

MS: British Library

67 Wimpole Street. Monday [8 January 1827].

Dear Gladstone,

"Obstupui, steterunique comoe!"¹ What a tremendous thunderbolt have I called down on my devoted head! First of all how my Whiggism must flutter within me to hear that Ulysses had all *the bad qualities* of the set? Now, how remarkably kind, & liberal this is of you! Craft, I suppose, dissimulation, low cunning, cruelty, & such like little items are to be marked off as the Whig qualities of Ulysses.² If these are not "the bad qualities" which you in your charity impute to such an origin, what in the name of simplicity are they? *Do not stab in the dark*, whatever you do: come forth in the stern guise of a patriot, not under the gloomy mantle of a midnight bravo: if the Whigs are to be cried down, let it be in the broad glare of day, by fair argument, & not by covert insinuation. You still harp on the Jacobites, & Tories, & strive to prove studied misrepresentation against me, whilst negligent haste was the inference, I am afraid, which my whole letter presented. I shall not give up my point: remember I spoke of the Tories as a *political party*, & as such I do not hesitate to affirm that their doctrines were an outrage to common sense, & the general tenor of their conduct highly dangerous to society. Disprove this, if you can, by shewing that the professed organs of their party did not hold forth, *The criminality of Resistance, the impiety of toleration, the indefeasible nature of hereditary right*, with many more of the same axioms, as the watchwords, & the glories of their cause. Any man professing these opinions forfeits, in my <opinion> mind, <the> all claim to *sensible politics*: you appear to think otherwise; for this is the sum of what I have advanced, & for this I have been honored with your reprimand. Mind however, that I speak solely here of the Old High Tory, the Tory of Charles II, William, & Anne: those who enlisted under that name against Walpole's ministry held very different *professed* principles, though their practice, their insidious, perfidious,

machinating practice continued the same. But all this "is a piece of blackguardism!" Heaven help me! This it is to deal with a "no party man." Your counter-charges about "moderation" are most singular. If by a moderate man you mean one who sets a guard on his mind, lest it should become the lurkingplace of faction; one, who never stoops to mean, or abusive language, or at least is always prompt to confess it when he has fallen unawares into such an error; one who in all political contests never forgets the great interests of justice, & peace, & humanity amid the exclusive views of party; such a man is indeed one of God's noblest creatures: may such moderation be yours & mine. But if you mean by the word, as I fear too many do who use it, a sort of lukewarm animal, who thinks it his duty to keep his mind in a perpetual equilibrium between two parties, or two sides of a question: a thing of scruples, & doubts, which either does not feel, or cannot enjoy any of those fine chivalrous sentiments which furnish out "the wardrobe of the mind,"³ & shed the beaming lustre of romance over this dream, which we call life; "Such a man" exclaims Burke, "can be trusted with no cause: for this reason; *he has no cause at heart!*"⁴ "I believe," says Fox in one of his exquisite letters, "*the love of political liberty is no illusion: if it is one, I am sure I shall never be cured of it.*"⁵ Had Hampden been a moderate man (in this sense) he would never have stood between "*the <tyrant, & his spoil> dead, & the living, that the plague might be stayed!*"⁶ Had John Somers, the mild, the generous, & the good used "*Prodesse, non conspici*"⁷ as an excuse for indolence, rather than an exciter to that kind of virtuous simplicity, which "Does good by stealth, & blushed to find it fame,"⁸ we should have lost the incalculable benefit of his exertions for the public good. Were I to be "moderate" in a cause which requires unceasing vigilance, & skilful perseverance, which leads not to the path of fashion, or the avenue of power, in a cause, on which the laws & liberties, & happiness of England depend, were I to ask the title of a moderate man in such a cause, then indeed should I hang my head for shame. Now for the charges themselves: & first let me tell you, how glad I am to hear you have not forgotten the good deeds of the Parliamentary leaders; as you never mention them, I supposed you might have done so. So Laud had *palliatory* precedents for torturing, & branding those Englishmen who had still some idea that Magna Charta was a better rule of government than the new system of the

Tudors & Stuarts: he had *palliatory* precedents for introducing the most offensive parts of the Roman Catholic ritual into the English <liturgy> service (this is fact, though you do not seem aware of it: vide Rushworth, Heylin, & even Hume):⁹ he had *palliatory* precedents for the innovations in Scotland which amounted to a partial change of the fundamental laws of the kingdom: moreover, his good motives! (I wonder when I should hear the last of it, if I talked of the good motives of the Regicides) his awful punishment, which you quaintly style "worse than that of felons," & the Arminian disputes are to extenuate every crime he committed!¹⁰ I will grant you he was a much better man than Strafforde: indeed it would be injustice to compare any except the thoroughly depraved to that great bad man. With respect to my queries: Was Charles not aware of Strafforde's intentions, & conduct in Ireland, when you know the former pleaded the King's authority for his confiscations, his executions, & his military despotism; when letters passed *between them, & some other counsellors*, of the most plain, avowed, detestable purport? As for Glamorgan's commission I assert Charles sent him over with instructions to act separately from Ormonde: this Birch long ago proved against Hume: letters are extant from the King to each of these confidants, containing solemn protestations to the one of favor & protection against Ormonde & Digby, who lamented in common with Hyde (vide his life) the having resource "to such tricks"; & equally vehement attestations to the other that no such separate instructions were intended.¹¹ "Upon the word of a Christian" says Charles to Ormonde, at the same time that he was doing the direct contrary to what he thus confirmed by oath with Glamorgan, & was taking the sacrament from Usher that he would never relax the penal laws. The fact is, after the war began, Charles grew desperate, & scrupled not to accept such aid, as justly scandalized his warmest adherents: read a letter of Lord Spencer's (a zealous royalist) on the intrigues "with papists," & the alarming consequences of the King's becoming victor. Lord Holland, you know, abandoned the King's cause for the same reason.¹² You know the anecdote of C.'s letter to the Queen, intercepted by Cromwell, which asserted: "I am put up to sale to the highest bidder: I have promised Cromwell the garter, & the title of Earl of Essex, but if I succeed, he shall have a hempen garter round his neck, & not a silken one round his leg!"¹³ This letter broke off *the treaty*, friend

Gladstone, & decided the unhappy prince's fate. This is enough to shew that, granting for argument's sake, your accusations on the Parliament *during the war*, yet there were *faults on both sides*, & that there was another danger to be looked to besides the violences of the Parliament. The abominable insincerity of Charles blasted every hope of peace. But you say "The Parliament began the war." I grant it: they were driven into it. I utterly deny that "sufficient security had been obtained against encroachment": the <imprisonment> seizure of the 5 members was an act of open defiance to law, & the intrigues of the Queen (who said to the King "Coward, go pull those [rogues out] by the ears" meaning the 5 members)¹⁴ fully justified the terror of the Commons, & palliated the *unquestionably unconstitutional* demand of the militia. You say "C. gave up about the time of Strafforde's execution his most offensive prerogatives": remember that Lord Clarendon allows (Vol 2. p. 430 (I believe)) that C. did not conceive a law obtained by violence as binding, & that his practice fully shewed how he interpreted this rule.¹⁵ You grant C. to have violated the Petition of Right in which he renounced all those prerogatives which he fancied his due: & must grant that he violated Magna Charta, the statute "de tallagio" &c. &c.: I hope this little controversy therefore has brought us to as good an understanding as our mutual prejudices will allow us to entertain.¹⁶ I find that Charles in addition to his other crimes has left me no room to enter on other subjects: so I shall conclude with giving you many thanks for the pleasure your letters (or packets shall I call them?), always afford me. Write again, & the longer the epistle is the better. Poor Duke of York! he seems universally regretted; even Sheil made a recantation speech. What a fool Ferdinand is making himself. I have not read Cobbet but can you deny that Canning changes his note marvellously in print?¹⁷

Believe me,
yrs. very affect:ly

A H Hallam.

Addressed to William Ewart Gladstone Esq.

1. *Aeneid* 2. 774: "I was appalled, my hair stood on end!"
2. See letter 23 nn. 1-2.
3. See Burke, *Reflections*: "All the superadded ideas, furnished from the wardrobe of a moral imagination . . . necessary to cover the defects of our naked, shivering nature, and to raise it to dignity in our own estimation, are to be exploded as a ridiculous, absurd, and antiquated fashion."
4. *Discontents*.
5. Fox's 14 June 1793 letter to his nephew, Henry Richard Vassall Fox (*Memorials and Correspondence of Charles James Fox*, ed. Lord John Russell [1854], 3:40).
6. Numbers 17:48.
7. Proverbial: "to do good, not to be conspicuous."
8. Pope, *Epilogue to the Satires*, Dialogue 1, 135-36.
9. John Rushworth (1612?-90), historian; Peter Heylyn (1600-1692), ecclesiastical writer. The first volume of the *History of England* by David Hume (1711-76), dealing with the reigns of James I and Charles I, was published in 1754.
10. Laud was one of the leading English supporters of the doctrines of Jacobus Arminius (1560-1609), anti-Calvinistic theologian; Laud was beheaded, rather than suffering the usual, more barbarous execution for treason.
11. James Butler (1610-88), first duke of Ormonde, appointed by Charles to conclude peace with the Irish rebels; Thomas Birch (1705-66), divine and historical writer; Sir Kenelm Digby (1603-65), author, naval commander, and diplomat, appealed to the English Roman Catholics to support Charles. Henry Hallam discusses Birch's evidence in *Const. Hist.*, 2:46-47.
12. Henry Spencer (1620-43), first earl of Sunderland; Sir Henry Rich (1590-1649), first earl of Holland, became reconciled to the parliamentary party in 1643, but was later executed for returning to Charles's side.
13. Related in *Const. Hist.*, 2:65 n.
14. On 4 January 1642, Charles led a group of armed followers to the Commons and attempted to arrest five members whom he had ordered to be impeached. The remark of Henrietta Maria (1609-69) is given in I. A. Taylor, *The Life of Queen Henrietta Maria* (1906), 1:250.
15. The 1826 edition of Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, 2:428-37, gives several declarations of Charles and the parliament regarding the limitations of their respective powers.
16. Late in life, Gladstone still confessed his weakness for Charles, "although he was unfortunately such a liar!" (*Talks with Mr. Gladstone*, p. 75).
17. See letters 23 n. 12; 22 n. 2. The reference to William Cobbett (1762-1835), essayist, Radical politician, and agriculturalist, and Canning, is untraced.

25. TO WILLIAM WINDHAM FARR

MS: Rylands

Hawtrey's: Eton. Tuesday [30 January 1827].

Dear Farr,

Pardon! Pardon! I have not cut you dead, I assure you, though I have been a most wayward correspondent: but, I hope, when you take into consideration the nausea which always attends a return to Eton, & which indisposes one for every thing; the horrors of a four exercise week to begin with; & the more serious business of preparing for a Confirmation which is to take place the day after tomorrow, you will excuse my silence. By Mercury, & all the silver-tongued gods of Eloquence, you ought to have heard our debate last Saturday on the policy of England towards Ireland from the Revolution in 1688 to 1776!¹ No one ventured to lift his voice in favor of the atrocious Penal Code: our speeches were all on the same side, but though opposition was wanting, eloquence was not: Gaskell's speech was capital; you should have heard his ingenious method of rousing the indignation of the House against Wood's famous patent, without ever mentioning the inconvenient fact—that Sir R. Walpole sent him over!!² Apropos, Sir Robert in person is debated next Saturday week: now, as you were pleased to inveigh against your humble servant for not whisking into the Union viâ Cambridge mail from London, your humble servant will take the fair revenge of inveighing against you, if you do not make your appearance, to harangue against the father of Corruption, the profligate minister, who ruined the country by not wasting her blood, & spending her treasure in extravagant wars. We shall, I believe, be oddly divided on this question: Pickering of course, your protégé & friend, will support the old Jacobite cause against him with the utmost vehemence; Gaskell of course will give him as unqualified, & determined a support: Law, Gladstone, & myself, though of the most opposite politics, Radical, Tory, & Whig, will agree in keeping an exact equilibrium on his character, giving praise for much, &

withholding it for much more: as far as I know at present, I believe all three of us will vote on his side. Selwyn I should guess would either oppose him, or move his portly person behind the chair: Doyle will vote for him: Wilder I cannot decide about, & Durnford (a very bad member, by the bye) will vote as Wilder does. Altogether I am pretty confident that Sir Bob will carry the day, unless your eloquence should burst in in a flash of lightning & scare the Walpolians from their post.³

Our question next Saturday is upon the character of Augustus: a good subject which is expected to draw out the latent genius of the Antiques, i.e. those who like no politics but those of Noah's Ark, & others of that standing.⁴ What think you of the political horizon? The Duke of York, the prop of the Ultra-Protestants, & foe to Catholic liberties is no more: the Duke of Clarence,⁵ Heir Presumptive of the Monarchy, is supposed, nay, known to be favorable to their claims: how great, how important is the alteration, & what a prospect does it open before us? This is the first, & grand topic: interesting, tho[ugh] in a far inferior degree, is the probable result of the Portugue[se] dissensions: it seems our generals are hated, our troops avoided, of our ver[y] name abhorred, as a badge of dependance by the best & firmest of the Constitutionals: this is without doubt a very awkward state of affairs, & if Canning can turn rancour into affection, discord in quiet, he is indeed worthy of the undivided empire of Aeolus.⁶ Then the Duke of Wellington Commander in Chief! The Duke of Wellington a Cabinet-minister! The Duke of Wellington master of the Ordnance! The Duke of Wellington wielding so enormous a weapon of influence & patronage from the very citadel of the Ministry! Here is monopoly; here is precedent; here is ambition with a vengeance!⁷ So much for reveries *περι πολιτικῶν*.⁸ Write to me about hunting, shooting, drinking, billiard-playing, Unionising, sapping, anything, or every thing will be most acceptable to

Yours very faithfully,

A H Hallam.

Addressed to W. W. Farr, Esq. / St. John's College / Cambridge.
P/M 1 February 1827

1. See letter 20 n. 3.

2. William Wood (1671-1730), ironmaster, obtained a 1722 patent for the exclusive privilege of coining for circulation in Ireland; it was surrendered, after considerable Irish opposition, in 1725. The anti-Catholic code was enacted in 1704. Gaskell's speech is printed in *RES*, pp. 31-38.

3. See letter 5 n. 2. All except Selwyn and Pickering voted for Walpole. Edmund Durnford (1809-83) matriculated at King's College, Cambridge, in 1827 (B.A. 1832), was ordained in 1832, and became rector of Monxton. He was openly criticized at a number of Society meetings for not speaking.

4. Wilder alone voted that Augustus deserved well of Rome.

5. William IV (1765-1837).

6. See letter 22 n. 2; Canning was then foreign secretary.

7. Wellington was master of the ordnance, with a seat in the cabinet, 1818-27; he refused to join Canning's cabinet.

8. See letter 12 n. 1.

26. TO WILLIAM WINDHAM FARR

MS: Rylands

[Eton.] [23 March 1827.]

Dear Farr,

I should have answered your letter immediately (the rather, in the hope of infusing a little life into our correspondence, & curing both of us of sending our letters, "like angel visits, few & far between") but I have been prevented by serious illness.¹ N.B. I leave it to your Johnian imagination to extract, shape, & polish a horrid pun, now in embryo, & from which I refrain, about a *valid* excuse, & an *invalid*—Verbum sap. I am hopelessly ignorant about the Corn laws; & as I am scarcely strong enough in my convalescence to train for the tournament yet, suppose we defer the crash of lances to a future occasion. I have not your letter before me, & forget whether you speak ill of Canning's resolutions: it was of course impossible that he should act up to the wishes of both parties, but he seems at least to have not offended the more reasonable part of either.² The friends of Free Trade seem to admire his principle, & pardon his timidity: the advocates for a Prohibitory System appear to trust to his caution, & to breathe again from their anticipation of danger. You do not mention the Catholics, perhaps from a feeling of chivalrous generosity, as not wishing to exult over a fallen foe! I must confess I had no expectation of that blow: I was taken completely by surprise: not that I was sanguine enough to look for success in the House of Peers, but a majority of 4 against us in the new House of Commons was what I had never contemplated.³ God grant the question may be settled soon; & *that without blood!* The papers talk of an association amongst the Irish Catholics to stop all communication with England, in the way of trade, articles of consumption &c: this is *precisely what the Americans did*. Indeed the resemblance throughout seems to me awful: your orators think this vote will tranquillise Ireland; I wish I could see tokens of peace, of tranquillity, of social order, & right

supremacy. I do not see them. I look forwards; but it is to the dismal, & blackening horizon! I listen; but it is to the low mutterings of the rising tempest! So you are become very orthodox about William Pitt. There are some opinions of that great man, which I wish you would become a hearty convert to; but I am afraid your idea of *Pittism* is much like that of John Bull, & the party which professes to dread a concealed sprout of Jacobinism in every attempt to improve on the wisdom of our ancestors by the wisdom of our own days, or to diffuse the blessings of knowledge amongst the poor, whom it is alike our duty & our interest to protect, & enlighten. I shall be glad if my fears are unfounded. Now then, to send politics at once in *malam rem*, for Eton news. Our friend Gladstone seems to find a congenial atmosphere in the 6th. form, & is dignified towards lower boys; a species of rigor which is nowadays most rare, as the inferiors are more presuming, & the superiors more lax than I ever reme[mber.] Jack Sandford is not in, which we vote a shame. I [shall] not be in till some weeks of next term have passed over⁴ [. . .] by the bye, weeks have done lately with a [most] am[azing] celerity. In the Society we have had a spirited session: I send you a list of our questions, I mean, such as have been debated, & hope you will do the same in return as to the Union.

1. Has the conduct of England to Ireland from the Revn. to 1776 been right?
2. Augustus, is he to be admired?
3. Sir R. Walpole, did he deserve well of his country?
4. Lord Bute, was his political conduct laudable?⁵
5. Wat Tyler, was his insurrection right?
6. Mohammed, is he to be admired?
7. Anne, or Elizabeth, which *literary* period was brightest?
8. Herodotus, or Xenophon, which gives the most credible account of Cyrus?

Carried for the

1. Noes
2. Noes
3. Ayes
4. Noes
5. Noes

6. Noes
7. Elizab.
8. Xenop.

Of all these the most interesting, & novel, was the debate on *Mahomet*: I defended him, because I think the gentleman much calumniated, & a great man for his times, & country: I was however left in a minority of 3.⁶ φεβ. Next Saturday we discuss whether "Greece excelled most in the drama, or in history": Saturday after, "Was the revolt of the Yorkists under Henry VI justifiable?" I am a Lancastrian.⁷ We have one choice Radical amongst us, *Law*: he affords us much amusement, & has spirit enough to raise his voice amidst coughs, & disapprobation <without end> interminable as Mr. Hume, or the National Debt. The other day we fined him for saying "Mahomet selected from every religion what was purest in each: but he imposed no useless liturgies, & every Moslem was a priest to himself!"

Have I any chance of seeing you in London? If you have time, throw away a letter on me before next Tuesday week, when the holidays begin. I suppose Gladstone will be re-elected Chairman:⁸ Prime Minister of England not quite so certain.

Believe me,
Ever faithfully yours,
A. H. Hallam.

Addressed to W. W. Farr Esq. / St. John's College / Cambridge.
P/M 23 March 1827

1. Thomas Campbell, *The Pleasures of Hope*, 2:378; the phrase first appears in Robert Blair, "The Grave," lines 588-89. AHH was ill with an earache about 13-20 March 1827 (*D*, 1:106-7).

2. Canning delivered a major speech in favor of Corn Law reform on 1 March 1827.

3. Burdett's motion for considering relief to Irish Catholics was defeated 276-272 on 6 March 1827.

4. Gladstone was put into the sixth form on 20 February 1827 (*D*, 1:101); in his 29 March 1827 letter to Farr, he explained the reason for Sanford's—and AHH's—delay: "Poor John Sanford, in his zeal to adopt the classical doctrines of Homer and Horace with regard to wine, became, on Saturday last horresco referens, *Qualis ab Ogygio concita Baccha deo*—or, in plainer terms, *bibulus liquidi Falerni*. I use circumlocution, you see, to avoid the ill omened words. But the supreme Keate says he will not put him into the sixth form at all, and is incensed; which will be a bore not only for the guilty, but for the innocent, Hallam, Hanmer, and Divett—if Keate acts up to it: which it is not likely that he will do" (*Autob.*, p. 188). Sanford, later a barrister, and AHH were both put into the sixth form on 25 May 1827.

5. John Stuart (1713-92), third earl of Bute, was minister in various offices under George III.

6. On 3 March 1827, Law and Doyle joined AHH in supporting Mohammed.

7. Greek drama was held superior 2-1, with the majority neutral; the Yorkist revolt was held justifiable 4-3, with AHH, Wilder, and Law in the minority.

8. Gladstone was reelected chairman on 31 March 1827, but refused to serve; Selwyn was elected in his place.

27. TO WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE

MS: British Library

67 Wimpole Street. Thursday [12 April 1827].

Dear Gladstone,

I suppose you think a letter due by this time, on which supposition I am going to annihilate a wet day with my pen. Every body here is on the utmost stretch of anxiety about the new administration: & though it is by no means definitively settled, the idea that Canning is to be at the head of affairs, or rather has been already appointed so, is, I trust, too prevalent to be erroneous.¹ Whether the rumours, which a few days ago obtained general credit, 1. about the duke of Rutland's² declaring to the King his determination, & that of the High Tories, not to support Mr. Canning at the head of affairs, 2. about an offer made to the latter of the Premiership, *without the church patronage*, & which his spirit of course rejected with scorn; whether these are true, few probably *could*, & fewer *would* tell: but the currency of all these reports proves the feverish anxiety of the public mind on the subject. I am, as you might guess, a warm Canning-ite *in this matter*. I do not believe an administration of Ultras, under a *Newcastle*, or a *Bathurst*,³ could hold together 6 months: or rather, not 6 days, for I do not think they could have strength, or confidence to begin. I am not without my fears (but of a far more remote, & doubtful nature), even in the event of Canning's triumph; as long as the surface of the wide ocean is unruffled, as long as his liberal friends (*Huskisson*, in particular) stand by him to counsel, & to stimulate, as long as all parties, & indeed the collective body of the nation consent to applaud him, all will go right: but a time may come, when he will be left more to his own resources, & exposed perhaps to a maligner influence, than he has hitherto encountered. The part, which the King has taken in the present crisis, is not assuredly the least fearful symptom: I hear, that for the first day or two after the late decision on the Catholic Question, he said to everyone who came near him "Give me joy of the majority!" "A

majority of 4, I believe, brother": was the reply of the princess Augusta. ⁴ "No," says his Majesty, "24: remember, how it was carried before by at least 20: *the cause is gaining strength!*" I had this from Rogers, the poet. As for the House of Lords, they really seem to be resolved into a committee of *Game-keepers*: it is to be hoped, the lower House out of constitutional jealousy, won't resolve themselves into a Committee of *Poachers*. I meant to have gone down to hear Sir T. Lethbridge's motion for a united ministry: but unluckily we gave an awful dinnerparty. Pickering I met the other evening, walking with CANNING: he said he had been every day with *Gaskell* to the House. The latter called on me one day, when I was so wedged into solid spheres, & spherical angles that I could not see him: neither did my return of his visit get me a glimpse of him. Hamilton⁵ I saw last night; & Doyle I have herded with ever since I returned. I have been introduced to his father, Colonel Doyle, a very pleasant, & well-informed man:⁶ he gave me much advice about the Society, which he thinks an excellent institution. A few nights ago I met one Courtenay, a Christchurch man, & a member of their debating society.⁷ He spoke with great reverence of our body, & had heard, we were "*very select*" in our numbers. "*Omne ignotum pro magnifico*"⁸ of course ran in my head: & I am afraid I stand accountant for a practical lie at the bar of your severe morality for the little pains I took to undeceive him. They had been debating the Catholic Question, which the right side carried by one: at which small majority he seemed much indignant, not having counted on so strong a muster of the Dark School. Puller, & Lewis, are the most promising Etonians there (& this I have heard from more quarters than one).⁹ Wellesley I have not seen: but Walpole tells me the Union is worse off than Damocles, & that the violence of the Radicals in it will certainly produce a reaction on the part of the < tutors > higher powers. I wonder what sort of debates we shall have next session: after the Penal Code, I verily believe we shall have exhausted the round of interesting politics, & must become Selwynites in self defence.¹⁰ Gascellius omen avertat! I begin to be seriously alarmed, lest Keate, or his *θεραπευτες*¹¹ should pounce on Citizen Law's speeches, & revolutionise our proceedings, & even our existence quite à la Danton! Poor Townshend's bust, & my penwiper, & Durnford's skull levelled by the guillotine!!! It makes one melancholy to think of it. Have you read De Vere? or Truckleborough Hall? or the new Vivian Grey? or Crockford House? or

Hamilton's Columbia?¹² The second of these is the life of a young politician, who scorches one, as a flaming patriot in the 1st. volume, accepts a borough from a Whig Lord in the 2nd., & quietly becomes a deadvote for the Treasury in the 3d. I have been sapping in a small way: *Αρτιγονη*, a wee bit of *Δημοσθενης*, Spherical Trigonometry, & Sismondi's Italian republics (a capital book by the bye).¹³ I have begun Hamond's gymnastics;¹⁴ which I agree with Doyle in thinking very good fun; though doctors, dancing-masters, & mothers, I find, join in a general crusade against their danger. Saturday, I went to the Opera; heard Signor Galli's debut, which was much applauded; but I do not much like his style. Mlle. Fanny Ayton I vote the "sublime of mediocrity."¹⁵

Will you be so good as to send me in detail what your opinion is, as to the framing of those Resolutions I gave notice of. I had a short conversation with Pickering about it before I came away, who was very decided as to the sufficiency of the present rules on every point concerning <tranquillity> order, & calling question.¹⁶ Write to me soon, & mind to be very interesting, & very communicative: at present,

Believe me,
Yours most faithfully,
A H Hallam.

Addressed to W. E. Gladstone Esq. / Seaforth House / Liverpool.
P/M 12 April 1827

1. On 17 February 1827, Lord Liverpool suffered an apoplectic fit and proved unable to resume his duties as prime minister.

2. John Henry Manners (1778-1857), fifth duke of Rutland, was a strong opponent of Catholic emancipation.

3. Henry Pelham Fiennes Pelham Clinton (1785-1851), fourth duke of Newcastle, a rigid conservative, opposed to Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform, was the author of the famous remark upon turning out tenants at Newark in 1830: "Is it not lawful for me to do what I please with mine own?" Newcastle established a scholarship in his name at Eton in 1829, and brought Gladstone in as M.P. for Newark in 1832. Henry Bathurst (1762-1834), third earl, was then secretary for war

and the colonies; though a Tory, he supported in principle the removal of Catholic disabilities.

4. See letter 26 n. 3. Augusta Sophia (1768-1840), daughter of George III, died unmarried.

5. Probably Edward William Terrick Hamilton.

6. (Sir) Francis Hastings Doyle (1783-1839), first bart. (1828), was a major general. Gladstone concurred in AHH's appraisal (*D*, 1:124).

7. William Reginald Courtenay (1807-88) matriculated at Christ Church in 1824 (B.A. 1828), became a barrister at Lincoln's Inn in 1832, and eleventh earl of Devon in 1859.

8. Tacitus *Agricola* 30: "The unknown is always magnified."

9. Christopher William (Giles-) Puller (1808-64), a member of the Eton Society, matriculated at Christ Church in 1825 (B.A. 1829), earned a double first in classics and mathematics in 1828, became a barrister at Lincoln's Inn in 1832, and M.P. for Herts. 1857-64. Sir George Cornwall Lewis (1806-63), member of the Eton Society, matriculated at Christ Church in 1824 (B.A. 1829), received a first class (classics) in 1828, and became Whig M.P. for Herts. 1847-52. Lewis edited the *Edinburgh Review* from 1852 to 1855 and succeeded Gladstone as chancellor of the exchequer in 1855.

10. On 16 June 1827, the Society voted 8-6 that the penal laws enacted under Elizabeth against Roman Catholics were unjust: AHH, Gladstone, Law, Doyle, Gaskell, and Charles John Canning were among the majority. See also letter 6 n. 3. At the Society's 24 March 1827 meeting, Selwyn complained about the preponderance of political over classical and literary topics for debate; AHH had answered that the choice of subjects was nearly equal, with literary having a slight advantage.

11. "Attendants, accomplices."

12. Robert Plumer Ward, *DeVere; or the Man of Independence* (March 1827); William Pitt Scargill, *Truckleborough Hall* (January 1827); Benjamin Disraeli, *Vivian Grey* (vols. 1-2, April 1826; 3-5, February 1827); Henry Luttrell, *Crockford-House: a Rhapsody in Two Cantos* (March 1827); Colonel John Potter Hamilton, *Travels Through the Interior Provinces of Columbia* (April 1827).

13. *Antigone*; Demosthenes. Jean Charles Leonard Simonde de Sismondi (1773-1842), French historian, published *L'Histoire des Républiques Italiennes du Moyen-Age* 1809-18; an English translation appeared in 1827. Henry Hallam reviewed Sismondi's *Histoire des Français* (1821-28), with considerable praise, in the *Foreign Quarterly Review* 4 (1829): 1-35.

14. Probably Gustavus Hamilton, *The Elements of Gymnastics for Boys, and of Calisthenics, for Young Ladies* (1827).

15. Rossini's *Pietro L'Eremita* premiered at the King's Theatre with Filippo Galli (1783-1853), bass lead, and Fanny Ayton (b. 1806), English soprano. AHH quotes from Byron's *Beppo*, lines 581-82.

16. On 24 March 1827, AHH moved unsuccessfully that the president of the Society be given greater power to preserve order during the debates; on 8 May 1827, the Society passed AHH's motions to allow voting by proxy for the chairman, and to amend the rules regarding the schedule of questions.

MS: British Library

67 Wimpole Street. [19 April 1827.]

Dear Gladstone,

I shall not wait for a wet day, but write while my pleasure at your letter is yet fresh. Short as the interval since I wrote last has been, much has happened of the most interesting nature; & if *then* I described all London as being on the stretch of anxiety, the fever we are in *now*, you may easily conceive. Indeed nothing but the Ministry is talked of in society, as well by Ladies, as Gentlemen, as well by those who before never cared for the concerns of the country, as by the adepts in the mystery of politics.¹ However talking, & guessing by no means advances the matter: & in spite of the newspapers I believe I may safely assure you *nothing* is settled, except the Lord High Admiralship for the Duke of Clarence, the Ordnance for Lord Anglesea, & the Chancellorship for Sir J. Copley.² Report gives Robinson to the colonial, & Ld. Granville to the foreign department; the privy seal to Lord Dudley, the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland to Lord Carlisle, with Wilmot Horton or Frankland Lewis under him, & Plunket for Irish Chancellor.³ The great doubt seems to rest upon the Home secretaryship: there is no question but Lord Lansdown⁴ has been applied to, but I believe the negotiation is off. He is said to have demanded of Mr. Canning on what terms the present Cabinet was to go on respecting the Catholic question: the Premier answered, "it was the King's wish, that it should be precisely on the same footing as the last: i.e. that men of both sides were to be admitted, but that the subject was never to be conferred upon, or mentioned in council." Lord Lansdown then said, he must decline accepting place on such terms. I had this from very good authority: but I do not give it you as certain. If true, I suppose you will agree with me in thinking it reflects the brightest lustre on the character of that amiable nobleman: he would have been, I think, excusable in accepting power without

stipulations, & it was fairly signified to him by the leaders of Opposition, that he might consider himself as perfectly free: but he has taken higher ground than that of a questionable expediency, & deserves, what surely he will receive, the esteem of every principled, & liberal man. Is it not painful then to hear Pickering expressing himself in a note to me as follows: "I am not at all sorry that Canning has accepted office: indeed when I consider his great talents, & abilities, &, I may add, experience, I think he is better qualified for his office than any other existing statesman: but much as I may like Canning as he is, I must confess I should not refuse him my disapprobation (& in this opinion I think I carry with me the sympathy of both liberal, &, as you style them, illiberal Tories) should he *condescend* to unite with such a man as Lansdown." I beg pardon for quoting at such length: but P. P.'s style is peculiar, & I chose to give it verbatim: "all the liberal" &c. I presume means Gaskell, & the "illiberal" perhaps may, by a sort of conscientious feeling, mean only himself. I must return to his note by & bye. Canning has more excuse for keeping power on the King's terms: were he & his friends to insist on making Emancipation a cabinet measure they would be forced to resign, & an administration of the Ex-ministers would be hashed up to the utter ruin of liberality. Now, probably the Anticatholics will hold by a most slender thread: Lord Bexley,⁵ Lord Anglesea, Sir J. Copley; one old woman, one soldier, & one rat, are really next to nothing in efficient force. So let us take comfort: "*quand on n'a pas ce qu'on aime, il faut aimer ce qu'on a.*"⁶ But *do not mistake me*: the Premier would have acted *far more nobly* had he "*done the right, & feared not*"⁷: the opposition of such a man, acting in concert with the Whigs, & Liberals must eventually have triumphantly overthrown an Ultra ministry, even with Peel at its head.⁸ One word more of politics: they say the old Opposition is to fight hand & glove with the new Ministry, & Scarlet is talked of for Attorney General, Lord Morpeth for a lord of the Treasury, Lord Carlisle for Ireland &c.⁹ I am glad of this: I wish above all to see a union between liberal, & moderate men of all denominations: surely it is worse than trifling to inquire what a man's politics would have been 20, or 50, or 100 years ago, or what name he prefers to be called by, if his principles are now of that moderate, gentle, & enlightened cast, which, whether we agree to call

it Whiggism, or Liberality, or anything else, *we both of us* feel to be intimately connected with the glory, & happiness of our country.

I had begun to be a little mollified as to P. P., & his satellites, & perhaps to think we had made too much noise about what little signified: (don't be alarmed at this beginning) but I am now roused like a dreaming lion by a note of his, which how he could write without laughing in his own face, I can't guess. I had asked him "how Canning went on? whether he intended to be eloquent, or only to act man Saturday?" *Hinc illæ lacrimæ!*¹⁰ He sends me in return a vehement <attack> retort on you, Doyle, &c. & myself for voting together, & "makes no doubt that C. will have sense enough to not vote on *your* side (it certainly does not require much!)" he adds "you think the attempting to ridicule *the sense of our side* the only way to excuse the *want of it on yours!*" He then proceeds to taunt me with always being in "a happy minority," & talks of "illiberal insinuations" &c. at a rate which makes me seriously fear for his wits. To be sure I should have known P. P. could not take a joke: but really I thought we were now sufficiently amicable again to admit of so slight a raillery on a subject at which he has often laughed, or affected to laugh himself. I have not room to expatiate on this at present: I shall say more by word of mouth when we meet; & shall preserve the note as a sort of literary curiosity. As to the Society, I shall support Selwyn, if he behaves well, as I hope he will; I shall make little, or no stir about rules, & motions, unless Pickering provokes such a discussion, in which case we shall have nothing left for it but to unite *in self defence* as we did last session, & try to prevent the Society from becoming the *spoutingclub of a faction*.¹¹ My wishes however like Lord Falkland's are sincerely, Peace! Peace!¹² As it will be the last half I shall spend at Eton, I shall exert myself de tout mon possible in debate; as it will be the last I shall spend in your society, I hope I shall have you with me oftener than I have done. The Penal laws &c. would do finely.¹³ Au reste, believe me, the loss of you, & your society, & your conversation will be the bitterest experienced on leaving "dulcis Etona," by

Your affect: friend,

A H Hallam.

P. S. Write very soon.

Addressed to W. E. Gladstone Esq. / Seaforth House / Liverpool.
P/M 19 April 1827

1. See letter 27.

2. Sir Henry William Paget (1768-1854), first marquis of Anglesey, lord lieutenant of Ireland in 1828, favored Catholic emancipation; John Singleton Copley (1772-1863), baron Lyndhurst (1827), was master of the rolls in 1826 and lord chancellor 1827-30.

3. Frederick John Robinson (1782-1859), viscount Goderich (1827), chancellor of the exchequer from 1823 to 1827, was secretary of war, commissioner for Indian affairs, leader of the Lords in 1827, and prime minister 1827-28 (following Canning's death). George Granville Leveson-Gower (1758-1833), first duke of Sutherland, ambassador to Paris from 1790 to 1792, supported Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform; George Howard (1773-1848), sixth earl of Carlisle, became chief commissioner of woods and forests in Canning's cabinet and lord of the privy seal from 1827 to 1828. Sir Robert John Wilmot Horton (1784-1841), undersecretary for war and colonies from 1821 to 1828, served as privy councillor in 1827 and supported Catholic emancipation; Sir Thomas Frankland Lewis (1780-1855), member of the commission on Irish education from 1825 to 1828, joint-secretary to the treasury in 1827, became vice-president of the board of trade and privy councillor in 1828; William Conynham Plunket (1764-1854), baron (1827), the foremost champion of Catholic emancipation, briefly master of the rolls, was appointed chief justice of Irish common pleas in 1827, and served as lord chancellor of Ireland from 1830 to 1841.

4. Sir Henry Petty-Fitzmaurice (1780-1863), third marquis of Lansdowne, liberal politician, brought about the coalition of Whigs and followers of Canning; he entered the cabinet without office in 1827 (resigned in 1828), and served as president of the council intermittently from 1830 to 1852. A close friend of the Hallams, Lansdowne was godfather of Henry Fitzmaurice Hallam. He married Louise Emma Fox-Strangways, daughter of the earl of Ilchester, in 1808.

5. Nicholas Vansittart (1766-1851), first baron Bexley, was chancellor of the exchequer from 1812 to 1823, and chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster 1823-28.

6. Quoted in Madame de Sévigné, *Correspondance*, letter of 23 May 1667.

7. Apparently proverbial.

8. Peel resigned as home secretary because of his opposition to Catholic emancipation in April 1827; he later helped Wellington carry the measure.

9. James Scarlett (1769-1844), baron Abinger (1835), was attorney general from 1827 to 1828 and from 1829 to 1830. George William Frederick Howard (1802-64),

viscount Morpeth (later seventh earl of Carlisle), was M.P. for Morpeth from 1826 to 1830 and Irish secretary under Melbourne (1835-41).

10. Proverbial: "hence these tears." "P. P." is Percival Pickering.

11. See letter 27 n. 16.

12. Lucius Cary (1610?-43), second viscount Falkland, attempted to negotiate between Charles I and Parliament; his death in battle was a virtual suicide. During the siege of Gloucester, he would "with a shrill and sad accent ingeminate the word Peace! Peace!" (Clarendon's *History*, 7:233).

13. See letter 27 n. 10.

29. TO WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE

MS: British Library

67 Wimpole St. Saturday [28 April 1827].

Dear Gladstone,

I delayed writing till the ministry was settled, which I fancy it now is, at least for the present. The following list of the principal offices is I believe correct.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. First Lord of the Treasury. }
Chancellor of the Exchequer. } | Mr. Canning. |
| 2. Secretary for the Home Dept. | Mr. Bourne. ¹ |
| 3. Secretary for the Foreign Dept. | Lord Dudley. |
| 4. Secretary for the Colonial Dept. | Lord Goderich.
i.e. Robinson. |
| 5. Lord High Admiral. | Duke of Clarence. |
| 6. Lord Chancellor. | Lord Lyndhurst.
i.e. Copley. |
| 7. Privy Seal. | Lord Carlisle. |
| 8. Master of the Mint. | Mr. Tierney ²
with a seat in
the Cabinet. |
| 9. Attorney General. | Mr. Scarlett. |
| 10. Judge Advocate. | Sir J. McIntosh. ³ |
| 11. Vice-Chancellor. | Mr. Shadwell. ⁴ |
| 12. Master of the Rolls. | Sir J. Leach. ⁵ |

By this list you will see that the anxiously expected union with the Whigs has been effected. I am surprised at Lord Lansdown's not accepting office, as all public difficulties seem to have been quite got over by him: but it is generally supposed he is to come in a few months hence in lieu of Bourne, or Dudley, but that he is prevented

by urgent private business at present. He has acted with admirable firmness, & moderation throughout this long, & troublesome negotiation: & the esteem he has gained here from all parties is his best reward. There are of course two different parties with respect to the propriety of his stipulating for the Catholic questions being made a cabinet measure as a sine quâ non of his accepting office. On the one side there are those who assert that by not making such a stipulation he is doing his utmost to perpetuate the unnatural state of things resulting from a divided cabinet, not at liberty to open its lips on the most important question, which for a long time has agitated the state: that he is, for the sake of power to himself & his friends, burying in oblivion the constant censures which he has thrown on Mr. Canning for not making the welfare of six millions of Catholics a cabinet measure: that this union, in short, is not an honorable coalition, but a dereliction of principle for place. But while these arguments are enforced with eagerness, though *with respect*; a far more numerous body support the opposite side of the question: they urge, that the only rule which ought to govern a statesman, is to seek the public welfare by those means, which he judges will most easily attain it: that the more Lord Lansdown is convinced Catholic Emancipation is a beneficial measure, the more he should <beware how he> endeavor to strengthen the Cabinet by an infusion of all the talent, & patriotism over which he has any influence, the more he should remember that the eagerness of the King to form an Anticatholic interest can only be effectually controlled by the undivided strength, & mutual concert of the Emancipationists: that the blame which he cast on Mr. Canning was for not doing, *what he now is doing*, i.e. effecting an union with the Catholics in opposition to weaken, or destroy the No-popery faction; & with regard to the cabinet measure, that the King's opinions were not then so generally known, & his zeal for them certainly not so great: last not least, they confidently urge, that the test of every coalition should be *public opinion*; that now that opinion has been strongly pronounced in favor of the union, & by none so strongly as by the *Irish members*, & even BY THE CATHOLICS THEMSELVES: "*volenti*" therefore they conclude "*non fit injuria!*"⁶ I am upon the whole decidedly in favor of the latter arguments: & am very much pleased that the Whig interest of England is likely to be preserved by a new combination of men. Brougham⁷ has acted with

great magnanimity, & is said to refuse every office, knowing, as he says, the great personal dislike which the King bears him. Abercrombie⁸ too has behaved very well: & indeed altogether it is pleasing to compare this crisis with those of the same nature in the early part of the last reign, & observe how much higher all parties now stand in the balance of disinter[est]edness, & public virtue. Canning, I fancy, is perfectly secure, & will lead the Commons with a silken thread. It certainly shews great confidence in his new allies that he sends his best orators Plunket, & Robinson to the Peers. I hear Croker went round to all the < public > newspapers, & secured them all in 24 hours, save [& except] the Herald, which was voted *too despicable*: acc[ording]ly Gaskell's favorite alone has stood out against the Premier.⁹ I confess, I have great hopes of the new administration: many persons think that, positive as his Majesty is, & madly as he talks to the Bishops about the Catholics, he will in the end, if Canning behaves cautiously, come round. Tindall¹⁰ has behaved nobly in giving up the Attorneyship to Scarlett, though he might have had it himself for asking: I hope he will get Cambridge, for he deserves it. I am glad Macintosh, & Tierney have places. So much for politics.

Have you seen the new Edinburgh? An excellent article on Machiavelli by Macauley: & a witty one on the Catholics by Sydney Smith.¹¹ I do not however like it so well as the last number. Have you read De Vere? or Allen's reply to Lingard? The former is prosy, clever, & tiresome, with a few pleasing parts: but I like it better than Tremaine, for this reason, that it is better to be bored with *imaginary politics*, than with *religious metaphysics*. Allen has the whiphand of the priest decidedly.¹² Apropos, I went the other night to see King John, but the No-Popery men did not muster strong; & the famous lines about the "*Italian priest*"¹³ produced not above one or two rounds of clapping. One *gentleman* however in the next box to me signalled himself by hollowing most lustily: "Bravo! No Pope!"

I have had a conciliatory letter from P. P., but am afraid he has taken offence at my answer: though, how that is possible may I spend the Election half in purgatory if I know: for I was as sweet as some of your best Demerara sugar¹⁴ to the vagabond. But P. P. can't digest anything which is not set in rounded periods, & pompous nonsensical rhetoric.

P.S. I forgot to say that, thanks to Lord Lansdown's firmness, the Irish

government is to be Catholic. I am afraid you have no time to answer this, but never mind: &, if you find myriads of mistakes in it, lay them to the account of a ball, where I danced till a late hour this morning.

Believe me,
Yours very faithfully,
A H Hallam.

Addressed to W. E. Gladstone Esq. / Seaforth House / Liverpool.
P/M 28 April 1827

1. William Sturges-Bourne (1769-1845) served first as home secretary and then as commissioner of woods and forests in 1827.

2. Tierney resigned as master of the mint with Goderich in 1828.

3. Sir James Mackintosh (1765-1832), philosopher and politician, who published *Vindiciae Gallicae* (1791) in response to Burke's *Reflections*, was a privy councillor under Canning, commissioner of the board of control in 1830, and a personal friend of Henry Hallam.

4. Sir Lancelot Shadwell (1779-1850) was the last vice chancellor of England.

5. Sir John Leach (1760-1834) was master of the rolls and deputy speaker in the Lords in 1827.

6. Legal maxim: "To a person who consents, no injury is done."

7. Henry Peter Brougham (1778-1868), baron Brougham and Vaux (1830), one of the founders of the *Edinburgh Review* and a frequent contributor, served as attorney general to Queen Caroline and defended her during her 1820 trial. Brougham founded the Society for Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in 1825, proposed reforms of the legal system, founded London University in 1828, and served as lord chancellor in 1830.

8. James Abercromby (1776-1858), representative of Scottish business interests, M.P. for Calne 1812-30, served as judge-advocate general under Canning in 1827.

9. John Wilson Croker (1780-1857), essayist, privy councillor, M.P. 1827-32, refused office under Canning to further Peel's career. On 18 March 1827, Gaskell voted with the Eton Society majority to subscribe to the *Morning Herald*.

10. Sir Nicholas Conyngham Tindal (1776-1846), solicitor general in 1826, M.P. for Cambridge in 1827, declined the attorney-generalship again in 1828.

11. Article on Machiavelli's works by Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800-1859), and review of several pamphlets on Catholic emancipation by Sydney Smith (1771-

1845), essayist and philosopher, in the *Edinburgh Review* 45 (March 1827): 259-95, 423-45.

12. See letters 27 n. 12; 21 n. 7. Robert Plumer Ward's *Tremaine, or The Man of Refinement* was published in 1825.

13. 3. 1. 153-54.

14. Gladstone's father, John Gladstone, owned extensive estates in Demerara. See also letter 28 n. 10.

MS: Rylands

Hawtrey's; Eton. Sunday Evening [6 May 1827].

Dear Farr,

In obedience to your command I sit down to answer, & hope to keep up a pretty brisk discharge of correspondence this term, as I shall be "over the hills, & far away" soon after Election. In a word I am going abroad then—ay, abroad—& may I spend the Election half under a chaldron of the Pope's best, if I envy the fattest of your country squires, while I revel in the sunny plains of Tuscany, or repose beneath the majestic ruins of the Eternal City! O che bel riposo!² However to drop things future for things present, I have been doing little else since this morning when I received your tirade against Canning, than laugh at it even to bursting. I agree, the aspect of affairs is marvellously queer: & what may happen two months hence, perhaps "his dark complexioned Majesty"³ (as someone calls the Devil) may know, but I can't conjecture. I was at the House of Commons last Thursday, when I had the good fortune to hear Canning, Brougham, Peel, & Burdett,⁴ & was highly delighted. The Whigs certainly look curious on the Ministerial benches: & Messrs. Dawson, Knatchbull,⁵ Lethbridge, & the rest of the Opposition "*numeri*" seem as surprised to find themselves raised to the dignity of a party, & smarting under the lash of ministerial talent. It was the appointed night for General Gascoyne⁶ to make his motion on the Shipping Interest, & consequent attack on Huskisson: but scarcely had the gallant general got beyond "Mr. Speaker, I rise"—when the juvenile ardor of the new Opposition leader burst forth, & Mr. Dawson requested permission to ask a question of the First Minister: poor Gascoyne courteously gave way, little expecting what followed. Instead of a question only, Dawson brings a motion! head & shoulders into the middle of the Opener's speech!! He moved "that copies of the commissions of Judge Advocate, & Master of the Mint be laid on the table," & not content with Canning's assurance that

those offices were about to be filled, launches into a tirade against the "unnatural coalition" that had taken place, reckoning up with the minutest care every division in which the Whigs had voted against government, & unfolding a long list of questions on which they still differed, *Parliamentary Reform* being first in the list. Well—up rises Brougham, & doubtless to the great dismay of the defeated general, makes a beautiful speech at Dawson of an hour long: really I do not know a better model of oratorical delivery than Brougham; never having heard him before, I was prepared to expect very fine speaking, but his eloquence went beyond my expectation. He reprobated the introducing a factious debate into the middle of an another: severely satirised the virulence of the new Opposition; & defended himself, & his friends for joining the Premier, on the ground of their general agreement on all great points of Foreign, & Domestic Policy: Reform, he said, never had been a party question, & its various shades & uncertain nature effectually precluded its being one. Peel now rose from the bench under the gallery, & made a capital speech—full of much able reasoning, & not a little bitter invective—as different from his first exposé as open attack always must be from professed neutrality. He could not, he said, give his confidence to such a provisional government as the present, & therefore could not give it his support: why was this coalition made? Was it because *Prerogative* was endangered? "This" said he "may be a good ground for your sacrificing the Catholics, & Reform to rally round the Crown; but if this is your ground for coalescing, why don't you put it on that ground? [Loud Cheering.] Why do the leaders of that honorable party the Whigs, shrink from active support, & leave the offices of state to be filled up by *fugacious* ministers? [Loud Cheers.] Is it because there are some inconvenient questions in that notice book? [Cheers.] The Repeal of the Test Act, for example! For my part I wish to see the Whigs excluded from power, but I do not wish to see them lowered, & dishonored in the eyes of the country." Burdett answered Peel very cleverly: why, he asked, did that gentleman retire, but because he thought Canning's advancement would promote the Catholic Emancipation: "& that" said Burdett, "is my reason, & my vindication for joining him!" Knatchbull then rose, & asked "why Canning dared not answer the Exminister himself, but left it all to such men as Burdett, & Brougham?" On this the Premier got in a rage: & treated the "*spes altera*" of the Country Gentlemen very uncourteously: he then said,

"I am asked what I mean to do, if Reform is brought forwards. OPPOSE IT! If the Test Act? On that point, though it has never in my time been before the House, I entertain a decided opinion. I WILL OPPOSE IT, because I think that repeal would injure the cause I have most at heart, *Emancipation!* It has ever been the aim of my life, to redress *practical*, & not *theoretical* grievances." Lord John Russel then spoke a few words, & Sir George Warrend[er] stated, that what he had seen that night of faction in the opposition was such, as to determine him to give up all, even *hot dinners*, to attend every evening in support of the Premier!!⁸ Daws[on's] motion was put, & negatived by *acclamation*: & the unhappy general, foaming with his disappointment (& really he had some right to be wroth, after so cruel an illustration of the proverb "between the cup & the lip & c."), postponed his luckless motion.

I don't agree that the Whigs have scrambled for place: no man with an honest heart, or a sound pair of eyes, could say so *seriously*: more disinterested conduct *on all sides*, & *from all parties* has seldom, I should think, been known: but I do agree with you, that it is very odd Lord Lansdown, & his friends, should delay coming in: nor do I believe any good reason *can* be given. That they are not "afraid to identify themselves with the Premier," as you suppose, is pretty clear. I heartily wish well to Canning, & am not without vivid hopes, as well as anxiety about the future. Are you an amateur of the *Watchman*?⁹ Write soon—if you do, or if you don't, I shall certainly write again quickly.

Believe me,
Yours most faithfully,
A H Hallam.

Addressed to W. W. Farr Esq. / St. John's College / Cambridge.
P/M 8 May 1827

1. Traditional: see for example Gay, *Beggar's Opera*, 1. 13, air 16.
2. "Oh what a beautiful repose!"

3. Unidentified.

4. Sir Francis Burdett (1770-1844), M.P. for Westminster from 1807 to 1837, was a strong advocate of Parliamentary reform in the early 1830s, but after the 1832 bill generally conservative.

5. George Robert Dawson (1790-1856), M.P. for Londonderry from 1815 to 1830, was secretary of the treasury from 1828 to 1830.

6. Isaac Gascoyne (1770-1841) was M.P. for Liverpool from 1802 to 1830.

7. *Aeneid* 12. 168: "second hope."

8. John Russell (1792-1878), first earl, a strong advocate of parliamentary reform, M.P. for Bandon from 1826 to 1830, moved successfully for repeal of Test and Corporation Acts in 1828; Sir George Warrender (1782-1849), M.P. for Sandwich from 1807 to 1832, was commissioner of the board of control from 1822 to 1828. According to *Reminiscences and Recollections of Captain Gronow 1810-1860* (1900), 2:2, Warrender "was styled by his friends Sir George Provender, being famed for his good dinners."

9. An anti-Canningite London weekly tabloid (subtitled *Protestant Guardian*), published 11 March 1827-25 May 1828.

31. TO HENRY HALLAM

MS: Christ Church

Eton: Hawtrey's. Sunday [20 May 1827].

Dear *Αππα*,¹

Really in this hot weather I can find nothing to say: & as I have not begun bathing yet, I find the "solem iniquum"² rather inconvenient. But bathe I must, & that soon; for it would be very provoking to sit, & hear cuckoos, & hornets, & longboats, & other accompaniments of summer, with the consciousness of never having swum across the river, or even jumped in at Upper Hope,³ "Sev capite immesso, sev juvet ire pede!"⁴ Keate has been away the whole of last week on account of his fatherinlaw's death:⁵ he returned on Friday, & went off again Saturday for the Eton Anniversary, which we expect will procure us three holidays, one for the day itself, another asked for there, & a third for Canning's Premiership, as he is generally there. Last week we had for subject, "A field of battle," on which I did long & short. Keate must evidently read me over before he puts me into the 6th. Form, so I am in daily, & hourly expectation, as I don't suppose he can keep me long out. The first great plague of getting in will be the sending round *Almonds & Raisins* to all the 6th Form:⁶ the second will be the being tormented into good, or rather bad speaking by Keate: the first great pleasure will be the exercising penal rigor towards the unfortunate lower boys: the second—Oh I have no time, or patience to go on to the second, & perhaps there is no other. I get on with Sismondi, though I am afraid I shall not near finish him before Election. I am reading *Ανδρομαχη*, not *Ορεστης*,⁷ as I am sharing the pleasure, & trouble thereof with Doyle, who has read the latter. Aunt is very well; pleased with her papers, though one day Boosey forgot them; & very communicative with Mrs. Barrow.⁸ It is too hot to say any more, so goodbye.

Your affect: cub,

A H Hallam.

Addressed to H. Hallam Esq. / 67 Wimpole St. / London.
P/M 22 May 1827

1. "Father."
2. *Aeneid* 7. 227: "tyrannical sun."
3. A reach of the Thames, extending from Gravesend to Hope Point.
4. "Whether it would be pleasing to go with the head plunged in or the foot" (source unidentified).
5. Sir Charles Brown (1747?-11 May 1827) was physician general to the king of Prussia; Keate married his daughter Frances in 1803.
6. A traditional Etonian custom.
7. Euripides' *Andromache* and *Orestes*.
8. Boosey was a servant of the Elton family, perhaps a footman or the butler; Mrs. Barrow is unidentified.

MS: Rylands

Eton: Hawtrey's. Saturday Evening [26 May 1827].

Dear Farr,

You may well wonder at my not answering your letter, after my many solemn protestations of punctual intention. But, out upon it! "*Hell is paved with good intentions!*" & unpunctuality in letter-writing is a sin, of all others, against which the strongest resolutions are oftenest made, & for which, the strongest resolutions have, time out of mind, been broken. However, as you are so fond of accusing me of not telling you enough about Eton news, I hope to be able to redeem my character by communicating to you a scheme, which has been lately set up here, & which is going on in the most prosperous manner. To come to the point at once—a periodical paper is, *I may say*, in the press, intended as a successor, perhaps not an unworthy one, of the *Etonian*, & *Microcosm*, and to be published under the name of the "*Eton Miscellany*" on the 4th. of June.¹ Selwyn is our prime man: Gladstone, Doyle, Hanmer, Rogers, Gaskell, your "chère" Pickering, & several others whom you know less of, are in the list of our club. Now, whether you, having so long left the precincts of Eton, would chuse to "*cast one longing, lingering look behind,*"² or whether, in the full flush of Johnian dignity you look down on us poor citizens of a lesser world, I cannot of course presume to determine, till you answer this letter. I dare say, being a somewhat whimsical fellow, it will depend on the peculiar humor in which you receive this: but remember, *the honor of Eton is at stake*; the *Eton Miscellany* will go forth to battle in the name of all the Etonians of the rising generation; nor do I understand, how a man of your plain, staunch, old-English, *Tory* principles can hesitate to throw what weight he may possess into the scale, in which the talent, & industry of *Alma mater* are balanced! Don't sneer at this, coming from a Whig: & don't quote *Timeo Danaos &c.*,³ because it is so horridly hacknied: but just sit down & think fairly, whether you have time, & patience, & steadiness enough

to be of use to us (which of course we are all most desirous you should be): & tell us at once, if you think it a bore. With regard to the nature of the work, as far as we can judge from the first number, which is *finished, & in Ingaltou's hands*, it will consist of miscellaneous articles, some in the shape of essays (à la Spectator, or Microcosm), some in that of reviews, or humorous pieces (of which latter we have one instance so exquisite, by Selwyn,⁴ that, if it does not make people laugh, when printed, as much as it has us, in manuscript, I shall be very much out of humor with the invention of printing); interspersed with poetry &c., & the whole got up under the supposed superintendence, & editorship of Mr. *Bartholomew Bouverie*, who, we hope, will ere long take his seat by the side of *Peregrine Courtenay*, & *Gregory Griffin*. At any rate, I suppose we may depend on you for procuring us an extensive sale at Cambridge, & for spreading the intelligence far & wide over the habitable globe. Remember, the 4th. of June, Mr. Bouverie makes his appearance in print, & thenceforward, should he meet with success, publishes every fortnight. I will only add about this, that I should have mentioned it to you before, but that I thought it better to wait, till it was tolerably matured, & till things could safely be left "aller son train!" I did however speak of it to Frere, in the very outset of the business, as wishing to secure Tennyson,⁵ & others, who were friends of his, & by no means untried in composition. Frere however decidedly threw cold water on the thing: & so did Puller, to whom I applied at Oxford; but away with such cold, calculating spirits! and let me have a letter soon to assure me of what I am already convinced, that William Windham Farr is made of better stuff!

The Society, although at the present moment Mr. Bouverie has a little distracted our attention, has gone on [with a] remarkable spirit. We have been regularly organise[d into parties that sit?] on different sides of the House. Gask[ell . . . Treasury] men, as we call them, consisting of Pick[ering, J]elf, Wilde[r, &] Canning:⁶ on the opposition benches sit Wentworth, Doyle, Law & myself: on the neutral, or half & half bench, Gladstone, & Durnford fix their solitary reign, while Selwyn is in the chair, & votes with the Treasury generally, though he keeps aloof from their intrigues. Our hostility is now much more personal, than it used to be: I don't mean that we quarrel, but that the division is much rather *Gaskell & Anti-Gaskell*, than *Whig, & Tory*, though the Opposition have certainly a Whig cast of politics, & Law is a Radical. Our questions this term have been:

- I. *Hampden*, or *Lord Clarendon*, which deserved best of his country? Carried for the latter.
- II. *Leo X*, or *Lorenzo de Medici*, which most benefited the fine arts? Carried for the latter.
- III. *Marquis of Montrose*, did he deserve well of his country? The Ayes had it.⁷

I suppose you are crying your eyes out over the list of the *glorious minority of sixty-three* who were defeated in the Lords on Canning's Corn-bill.⁸ What is to be the next yell of the new Opposition, now they can no longer carp at a Provisional Government? Lord Lansdown & his friends have acted perfectly right in coming in now: but I cannot make out, nor can any one else, why they did not come in bef[ore.] We take in the *St. James's Chronicle*, & a queer concern it is: as far as impudence, & No-poperyism compensate for argument, & clear reasoning, this paper certainly deserves admiration. I am particularly amused with a gentleman called "*Cyrus*," but who might just as well have signed himself *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, for any reason that I can discover, & who coolly assumes an equality with *Junius*, in order to consign the names of *Grafton & Canning* to "*equal infamy*"!⁹ I rather like though the motto of the *St. James's twin imp*, the Standard. "*Signifer statue signum &c.*"¹⁰ So you see, I am an impartial foe at least.

Believe me,
Yours most faithfully,

A H Hallam.

P.S. Write soon; & give us an answer—about *Bouverie*. Adieu.

Addressed to W. W. Farr Esq. / *St. John's College* / Cambridge.
P/M 28 May 1827

1. The first mention of the *Eton Miscellany* (June–November 1827) apparently appears in Gladstone's *Diaries* on 15 May 1827: "Two rival plans communicated to

me of revivals of the Etonian—one by Gaskell—the other by Hallam." Two days later, Gladstone had effected a coalition of the groups, and was elected chairman both of the general committee (to receive or reject their own or others' compositions) and a select committee of four (to superintend and order revisions). In addition to those AHH mentions here, the twelve-member board included Wentworth, Wilder, Law, and Walker Skirrow (1809-90); Selwyn, Gladstone, Gaskell, and AHH made up the select committee (*D*, 1:115-16; *Autob.*, p. 192).

Initial plans were ambitious; on 3 July 1827, Gladstone wrote to Farr that "Doyle and I mean to carry it on till Christmas" (*Autob.*, p. 194). But the *Miscellany* received few contributions (nothing from Farr) from former Etonians, and most of those, as Gladstone wrote to his father on 22 July 1827, were poor (St. Deiniol's). With the graduation of AHH, Gaskell, Selwyn, Pickering, Law, Wilder, and Wentworth in July 1827, the burden of continuing the magazine fell principally on Gladstone. By October 1827, the decision had been made to cease publication with the tenth number (Gladstone's 26 October letter to his father, St. Deiniol's).

The *Microcosm* (1786-87), the first Eton magazine, was published under the *nom de plume* of "Gregory Griffin" by Canning, John Hookham Frere, et al.; the *Etonian* (1820-21) under the name of "Peregrine Courtenay" by Walter Blunt and Winthrop Mackworth Praed (1802-39). See Maxwell-Lyte, pp. 356-58; 406-8. Gladstone wrote to his father (14 November 1827) that "if you were to read the *Microcosm especially*, and also the *Etonian*, with the same eye of favourable prepossession with which you have looked upon us, you would immediately come to a conclusion at which I have long ago arrived—a determined opinion, that we were inferior both to the one and the other—to the former especially—and not worthy successors of them" (St. Deiniol's). Most commentators have agreed with Gladstone's appraisal.

2. Gray, "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard," line 88.

3. *Aeneid* 2. 49: "I fear the Greeks."

4. "The Eton Dull Club," pp. 14-20.

5. Frederick Tennyson (1807-98), who attended Eton from 1820 to 1826, was a member of the Eton Society and captain of the school. He matriculated at St. John's College, Cambridge, at Michaelmas 1826, migrated to Trinity in May 1827, and won the 1828 Browne medal for his Greek ode. Rusticated for three terms in 1828-29 for refusing to perform penalties for non-attendance at chapel, Frederick was readmitted in February 1830 (B.A. 1832). Frederick inherited property near Grimsby in 1833, married Maria Giuliotti, daughter of the chief magistrate of Tuscany, at Florence in 1839, and lived in Europe most of his later life, where he could afford to indulge his passion for music; he published several volumes of poetry. References in letters of Pickering and Gladstone in 1828 suggest that Frederick was not a part of AHH's circle of friends at Eton. See also *Reminiscences*, pp. 76-77.

6. William Edward Jelf (1811-75), who contributed prose and verse to the *Eton Miscellany*, matriculated at Christ Church in 1829 (B.A. 1833); he subsequently held various academic posts, and published a Greek grammar and theological tracts. Charles John Canning (1812-62), earl Canning (1859), third son of George, matriculated at Christ Church in 1829 (B.A. 1833), was M.P. for Warwick in 1836 and governor general of India from 1856 to 1862.

7. Debates of 12, 19, and 26 May: AHH voted for Hampden, Lorenzo (1449-92), and remained neutral on James Graham (1612-50), first marquis of Montrose, who for a time led the Scottish Covenanters, supported Charles I and II, and was defeated

and executed in an attempt to reestablish his authority in Scotland. AHH's unpublished speech, favoring the age of Leo X (1475-1521) over that of Augustus in the arts, for the Society's 6 May 1826 debate is at Rylands.

8. Canning's bill for sliding-scales of duties of foreign wheat, having passed the Commons before Easter 1827, was carried (120-63) by Goderich in the Lords on 25 May 1827.

9. Selwyn had moved to take the *St. James Chronicle*, a strongly anti-Catholic newspaper, into the Society on 8 May 1827. "Cyrus," whose two letters appeared in the 3-5 and 10-12 May issues, is unidentified; AHH's description of his style and presumption is mild. Cyrus the Great (600?-529 B.C.) was founder of the Persian empire; Demetrius Poliorcetes (337?-283 B.C.), king of Macedonia, destroyed the Egyptian navy in 306 B.C. Augustus Henry Fitzroy (1735-1811), third duke of Grafton, nominal and then actual head of the Chatham administration in the 1760s, was attacked, apparently unjustly, by Junius.

10. In its May 1827 numbers, the *St. James Chronicle* announced the publication of a daily evening newspaper, the *Standard* (continued as the *Evening Standard*), "to be conducted upon the same principles that have obtained for us a patronage of which neither gratitude nor pride can allow us to be insensible": its motto was "Signifer Statue Signum, Hic Optime Manebimus": "Plant here the Standard, Here we shall best remain."

33. TO ELLEN HALLAM

MS: Christ Church

Eton: Hawtrey's. Sunday [27 May 1827].

Dear Nell,

As I have not yet gratified your impatience with a letter, peculiarly addressed to your Nellish self, I shall take the liberty of doing so now: or, to speak more appropriately, I should say I < allow > give you the liberties of reading it, & answering it—for I was put in the *Sixth Form* last Friday.¹ Keate has not yet set me a speech, so, I suppose, I shall not hear the sound of my own voice in that way, till *next Tuesday week*. Sandford of course is put in too; but Hanmer, & Divett will not be in, till near Election.² Keate has one of his especial grudges against the former. The Π^3 is mistaken about construing at my tutor's: as he always construes himself, & so saves each, & all of us the trouble. But I have been called up already in school in *Callimachus*.⁴ As for the "classical custom" of almonds & raisins, I don't intend to send them round till Monday. Think of five-&-twenty monsters, all gorging, & glutting themselves at the elevation of their fellow-creature!! O horrible! I know you are a sort of animal, that likes to know about the Society: so I will announce to you, that we had a bad debate yesterday, & a bad debate the Saturday before: & that we anticipate bad debates for the two next Saturdays. The subject yesterday was: "Did the *Marquis of Montrose* deserve well of his country?" Saturday before was: "*Leo X*, or *Lorenzo de Medici*—which did most good to the fine arts?" The two future ones are: "Was the *Athenian government* a good one?" & "*Peter the Great*, or *Charlemagne*, which the finest character?"⁵ You may give me your opinion on these two, if you please. Tell Mott I have only bathed once, so she need not be *very uneasy*. I have no time for more: goodbye.

Your sextile brother,

A H Hallam.

Addressed to Miss Eleanor Hallam / 67 Wimpole St. / London.
P/M 28 May 1827

1. See letter 26 n.4.

2. John Divett matriculated at Trinity in 1828 (B.A. 1832), and served as commissioner for tithes. Elections were held 28–29 July 1827.

3. I.e., Henry Hallam.

4. Poet of Alexandria (b. ca. 305 B.C.).

5. See letter 32 n.7. AHH was neutral regarding the Athenian government, which was voted undeserving of admiration; he voted with Doyle and Law in the minority for Charlemagne.

34. TO ELLEN HALLAM

MS: Christ Church

Windsor. Sunday [1 July 1827].

Dear Nell,

I am extremely obliged to you for your moving appeal: it moved my laughter very powerfully, I assure you. A pretty sort of person—to be going to Rome—and not to have enough of the Roman in you to endure one short month's delay, before my name is disclosed. Till then you may ask for the key in vain: I shall open no lock. You are right, you little quiz, in thinking the Extract in the Review too long: but you will find, that for lack of your advice, the author has made longer extracts in the Third number.¹ In that number, I think you all ought to like *Malek*, though the continuation is hardly equal to the beginning²—also *Utopia*—*Art of conversation*—the introduction, with *Jermyn's character*³—and one or two more. Perhaps you "in propriâ personâ" will take a fancy to that new writer, *Roland*,⁴ who is certainly not worth much. Peter puff I recommend to your good graces.⁵ Altogether I don't vote this forthcoming number to be as good as the last; or as the embryo fourth. Let me hear from *Mot*, whether *Scott's Napoleon* is positively out. I have seen scraps in the papers.⁶ The next is a regular week. I did all long last week. Apropos when does *Uncle Henry* return to town? Pray do not let the next letter forget to tell me; as I want particularly to write to him. If gone to *Cheltenham*, let me know his direction. Adio.

Your affectionate brother,

The little Unknown.

Addressed to Miss Eleanor Hallam / 67 Wimpole Street / London.
P/M 2 July 1827

1. AHH's "Remarks on Gifford's Ford," *Eton Miscellany* 1 (no. 2):61-68; continued in nos. 3 (pp. 124-33) and 4 (156-62); approximately half of the first two installments were devoted to extracts from Gifford's commentary and from 'Tis Pity She's a Whore respectively. The edition of the works of John Ford (1586?-1639?), ed. William Gifford (1756-1826), was published in March 1827. See *Writings*, pp. 303-4.

2. Doyle's "The Prediction," *Miscellany* 1 (no. 1):32-39; concluded in no. 3 (pp. 118-24). Six of Doyle's contributions to volume one were signed "Malek," the name of a prize horse belonging to his maternal grandfather, Sir William-Mordaunt Milner. In volume two, Doyle wrote under the name "Francis Jermyn."

3. Selwyn's "On Utopia" and "The Art of Conversation," 1:133-36, 108-13. Gladstone composed the introductions to nos. 2-4 and 6-10.

4. AHH's *nom de plume* for his poems "The Battle of the Boyne" (no. 3, pp. 136-37) and "The Bride of the Lake" (no. 5, pp. 215-20); see *Writings*, p. 304.

5. "Peter Puff," whose sole contribution was "Advertizements" (no. 3, pp. 117-19), is unidentified, perhaps an ex-Etonian.

6. See letter 21 n. 8.

MS. Rylands

Hawtrey's. Eton. Tuesday [17 July 1827].

Dear Farr,

I have not the slightest conception, in what part of the habitable globe you are summering. Sometime ago I heard you were at the Land's end, or thereabouts: but as I suppose Cornwall has no such wonderful attractions for you, that you are still sojourning where

The mighty vision of the guarded mount
Looks towards Namancos, and Bayona's hold.¹

I thought there could be no harm in addressing a letter to Iford-House; especially as in another fortnight I shall have left Eton for ever, and, in another after that, shall be crossing the seas to Calais. I shall not come back for a year. I should be sorry therefore to quit England for so long a period without hearing again from you. I shall come up to Granta² next October year; by which time I am afraid I shall have ingrafted so many slips of foreign coxcombry on my native stock, that none of my friends will know me. *Dī melius faciant!*³ What do you think, as to the propriety of going into the Union—is it really, what some people represent it, very plebeian, or is it the thing? I know my father will want me to sap; so I shall probably be obliged, when I start freshman, to abjure the sweet sin of politics altogether. I should be loth however to let Radical, and Tory go on perpetually at loggerheads without throwing my foolish Whig body into the jostle. So you see Lord Lansdown has the Home secretaryship at last; and poor Bourne has dropped into a commissioner of woods & forests, with a good sinecure, and three thousand a year for this three months job! I think Canning has the whiphand of the opposition now, and hope he will keep it; only the sooner he gets rid of Lady Conyngham,⁴ if indeed rumour speak true of that lady's influence, the better for his dignity, and the integrity of the national government. They say he is to be down here at Election; and I know some of the sixth form, who

have speeches set them about Catiline, Cethegus,⁵ and such like rascals, mean to nail the poor Premier most unmercifully. Indeed the feeling against him is so strong throughout the school, that I verily believe, if we were polled, there would be three to one on the Tory side. At one of the match dinners, "The King" having been proposed, some one, who in the heat of wine had somewhat lost the temperature of reason, added "Down with Canning!" Mark the result: out of five and twenty there were not six, who did not drink the toast with acclamations! A confounded bad omen this of the principles of the rising generation!⁶ The Society is going on in the most flourishing state imaginable: there are now eighteen members, which if your memory can penetrate so far into the dark abyss of your schoolboy years, you may remember would have been reckoned a famous number. We have good debates; & good speakers. But a thing far more interesting to us has been the *Eton Miscellany*, which we have now carried successfully to as many as five numbers. I hope you have taken us in; and have occasionally whiled away a leisure hour in guessing, and puzzling out the identity of this and that author. The verdict of some competent judges has been, that we surpass the Etonian: but I much fear, we neither have had, nor shall have any thing so good as Gog and Godiva were in their manner.⁷ The fifth number comes out on Election saturday i.e. next saturday week; and it will be resumed after the holidays, when however none of any weight, except Doyle & Gladstone, who are indeed a host in themselves, will remain to support it. I remember, when we used to talk over the idea of a new Etonian, little dreaming one would be started in our lifetime, we used to set poor William Ewart down for nothing but Methodist hymns. Let me tell you however,

"there are more things in heav'n, and earth, Horatio,
than are dreamt of in your philosophy."⁸

Gladstone has shewn a great deal of sound sense, and a great deal of powerful talent in this publication. But enough of this—it is too bad to worry you about what perhaps you have never read—I mean, our miscellany: so, hoping to have a letter from you soon,

I remain,
Your most faithful friend,

A H Hallam.

Is there no chance of seeing you at Election?

P.S. There have been some exquisite matches here on the water. First of all, six of Chapman's⁹ pupils pulled the school, and beat them. Secondly, the tenoar pulled the ten of the rest of the school—which made a magnificent race. Thirdly there was a very good skiff sweepstakes—very cleverly won. The sixes are not yet pulled. Vale.

Addressed to W. W. Farr Esq. / Iford House / Christchurch/
Hants.

1. Milton, "Lycidas," lines 161-62.

2. Traditional name for Cambridge, from the old name of the river Cam.

3. "May the gods grant a better outcome!"

4. Elizabeth Denison (1769-1861) was the wife of Henry Conyngham (1766-1832), first marquis, lord steward of the royal household. Mistress of George IV, Lady Conyngham lived at court with her husband from 1820 to 1830, and exerted great influence over the king.

5. Gaius Cornelius Cethegus, Roman politician involved in the Catilinian conspiracy, was executed in 63 B.C.

6. Gladstone's 3 July 1827 letter to Farr related a similar incident: "Last week we had a dinner in celebration of a boat-match, at which Selwyn proposed 'Down with Canning'—which was opposed by some on account of the sentiment, by others on account of the unfitness of such an occasion for politics—and it failed" (*Autob.*, p. 193). Gladstone wrote to his father on 22 July 1827 that Canning was "astonishingly unpopular among the Eton fellows" and that if his continuance in power depended on their vote, he would lose by eight or ten to one (St. Deiniol's).

7. Praed's "Gog: A Poem," *Etonian* 2:207-16, 307-14, and "Godiva—A Tale (in 48 stanzas)" by John Moultrie (1799-1874), *Etonian* 1:149-62.

8. *Hamlet*, 1. 5. 166-67.

9. James Chapman (1799-1879) was assistant master of Eton from 1822 to 1834.

36. TO WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE

MS: British Library

[Eton.] [27 July 1827.]

My dear Gladstone,

Perhaps you will pardon my doing by writing, what I hardly dare trust myself to do by words. I received your superb Burke yesterday: and hope to find it a memorial of past, and a pledge of future friendship through both our lives.¹ It is perhaps rather bold in me to ask a favor immediately on acknowledging so great a one: but you would please me, and oblige me greatly, if you will accept this copy of my father's book.² It may serve, when I am separated from you, to remind you of one, whose warmest pleasure it will always be to subscribe himself,

Your most faithful friend,

A H H.

P.S. I am going to breakfast at Roberts's with my father. Will you come out after 12?

1. Gladstone sent leaving books on 25 July 1827 (D, 1:129). The copy of Burke's *Works* (6 vols., London: 1823), now apparently lost, was inscribed "A. H. Hallam from his friend W. E. Gladstone. Eton. July 1827. Donum et Exemplar."

2. Gladstone consulted *A View of Europe* on 22 April 1826 (and occasionally thereafter) in preparation for debates; he began reading *Const. Hist.* on 24 September 1827 (D, 1:43, 138). His notebook devoted entirely to *Const. Hist.*, dated "Sept. 1827," is in the British Library (Ad. MS. 44802E). Gladstone's *Diaries* do not record receiving the copy from AHH.

MS: British Library

67 Wimpole Street. Monday evening [6 August 1827].

Dear Gladstone,

I leave England next Monday week—a fortnight from the present day. I hope to be able to write to you again, to give you some information, as to my stay at Paris, Florence &c. with a view to letters. I have been doing my duty tolerably by the Miscellany—and am deep in a series of letters on the Lake poets from Francis Jermy to Bartholomew Bouverie, which I hope to be able to accomplish before I go.¹ Doyle to my certain knowledge has not yet put pen to paper. Dun him well. Make him pay well for his idleness in postage, if he has not strength to vanquish it by writing. I gave his father, and sisters due notice that he was taxed at thirty pages: and they promised to do, all they could. I am afraid they might as well do—nothing! London is dull, hot, and desolate in the extreme. The King's palace is growing progressively more hideous every day.² There is a large egg at the top, instead of a cupola—like the roc's egg in Aladdin, says Doyle—or as someone else of my acquaintance says, "His most sacred Majesty is become the goose with the golden eggs!" What an awful thing, to come to sober sadness, Canning's illness is? Good God! That he should die now, in the very zenith of his power, and the very fervency of England's hope! Death is a fearful thing, in whatever shape, or mould it is envisaged: but, when the destinies of Europe are staked on the life of one man, how momentously terrible an aspect the agonies of dissolution assume! I trust it is not all over; the last account was, that "it was not quite hopeless."³ Should the Tories come in, it will be time to pack up one's things, and be off to America. What a curious fatality would in that case attach to the Whigs: for the last eighty years they have been called in on few, very few occasions, and the fruit of their ambition has been always dashed from their lips.⁴ Yet perhaps the glory of the "Slave Abolition" is sufficient to illumine one

century. I dare not think what is to become of us all, should Canning (which God avert!) be taken from us, and the Whig party dislodged from power. Just think slowly in your mind of France, Spain, Portugal, America, IRELAND, and ENGLAND: and what ideas do not those names call up! There is however no use speculating on such a crisis; and the storm may yet be weathered. Lady Conyngham is said to be a good Whig, and to have great influence: in a more ordinary time, "Non tali auxilio &c."⁵ might be apt to rise on the tongue, but when the question is, Are we to be preserved? or ruined for ever? common sense forbid, that we should hesitate as to the means. Perhaps you are frowning at this, but n'importe! I hope you intend reading my father's book.⁶ You will frown at many a part of that, with a vengeance! I know you cannot stomach liberal principles, when they fillip King Charles: and you have too great a regard for Lord Clarendon's authority to give him up easily. Methinks Agar Ellis gives the latter a hard knock, or two. Have you read him? The Edinburgh review too! What think you of the pious Martyr's neat "case of conscience"? To call the man who wrote that letter a martyr!! to the church of England!!! does, I confess, seem to me to argue great effrontery, or great stupidity, or great carelessness. There is a very good article on Venice by Ugo Foscolo; and an interesting one on the Society for the diffusion of knowledge: but I don't think much of the number, as a whole.⁷

Tuesday morning.

I just take up my pen again in a hurry to say that I have this moment seen Dr. Holland,⁸ who says poor Canning is hardly alive. What a lingering death it is! I am afraid I must conclude my letter in the middle of the third page without saying half I wished to say: but throw myself on your mercy.

Believe me,

Yours most affectionately,

A H Hallam.

Addressed to W. E. Gladstone Esq. / Seaforth House / Liverpool.
P/M 7 August 1827

1. See letter 34 n. 2. As subsequent letters show, AHH abandoned this composition.

2. Buckingham Palace was not completed until 1837, when Victoria had the dome removed.

3. Canning's final illness was traced to a chill caught at the duke of York's funeral (19 January 1827), though Gladstone had reported to his father that "Mr. Canning would not sacrifice so imprudently to etiquette as to walk without proper covering, & . . . therefore went in a cloak" (21 January 1827; St. Deiniol's). Canning's condition was made public on 5 August 1827.

4. See letter 22 n. 3.

5. *Aeneid* 2. 521: "The hour calls not for such aid, nor such defenders."

6. See letter 36 n. 2.

7. *Historical Inquiries Respecting the Character of Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, Lord Chancellor of England* (June 1827) by George James Welbore Agar-Ellis (1797-1833), baron Dover, M.P. *Original Letters, Illustrative of English History* (1827) by Sir Henry Ellis (1777-1849), librarian of the British Museum, was reviewed by Henry Brougham in the *Edinburgh Review* 46 (June 1827): 195-217; the work included a letter from Charles to William Juxon, archbishop of Canterbury, acknowledging Juxon's "worth and learning . . . in resolving Cases of Conscience," and soliciting his opinion about a change from Episcopal to Presbyterian Government, which Charles saw as politically expedient, but "directly against my conscience." The same issue of the *Edinburgh Review* contained articles on the history of the democratical constitution of Venice by Ugo Foscolo (1778-1827), Italian scholar and patriot living in England, and on the Society for Diffusion of Useful Knowledge by Brougham (pp. 75-106 and 225-44, respectively).

8. Sir Henry Holland (1788-1873) was physician to many eminent nineteenth-century Englishmen, including the Hallam family.

MS: Rylands

67 Wimpole St. Thursday [9 August 1827].

Dear Farr,

I suppose this letter, for the shortness of which I throw myself on your mercy, will reach you at Iford. If it does not, tant pis—as I am afraid I shall not in that case hear from you before I start; which I purpose doing next Monday week. Are you exulting, and triumphing in poor Canning's melancholy fate?¹ I hope not—for the honour of human nature. As a man, and as a man of genius, all parties can hardly help lamenting him; unless indeed those who are irremediably blinded by the bad passions of bigotry. I trust however, and hope, that the decided majority of rank, and talent in the country grieve for his loss, as a minister; as one, whose principles were sureties to the nation at large for his political integrity, and practical wisdom; who by the administration he formed, and the just, necessary, and spirited coalition which he effected, separated at once the good, and the bad, the just, and the intolerant, the constitutional, and the factious, by a broad line of demarcation. He shewed the King to the commonalty, as a faithful guardian of that peace, and security, those rights, and franchises, which he is trusted in his high office to protect: he shewed to that King a confiding, and patriotic people, who wished for nothing more than what they had then obtained, a national government. Short as his administration unhappily proved, it was long enough to devise the Treaty for pacifying Greece,² and to plan many a scheme of retrenchment, and reform. His situation, as regards the Catholics, was unpleasant: but there was vigor, and address enough in him to have surmounted the difficulty. What is to become of England, or it may be said, of Europe, is a problem too difficult for solution. The coming in of the Tories is too fearful to be thought on: things already seem advancing with rapid strides towards a revolution in France; and what effect the convulsive writhings of England under

a Tory administration would have, is rather to be imagined, than described. All this, I suppose, is Hebrew to you. You of course would like nothing better, than a neat set of fellows, who would hurl us into war with Ireland, and throw down the gage of defiance to Whigs, and Liberalists. I hope your aspirations will not be realised however; and that the King's wisdom will < let > raise up Lansdowne, or Goderich to be our defenders.

Did Gladstone send you the Miscellany? If he did, let me know your opinion thereof.

Leaving Eton is a horrid bore just at the moment. The "antique towers"³ look more agreeable, than they ever did before: and the Playing-fields, one finds out, are very pretty, pleasing, and inviting, just, when one presses them for the last time. Keate was civility personified, and asked me for my picture.⁴ My tutor too grinned as gracious a grin, as his native ugliness permitted. I shall be in London, till I go: and a desolate, dreary place it is, in August. *Di meliora*⁵ &c. I hope to be very happy abroad, unless a revolution happens, and they hang me for a Carbonari. Should I be taken up to the mountains by the banditti, you may expect a letter, containing one of my ears, and imploring you to collect a ransom, for the sake of "Auld lang syne." But I see I am running into sad nonsense (and how can London in August supply one with anything better?); so I must cry "Hold, enough."⁶

P.S. Write soon, if you receive this. If you should be absent, and do not—why then I won't press you to write! Vale.

Addressed to [W]. Windham [Farr Esq.] / [If]ord House /
[C]hristchurc[h] / Han[ts].

1. Canning died on 8 August 1827.

2. Signed by England, France, and Russia on 6 July 1827.

3. Gray, "Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College," line 1.

4. AHH's portrait in the Election Chamber at Eton shows him, in Benson's words, as "a rubicund, good-humoured, almost beery-looking young man, with a sly and sensual cast of the eye" (*Fasti Etonenses*, p. 345, which reproduces the portrait).

5. Ovid *Metamorphoses* 7. 37: "God forbid."

6. *Macbeth*, 5. 8. 34.

39. TO WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE

MS: British Library

67 Wimpole St. Monday [13 August 1827].

Dear Gladstone,

I received your very welcome, though somewhat snappish letter the day before yesterday, and hasten to answer it, in the hope of obtaining another before next Monday, which, according to our present resolution, is our day of departure. I do not however think it at all out of the question that we may be delayed, as both my father, and myself are unwell, and any illness would of course protract our going. I have been suffering much from headaches; and sometimes, when in low spirits, anticipate being laid up at some informal posthouse, among strange faces, and stupid doctors, so as to realise the "*rapidi vicinia leti*." If I die, before I see you again, I give you leave to print this in the Morning post, as a marvellous coincidence. Have you any commissions in Italy? Would you like a handful of mud from the Forum, or an atom of stucco from Pompeii? Or would your present love for the (so called) Martyr, and your extinct love for his respectable descendants, prompt you to wish for a fragment of their tombs. There they lie—James, Charles, and Henry²—with royal monuments, and inscriptions, telling of a glory that never existed, and acknowledging a title, which there only could be submitted to without murmuring. That too is quite at your service. I really am ashamed to say I cannot yet tell you how to direct to me at Paris: your letters will be very cheering to me, when far away, and when the contrast between my actual enjoyments, and those walks to Salthill of ours, will be greatly to the disadvantage of the former: yet do not trouble your kindness to write to me, while at Paris, unless anything particular should occur, because I shall be there next Friday week probably, and shall leave it the end of the week following, so you would scarcely have had any interval of time between your letter thither, and your last one to London. We shall reach Florence, the

next safe place, about the end of September, and remain there a month. Now I do not exactly know the distance, or the time the post takes in its transit from England to the Arno, but I cannot be wrong in saying you may write securely to Florence up to about the 8th. of October. Direct "Poste restante." As for Rome, I can tell you hereafter.

What affecting accounts the newspapers gave of poor Canning's death! I have heard from Dr. Holland that the story of his fearful shrieking was exaggerated: but in all cases of internal inflammation, the pain is of the most horrible nature. The dying man was conscious of his danger, sometime before: he said to Dr. Holland, "*I have struggled with this for a long time; but it has got the better of me, at last.*" I was at Westminster Abbey yesterday, and saw the preparations for laying him in his grave, by the side of Pitt, and Fox.³ A worthy third! I suppose you are aware of the <curiou> striking coincidence of his fate, with that of Fox: both dying in the same house (though not, as the papers said, in the same room); and both after but a few months' possession of supreme power. But you are probably not aware, that Lady Holland,⁴ at a dinner given to the Premier some weeks before, said, "Mr. Canning, are you superstitious?" Upon a negative answer being given, she said, "*If you were, you would not go to Chiswick.*" Whether Canning remembered this enough to alarm his nerves, after his illness had begun, I do not know: but he certainly remembered it enough to mention it to the King, a little before he went to the Duke of Devonshire's.⁵ But there is another melancholy coincidence, which has not, that I know of, been noticed. He died, *the same day of the year*, and nearly *the same hour of that day*, on which the late queen expired.⁶ Are these things chance? or are they not rather to be considered, as proofs of an overruling moral government; as warnings to awaken the thought of futurity within us, and to make us more tremblingly alive to events of sorrow? I take it the loss of Canning is entirely irreparable. Since lord Chatham, there has never been such a name on the continent. We are lowered in the scale of nations by his death. The principles of his administration may be preserved, and I trust they will: the very policy which he would have pursued, may be followed up; yet is his loss irreparable; because the terror of a mighty name has ceased to influence. It has been the *Canning ministry*: and that word alone has made Metternich quake,⁷ and Ferdinand take

refuge in his cowardice. It will be long, I fear, before *Goderich* will have as much weight. But, though this loss cannot be repaired, the next thing in our hope should be the preservation of his government, animated by his spirit, as far as possible, and based upon his principles. And here, my dear Gladstone, I must say I do not like that part of your letter. I do not like the tone of it. I say it not in the least in anger, but much in sorrow: because there is no one, whose opinion I value more than yours; no one, with whom it is more my pride, and pleasure to agree. Surely that Jesuitical turn, about being in *place*, but not being in *power*, was unworthy of you. You know what *Farr* would have called it. If you mean that there exists any jealousy between the old Whig party, and the friends of *Canning*, you are, I believe, completely wrong. I should think (you will pardon me, if I am mistaken) that the intelligence which I [have] been in the habit of hearing in London from individuals concerned in the late changes, is more authentic than you are likely to have obtained: and I judge from that intelligence, that the two connexions in the ministry *understand each other perfectly*; that there is the most intimate concert in their measures, the utmost identity in their views, the same <conviction to> devotion in all <of> to the paramount importance of the cause, in which they are engaged. It is extraordinary to me how you can so wilfully blind yourself to the necessity of their forgetting former badges of dissension in order to give up heart, soul, and strength to the preservation of our rank among nations, and of the liberty, which we are bound in honour to protect amongst others, as we have secured it amongst ourselves. The Whigs have not "obtained place by compromising some of the most momentous questions of the day." If you really think their difference of opinion, as to the Test Act—a grievance which surely of all others, is the least pressing—as to Reform—which you know is passed away from the minds of most men like a feverish dream, or a tale that is told, and which it would have been equally wicked and infatuated, to have thrown in the way of union—as to Colonial policy—which existed, I incline to think, always more in declamation, than in argument, but to which no one in his senses would surely think of giving himself up in preference to our *national policy*—if you sincerely think a good man, should have sacrificed the cause of his country to his party-spirit on such differences as these, although he agreed with Mr. *Canning* on the

tolerably momentous questions, of 1. the government of Ireland, Catholic emancipation in all its bearings included 2. Economical Reform, which was already in full progress to completion 3. Foreign Policy, the importance of which, in our present position *cannot be calculated too high*: for on that policy our future destiny, and that of the world depend: if you still can talk of consistency, as if it would not have been scandalous inconsistency with all their principles, had the Whigs not accepted the pledge of generous concert which was offered them; then I can only express my hope, that far from all English statesmen may such bastard consistency ever be found, and that you, my dear Gladstone, may yet recognise the truth of that line in Euripides, 'Αἱ δευτεραι πω[ς] φροντιδες σοφωτεραι.⁸ How strange, by the bye, in you to suppose I wanted to get into a controversy about Charles I. I am no such fool; for I believe you impracticable on that head. You must have been in a very bad humour, malgrè the feast, to suppose I meant to *taunt* you: but as I see, you are too sore on the subject of poor Charly to bear any raillery about it, I will only say for your satisfaction, that Charles's conduct was flagrantly immoral, in wishing to regain his power by deliberate perjury, such as in Caesar Borgia, or Tiberius you would shrink from in horror. I do not deny a palliatory plea of circumstances may be put in: but the proof of his laxity of principle, as to good faith, and the consequent danger to our free constitution, seems to me clear.⁹ Satis superque. How goes on the Miscellany? I will write again Saturday, or Monday. Believe me,

Yours very affect:y

A H Hallam.

Addressed to W. E. Gladstone Esq. / Seaforth House / Liverpool.
P/M 13 August 1827

1. Adapted from Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8. 225: "the swift proximity of death."

2. James Francis Edward Stuart and his two sons, Charles Edward Louis Philip Casimir (1720-88), the "Young Pretender," and Henry Benedict Maria Clement (1725-1807), Cardinal York, were all buried in St. Peter's.

3. Gladstone visited Canning's grave on 22 September 1827 (*D*, 1:138).
4. Elizabeth Vassall Fox (1770-1845), wife of Henry Richard Vassall Fox (1773-1840), third baron Holland, presided over the Whig circle at Holland House.
5. William George Spencer Cavendish (1790-1858), sixth duke of Devonshire, was lord chamberlain from 1827 to 1828 and from 1830 to 1834.
6. Caroline Amelia Elizabeth (1768-1821), queen of George IV, apparently died on 7 August; Canning died shortly before 4:00 A.M.
7. Prince Klemens von Metternich (1773-1859) had opposed liberal movements throughout Europe.
8. *Hippolytus*, line 436: "How second thoughts for men are wisest still."
9. See letter 37 n.7.

67 Wimpole St. Sunday [19 August 1827].

Dear Gladstone,

I thank you de tout mon cœur for writing again. We will, if you please, as this is my last English letter, and as I shall assuredly drop all thoughts of politics, at least Society politics, when I touch the French soil, leave in the background our threadbare discussions on Charles Stuart.¹ But I will just take the liberty of remarking that my belief *that cases are imaginable, which might justify falsehood*, is surely no reason why I should vindicate the attempt of an arbitrary prince to *entrap more than half the nation by deliberate perjury*: neither can I admit your exculpatory phrase of "saving our religion"—Charles might be a very *conscientious bigot* to a particular form of church-government; but it is this strange sort of conscience, which allowed him to sacrifice *great moral principles to speculative doctrinal, or even disciplinary points*, and which his subjects, in my opinion justly, regarded as incompatible with constitutional royalty. I have been very much amused for some time with your exulting tone in these arguments; but as I am not so fond of worming charges of vanity out of hasty phrases, as you seem to be, I have been amused in silence: however, when you go so far, as to prescribe to me, what I ought to be politically sorry for, I will tell you in perfect good humour, that I never can regret having been slow in making up my mind on a question of so intricate a nature, as that of a civil war, and especially *that* civil war. You have an unquestionable right, my dear Gladstone, to make up your own mind unhesitatingly to calling that contest, The Great Rebellion, and to sitting down contented with Lord Clarendon's authority: but *you have no right whatever* to call me over the coals, because I am more cautious in framing my opinion, and come to conclusions, different from your own.² You are smiling perhaps at my ill keeping of the promise I made in the beginning of my letter: but when one writes to

an intimate friend, one would be sorry not to explain, what may need explanation. Adieu to the subject for a year at least. I won't detain you about the Whigs; because I am sorry to say, we differ too essentially, for any chance of approximation. It is with me, a clear case of moral right, and wrong. Had the Whigs, either as individuals, or as a party, refused the means of doing good to England, because of Colonial Policy, they would, *pace tuâ dixerim*, have acted wickedly as men, and factiously as adherents to a great party. If you mean to assert that Lord Lansdowne, and his friends, believing that their peculiar views of ameliorating the condition of the West Indian slaves were of more importance than the Catholic question, pledged themselves to *sacrifice* these views, as a condition of power—but it is impossible you could mean to assert anything so flagrantly false! I am firmly convinced they never thought them of *half the importance*: and have the most rooted faith, that they never would yield anything essential to our happiness for any price. As to the Origin of Power!!! Were you asleep, when you wrote that part of your letter? I had thought, that for a century at least, that point had never been evoked from repose. Who dares, in defiance of common sense, and the Statute-book, to derive all lawful power from any source, except "*The Nation, under God?*" None could be so absurd, as to rank the creature, above the creator; to think that any people decided, who should be their magistrates, before God had willed that government should exist; or that subordination, and civil society was not a necessary consequence of that order of things, which the Supreme Being has created. None surely in this country think, that any form of government can be lawful without *national consent*: or that any magistrates are not trustees for the community at large. What can you mean by thinking Whigs, and Liberals (as you invidiously, I trust erroneously, would distinguish them) differ on this abstract point? Perhaps you have mistaken a passage in poor Canning's Reform speech about the Parliament of 1648.³ Let me refer you, if you are ignorant of it, to an excellent, and decisive chapter in Paley's Philosophy, on resistance, and the text in Romans.⁴ Now, having kept my second promise, just as ill as my first, I will say a word on subjects, much more important to us. First, and foremost, The Miscellany! You say it goes on poorly, as far as you are concerned. I really think you should reflect a little, before you irrecoverably pledge yourself to continue it. Rogers had

not written a syllable *yesterday*: Doyle was in the same plight, when he went to Brighton a few days ago. The latter talks of a tale: the former of serious poetry. For my own part, I had, as I already told you, engaged in a sort of critical essay,⁵ which however, when expanded to 12 or 14 pages, I found fault with more, and more, every time I read it over, and finished by committing it "emendaturis ignibus."⁶ I have a small piece of poetry by me, not quite finished, but which I shall certainly send from Paris, probably to Rogers at Blackheath. I submitted the first part to his approbation, which was flattering: so I hope it may do for some odd corner.⁷ I will not omit here, to thank you very heartily for having cut about my *Bride of the Lake* so unsparingly, while in its first wretched state: had it not been for your criticism, I shou[ld] never have taken the trouble of altering it so much. I have [had] a good deal of praise for it—from some fair ladies, and some votaries of Parnassus, old *Botherby* in the number. (I cannot say I think much of his "approving good" however; for he does not like Malek's prediction).⁸ I have told you this, not out of vanity, to which you will charitably assign it: but because there is a real pleasure in communicating to those, whom we love, the circumstances, which we are naturally pleased with ourselves. If you still shake your head at this splendid maxim, I must give Cerberus his sop, by telling you I have lately seen a friend of mine, who votes your *Virgil* the best thing in the book.⁹ I hope you will not take offence at being called Cerberus, <even> metaphorically: for if I can at all guess the state of your mind, you should be in raptures at the very idea of having three sets of brains for the service of the *Miscellany*! Seriously, if you doubt having strength for the whole of next term, give it up at once. Nothing would be more lame, than a breaking down after your second, or third number: nothing so unworthy of ourselves, as to carry it on feebly, and prolixly, and languidly, and with no zest, or spirit. The first volume is very fair, but it is not, I think, all that we could wish. What a failure then it would be, if we, or rather you, were worse on the whole in the second? Now do you think there is a reasonable hope, that you can stand this ordeal—if you do not think so, why run the hazard? I do not say this to discourage you in the least. I am quite for going on, if you can go on with honour. I should personally be glad to contribute in a small, and occasional way, from Italy. But *look, before you leap*. I have heard from Gaskell, who is not

going till the 5th. of September, or thereabouts: and from Farr, who has been very ill, and says "Canning died a victim to remorse for having admitted Whig traitors to power!" And now then, Gladstone, for that uncomfortable word, farewell. (How prettily, by the bye, the French disguise the thing by their "Au revoir," which mixes the sweetness of hope with the bitterness of separation!) It is a melancholy thing to leave England for any length of time: and though you used to accuse me of want of feeling on the subject, I assure you I was very uncomfortable, when I took my last walk round the Playing-fields an hour before I left Eton. Remember to direct to Florence till the eighth of October; you may send me two, or three at intervals before that time, but it will be hardly secure after, as we may be gone before the letter comes. We shall not stay long enough anywhere earlier in our tour to be able to fix with correspondents; but I will write to you from Geneva.

Believe me,
Yours most faithfully,
A H Hallam.

Remember thin paper, and paying English postage, when you write to me. Tell Doyle also.

Addressed to W. E. Gladstone Esq. / Seaforth House / Liverpool.
P/M 20 August 1827

1. See letter 39 n. 9.

2. AHH's 1830 Trinity prize-winning declamation argued that the Independent party was justified "in seizing the government and putting force on the legislative body, in the year 1648" (unpublished copy at Trinity); his first speech at the Cambridge Union (24 February 1829) opposed Charles I's execution.

3. AHH apparently means 1688; in his 25 April 1822 speech, Canning had asserted: "There cannot indeed be the slightest doubt that had the nation been polled in 1688, the majority would have been found adverse to the change that was then effected in the Government: but Parliament, acting in its higher and larger

capacity, decided for the people's interests against their prejudices. It is not true, therefore, that the House of Commons is necessarily defective, because it may not instantly respond to every impression of the people."

4. Book 6, chapter 4—"The Duty of Civil Obedience, as Stated in the Christian Scriptures"—in *The Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy* (1785) by William Paley (1743-1805), archdeacon of Carlisle, philosopher and theologian, author of *Evidences of Christianity* (1794). The text is Romans 13:1-7.

5. See letter 37 n. 1.

6. See Ovid *Tristia* 4. 10. 61-62: "What I thought defective I gave in person to the flames for their revision."

7. The poem is unidentified. Doyle and Rogers, together with Gladstone, were the major contributors to volume two of the *Miscellany*; AHH contributed nothing. On 14 September 1827, Gladstone confided to Farr: "We were generally disappointed in Hallam" (*Autob.*, p. 196).

8. See letter 34 nn. 2, 4. Ellen Hallam's transcript of "The Bride of the Lake" (Yale) shows only minor variants from the printed text. William Sotheby (1757-1833), author and poetaster, was a close friend of Henry Hallam; Byron refers to him as "bustling Botherby" in *Beppo*, line 575; see also line 586.

9. "Appearance of Virgil in the Upper World," no. 4, pp. 179-83.

Genoa. Wednesday. September 26th [1827].

My dear Gladstone,

I am but a faithless correspondent—but if you knew the enormous difficulty of finding a moment's leisure, when travelling, & above all, when remaining at any place, you would not, I am sure "look the gift horse in the mouth." I hope you have not waited for this letter to write to Florence—if you have, I fear it will be too late. Here I am at *Genoa*—in tolerable health, & spirits—after a safe, agreeable, & beautiful journey. It seems a century already since I landed on Calais pier. He spoke true, who said—"Travelling—constant travelling is the only way to prolong life."¹ To have crossed the *Jura*—the *Savoy Alps*—the *Cenis*—the *Apennines*—To have whiled away hours on the mirrored stillness of the *Leman*—To have breathed the fragrance of an Italian atmosphere, & gazed on the glory of an Italian evening—to be sitting at this instant in full view of the Mediterranean, the richness of its blue being chequered by the tall masts of the Genoese navy, and the boundlessness of its waters relieved to the right, & the left, by the dark line of the *Apennines*—why, what a space must all this occupy in the brain—& when the mind's eye is arrested by so magnificent a vista of the past, & present, is it wonderful, that the duration of the last 2 months should be lengthened almost indefinitely before it? I shd. like to convey to you some idea of what I have seen—but I well know Italy, & the Alps are as impossible to describe graphically as to conceive without description. We spent ten days at *Paris*—where *nobody*, who is *anybody*, was at so unfashionable a season. All the plebeians were run mad after the Girafe, & the Osages, a wild tribe of Indians, on a visit to his Gallic majesty. We saw the former, which is a pretty animal, but evidently dying by inches.² I was much pleased with the Louvre. From Paris we took the Dijon road to Geneva. The *Val de Suzon* near *Dijon* is the first morsel of fine country one meets with, & is no bad

preparation for the ascent of Jura, which however maintains its superiority over that, & most other mountains by the sublimity of its forests. It is one thing to ascend amidst bold rocks & fearful precipices, to the summit of a lofty range; and another to make the same ascent amidst the added beauties of innumerable pinetrees, enveloping in one black mass the crags around us, scarce deigning to move their foliage to the blast, that sweeps thro' their recesses, & standing in such still, erect, changeless sublimity, that they would seem to have experienced no alteration since the first hour of creation. I broke my way into one of these forests; & had the satisfaction of being for some minutes remote from everything human, even from every sound; with nothing but the ceaseless buzz of the forest-flies, who reigned there undisturbed. Yet even in the centre of the *Jura* wildness, there are some little valleys—specks of intruding civilisation on the unwrought mass of nature—so sunny, & riant, & pleasing, that I should have liked of all things to live there. I have a vast mind to try some fine morning of a long vacation. Confound that word! it recalls mathematics, & mopishness, & misery—so let us back to the *Jura*. The first view of the pretty valley of Geneva—with that dear, exquisite lake—and Mont Blanc himself in the distance—is striking in the extreme. It breaks upon you on turning a point in the descent. I had never seen the “Monarch of mountains” to such advantage, as this time. He always wore his “diadem of snow”; & rarely wrapt close his “robe of clouds.”³ After staying a few days at Geneva, we set off for Turin by way of Savoy. The country from Chambery to Lansbourg at the foot of Mt. Cenis is peculiarly fine—more so to my mind than that pass itself. I allude especially to the Valley of the Arc, a tributary stream of the Isère, & as delightful a torrent, as one could wish to see. The Alps that encircle it, though not of the highest, are more terrific than any I remember. The huge masses of rock, strewed by the road side, & frequently curbing the whirling flood below, directs one's mind to the pleasant occupation of thinking, how little chance of escape there would be should one of the ponderous gentlemen on high think proper to imitate the example of the ponderous gentlemen below. Thanks to Napoleon, the pass of Cenis is short, & good. The sudden change from the most Alpine cold at the summit to the most Italian warmth in the valley of Susa, is curious.⁴ With all one has heard about the climate of Italy, I

was fascinated by the appearance of the trelliced vineyards, the luxuriant maizefields, the varied tints of the foliage, & the softened grandeur of the Apennines. This latter we crossed by the new road from *Turin* to *Genoa*, which presents a beautiful approach to this city, & a splendid view of the Mediterranean. Turin is little worth seeing—but its regular, rightangled streets, have a good effect—& the Mausoleum of the Sardinian kings, at *La Superga*, 5 miles from the city, is very fine.⁵ Genoa is highly picturesque in situation—its marble palaces are proverbial—but their beauty is somewhat impaired by the excessive narrowness, & dirtyness of all the streets, except 3, or 4. There are some good collections of pictures here—to which, with some churches into the bargain, I owe the being well tired off my legs every day for the last week. We had the singular good fortune to light upon a strange, but very amusing procession, which takes place about as often, as our Montem, here, & the sums that are spent on it are incredible. To describe it would be rather difficult—as the inhabitants themselves scarce know its origin, or true charac[ter,] but they call it *Casacci*⁶—& it consists in carrying imm[ense] crosses of massive silver, images &c. with innumerable lights & grotesque dresses thro' the streets at night; which, as you may imagine, has a striking effect. The ancient nobility of *Genoa* are said to pay largely to its continuance. Poor wretches! It is well for them to be amused with mummeries, & frivolities—in the very city, where their fathers legislated for a free people, & influenced the destinies of Europe. The Dorias, & Spinolas,⁷ are totally excluded from the Sardinian despot's councils; Piedmontese menials are daily thrust over their head; the hall of the old Senate is become a ball-room!! and two years ago, as if to add mockery to tyranny, the Emperor of Austria⁸ gave a grand festival in that very hall. But the statues of the old Doges were spared this insult: they had been broken in the revolutionary wars—luckily: for the dumb, cold marble might have felt such dishonour! Was it just, or generous in England to sacrifice the independence of the Italian republics in 1815? Would she have done so, had Canning then sat at the helm? Surely not. The present king⁹ is universally disliked: at Turin there is a street called, that of Misery, from the fact, that from that single street, *thirty-six* families have been driven to exile, beggary, & starvation in a foreign land. Such is the cleaving curse of absolute monarchy.¹⁰ Do not fail, whenever you are kind enough to write to

me, to let me know the state of things at home. The last news I heard pleased me much—I mean, young Stanley's¹¹ being appointed Huskisson's undersecretary. I was afraid from what I saw in the papers that the mishap about *Herries* would have unhinged the government: but everything seems now settled, at least for the while.¹² I hear the King has behaved excellently, & by no means aimed at forcing ministers on *Lord Goderich*, as the papers of the *Out faction*, with their usual quantum suff. of falsehood, rung in our ears. But as I know you do not agree with me in wishing well to the present government—at least not in the same degree—I will say no more of my own notions, but only repeat my prayer for good, long, frequent letters from you, as soon as I am once settled. I cannot manage to write to all my friends of course often; nor is it necessary, when you are all at Eton; so shew this letter to *Doyle*, & *Rogers*. I will write to *Doyle* from Florence; where I hope to find an account of *Malek's* winning the *St. Leger* from him.¹³ Does the *Miscellany* go on? I am conscious I have not behaved well towards you on that score, by not writing: the fact is, I did write at some length, but burnt it not liking what I had written,¹⁴ & postponed further employment foolishly to Paris, where I found, as I might have expected, no spare time, besides not being altogether in health.

Believe me,
Your most affect:te friend,
A. H. Hallam.

Addressed to W. E. Gladstone Esq. / Eton College / Windsor / Ang-
leterre.
P/M 8 October 1827

1. Perhaps Seneca *De tranquillitate animi* 17. 8: "vectatio iterque et mutata regio vigorem dabunt [voyage, travel and change of place impart vigor]."

2. A gift to the king of France from Mehemet Ali, as Gaskell noted when he saw it in early September 1827: "There are only two in Europe; the other was presented to

the King of England. It is not generally expected that they will live through the winter. Everything in Paris is à la Giraffe" (RES, pp. 93-94).

3. Byron, *Manfred*, l. l. 60-63.

4. The Mount Cenis road, 23 miles between Lanslebourg, a small town near the Italian border, and Susa, was constructed between 1803 and 1810.

5. The royal burial church, constructed between 1718 and 1731.

6. Originally a procession of the order of flagellants, dating from the thirteenth century.

7. Andrea Doria (1468?-1560), Genoese admiral and statesman, "Liberator of Genoa," and Ambrogio di Spinola (1569-1630), Italian general in Spanish service, were among the better-known members of these ancient families.

8. Francis II (1768-1835), last Holy Roman emperor, was emperor of Austria from 1804 to 1835.

9. Charles Felix (1756-1831) was king of Sardinia from 1821 to 1831.

10. See Milton, *Of Reformation Touching Church Discipline in England*: "He that seeks to break your union, a cleaving curse be his inheritance to all generations."

11. Edward George Geoffrey Smith Stanley (1799-1869), Whig M.P., was undersecretary for the colonies under Canning and Goderich (appointed at the insistence of Lansdowne) and Irish secretary from 1830 to 1833. Stanley supported the 1832 Reform Bill and carried the abolition of slavery (1833) and the 1867 Reform Bill.

12. John Charles Herries (1778-1855), M.P. for Harwich from 1823 to 1841, privy councillor in 1827 and chancellor of the exchequer (at the king's desire) from August 1827 to January 1828, quarreled with Goderich and Huskisson over appointments; the incident ultimately led to Goderich's resignation.

13. See letter 34 n. 2. The race was held on 18 September 1827; Malek did not place.

14. See letter 40 n. 5.

MS: British Library

Florence. Oct. 30th [1827].

My dear Gladstone,

I should certainly have answered your excellent letter as soon as I had received it,¹ had I not been prevented by that destroyer of all strength, and damper of all happiness, ill health. I have been miserably unwell, since I have been at *Florence*, i.e. for the last month, and am now taking advantage of a day or two's rallying to write to you. As I have no right however to plague you with my own low spirits I will cut short this unpleasant subject, & proceed to thank you without further delay for having written to me in this foreign land. Did you but know the comfort of receiving an English letter! The delight with which it is torn open, & perused! The assiduity with which it is read, & almost spelt, over & over again! The deep sigh with which it is at last replaced in the pocket! But all this is trifling—what you wrote to me, was very sensible, & rightminded throughout, & I assure you it made an impression on me, which I hope not to forget. If there was really anything in those foolish letters of mine before I left England, that could cause you pain for a moment, I am deeply sorry for it. I thank you for having borne with me, as you have. I am very sensible, that I have not profited from your friendship as much as was reasonably to be expected from the excellence of your character: but should it please God that we should ever be intimate again, as we have been intimate, I hope I may prove more worthy of such a friend. Do not suppose I am grown a flatterer, because I have been occasionally a snarler. I am in no humour for varnishing the truth; but speak from the heart, & weigh what I say. Three days ago I heard from Rogers, who told me the first number of the *Miscellany* was just come out, & that there was a good article by Selwyn against the London University.² Of course I cannot judge at this distance; but was not that bad taste for the sort of thing? Rogers did not tell me half enough; really a

letter to Florence is a different thing from a letter to London, & he might have eked out with extracts from the number. But it was very good in him to remember me at all. A friend at hand, & a friend 1500 miles away, are two essentially different things. Who on earth are the pillars of the Society? He says, there are "some new members, of whom I probably know little, or nothing!" Can it be *Dark*, or *Tarver*?³ To speak seriously, I hope the consummation devoutly to be wished, which he intimates in his letter to be nearly brought about, viz. his becoming a member himself, is long ago effected.⁴ I think he would be good for the Society, & the Society good for him. Not that the benefit of our favorite institution appears to me so clear, & so unalloyed, at present, as it used to do, while under its influence. I believe, the habit of studying politics, & much more the habit of speaking upon them, before they are well matured by the reflection, is injurious, inasmuch as it gives a dogmatic turn to the character: & the impressions received in early youth are so fearfully profound! But this might in a great degree be avoided by taking care. The main thing to be guarded against is the forming crude & hasty decisions, & contending for them with equal impetuosity, till the thinking, & discerning part of us becomes a slave to the fancy, & animal spirits. I am afraid we too often forgot, at least I am sure I did, that the end, & aim of such historical inquiries, as fell in our way, should be the ascertainment of *Truth*; and that the surest way either of attaining a right conviction ourselves, or impressing it, when attained, on others, was to have a *dispassionate temper of mind*. But he must be unfortunate indeed, with whom any harm derived from the Society should counterbalance, either in intensity, or duration, the enjoyments which it discloses, the development of faculties which it occasions, & above all, the friendships, & associations which are formed, matured, & cemented by its influence. I dare say you are laughing at me, for sitting down in the Etrurian Athens to write about home affairs, instead of sending you news: but I have not yet so much estranged myself from Eton, but that my thoughts on some subjects connected with Alma Mater will occasionally run away with me, especially when I light the train by renewing my intercourse with you. I hope, though you have not yet acknowledged the receipt of it, that my letter from Genoa reached you safely. It gave you some faint notion probably of what I had seen. I would now, were it possible, describe the exquisite beauty of the

new road, across the Apennines, from Genoa to Pisa. But you can have no idea of the rich outline of the distant hills, the bold forms of those more near, the delicious clearness of the atmosphere, which gives a magical effect to Italian, & especially Tuscan scenery, the luxuriant vegetation of olives, & canes (a plant of singular beauty, & very common in this country) intermixed with pendant festoons of vines from tree to tree, the picturesque villas, & still more picturesque towns, studding the whole coast from Genoa southwards, & above all, the glorious Mediterranean, bounding, relieving, enriching, harmonising, this fairy scene. It is a country one would wish to crawl thro' in a waggon rather than gallop with posthorse rapidity. The Val D'Arno has no Mediterranean—& the Arno is somewhat too dingy to answer to one's expectations, although in the evening it reflects all objects with wonderful clearness—but the general aspect of the valley is that, which we may suppose Eden to have worn before the fall. The presence of the Venus di Medici would seem to have impregnated nature with all loveliness. You must come here to conceive it rightly. As for me, I have wanted nothing, but the great want of all, health, & happiness, to have echoed Milton's

*O ego quantus eram,
gelidi cum stratus ad Arni Murmura &c!*⁵

It is still more difficult to give an absent person any interest in the works of art one has seen, than of those of nature. The Gallery, and the Palazzo Pitti, i.e. the Grand Duke's residence, are exhaustless treasures of painting, & sculpture. There is a certain set of painters of the very highest order, whom it is very rare to see in England, & who are here in all their glory—I mean amongst others *Andrea del Sarto*, a painter of great tenderness, & sweetness of style, sometimes called the Tibullus of the arts—*Fra Bartolomeo*, of an exalted, & sublime character, & said to have much improved the style of *Raffaëlle* himself.⁶ The Venus never, I believe, disappointed any body: no print, or cast can image her perfect grace; how much less any description? Surely Byron in his stanzas, *Childe Harold*, Canto IV, has mistaken the character of this statue; there is every trace of divinity, but none of voluptuousness about her: contrasted with the *Titian Venuses* in the same room, she seems like the "icicle on Dian's brow."⁷

I have not yet fallen in with Gaskell: but heard from him while he

was at Milan. He seems in good spirits; & to like his new sphere of action pretty well. He is to be here in a day, or two. Coxe, & Lord Alexander are in the same hotel with myself; Antrobus, Trench, & Balfour are also here.⁸ We hope to start in a day or two for Naples, through Rome, without staying in the latter, to which we shall return in about a month. Write as soon as convenient, & let your second letter be as agreeable; it cannot fail to be as welcome as your first. Direct, *Poste Restante, Rome, Italie*. Has Doyle quite forgotten me, & his promised letter, or did he direct wrong in his frenzy about Malek?⁹ Remember me to him, & Rogers. I will write to Rogers, or you from Rome, when I hope to be somewhat recovered.

Believe me,
Yours most affect:ly,

A. H. Hallam

Addressed to W. E. Gladstone Esq. / Eton College / Windsor / Ing-
hilterre.

P/M 13 November 1827

1. Gladstone had written a long letter to AHH on 20 September 1827 (*D*, 1:137).

2. "The London University; or, The March of Intellect," *Eton Miscellany* 2 (no. 6): 43-48. See also below, letter 56 n. 10.

3. Dark does not appear in the Eton lists; it may be AHH's nickname for some unidentified person. Charles Feral Tarver (1820-86), chaplain in ordinary to Victoria, was in the first form at Eton in 1826.

4. Proposed by Gladstone, Rogers was unanimously elected to the Society on 13 October 1827 (*D*, 1:142). AHH alludes to *Hamlet*, 3. 1. 63-64.

5. "Epitaphium Damonis," lines 129-30: "Ah, what a man I was when I lay beside the cool, murmuring Arno."

6. The Uffizi Gallery contains a number of pictures by Andrea Del Sarto (1486-1531). Albius Tibullus, Roman pastoral poet, was a contemporary of Virgil and Horace; Fra Baccio della Porta Bartolommeo (1475?-1517) developed parallel to Raphael in the high Renaissance style. AHH's two sonnets, "On the Picture of the Three Fates in the Palazzo Pitti" and "On the Madonna Del Gran Duca, in the Palazzo Pitti," were published in *Poems (Writings)*, p. 3).

7. The Medician Venus, discovered in Rome, was brought to Florence in 1680. In his 25 December 1829 letter to Donne (Miss M. Barham Johnson), Trench expressed the same disagreement with Byron's description (lines 433-77). Gladstone's cautiously favorable reaction (20 March 1832) appears in *D*, 1:454-55. The Tribuna of the Uffizi also contains the *Venus of Urbino* and *Venus and Cupid* by Titian (1477-1576). AHH quotes from *Coriolanus*, 5. 3. 65-67.

8. Charles Cox, colonial officer; James Dupre Alexander (1812-55), viscount before succeeding his father as earl of Caledon in 1839; Edmund Antrobus (1811-84), who matriculated at St. John's College, Cambridge in 1828 (B.A. 1832), and was later a chaplain at Acton, Middlesex; Henry Trench, who attended Edinburgh University; and John Balfour, of Balbirnie, all were AHH's Etonian companions.

9. See letter 41 n. 13.

No. 43. Via de' Greci, Rome. Saturday. Dec. 15th [1827].

Dear Gladstone,

I would certainly have answered your letter sooner, not only to express to you the pleasure I received from it, while the sensation of that pleasure was still fresh in my mind, but also with a view to obtaining a speedy renewal of it in the shape of a [secon]d letter to Rome, had I not thought it would be [more] satisfactory to you, if I waited for Gaskell's arrival, especially as he had promised to introduce me to your brothers as soon [as] he came. I do not mean that a formal introduction was necessary; but he had fallen in with them at Florence, and knew where to find them here, which I did not.¹ It is now near a week, since I had the delight of seeing Gaskell. I call it delight, because though to you in England the word may seem strong, to me the moment of meeting one, with whom I had been intimate at Eton, was a moment of inexpressible feeling. Besides the obvious causes for this, I had others of a more gloomy, though not on that account of a less powerful nature. Did you but know the precarious state of health I had for two months, or more been depressed by, & the occasional despondencies which, maugre all philosophy, and what is worth more than philosophy, would sometimes take hold of my mind, you would understand, what I mean. Gaskell's coming has given an impulse to my spirits, which has nearly made me, what I used to be. He has been as good as his word, & has brought me acquainted with your two brothers, whom I am to meet at his house to dinner on Tuesday. Neither they, nor he, know ought of the Miscellany, excepting a short extract, contained in a letter of Pickering, from what, if we may judge of the tree by so small a branch, was a beautiful, & feeling tribute to an occasion well worthy of the best feelings of the heart. I mean of course your composition on the death of poor Canning—for yours we were told it was, and from the tone of

deep sentiment easily <guessed> believed it to be.² The only thing, that staggered me, till Gaskell's arrival, who settled the matter, was, how anything political found its way into your work. Of course I see the evident distinction between such an occasion, as that was, and every day politics, but I hardly gave the higher powers of Eton credit for seeing it in the same light. I am impatient to the last degree to get a sight of your Numbers, and hope Cadogan³ will be kind enough to bring them here at Christmas, as I know he is coming. Even if a list of names should not accompany them, I think I should not be much puzzled to discover most of the authorships. I feel somewhat sorry not to have been able to support the Miscellany to the last with you, especially as I am heartily ashamed of the trash of which by far the greater part of my contributions to the first volume consisted. And to say the truth your remark on Law's having deserted you, made me question my conscience, whether I was not liable to the same censure.⁴ Conscience however is disposed to bring in a verdict of acquittal, provided you, the fairest judge probably of the two, agree in it. Her plea is, that I prepared before leaving England a bulky bit of prose, the wisest feature in which preparation was unquestionably the committing it to the flames, on a re-perusal: that after I left England, the vortex of continual occupation, and the more silent, but also more disabling progress of illness, plead for me sufficiently. I am very much pleased to hear of the prosperity of the Society. Who on earth is *J. Bruce*?⁵ I will confess, I begin a little to laugh at my former anxiety, and pertinaciousness for musty questions of Plantagenet politics. I rather wish we had handled ancient wisdom a little less irreverently, and not left Athens, and Rome so completely in the background. It seems to me, as much sound political knowledge is to be gained, as much useful political discussion is to be elicited, from the various constitutions of so many ancient states, the moral causes of their rise, and the course of events, which prepared their ruin, as from the Norman Conquest, the wars of York, and Lancaster, or even the deposition of Richard. Yet how much did we all prefer these to those!⁶ Can you forgive me for not having yet told you anything Italian? I assure you to others I do not write in so homebred a manner: but there is a something, when I communicate my thoughts with yours, that irresistibly runs away with them to all those well remembered scenes of boyish rapture, which you have but just left, and which

neither of us will ever forget. I have now been here more than a month, and am familiarised with the dirty, & illpaved streets, the elegant fountains, the desolate, but richly bounded environs, of modern Rome. The seven hills are hillocks indeed; the Mount at Salthill would vie in height with the Viminal, and far surpass the Capitoline in steepness. Most of the antiquities have little, or nothing in them, beyond the association: some not even that, for who can sympathise with two feet of broken wall, or the separated base of an unknown column? The Forum is choaked up nearly with mud, disfigured with hovels, and deprived of all effect by piles of dirty linen, hung out to dry!! Excavations however are going on which may if properly conducted, restore it to something like its original state. A few columns, and three fine antique arches are the only remnants of that memorable shrine of Roman majesty.⁷ At the further end of it stands the Coliseum—a glorious relic! the only one, which thoroughly pleases me. In a different part of the city is the Pantheon, formerly a temple of Agrippa, now a Christian church, and wonderfully preserved. After all how little remains of those times, which alone give us an interest in Rome—how much comparatively of that period of degradation, and tyranny, when a licentious soldiery invested a series of the worst of men with the most absolute of dominions. As to modern Rome, I wish you were but here to enjoy it. Grand, & imposing churches—superb collections, “Where Sculpture with her rainbow sister vies”⁸—open before us with endless profusion, till the brain reels with the intoxication of beauty. I must conclude with the earnest hope of soon hearing from you again. Your letters are a balm to me, when I am in sickness, and a doubling of cheerfulness, when I am in health, and spirits. Believe me,

Yours most affect:ly,

A H Hallam.

P.S. Direct either Poste Restante, or to our house, which we have taken for five months. Gaskell desires me to say, that your letter dated Nov. 8th. only reached him today, and that he has not received any other, since he left England. The post is very uncertain here.

Addressed to W. E. Gladstone Esq. / Seaforth House / Liverpool /
Inghilterra.
P/M 31 December 1827

1. Gladstone had written a "very long letter" to AHH on 14 November 1827 (*D*, 1:148). His two eldest brothers—Robertson (1805–75), later a Liverpool merchant, and Thomas (1804–89), who attended Eton and Christ Church (B.A. 1827), served as Tory M.P., and became second bart. in 1851—left for Europe on 28 September 1827 to spend the winter at Naples. On 8 November, Robertson Gladstone wrote that they had seen both AHH's and Gaskell's names in the traveling books at Genoa (Gladstone to his father, 21 November 1827, St. Deiniol's). As Gladstone's 12 December 1827 letter to Thomas makes clear, the brothers met Gaskell early that month:

I am extremely glad that you have seen, and like the Gaskells. The son will improve as you know more of him. And I am very glad to be able to conjecture from what you say that going abroad has already done him great good in one respect—and that is, I guess that his ideas are not now running all in one channel—that of politics—for I think if it had been the case you would have mentioned.

Gladstone was less certain about their reaction to AHH:

Have you heard or seen any thing of Hallam? I very much hope that you will—as I think you will like him much. He has some vanity, though not of a gross, vulgar, or intrusive kind, and that I think is almost his only fault.

Gladstone's 21 January 1828 letter to Thomas proves that his fears were justified:

I am sorry to see by yours of the 31st. ult. Hallam has not pleased you. I have always known him to be vain, but I must confess I know of no other fault in his composition. The vanity may indeed have become a prominent feature now; & brought forth among other fruits that of affectation; at Eton, as you well know, qualities of that kind have not *fair play* (St. Deiniol's).

2. Gladstone's eulogy concluded his essay "Ancient and Modern Genius Compared," 2 (nos. 6 and 7): 7–16, 52–64.

3. Henry-Charles Cadogan (1812–73), then in the fifth form at Eton, became fourth earl in 1864; he married (1836) Wellesley's third daughter.

4. Law, whom Gladstone described as "one of our most active and hardworking men," resigned from the editorial board shortly after the completion of no. 6, 26 September 1827, when he left Eton for Cambridge (Gladstone to Thomas Gladstone, 12 December 1827, St. Deiniol's; *D*, 1:138). See also letter 40 n. 7.

5. James Bruce (1811–63), elected to the Eton Society on 6 October 1827, matriculated at Christ Church in 1829 (B.A. 1833); he became eighth earl of Elgin in

1841 and served as governor general of Canada and India respectively. Lord Ernest Augustus Brudenell Bruce (1811-86), third marquis of Ailesbury, had been elected to the Society on 16 June 1827. On 23 January 1828, Gladstone wrote to Gaskell: "Both Hallam and you are totally and marvellously in the dark about J. Bruce. J. Bruce, Sir, was only one remove below the Upper-Division in your time, and he is now in it. . . . He speaks very well. I am happy to say that the Society flourished exceedingly during last term, by far more so than I could ever have expected it would do, immediately after the loss of such a numerous body of members as that which left us at Election—that body too containing within its ranks two such speakers as yourself and Hallam" (transcript property of James Milnes Gaskell). Gladstone ranked Bruce "as to the natural gift of eloquence at the head of all" he knew at Eton or Oxford (*Letters and Journals of James, Eighth Earl of Elgin*, ed. Theodore Walrond [1872], p. 3).

6. See letter 27 n. 10.

7. On entering Rome 29 March 1832, Gladstone found "that it had been correctly described to us, as presenting to view a singular mixture of splendour poverty and filth. When we had advanced further, and seen something of ancient Rome, other elements of a higher character were added to complete the notion" (*D*, 1:461; 30 March 1832 entry).

8. Byron, *Childe Harold*, canto 4. 543.