a thankful & most affectionate people, who have shewn so largely, on this trying occasion, how well they merited the monarch thus benignantly [*sic*] preserved from Earthly destruction.

<sup>213</sup> *GM* lix. i. 270 qualified 10 March as “the day appointed for the King’s message to Parliament, and an official declaration of the complete restoration of his Majesty’s health.” The events of the day are detailed from pp. 268-71. The actual “day of General Thanksgiving,” according to *GM* lix. i. 366, was to be celebrated on 23 April, by royal proclamation, when “[t]here never was known such a number of people congregated in London on any former occasion” (*GM* lix. i. 370). See pp. 366-70 for a detailed description of what transpired that day.

<sup>214</sup> The Lord Chancellor, Lord Thurlow, related a message from the King to both Houses of Parliament: “His Majesty, not thinking fit to be present this day in his royal person, has been pleased to cause a commission to be issued under his great seal, authorizing and commanding the commissioners, who are appointed by former letters patent to hold this parliament, to open and declare certain farther causes for holding the same: which commission you will now hear read” (*Cobbett* xxvii. 1298 and *AR* xxxi. 306; see also *GM* lix. i. 268-69). The commission stated that because the King had not been able to attend parliament last February, it had been opened by various appointed commissioners, including the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Chancellor. Because the King, although “happily recovered,” was still unable to open parliament on 10 March, the King “thought proper to command another commission, appointing the same commissioners to communicate his royal message to parliament” (*AR* xxxi. 307).

<sup>215</sup> According to *GM*’s report for the “Domestic Occurrences” of 10 March, “[a]ll the inhabitants” of London “seemed to vie with each other who should give the most beautiful and picturesque devices on the occasion [of the King’s recovery] and who should testify their loyalty in the most conspicuous manner” (*GM* lix. i. 270). On the evening of 10 March, most windows in London had lamps in them and most houses, the Opera house, Drury-Lane Theatre, and other buildings such as the Customs House had some type of display (“a picturesque device”), the most common being a variation of what the Duchess of Beaufort and Lord Harcourt had, a G.R. [George Rex] with a crown above (see *GM* lix. 270-71 for a detailed description of the different illuminations). *Daily Adv.* contended that the Illumination “was particularly distinguished at the Houses of the King’s Cabinet Ministers, Publick Officers, the Houses of the Ambassadors, principal Nobility, Tradesmen to the Royal Family, &c.” (“Wednesday, March 11, 1789,” p.1). According to *Wraxall*, however, even “[t]he poorest mechanics contributed their proportion, and instances were exhibited of cobblers’ stalls decorated with one or two farthing candles” (*Wraxall’s Mem.* v. 336). *Daily Adv.* added that “[t]here were also Bonfires in many Places, and the Night concluded with great joy” (“Wednesday, March 11, 1789,” 1). See also *The London Gazette*, “Tuesday March 10, to Saturday March 14, 1789,” p.121.

The Queen, from her privy Purse, gave private orders for a splendid  
Illumination at this Palace:

[3744]

Rebecca<sup>216</sup> painted a beautiful transparency, -- & Mr. Smelt had the regulation of the  
whole.

The King -- Providence -- Health, & Britannia, were displayed with elegant  
devices: the Queen & Princesses, all but the Youngest,<sup>217</sup> went to Town, to see the  
illumination there; & Mr. Smelt was to conduct the surprise.

It was magnificently [*sic*] beautiful.

When it was lighted & prepared, the Princess Amelia went to lead her Papa to  
the front window: but first she dropt on her knees, & presented him a Paper with these  
lines, --which, at the Queen's desire, I had scribbled for the happy occasion.

-----  
To The King.

Amid a rapt'rous Nation's praise  
That sees Thee to their pray'rs restor'd,  
Turn gently from the gen'ral blaze --  
Thy Charlotte wooes her bosom's Lord! --  
Turn & behold where, bright & clear,  
Depictur'd with transparent art,  
The Emblems of her thoughts appear,

---

<sup>216</sup> Austin Dobson identified him as "Biagio Rebecca, A.R.A., 1735-1808, an Italian history and ornamental painter, who decorated some of the Royal apartments at Windsor" (*DL* iv. 269 n.1). See Michael Bryan, *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers, Biographical and Critical* (1899), ii. 352, s.v. "Rebacca, Biagio."

And Tribute of a grateful Heart.

[3745]

O small the tribute, were it weigh'd  
 With all She feels, -- or half She owes!  
 But noble minds are best repaid  
 From the pure Spring whence bounty flows.

P.S. The little Bearer begs a Kiss

From dear Papa for bringing this.

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I need not, I think, tell you, the little Bearer begged not in vain. The King was extremely pleased. He came into a Room belonging to the Princesses, in which we had a party to look at the illumination, & there he stayed above an Hour, -- chearful, composed, & gracious! all that could merit the great national testimony to his worth this Day paid him.

Lady Effingham, Major Price, & Dr. Willis, -- & Mr. & Mrs. Smelt, made the party; with the sweet little Princess, till her Bed-time, Miss Gomme, &c.

The Queen & Princesses did not return from Town till one in the morning; they were quite enchanted with the glorious Scene they had been beholding.

[3746]

I cannot but mention a little advice I have received from Miss Planta. She told me the Queen seemed to think it so odd Mr<. Digby > should never visit Mrs.

---

<sup>217</sup> Amelia (1783-1810).

Schwellenberg, & Mrs. Sc. was herself so affronted about it, that she thought I had better tell him to do it, now & then.

Very composedly, I answered her I should certainly take no such liberty with Mr. < Digby. > I was much obliged by his visits to myself, which greatly helped to lighten the weight & the gloom of my long & melancholy confinement; but I could by no means assume the influence of directing his conduct, or take upon myself the extraordinary obligation of begging [xxxxx *I word*] a favour.

She seemed struck, & silenced. But whether this counsel was given me to try what terms we were upon, or from really believing them so intimate, I know not.

I went on further, however; & talked both about him & our acquaintance, with great fluency, & an ease & frankness I could not have assumed -- God knows! -- had the sort of entanglement been within which seemed suspected.

< One thing, however, somewhat [xxxxx *I word*] me, in the midst of these disagreeable surmizes: they seem to remove former surmizes, which, -- though, in fact, perhaps more groundless, -- were, to me, -- in my connection with the family, infinitely more distressing & unwelcome. -- >

[3747]

Wednesday, 11<sup>th</sup>. This morning, our beloved Sovereign, -- reinstated in all his dignities, -- received the address of the Lords & Commons, in Person, upon his Recovery!<sup>218</sup>

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<sup>218</sup> *Daily Adv.* of "Thursday, March 12, 1789" reported: "Yesterday at Noon the King held a Cabinet-Council at Kew-Palace, which was attended by the Lord Chancellor, Lord President, and Lord Privy Seal; the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the two Secretaries of State, and the Secretary at War; the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Lord Steward of the Household, Lord Chamberlain, the Master of the Horse, and the Groom of the Stole. At Half past Two o'Clock the Council broke up, when all the Foreign Ambassadors, Ministers, and Envoys were introduced to

The Queen, too, saw some of the foreign ministers, on the same joyful occasion.<sup>219</sup> All was serene gaiety & pleasure!

< Mr. Digby called upon me whilst I was Dressing; I could only speak to him through the Door.

He seemed very unwilling to go away, & unusually desirous of admittance; -- "Can I not, he cried, come in for one moment? -- I want very much to -- -- --"

"O no! cried I, I am frizzing & curling, & all over powder --"

"But . . . I want to know . . . how you really are? --"

"Better, -- pretty well again --" I answered.

He then regretted his inability to get here sooner, which he had vainly tried to do.

He then began talking French,<sup>220</sup> -- to escape Goter! -- & asked me a thousand questions of my Health, & Spirits, which I knew she understood as well as myself.

I answered always in English.

Again & again he asked if I was really not visible, & if he could not enter only for two minutes?

No, I said, 'twas impossible.

---

the King in his Council-Chamber by Lord Viscount Weymouth, where they continued with his Majesty till Four o'Clock" (1).

<sup>219</sup> *The London Gazette* of "Tuesday March 10, to Saturday March 14, 1789" noted that at Kew-House on 11 March, after three "Foreign Ministers" (the Marquis del Campo, the Count de Lusi, and the Chevalier d'Alvensleben) "had Private Audiences of His Majesty" (*cf.* with the n. ABOVE), they "had afterwards in like Manner Private Audiences of Her Majesty (122).

<sup>220</sup> Although FB seemed to understand the language, her French was not very good at this time. On 29 February 1793, she would write to her father that her future husband, the Frenchman M. d'Arblay, would have "just undertaken to become [her] French master for pronunciation" and he would give her "long daily lessons in reading." FB would tell her father: "Pray expect wonderful improvements!" (*DL* v. 175).

"Only one minute, he cried, -- just to see you, -- for I like better to rely on my Eyes -- than my Ears."

This was in French, still. >

[3748]

< I repeated the negative.

Well, then, he said, he would go; -- but stopt to assure me I was almost the only lady of his acquaintance who refused him admission to her Toilette.

I begged him not to ask it any more, & he wished me good morning; with more avowed reluctance than ever he expressed before. >

At night, the Princess Elizabeth came to call me to the Queen. Her Majesty was in the Drawing Room, with the King, Princesses, Lady Pembroke,<sup>221</sup> Mr. Smelt,

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<sup>221</sup> Elizabeth Spenser/Spencer (1737-1831); daughter of Charles (1706-58), 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke of Marlborough; m. (1756) Henry Herbert (1734-94), 10<sup>th</sup> Earl of Pembroke and 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Montgomery; Lady of the Bedchamber (1782/3-1818) (*EJL* iii. 381 n.92; Hedley, 126-27; GEC, *Peerage* x. 426-27 s.v. "Henry (Herbert)"; Burke (1970), 2092 s.v. "Henry, 10<sup>th</sup> Earl of Pembroke"). In 1762, Lady Pembroke's husband had created a scandal when he had run off with his mistress, Elizabeth Catherine Hunter (d.1795) and since that time, he apparently had had other affairs (see *YW* xxii. 9-10 and notes for the story; GEC, *Peerage* x. 426 n.e).

Mrs. Papendiek "related" how during the King's illness in February-March 1789, the King refused to see the Queen, avowing that "he had always felt a great partiality for Queen Esther (Lady Pembroke), and with her, upon a proper agreement, he would end his days" (ii. 63; cf. Macalpine, 76). Even after the King began to recover, Papendiek contended that he "still rambled at times, particularly on the subject of Queen Esther, of whom he had been fond from the first moment that she had been introduced at Court" (ii. 64). On the other hand, Brooke refutes the assumptions of the King's "unconscious wish to be unfaithful to his marriage vows," which he claimed began with Namier, stating that "it is most unlikely that he was in love with [Lady Pembroke]" (334). In terms of the King's "remarks" about her during his ramblings, Brooke states that they "like other things he said during his illness show that his mind was disturbed" (334). After the King's recovery, Brooke notes that Lady Pembroke wrote to the King on 8 April 1789: "Your Majesty has always acted by me as the kindest brother as well as the most gracious of sovereigns . . . if I might presume to say that I felt like the most affectionate sister towards an indulgent brother would exactly express my sentiments" (Lady Pembroke, in Brooke, 335). See also Vicary Gibbs' note b in GEC, *Peerage* x. 427.



& Dr. Willis. She immediately communicated to me her gracious permission that I should spend the next Day in Town, sleep at my Father's, & return on Friday Evening.

On Saturday we are to take leave of Kew. --

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Thursday, 12<sup>th</sup>. I set out as early as I was able, -- in a post Chaise,<sup>222</sup> with Columb on Horseback. on the Road, we overtook the King, with Mr<. Digby, > Colonels Manners, Gwynn,<sup>223</sup> & Goldsworthy, & Major Price.

I stopt the Chaise; but the King rode up to it, -- & asked me how long I should stay in Town, & how long it was since I had seen my Father? When I answered 5 Months, -- "O poor soul!" he most benevolently exclaimed, & let me go on.

< Colonels Goldsworthy, Gwynn, & Manners, rode up to ask how I did: Major Price Bowed at a distance: Mr. Digby kept wholly aloof. >

[3749]

How did I rejoice to see my dearest Father! --

<sup>222</sup> "A travelling carriage, either hired from stage to stage, or drawn by horses so hired: used in the 18th and earlier half of the 19th century. In England usually having a closed body, seated for from two to four persons, the driver or postilion riding on one of the horses" (*OED*).

<sup>223</sup> Francis Edward Gwynn (d.13 Jan.1821); Equerry to the King (1787-1820); Lieutenant-Colonel of the Late 20<sup>th</sup> Dragoons (5 May 1779); Lieutenant-Colonel of the 4<sup>th</sup> (or Royal Irish) Regiment of Dragoon Guards (June 1788); later Lieutenant-General (1799) (*JL* i. 157 n.28; *GM* xci. i. 187; *A List of the Officers of the Army* (Dublin, 1785), 9; *The London Gazette*, "Saturday July 26 to Tuesday July 29, 1788," p.361). "Colonel Gwynn is reckoned a remarkably handsome man," FB wrote of him on 1 July 1787 after being introduced (Berg). On 1 November 1787, FB noted that "Colonel Gwynn arrived to spend a few Days, & pay his Duty, on a new promotion, that of Aid de Camp to the King. His coming & his going have always the same effect upon me, I am neither glad nor sorry" (Berg); although in *The Universal British Directory of Trade and Commerce* (1790), p.12, he is listed as an Equerry.

< My sweet Fredy has long since told my Susanna the happy -- yet agitating sight & conference I obtained in Golden Square. And shall I own one thing honestly? -- my [xxxxx 1-2 words] Fredy -- all [xxxxx 1 word] of the living conflict of my mind - - gave to me, by her searching Eyes, a pang inconcievable, when I saw them yet doubtful of all my assertions! -- Do you think I did not say to myself O yes! -- let me (go) to (T--)<sup>224</sup> & for myself to the (very) quick! -- not that her doubts wakened any in me, believe me! -- but they gave me some jealousy for my (honesty), though not for my feelings -- & I resolved you should hear nothing, till I had made this grand experiment. I chose to pass my own examination, ere I committed myself for yours. Yet once I tried to awaken an idea of things in my dear Fredy but it was too obscurely.<sup>225</sup> >

Friday Evening I returned to Kew.

---

<sup>224</sup> Probably Twickenham.

<sup>225</sup> FB was referring to an incident reported in her journal of August 1787. It appears that Miss Cambridge had "hinted" at the "notion" that FB visit Twickenham, where her brother the Revd. George Owen Cambridge also lived. FB, who had probably worried about how such an action would be construed by the gossips, had acknowledged that Mr. G[eorge] C[ambridge] & the World" were her "sole, & acknowledged objection to visiting Twickenham." "O my beloved Fredy!" FB had written, "With what looks did you examine me, when I talked over this matter with you in Golden Square! -- how silent the attention, how eloquent the Eyes! --" In the end, because "[t]he Queen . . . ha[d] herself proposed [FB's] going to Twickenham," FB had agreed that "[g]o, therefore, [she] must." Her "promise . . . to make this visit upon [the Court's] next residence at Kew" seemed to be haunting her since Charlotte Cambridge was renewing her requests that FB visit Twickenham now that FB was at Kew.

## Appendix A

*[The following text, from FB's journal of 29 November 1788 (Berg), described the arrangements of the rooms at Kew during the King's 1788-89 illness]*

I must now tell you how the House is disposed.

The whole of the Ground Floor that looks towards the Garden is appropriated to the King, -- though he is not indulged with its range.

In the side wing, is a Room for the Physicians, destined to their consultations.

Adjoining to that, is the Equery's Dining Room.

Mrs. Schwellenberg's Parlours, which are in the front of the House, one for Dining, the other for Coffee, & Tea, are still allowed us.

The other front rooms below are for the Pages to Dine; -- & the rest of the more detached buildings are for the servants of various sorts.

All the Rooms immediately over those which are actually occupied by the King, are locked up: her Majesty relinquishes them, that he may never be | tantalized by footsteps over head.

She has retained only the Bed Room, the Drawing Room, which joins to it, & the Gallery, in which she <Dines>.

Beyond this Gallery, are the apartments of the three Elder Princesses, in which Rooms Miss Planta sleeps.

There is nothing more on the first floor.

On the Second, a very large Room for Mrs. Schwellenberg, & a very pleasant one for myself, are over the [xxxxx / word] Queen's Rooms.

Farther on are 3 Bed Rooms one for the Surgeon or Apothecary in waiting, the next for the Equery, & the third, lately mine, for the Queen's Lady. All written thus with Chalk, by the Prince.

These at present are Mr. Charles Hawkins, Colonel Goldsworthy & Lady Courtown.

Then follows a very long dark passage, with little Bed Rooms on each side for the maids -- viz the two Miss Macentons, Wardrobe women to the Princesses, their own

maid, Lady Courtown's, Miss Planta's, Mrs. Schwellenberg's two maids, Mrs. Lovel & Aline. These look like so many little Cells.

Mrs. Sandys has a room nearer the Queen's, & Goter [FB's maid] has one nearer to mine.

At the end of this Passage, there is a larger Room, formerly appropriated to M. De Luc, but now | chalked The Physicians. --

One Physician, one Equerry, & one Surgeon or Apothecary are regularly to sleep in the House.

This is the general arrangement.

The Prince, very properly, has also ordered that one of his Majesty's Grooms of the Bed Chamber should be in constant waiting. He is to reside in the Prince's House, over the way, which is also fitting up for others. This Gentleman is to receive all inquiries about the King's Health. The same regulation had taken place at Windsor, in the Castle, where the Gentlemen waited in turn. Though as the Physicians send their account to St. James's, this is now become an almost useless ceremony, for every body goes thither, to read the Bulletin.

The three young Princesses are to be in a House belonging to the King on Kew Green, commonly called Princess Elizabeth's, as her Royal Highness has long inhabited it in her illness. There will lodge Miss Goldsworthy, M<sup>lle</sup> Montmollin, & Miss Gomm. Lady Charlotte Finch is to be at the Prince of Wales.

## Appendix B

*[Berg: FB to Marianne Port, 3 February 1789; A.L.S.; 1 4to; 4 pages; addressed to Miss Port, No 9, Alfred Street, Bath]*

Feb<sup>y</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> 89

Kew palace

Heaven send you happy, my Dear Marianne! -- I will pray -- for You, indeed, with all my Heart -- & with the warmest affection, -- I can easily conceive your agitation in writing by what I felt in reading your Letter. -- I could not help being surprised, notwithstanding the recent preparation, -- it all seems so sudden -- yet is so permanently important. --

I have been going to write continually -- but knew not what to say, -- nor how to hint any counsel while so entirely in the dark. -- Was I at the [xxxxx I word] at Cheltenham on the Night you mention? -- I would I had seen a person for whom I must feel such an interest. --

“All is decided! --” -- I have cried over those words, my dear Marianne, -- from sudden emotion, Hope, & Fear, for the consequences of such a decision. Heaven -- Heaven send you happy! -- All the Heart & soul of my ever revered & most dear Mrs. Delany rises in my mind at this moment, -- what a moment to Her had it been, if she had lived to see it! --

I was sorry not to have heard more of you through Mrs. Cochrane, -- another lady, with whom I had a slight, but, to her, honourable acquaintance, lives at Bath. I wish you to know her, -- she is a most respectable woman, & extremely well disposed, by a desire I have | signified to her through Miss Cambridge, to begin the acquaintance. It is

Mrs. Holroyd, sister of Lord Sheffield. Now, perhaps, you may be too deeply occupied to make this convenient: if so, -- knowing such cause, do not think of me, but gently decline it: if not, her Character stands so high for solid worth, that it will be a sort of comfort to me to hear that you meet.

Depend upon my executing the very proper commission you give me of burning; & spare not for executing the same yourself; -- you cannot destroy too much, nor begin too new.

Very sweet, indeed, & a trait of kindness truly touching to me, is what you mention about the abode. It gives me great hope that you will meet with that consideration & tenderness which long & early use have made essential to you. May it be but so! --

You give me the [xxxxx 1½ line] & sympathies my mind, & the early sorrows of my poor Marianne might have softened [xxxxx 4 words]. Pray make [xxxxx 3 words] -- [xxxxx ½ line] deep interest in an affair which, I can easily believe, now wholly engrosses [xxxxx 1 word].

May I ask you of something of Mr. W. explanatory | of his situation, & probable mode of life? -- Yours, you are sure I mean, in asking such a question.

As for Kew, & me, -- what, upon so particular an occasion, might be permitted, I know not, -- but hitherto, I have not seen one human Being out of the Household. -- not even my Father, not even my sisters, -- not even Miss Cambridge who lives so near, & who would walk to meet me for only two minutes at the Gate of the Lodge, were it not deemed improper. -- All out house connections are totally broken off for those who abide

within these Walls. -- Yet I cannot but hope, in this case, one exception might be allowed -- You will therefore let me know all that may lead to my begging this indulgence.

Mr. Dewes, no doubt, will undertake all the business part of this momentous transaction, -- all that relates to investigation of the present, & settlement of the future: I am therefore easy for you upon these particulars -- which never indeed sink so deeply with me as perhaps they ought to do.

Adieu, & be well & composed if possible -- How shall I feel for you! -- let me have all the promised particulars when you are able to write them -- & believe me, sweet Marianne -- with tenderest wishes, Your truly affectionate

F.B.

Mr. Cha<sup>s</sup> C. has been Dead a Twelve month, tell Mrs. L. --

Your Letter is this moment arrived. --

I am truly amazed indeed at what Mr. Pul--r told you from Mrs. Pul--r. But you were perfectly right to let me know it. I expect sincerity where I use it, -- I love & respect it every where. But what she can mean by a Ladder, Heaven knows! What did she do for me? -- Nothing! I was simply a visitor [*sic*] at her House, by her most earnest entreaty -- & I became, I thought, the friend of her Heart, as she made herself mine. But that was All, -- it was frequently with the most grievous inconvenience I complied with her vehement supplications of being at her House. That I made other acquaintance there was generally a mere toil to me, as it only involved me in fresh trouble, for which I had no natural taste. She may think, perhaps, she made me known to the World but she knows I never wished it, -- & might know, also, The World always decides That for itself. For her

personal kindness, indeed, I was greatly indebted, because it proved her Love, & engaged mine. But there we drop, -- for all else, I owe for no more than might be claimed from every acquaintance that I visit.



## Appendix C

*[The following text, from FB's journal of November 1788 (Berg), demonstrated the tyrannical behaviour of Mrs. Schwellenberg towards FB]*

Wednesday, 14<sup>th</sup>. We went to Town for the Drawing Room, & I caught a most severe cold by being obliged to have the Glass down on my side, to suit Mrs. Schwellenberg, though the sharpest Wind blew in that ever attacked a poor phiz [face] -- [xxxxx 1½ lines]

...

Tuesday, 27<sup>th</sup>. I had a terrible journey indeed to Town, Mrs. Schwellenberg finding it expedient to have the Glass down on my side, whence there blew in a sharp wind, which so painfully attacked my Eyes, that they were inflamed even before we arrived in Town. Mr. De Luc & Miss Planta both looked uneasy, but no one durst speak; & for me, 'twas among the evils that I can always best bear. Yet, before the Evening, I grew so ill, that I could not propose going to Chelsea, lest I should be utterly unfitted for Thursday's Drawing Room.

The next Day, however, I received a consolation that has been some ease to my Mind ever since. My dear Father spent the Evening with me, & was so incensed at the state of my Eyes, which were now as piteous to behold as to feel, & at the relation of their usage, that he charged me, another time, to draw up my Glass in defiance of all opposition & to abide by all consequences, since my place was wholly immaterial when put in competition with my Health.

... |

On the Thursday I was obliged to Dress just as if nothing was the matter. --

The next Day, when we assembled to return to Windsor, Mr. De Luc was in a real consternation at sight of my Eyes; & I saw an indignant glance at my Coadjutrix that could scarce content itself without being understood. Miss Planta ventured not at such a glance, but a most indignant whisper broke out, as we were descending the stairs, expressive of horror against the same poor person -- poor person, indeed, to exercise a power productive only of abhorrence to those that view, as well as those that feel it! --

Some business of Mrs. Schwellenberg's occasioned a delay of the journey, & we all retreated back: & when I returned to my Room, Miller, the old head Housemaid, came to me, with a little neat tin saucepan in her Hand, saying "Pray, ma'am, use this for your Eyes, 'tis Milk & butter, such as I used to make for Madame Hoggerdorn, when she Travelled in the Winter with Mrs. Schwellenberg.

Good Heavens! -- I really shuddered, -- when she added, that all that poor woman's misfortunes with her Eyes, which, from inflammation after inflammation grew nearly blind, were attributed by herself to these journies, in which she was forced to have the Glass down at her side, in all Weathers, though so tender in that tender part, & frequently behind her also! --

Upon my word this account of my Predecessor was | the least exhilarating intelligence I could receive! Goter told me, afterwards, that all the servants in the House had remarked I was going just the same way! --

...

Soon after, however, we all assembled again, & got into the Coach. Mr. De Luc, who was my vis ... vis, instantly pulled up the Glass.

"Put down that Glass!" was the immediate order.

He affected not to hear her; & began conversing. She enraged quite tremendously, calling aloud to be obeyed without delay. He looked compassionately at me, & shrugged his Shoulders, & said "But -- ma'am --"

"Do it, Mr. De Luc, when I tell you! I will have it! -- when you been too cold, you might bear it! --"

"It is not for me, Ma'am -- but poor Miss Burney --"

"O, poor Miss Burney might bear it the same! -- put it down, Mr. De Luc! -- without, I will get out! -- Put it down, when I tell you! -- It is my Coach! -- I will have it selfs! -- I might go alone in it! -- or with one -- or with what you call nobody, when I please!"

Frightened for good Mr. De Luc, & the more for being | being much obliged to him, I now interfered, & begged him to let down the Glass. Very reluctantly he complied, & I lent back in the coach, & held up my Muff to my Eyes.

What a Journey ensued! -- To see that Face when lighted up with Fury, is a sight for Horrour! -- I was glad to exclude it by my Muff.

Miss Planta alone attempted to speak. I did not think it incumbent on me to make the agreeable thus used; I was therefore wholly dumb: for not a word not an apology, not one expression of being sorry for what I suffered, was uttered. The most horrible ill humour, violence, & rudeness, were all that were shewn. Mr. De Luc was too much provoked to take his usual methods of passing all off by constant talk: & as I had never seen him venture to appear provoked before, I felt a great obligation to his kindness. When we were about half way, we stopt to water the Horses. He then again pulled up the Glass, as if from absence. A voice of fury exclaimed "Let it down! without I won't go!"

"I am sure," cried he, all Mrs. Luc's plants will be killed by this Frost! --"

For the Frost was very severe indeed.

Then he proposed my changing places with Miss Planta, who sat opposite Mrs. Schwellenberg, & consequently on the sheltered side. "Yes! cried Mrs. Sc. -- Miss Burney might sit here, & so she ought!" --

I told her, briefly, I was always sick, in riding back wards.

"O, ver well! when you don't like it! -- what did the poor Haggerdorn bear it! -- when the blood was all running | down from her Eyes! --"

This was too much! -- I must take, then, I cried, the more warning!" And after that, I spoke not a Word.

...

I gulped as well as I could at Dinner; but all civil fits are again over! not a word was said to me! yet I was really very ill all the afternoon; the cold had seized my Elbows, from holding them up so long, & I was stiff & chilled all over.

...

Mr. De Luc called upon me next Morning & openly avowed his indignation, protesting it was an oppression he could not bear to see used, & reproving me for checking him, when he would have run all risks. I thanked him most cordially; but assured him the worst of all inflammations to me was that of a quarrel, | & I entreated him, therefore, not to interfere. But we have been cordial Friends from that time forward.

Miss Planta also called, kindly bringing me some Eye water, & telling me she had "never so longed to beat any body in her life"; "& yet, I assure you, she added, every body remarks that she behaves, all-together, better to you than to any body! --"

O Heavens! --

. . .

Such was this Month: in which, but for the sweet support of my darling Mrs. Delany, I must almost wholly have sunk under the tyranny -- whether opposed or endured -- of my most extraordinary coadjutrix.

## Appendix D

*[The following is the text of the Prayer and Thanksgiving on the Recovery of the King, which was read on 1 March 1789 throughout Great Britain and which was taken from GM lix. i. 266]*

“Almighty God, Father of all comforts, and the strength of those who put their trust in thee, we prostrate ourselves before thy Divine Majesty, and humbly presume to offer up our prayers and thanksgiving, for thy mercy vouchsafed to our most gracious sovereign.

Thou hast raised him from the bed of sickness; thou hast again lifted up the light of thy countenance upon him, and blessed him with sure trust and confidence in thy protection. Confirm, O Lord, we beseech thee, the reliance which we have on the continuance of thy goodness; and strengthen and establish in him, if it be thy good pleasure, the work of thy mercy.

Grant that he may lead the residue of his life in thy fear and to thy glory; that his reign may be long and prosperous; and that we, his subjects, may shew forth our thankfulness for thy loving-kindness, and for all the blessings, which, through his just and mild government, thou bestowest upon us. To this end may we be enabled by thy grace to maintain a deep and lively sense of thy good providence, to pay due obedience to his lawful authority, to live in Christian charity towards each other, and to walk before thee in all virtuous and godly living.

Finally we pray to keep him in perpetual peace and safety; and to grant that, this life ended, he may dwell with thee in life everlasting, through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour. Amen.”

## Appendix E

*[The following is the full text of the Regency Bill, as presented by William Pitt on 5 February 1789, copied from a reproduction of the original found in the House of Commons Sessional Papers of the Eighteenth Century, ed. Sheila Lambert (Wilmington, Delaware, 1975), lxiv. 1-13]*

## A

## B I L L

## T O

**Provide for the Care of His Majesty's Royal Person, and for the Administration of the Royal Authority, during the Continuance of His Majesty's Illness**

**WHEREAS**, by reason of the severe Indisposition with which it hath pleased God to afflict Our Most Gracious Sovereign, the Personal Exercise of the Royal Authority by His Majesty, is for the present so far interrupted, that it becomes necessary to make Provision for assisting His Majesty in the Administration and Exercise of the Royal Authority, during the Continuance of His Majesty's Indisposition, in such Manner, and to such Extent, as the Present Circumstances, and the urgent Concerns of the Nation, require:

**Be it therefore Enacted** by the KING's Most Excellent MAJESTY, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That His Royal Highness *George Augustus Frederick*, Prince of *Wales*, shall have full Power and Authority, in the Name and on the Behalf of His Majesty, and under the Stile and Title of Regent of this Kingdom, to exercise and administer, according to the Laws and Constitution of *Great Britain*, the Royal Power and Authority to the Crown of *Great Britain* belonging, and to use, execute, and perform all Authorities, Prerogatives, Acts of Government, and Administration of the same, which lawfully belong to the King of this Realm to use, execute, and perform, subject to such Limitations, Exceptions, Regulations, and Restrictions, as are hereinafter specified and contained.

**And be it also Enacted** by the Authority aforesaid, That no Acts of Regal Power, Prerogative, Government, or Administration of Government, of what Kind or Nature soever, which might lawfully be done or executed by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, Personally exercising His Royal Authority, shall, during the Continuance of the Regency by this Act established, by valid and effectual, unless done and executed in the Name and on the Behalf of His Majesty, by the Authority of the said Regent, according to the Provisions of this Act, and subject to the Limitations, Exceptions, Regulations, and Restrictions, herein contained.

**And be it further Enacted** by the Authority aforesaid, That the said Regent, before He shall act, or enter upon His said Office of Regent, shall take the following Oath of Office:

" I do solemnly promise and swear, That I will truly and faithfully execute the Office of Regent of the Kingdom of *Great Britain*, according to an Act of Parliament passed in the Twenty-ninth Year of the Reign of His Majesty King *George* the Third, intituled, An Act

and that I will administer, according to Law, the Power and Authority vested in Me by virtue of the said Act, and will in all Things, to the utmost of My Power and Ability, consult and maintain the Safety, Honour, and Dignity of His Majesty, and the Welfare of His People.

So help me G O D."

Which Oath shall be taken before His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, who are hereby required and empowered to administer the same, and to enter the same in the Books of the said Privy Council.

**And be it further Enacted** by the Authority aforesaid, That the said Regent shall be deemed and taken to be a Person having and executing an Office and Place of Trust within *England*, and shall take and suscribe such Oaths, and make and suscribe such Declaration, and do all such Acts as are required by the Laws and Statutes of this Kingdom to qualify Persons to hold Offices and Places of Trust, and to continue in the same, in such Manner as in and by the said Laws and Statutes are required, and under such Pains, Penalties, Forfeitures, and Disabilities, as are therein and thereby appointed and ordained.

**And be it also Enacted** by the Authority aforesaid, That it shall be lawful for the said Regency to take and subscribe such Oaths, and make and suscribe such Declaration, in and before His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council; and that the Certificate of His having received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in and of the Royal Chapels, signed by the Person administering the same, shall be registered in the Books of the said Most Honourable Privy Council; and that such taking and subscribing the said Oaths, and making and subscribing the said Declaration, and taking the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper as aforesaid, shall be, to all Intents and Purposes, as effectual as if the same had been respectively taken, made, and subscribed in the Manner now required by Law for the Qualification of Persons to hold Offices and Places of Trust, and to continue in the same.

**And be it Enacted** by the Authority aforesaid, That nothing in this Act contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to impower the said Regent, in the Name and in the Behalf of His Majesty, to give the Royal Assent to any Bill or Bills in Parliament, for repealing, changing, or in any Respect varying the Order and Course of Succession to the



Crown of this Realm, as the same stands now established in the illustrious House of *Hanover*, by an Act, passed in the Twelvth Year of the Reign of King *William* the Third, intituled, "An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown, and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject;" or to any Act for repealing or altering the Act, made in the Thirteenth Year of the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, intituled, "An Act for the Uniformity of Public Prayers and Administration of Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies, and for establishing the Form of making, ordaining, and consecrating Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, in the Church of *England*;" or the Act of the Fifth Year of the Reign of Queen *Anne*, made in *Scotland*, intituled, "An Act for securing the Protestant Religion, and Presbyterian Church Government."

Provided also, and be it Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That if His said Royal Highness *George Augustus Frederick*, Prince of *Wales*, shall not continue to be resident in *Great Britain*, or shall at any Time marry a Papist, then, and in every such Case, all the Powers and Authorities vested in His Said Royal Highness, by virtue of this Act, shall cease and determine.

Provided always, and be it Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That His Royal Highness shall not have or exercise any Power or Authority to grant, in the Name and on the Behalf of His Majesty, any Rank, Title, or Dignity of the Peerage of this Realm, by Letters Patent, Writ of Summons, or in any other Manner whatever, or to summon any Person to the House of Lords by any Title to which such Person shall be Heir Apparent, or to appoint any such Rank, Title, or Dignity, which now is, or hereafter shall be, in Abeyance, to any of the Coheirs thereof.