The Letters of Arthur Henry Hallam
1. TO ELLEN HALLAM (with postscript to Elizabeth Hallam) ¹

MS: Christ Church

[London.] [August 1824.]

Dear Nell,

Where did you learn that "bonne diner," & "La The" was good French? Why should you think there was any probability of my being cross? Did you ever know me so, petite pertness? I can tell you, if you have the measles you'll be cross enough, for when you are convalescent the itching leaves no rest, day or night. However I have had my fill of all those comforts, & have been well some days. I go out today, upon Lilian for [the] first time: but it is but showery, so perhaps I may be disappointed. I dare say the dominos are charming, but why don't you say more about your birthday joys? Write a nice new letter to Mrs. Pulharn and don't spell petite with two "tts." Aunt should have minded that your letter was nice, for when Mrs. Pulharn has been teaching you three years she does expect right grammar at least. I say that you will be held up by Mrs. P. as a model of carelessness to all the Miss Pindars of her tutelage for years to come!² Goodbye. I hear you are coughing away: so suppose it is measles.

Dear Aunty,

Why do you abuse poor Ju's parts of speech? The thing is she is cowed before you, & the veteran Grandmamma.³ If you hide in the nursery cupboard, you will hear her jabber very much. She can talk plain too, when she is coaxed to speak slow. Goodbye. I am very well.

Addressed to Miss Eleanor Hallam / Windsor.
P/M [. . .] August 1824
1. Ellen Hallam (b. 3 August 1816) died in 1837 of complications, ironically, from measles. She was described as "beautiful, and of a thoughtful and discerning mind" (Charles and Frances Brookfield, Mrs. Brookfield and Her Circle, pp. 35-36, which recounts the circumstances of her death). Her private journal (property of Lady Elton) suggests that Ellen may have been most deeply affected by AHH's death, though she derived some comfort from her later friendship with the Tennysons, particularly Emily. AHH's two poems on his sister's thirteenth and fifteenth birthdays are printed in Writings, pp. 58-61, 103-4; her notebooks of his poems are at Yale. Elizabeth Hallam (1778-1841), Henry Hallam's only sister, lived at Windsor while AHH was at Eton; some of his letters to his family during this period accompany her own. Later she stayed with her brother's family; she died unmarried and left Henry her substantial fortune.

2. Mrs. Pulharn, a French tutoress, and Miss Pindar, apparently another of her pupils, are unidentified.

3. Julia Maria Frances Hallam (1818-88), AHH's younger sister, the only child to survive her father, married Sir John Farnaby Lennard in 1852, and became a close friend of the Tennysons. Eleanor Roberts (d. 1826), Henry Hallam's mother, was the sister of William Hayward Roberts (1734-91), provost of Eton from 1781 to 1791.
2. TO HENRY HALLAM

MS: Christ Church

[8 May 1825]

Dear Papa,

My tutor's remains just as it was: Bernards, Villiers's, & Cavendishes not returned. Wellesley is very well, & Rogers is already beginning his bathing career, as I think I should have done: but while I was hesitating the thunder growled, the lightning flashed & the air cooled. We had a terrible thunder-storm, at least on the other side of my tutor's house, for I slept sound. I did some longs & shorts this week, upon "Grata vice." We skip theme this week; to-morrow being a whole holiday. I have bought a Byron's works in beautiful green binding. I easily found Hawtrey's money: it was in the desk. Have you read Knapp's "Every day's occurrences" which are wretched as a common novel, but as a satire on Eton characters is amusing. Make Mamma get it from Gosling's: if she does, I will tell her the people. The Provost's house is very nice, & contains lots of nice books. My library is full, & beautiful. Golding is here, & well: leaves at Election, must give him a leaving-book: his poor mother, he says, is very unwell. We have finished the Medea with my tutor, & since no separate edition of the Batrachis is to be found, we are to begin the Æschylus of Agamemnon! I dare say you are sorry: as you intended to read it with me. Do make Mamma recommend Uncle to do something settled, either that he should be heard of on the Col de Géan or be sporting with us at Clevedon. Goodbye. I hope Nell is comfortable as histories & dates can make her: quaere, is she in the Grecian yet? Love to her, & Ju & Harry. Bon jour.

Votre fils affectionné

A. H. Hallam.
1. Henry Hallam (1777-1859) was the only son of John Hallam (1750?-1812), canon of Windsor and dean of Bristol, and Eleanor Roberts. He attended Eton from 1790 to 1794, where he composed verse, some of which was published in Musae Etonenses (1795), and matriculated at Christ Church in 1795 (B.A. 1799; M.A. 1832). Called to the bar in 1802, he practiced for several years on the Oxford Circuit. In 1807 he married Julia Maria (1783-1840), daughter of Sir Abraham Elton (1755-1842), fifth bart., of Clevedon Court, and Elizabeth Durbin (d. 1822). Upon the death of his father, Henry Hallam received estates in Lincolnshire; for twenty years, he was a commissioner of stamps, a post with substantial remuneration and light duties. His financial independence enabled him to abandon his legal practice and devote himself to history. He contributed regularly to the Edinburgh Review from 1805 to 1809, and occasionally thereafter. His reputation as a historian is based on View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages (1818), Const. Hist., and Introduction to the Literature of Europe during the Fifteenth, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (1837-39); his perspective is comprehensive and factual, with less Whiggish bias than his enemies alleged. He was a prominent figure in both the literary and political society of his time, and after AHH's death became a close friend and supporter of the Tennyson family. He gave Emily Tennyson an annual allowance (£300), continued after her marriage, and left AT £500, after helping him gain his 1845 Civil List pension.

2. AHH's apparently inconsistent punctuation makes the sense somewhat uncertain. His tutor was Edward Craven Hawtrey (1789-1862), then assistant master, who was appointed headmaster in 1834 upon Keate's resignation. Frances Bernard (1810-77), third earl of Bandon in 1856, attended Oriel College, Oxford, and was M.P. for Bandon in 1831. August John (Child) Villiers (1810-37), brother of the earl of Jersey, became captain of the Royal Horse-guards (Blues). (Lord) Richard Cavendish (1812-73), brother of William, seventh duke of Devonshire, was elected to the Eton Society in June 1827.

3. Gerald Valerian Wellesley (1809-82), nephew of Wellington, chairman of the Eton Society from fall 1825 to spring 1826, roomed next to AHH at Eton. He matriculated at Trinity at Easter 1826 (M.A. 1830), was ordained in 1830, and was dean of Windsor from 1854 to 1882. Wellesley helped Gladstone edit the Eton Miscellany and contributed numerous articles. Frederick Rogers (1811-89)—"Ruggiero"—won distinctions at Eton for his Latin and Greek verses, and contributed to the Eton Miscellany under the name of "Philip Montagu." He matriculated at Oriel in 1828 (B.A., with a double first in classics and mathematics, 1832) and was Craven scholar in 1829. In 1871, he was created Lord Blachford. "Among his anecdotes of Eton life, [Rogers] tells how he once jumped off Windsor bridge in company with Arthur Hallam, at that time his most intimate friend. 'What induced [AHH] to propose it, I do not know, unless it was the example set by Selwyn or some such
philolate. As far as I was concerned, water was by this time my element' " (Letters of Frederic Lord Blachford, ed. George Marindin [London, 1896], p. 3).

4. Lines of Latin verse, on "pleasant change" (see Horace Carminum 1. 4. 1).

5. Henry Hartopp Knapp (1782–1846) was assistant master at Eton from 1808 to 1830. Knapp was Gladstone's tutor: "a reputed Whig, an easy and kind tempered man, with a sense of scholarship, but no power of discipline, and no energy of desire to impress himself upon his pupils" (Autob, p. 23); see also Etoniana, note D. Every Day Occurences: A Tale was published in March 1825; Gosling, apparently a bookseller, has not been traced.

6. Joseph Goodall (1760–1840) was provost of Eton from 1809 to 1840. The DNB credits him with "the virtues of the ideal headmaster of an English public school"; other commentators are less favorable. All agree he was a strict conservative, who resisted any attempts at innovation.


8. Euripides' Medea (431 B.C); the Barrachomyomachia (Battle of the Frogs and Mice), parody of an epic poem, was then attributed to Homer and often printed with the Iliad and the Odyssey. Aeschylus' tragedy (458 B.C.) was part of his Oresteia. AHH has transposed author and title.

9. Henry Elton (1786–1858), AHH's maternal uncle, was a captain in the Royal Navy; in 1816 he married Mary Ford, widow of Peter Touchet. The Col du Géant, a mountain pass in the Savoy Alps, runs southeast from Chamonix to Italy.

10. Henry Fitzmaurice Hallam (1824–50), named after his godfather, Lord Lansdowne, attended Eton from 1836 to 1841, where he won the Newcastle Medal. Harry matriculated at Trinity in 1842 (B.A., Classical Tripos, first class, 1846; M.A. 1849), and won the second Chancellor's medal in 1846. He founded the Historical Debating Club, later incorporated with the Apostles, and spoke occasionally at the Cambridge Union. He was called to the bar in 1850, and died the same year in Siena. See H. S. Maine and Franklin Lushington's Memoir of his life, first printed in 1852, included in the 1853 and subsequent editions of AHH's Remains.
3. TO HENRY HALLAM

MS: Christ Church

Windsor. Sunday [27 November 1825].

Dear Pip,

I was duly elected yesterday without a single blackball! Mighty nice that! Poor Hanmer though who tried at the same time, though proposed by the same voice (Wellesley's) failed having 3 blackballs one more than the sufficient number. He means to try again next Saturday, & soon till he tires them out which I believe is the best way.\(^1\) I have done this week 58 all long Lucretians, which my tutor skipped much at (metaphorically) & said there were many very poetical ideas in the exercise. Went to Angelo's\(^2\) in the beginning of the week, who says I remember my old knowledge better than he expected. Very sorry to hear of the Motmot's cold &c: hate a sick holiday—Mottle.\(^3\) N. B. Tell her to get well else she won't be able to see the monkey man M. Mayuner, our old friend I believe of "Enfin me voila singe!" Lady Anne is enraptured with him. So Delighted to hear of Major Mahoney! I instantly gave 3 big skips. The kid! Does he leave his Phoebes at Dunloe? I wonder what's become of Pat, & poor dear Dash.\(^4\) My cold is quite gone. I am no such ninny as to have a sore throat without a flannel waistcoat, let Mot know, I don't want her insidiously proffered stockings. Nell is to be able to say her Latin Declensions, her Multiplication Table, her Dates & her Queens by the time I come to take her up. I suppose by your saying nought of your return, you come home Tuesday like me.

Yours mighty nicely,

AHH.

P. S. I shan't speak till next half.\(^5\)

P. S. A short letter but I have nothing to say. Wellesley does not leave till Easter. Poor Crutchley\(^6\) is recovering but has been very dan-
gerously ill. The Ruggiero well, & mastered the first five problems of Euclid, Definition, Ass's bridge & all, working out even the diagram on paper. I always said he was somewhat of a genius that way. Goodbye.

Addressed to H. Hallam Esq. / 4 King’s Road / Brighton.
P/M 28 November 1825

1. For accounts of the Eton (Debating) Society, called Literari, or Pop, established in 1811 by Charles Fox Townshend (1795-1817), see Eton Boy, pp. 77-81; Etoniana, pp. 207-8; and Fasti Etonenses, p. 493. Its minute books (in the Eton College Library) contain extensive accounts of individual debates. At the time of AHH’s election, members included Arthur Nugent Buckeridge (b. 1809), Doyle, Farr, Gladstone, Hervey, Charles John Henry Mundy-Massingberd (1808-82), Patteson, Edward Hayes Pickering and Percival Andrée Pickering, and Wellesley. (Sir) John Hanmer (1809-81), first baron (1872), who matriculated at Christ Church in 1827 and was active in the Oxford Debating Society, was M.P. from 1832 to 1872. On 25 May 1826, he and AHH showed their joint compositions to Gladstone (D, 1:50); Hanmer contributed three poems to the Eton Miscellany and subsequently published several volumes of poetry. Proposed for the Society again on 3 December 1825 and 28 January 1826, Hanmer was excluded each time with four blackballs.

2. Henry Angelo (1756-1835) was fencing master at Eton.

3. "Motmot" and "Mottle" were Henry Hallam's affectionate names for his wife.

4. M. Mayuner and Lady Anne are unidentified. Major Mahoney was probably one of the six sons of Daniel Mahony (d. 1832) of Dunloe Castle, co. Kerry; AHH may refer to his horses.

5. Unlike most new members, including Selwyn and Gaskell, AHH did not speak in the Society until 3 debates after his election (4 February 1826), when, in a minority of two, he opposed the character of Archbishop Cranmer.

6. Percy Henry Crutchley (1807-76) matriculated at Magdalene College, Cambridge, in 1827 (B.A. 1831), was president of the Union in 1829, and subsequently a magistrate.
TO ELLEN HALLAM

MS: Christ Church

Windsor. Saturday [25 February 1826].

Dear Nell,

As I believe you penned a very pretty note to me last week, I shall write to you interweaving all Pippish & Mottlesh remarks into your property: I dare say they will easily pick out their own. We have had a better debate today than has been known for a long time; an hour minus a few minutes being consumed in it. Speeches & 3 Replies! What think you of that? The subject, you may remember, was, "Whether the Destruction of the Roman Empire was < beneficial > a blessing to the world." Harvey opened in a long speech, gleaned from History apparently with much pains, & professed himself undecided, & resolved to listen to what arguments might be brought: next spoke Selwyn in favour of the Empire: 3d., Farr against it: 4th., myself in favor of it: 5th., Gladstone supported Farr: last, Doyle followed on the same side: Harvey attacked Selwyn's speech; so did Gladstone: Farr commented on mine: the Division took place, when Selwyn & I were found alone in the minority. A chess board was then proposed by Pickering mi:, & carried 6 to 5; & afterwards John Bull was proposed to be taken in, which was carried in spite of the strenuous opposition of several Members, myself included. Question Marked: "was Sylla or Marius the greatest character?" All this I have told you, in order to please your funny self, as I know you love the Society & all that belongs to it. Pattieson, by the bye, has gone out of it. Your note was nice enough: your writing awfully sloped. I am very glad you went to the Play: had you said more on that, or any other interesting subject, I should have liked it better than the eternal tidings of the perpetual welfare of those reverend personages, Ju & Harry. Next time unless they are ill, two significant words may denote their existence: "Chicks Well." I have done longs & shorts & Alcaics this week: I don't think being sent up, a likely
prospect before next half: Knapp is not outrageously fond of the practice. I go on in my usual course of life here, walking out a good deal, & running the changes on Rogers, Gladstone, Farr & Hanmer. O dear! O dear! I have forgot to mention Wellesley’s hand altogether: last Monday he cut it dreadfully going to shut his window: severed a great artery of the hand, & lost somewhat more than a pint of blood, according to the united calculations of Mrs. Tovey & Sir John Chapman. When it was bound up, he suffered excruciating pain for two days & nights entire, since which it has gradually diminished, & seems now in a state of convalescence. I know Mottle will be shocked at this! Goodbye.

I am,

Your affect: brother,
A H Hallam.

Addressed to Miss Ellen Hallam / 67 Wimpole St. / London.
P/M 27 February 1826

1. See letter 3, salutation and n. 3.
2. Eton Society debates usually lasted 30-45 minutes.
3. Arthur Charles Hervey (1808-94), who became fifth earl in June 1826, was chairman of the Eton Society from March to December 1826. Hervey matriculated at Trinity in 1827 (M.A., Classical Tripos, first class, 1830), was ordained in 1832, and was bishop of Bath and Wells (on Gladstone’s recommendation) 1869-94. On 30 October 1825, Gladstone wrote to his sister Helen: “A son of Lord Bristol’s is the greatest orator decidedly among the whole lot of us; & though a nobleman, he spoke, I thought, in a very proper way when he asked, if talents were confined to the higher classes—or if title alone could confer talent” (St. Deiniol’s).

George Augustus Selwyn (1809-78) was elected to the Eton Society on 28 January 1826, and contributed prose and poetry to the Eton Miscellany under the name of “Antony Heaviside.” Selwyn matriculated at St. John’s College, Cambridge, in 1827 (B.A., second classic, 1831), was ordained in 1833, served as curate of Windsor 1833-41, and was first bishop of New Zealand (1841-67). On 20 September 1834, Selwyn wrote to Gladstone: “I hear that the works of H. Hallam have been printed for private distribution among the ‘friends’ of the deceased. I have not presumption enough to style myself a friend, for I must ever regret that my acquaintance with him
never ripened into intimacy. But if it be a sufficient claim to have known him as a school & College companion, to have admired his talents, & deeply lamented his loss, perhaps you can assist in procuring me the pleasure which, I conclude, you have already enjoyed.” The copy that Selwyn received evoked a similar response: “The evidence which [AHH’s] remains affords that he had not lost sight of vital religion, must take away from the minds of his friends the sting of real sorrow, & reduce their grief to a selfish feeling of privation” (B.L.).

William Windham Farr (1808-87), next senior to Gladstone at Eton, matriculated at St. John’s College, Cambridge, in 1826 (B.A. 1830), was admitted to Lincoln’s Inn in 1830, and called to the bar in 1834. He settled at his parents’ home, Iford House, Christchurch, Hants. William Ewart Gladstone (1809-98), elected to the Eton Society on 15 October 1825, matriculated at Christ Church in 1828 (B.A., with a double first, 1832), and was first elected M.P. for Newark in 1832. Although Gladstone states that his friendship with AHH began “about 1824” (Autob., p. 29), his diary first mentions AHH on 4 February 1826, the date of AHH’s maiden speech before the Society: “Farr, Hallam, & Selwyn spoke” (D, 1:32). The development of their friendship is perhaps best reflected in these letters, though Gladstone’s scrupulous Diaries, his discussion of AHH in his Autob., and his adoring pamphlet (first published in the Daily Telegraph, 6 January 1898) provide important additional information.

Francis Hastings Doyle (1810-88), AHH’s most frequent supporter in Eton Society debates, matriculated at Christ Church in 1828 (B.A. 1832), became second bart. in 1839, and professor of poetry at Oxford (1867-77). AHH’s sonnet, “To Malek” (Writings, pp. 26-27) addressed Doyle in the name the latter adopted for his contributions to the Eton Miscellany (see letter 34 n. 2); the Doyle family lived at 10 Wimpole Street, on the same block as the Hallams, until 1833. Doyle was Gladstone’s best man, married Gaskell’s sister-in-law, Sidney Williams Wynn, in 1844, and named his third son Arthur after AHH. For Doyle’s later opinion of AHH, see Reminiscences, pp. 40-43, and his preface to RES (pp. ix-x).

4. Gladstone, who opposed the chessboard, and AHH, who supported it, played chess (presumably in the Society’s rooms) on 9 June 1826 (D, 1:53). At the time of AHH’s election, the Society received two daily papers (the Chronicle and the New Times) and the Edinburgh and Quarterly Review. AHH, Gladstone, Wellesley, Edward Hayes Pickering, and Selwyn opposed subscribing to John Bull, then a “somewhat scurrilous Canningite” weekly (D, 1:36 n. 3). On 22 April 1826, Gladstone’s motion to discontinue John Bull carried unanimously.

Percival Andrée Pickering (1810-76)—the younger brother (hence “minor”)—contributed prose to the Eton Miscellany, matriculated at Trinity in 1828 (B.A. 1832), was elected to the Apostles (on AHH’s nomination) in 1829, and won a Latin Declaration prize in 1831. Admitted to the Inner Temple in 1832, Pickering later became a judge.

5. Carried 4-3 for Marius, Roman general and political leader, against his rival; AHH, Gladstone, and Farr were in the minority.


7. Wellesley had sufficiently recovered from his injury to act as president of the Society (in place of the absent Frere) on 4 March 1826. Mrs. Tovey is unidentified; Sir John Chapman (1773-1849), whose two sons attended Eton, was a general medical practitioner and mayor of Windsor in 1823.
TO HENRY HALLAM

MS: Christ Church

Windsor: Saturday [4 March 1826].

Dear Papa,

I was very sorry to hear of your cold: I hope it intends to go before the Holidays. Nell wrote a very kiddish letter, hand & style wonderfully improved: I am glad she takes my hints. We had a very decent Debate today: 4 speeches: Hervey opened in favor of Sir Robert; Wellesley followed, against him in a very energetic speech, certainly the finest I have heard since I have been in. Then came I, supporting Hervey: Farr next on the other side: at the Division I found myself in a minority of 3. A shame this, but we are dreadful Tories in the Society. Wellesley goes next Sunday, I believe: he will come up to Town for a week or so: let the Motmot arrange her ball if she still holds the design, accordingly. I suppose you will not mind my giving a handsome leaving-book to Wellesley, as I think I ought: though you grumped at Hamilton Major's. Frere is gone up to London to ascertain whether he is to leave, or not: some say, he will not return. Weather is pretty decent, & has admitted of tolerable walks, though we have had a good quantum sufficit of rain interspersed. Our after 4s are extended to 6 o'clock, & vie with the after 12 in point of duration at least, though the former is generally preferred. I have done 50 All Longs this Week: not very Virgilian, rather more Juvenalian, but not enough either way; my tutor liked them though, & so did Knapp. My "Antiquities" some weeks ago was however reckoned very Moronic, & K. grinned at them with some liking. I am wading through the second Philippic, long, but immensely nice. I like "Pro Marcello" very much, as also "Pro Archia." We are to begin the Plutus: Did I tell you? Meanwhile my Tutor has given us a wee bit of Plato out of the Cambridge Examination Book, to translate: I have not done it yet. Many copies of Iambics are showered about every Week from all sides: but I have kept sternly to my resolution of only doing Latin this Half. Next, I suppose I may think of my old friends again. I have not been
read over. Wellesley's hand is almost well. I don't believe I have any more to add, so I shall conclude, & be

Your affect: Ape,

A H Hallam.

P. S. I knew how it would be! I knew as well as possible, that the moment I returned at Easter I should be assailed with an unfinished Rule of Three Sum, which though Easiness itself, Mother & daughter between them had contrived to make puzzling, probably by bringing down (their invariable Practice) all pieces of Money into semi-Farthings, or Dutch Pennings, or some such low denomination! I never yet could prove to them that a Sum would be shorter done, or less liable to error, by not being brought into quadrillions of Farthings! So now, Mottle gives me the pleasant assurance of having just such a sum thrown in my teeth at my first stepping out of the Coach next week. Adio.

Addressed to H. Hallam Esqr. / Wimpole Street / London.
P/M 6 March 1826


2. The debate on whether Sir Robert Walpole's administration was to be admired or censured was the first of a number on Walpole (1676-1745) in which AHH participated. Doyle joined him and Hervey in the minority. By 10 February 1827, Gladstone had changed his opinion of Walpole (D, 1:99).


4. Walter Kerr Hamilton (1808-69) left Eton in January 1826 to study with Thomas Arnold before matriculating that year at Christ Church (B.A. 1831); he was a fellow of Merton College (1832-42) and bishop of Salisbury from 1854 to 1869.

5. John Frere (1807-51), who matriculated at Trinity at Michaelmas 1826 (B.A. 1830), was ordained deacon (London) in 1831; he subsequently became curate of Wakes Colne, Essex; of Hadleigh, Suffolk; and (rector) of Cottenham, Cambs. from 1839-1851. Frere, scion of the family whose members included John Hookham Frere
(1769–1846), diplomatist and author, was a close, trusted friend of both AHH and the Tennyson family.

6. "Recess" periods from class, from noon till 2 and (normally) from 4 till 5.
8. All by Cicero.
6. TO ELLEN HALLAM

MS: Christ Church

Windsor. Saturday [29 April 1826].

Dear Nell,

I have so little to say, that I think I may as well indite my letter to you. The weather has been beastly cold of late, chopping one's hands, & freezing one's fingers at a furious rate. As you may imagine it has not been very congenial to the water, although in the first part of the week, we had some of that in great luxury. You don't know, & never will know the delight of sculling up to the shallows, or Boveney & floating down, lying at the bottom of the boat, the sun shining full in your face, & the birds chirping all round. Let the Mottle know Mott is no relation to her, or any body, I believe, that she knows: he is a native of Litchfield in Staffordshire, an acquaintance of Miss Proby. We had a very good debate to-day: Subject: "Was the persecution of the Roman-Catholics in Queen Elizabeth's reign justifiable on the plea of Necessity?" I opened; Pickering minor opposed me; Doyle supported me; & Farr backed Pickering; after much skirmishing on both sides, we divided, & a majority of one against Queen Bess made its appearance. So you see I am not always in a minority as you falsely assert. Pickering major has Montem for certain: Thursday was Montem sure-night, when all the inhabitants of Long Chamber hallos in honour of the Captain, who is then quite fixed. Tell Pip I have not many < articles > irons on the fire, as he says: nothing but Herodorus one week, & Cicero the next, with Society occasionally; & a sprinkling of German or Italian at leisure hours. O, by the bye, I had almost forgot the cream of my letter: Knapp told me he would send me up for my exercise of last week, unless I shewed him any thing soon he preferred. With this hopeful piece of intelligence I conclude my letter, remaining,

Your piggish duck,

A H H.
P. S. Ask Mot if she has read Woodstock: I have; or rather am now in it, not being at the end of the second volume. Keate has not read me over. Goodbye. Bow, wow, wow! I hope you liked Mrs. Ps' muncheables.

Addressed to Miss Ellen Hallam / 67 Wimpole Street / London.
P/M 1 May 1826

1. Gladstone often sculled AHH to the Shallows; Boveney is two miles upstream from Eton.

2. Henry Jacob Mott (1813–39), matriculated at Trinity in 1832, and became rector of Bodham. Miss Proby was probably a relative of John Baptist Proby (1762–1830), vicar of St. Mary’s, Lichfield.

3. AHH joined Hervey, Doyle, and Gladstone against Elizabeth’s persecution.

4. A triennial custom until abolished by Hawtrey in 1847. On Whit Tuesday, often in elaborate costumes, Etonians would proceed ad montem (a nearby mound called Salt Hill) and solicit a gratuity (“salt-money”) from passersby. The amount, sometimes as much as £1,000, helped defray the costs of the Captain of Eton at King’s College, Cambridge. "Whenever a resignation from Kings came, the Captain in whose favour it came was compelled to leave Eton for Kings within twenty-one days. . . . When it came within a few weeks of the limit, it was a matter of manifest interest to the Captain and the second on the roll who should get Montem. A Fellow or Scholar of Kings might die, or not die within the charmed days; or the former might be promoted to some lucrative post, and feel morally obliged to resign at once;—at any rate, a vacancy might occur. And so, when the eve of the twenty-one days came round, the whole College . . . was on the alert until midnight struck. It was called 'Montem sure night.' A resignation might come even at the last moment. If it did not come until the lazy, wheezy old clock in the School-Yard struck twelve—the whole Long Chamber broke out into a wild uproar" (W. H. Tucker, Eton of Old or Eighty Years Since [London: 1892], p. 8). See also H. C. Maxwell Lyte, A History of Eton College (London: 1875), chap. 21.

Edward Hayes Pickering (1807–52)—“Pickering major”—matriculated at Trinity Michaelmas 1826 (B.A. 1830), where he won Latin verse and declamation prizes; he was an assistant master at Eton from 1830 to 1852.

5. Woodstock, or the Cavalier (1826) by Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832).

6. John Keate (1773–1852), canon of Windsor from 1820 to 1852, was the redoubtable flogging headmaster of Eton from 1809 to 1834. The "little doctor" was barely five feet tall.

7. Mrs. Pridie was the Hallams’ maid or housekeeper.
7. TO ELLEN HALLAM

MS: Christ Church

Windsor. Saturday [17 June 1826].

Dear Nell,

We had a very good Debate to-day: Question: "Was the disarming of the Highlanders after the battle of Culloden, & the forcing them to renounce their national costume, a laudable measure?" It was carried that it was not by a majority of 4 to 3: now, none of your nonsense about "sorry you were in a minority,"1 child of my heart, & light of my eyes. I cured you of detailing the family healths all in a row, so now let me cure you of this. I wrote up to Wellesley yesterday (I hope he got it) advising him to come down next Saturday. Verses last week were on Elections: rather a good subject, or at least better than Keate's general run. I did all long, Juvenalian: this piece of information is for the P. Weather has been very good of late: much bathing going forwards. My Tutor went up to vote Tuesday at Cambridge: so Palmerston has got in!2 I really cannot squeeze any thing more out of my brain: so goodbye, little woman: finish Tasso, Robertson3 & Wow-wow like a good infant.

I am,

Your affectionate brother,

A. H. Hallam.

Addressed to Miss E. Hallam / 67 Wimpole Street / London.
P/M 19 June 1826
1. The Society's minutes show AHH and Selwyn alone in the minority.

2. Henry Temple (1784–1865), third viscount Palmerston, later prime minister, was M.P. for Cambridge University from 1811 to 1831; the 1826 contest with Henry Goulburn was especially close.

3. William Robertson (1721–93) was the author of histories of Scotland (1759) and America (1777).
Dear Nell,

Tell Mottle she is altogether ignorant of swimming, whatever she may be of pudding-making. The idea of swimming constituting exertion, & as such being to be deprecated in this hot weather is as ridiculous as any of my friend the Reviewer of Bernardi's Art.¹ The more one exerts in the water, the cooler one is. However I believe the Swimming Sweepstakes is all off. I am very glad you have fixed on a house somewhere, but the idea of Sutton (the Cock at Sutton!!) where there is nothing like a river, or bathing materials within some half dozen miles—this I think quite horrible. The footman just come here declares I am strikingly like Master Harry—he is an acquaintance of Downing's, I believe.² Rather a poor debate: Gaskell made his maiden speech;³ Selwyn opened the Debate, & Gladstone said a few words, but it was all much on the same side: Question: "Athens, or Lacedaemon, which deserves most celebrity?" We all voted for Athens, except Pickering minor who went behind the chair. O bye the bye, the Confirmation is put off till next year on account of the death of Lord Chichester, the Bishop's brother.⁴ O, wow, wow, wow! Frere is come back, & has taken his place as usual. I don't think he looks over well; but it may be his complexion. Adiós, querida: take care of your Robertson, your English history, your French, your Geography, your poetry, your [AHH draws four symbols, evidently representing suns], & all your varied & wonderful stores of knowledge. Pick all niceness up before I see you: compliment Ju from me, & little Hottentot.⁵

Je suis,

Vostro carissimo tuo fratello,

Α. 'αλλαμ.
Addressed to Miss E. Hallam / 67 Wimpole St. / London.
P/M 10 July 1826

1. Oronzio di Bernardi's Vollständiger Lehrbegriff der Schwimmkunst (1824), reviewed (by James Skene [1775-1864]—see Wellesley Index, 1:705) in the Quarterly Review 34 (June 1826): 35-45. See also letter 2 n. 3.

2. Downing, perhaps a servant, is unidentified.

3. James Milnes Gaskell (1810-73), only son of Benjamin and Mary Brandreth of Thornes House, Wakefield, cousin of Richard Monckton Milnes, was elected to the Eton Society (with one blackball) on 1 July 1826. Gaskell matriculated at Christ Church in 1829, was M.P. for Wenlock from 1832 to 1868, and a lord of the treasury from 1841 to 1846; he married Mary (d. 1869), daughter of Charles Watkin Williams Wynn. The history of his friendship with AHH, and the fullest account of his early life, appears in his son's RES and the somewhat expanded Eton Boy. Gladstone first described him as "a great politician, but, as far as I have seen, a very pleasant fellow, & I shd. think likely to make an excellent Member" (D, 1:57); their friendship grew quickly and they became political allies in the Eton Society. Gaskell's interest in politics was legendary; in the Eton Miscellany, Pickering described him as "the political phenomenon of the day" (1:195), and Doyle characterized him as "a sort of walking Hansard" (Reminiscences, p. 35). Henry Adams, a close friend of both Gaskell and his son, described him as "one of a very famous group—Arthur Hallam, Tennyson, Manning, Gladstone, Francis Doyle—and regarded as one of the most promising; an adorer of George Canning; in Parliament since coming of age; married into the powerful connection of the Wynns of Wynstay; rich according to Yorkshire standards; intimate with his political leaders; he was one of the numerous Englishmen who refuse office rather than make the effort of carrying it, and want power only to make it a source of indolence. He was a voracious reader and an admirable critic; he had forty years of parliamentary tradition on his memory; he liked to talk and to listen; he liked his dinner and, in spite of George Canning, his dry champagne; he liked wit and anecdote; but he belonged to the generation of 1830, a generation which could not survive the telegraph and railway, and which even Yorkshire could hardly produce again. To an American he was a character even more unusual and more fascinating than his distant cousin Lord Houghton" (Education of Henry Adams, p. 206). See also The Letters of Mrs. Henry Adams, 1865-1883, ed. Ward Thorton (Boston: Little Brown, 1936), p. 82 n. 2.

4. George Pelham (1766-1827), brother of Thomas Pelham (1756-1826), second earl of Chichester, was bishop of Bristol, Exeter, and Lincoln successively. The confirmation was held on 1 February 1827; Pelham died six days later.

5. AHH's brother.
Dear Gladstone,

My usual dilatory habits have prevented me from answering your letter before, as also from delivering your letter to Berthomier until yesterday. I hope there was no intelligence, that required a speedy answer. Farr made no leaving speech as you seemed to imagine he would do: he only requested our indulgence for the last time, & said a few incoherent sentences on the Debate: Pickering mi: & I crammed him well with praise: P. applied to him Burke’s far-famed panegyric on Fox: “Indole proh! quanta juvenis &c.” during the delivery of which Farr scanned the map of Asia with most laudable diligence. He will be undoubtedly a great loss to the Society: how fortunate we are in having Gaskell to supply his place! The latter stays out for a cold: & we had a private debate in his room yesterday on Reform. We had moreover another before on The 40s Freeholders of Ireland; another on the comparative benefits which Whigs & Tories have conferred on this country, not to mention a conclusion of our old Queen Elizabeth controversy; & of the Treason & Sedition bills under Pitt’s administration.

Gaskell is chattering politics so loudly, & so constantly, that I find it very difficult to keep my uninterrupted attention to this unfortunate epistle. As I believe he is going to write himself to you, this is the less to be regretted: I think, no other events of any importance have happened to the Society: Lord Arthur does not leave.

Let me beg of you not to be discouraged at the briefness of my correspondence, or the unworthiness of the matter contained in it: pray, write to me “au plus vite.” Believe me, the arrival of your letter gave me the most sincere pleasure, as the face of things at Seaforth seems to wear a far better aspect than I had anticipated. Pickering joins me in [. . . . congratulation, & is anxious to hear from [. . . .] by the dozens from members, &c.

[60]
1. Thursday was traditionally a half-holiday: see Maxwell Lyte, p. 308.

2. Gladstone had left Eton on 18 July 1826 (before the summer break) because of his sister Anne’s illness; on 22 July he wrote to AHH, and to his French tutor Berthomier “to discontinue [his] pupilage” (D, 1:62).

3. See the conclusion of the 1 December 1783 speech by Edmund Burke (1729-97), on the East India Bill of Charles James Fox (1749-1806), in which Burke quotes Silius Italicus Punica 8. 406-10: “How noble was his youthful promise . . .” (alluding to Cicero). The 22 July 1826 debate on whether any nation had a right to interfere in the internal contentions of another found all members neutral. According to custom, Farr became an honorary member, with the right to attend and participate, though not to vote, in any subsequent debates.

4. Gladstone later noted that “under the influence of Milnes Gaskell, a few of us contracted the habit, besides our activity in the Eton Debating Society, of conducting private informal debates on the Pitt and Fox period, which was prohibited as too recent for our susceptible minds by the school authorities” (Autob., p. 31). But private debates were not limited to topics excluded from Society meetings: on 13 July 1826, Gladstone, AHH, Gaskell, and Pickering held private debates on dueling and Elizabeth I’s internal policy (D, 1:61). William Pitt (1759-1806) renewed the 1793 suspension of Habeas Corpus and passed other coercive measures upon the outbreak of the Irish Rebellion in 1798.

5. Hervey had been reelected chairman of the Eton Society for the following session.

Dear Gaskell,

I hope this letter will reach you, but I have some doubt about it, as I have some floating idea in my head that you intended staying with William Smith of Norwich.\(^1\) Besides, as it seems to be your father's peculiar good fortune to have friends of all parties and denominations, you may, for all I know to the contrary, be sojourning in town with half-a-dozen members of parliament; one, perhaps a hairbrained Radical, breathing out universal suffrage with every breath; the next a gouty old Tory, with very high notions of the King's prerogative and—his own claret; thirdly, a ministerialist with all the airs of office dangling from his neckcloth, and swearing by every button of Canning's coat; lastly, a good stately old Whig, who having been a "neck or nothing"; Foxite in his youth has settled into quiet aristocratical dignity in a good old-age. When, however, you have completed your grand political tour, and arrived at Thornes House, I hope you will find this letter on your table. I believe there has been no event of late likely to interest you, such as Peel's spraining his little finger, or Canning's\(^3\) having looked mysterious while discussing turbot and lobster-sauce at a Cabinet dinner. Some events indeed of far smaller interest have occurred; the year 1826 will be distinguished in the annals of civilization for the deaths of two such illustrious men as Jefferson and Adams.\(^4\) The signers of the Declaration of Independence will live in the gratitude of history long after the Alexanders and Ferdinands of the day\(^5\) have been consigned to merited oblivion. To be great in the acceptation which the world gives to the word, that is, to ravage empires and blast civilization wherever she rears her head, is to a man of genius and good fortune, a comparatively easy task. To be great in the sense which virtue means; to emulate the greatness of Howard, and Clarkson, and Wilberforce, or Penn,\(^6\) is easy too; but how few have been so nobly ambitious! What a scene of triumph
must his native country have presented to Jefferson! To see America raised principally by his own hands, from the abject situation in which she supplicated Lord North for justice, but supplicated in vain, to an eminence as brilliant as secure; an eminence from which she looks proudly on admiring Europe, and shows to that half-enslaved continent the glories and unprecedented spectacle of a vigorous, tranquil, free, civilized Democracy!

Forgive me! I have been prosing at a most unmerciful rate. I am living here in great retirement; few beings except Hottentots to be found within ten miles. I spend my time in riding, for which the country round affords great facility; in reading such few books as I happen to have got; in wondering why the weather continues to be so hot, and why Gladstone does not write. I hope all is right with him at home. I have trespassed most unwarrantably on your indulgence; if you will pardon me, and write me an immense luminous epistle at your leisure, you will greatly oblige,

Yours sincerely,

A H Hallam.

P. S. I have just received your letter. The accounts you give of the distress now prevailing, are melancholy indeed. I think I had sooner be a turnspit than any one of the ministers at present.

1. William Smith (1756–1835), a follower of Fox, was M.P. for Norwich from 1812 to 1830. Benjamin Gaskell (1781–1856) was Whig M.P. for Maldon from 1812 to 1826.

2. To win by a neck, or to be nowhere; AHH's choice of a racing phrase reflects his knowledge of Gaskell's interests as well as his own pursuits.

3. George Canning (1770–1827)—whom Gaskell met through Canning's son, Charles John—was his, and Gladstone's, lifelong political idol. Sir Robert Peel (1788–1850) was then home secretary.

4. Both Jefferson (b. 1743) and John Adams (b. 1735) died on 4 July. AHH's unpublished elegy "On Jefferson," dated 20 August 1826, is at Yale.

5. Presumably AHH refers to Alexander I (1777–1825), emperor of Russia, and Ferdinand VII (1784–1833), Bourbon king of Spain.

6. Probably John Howard (1726?–1790), philanthropist and reformer; Thomas
Clarkson (1760–1846), antislavery agitator; William Wilberforce (1759–1833), evangelical philanthropist; and William Penn (1644–1718), founder of Pennsylvania.

7. Frederick North (1732–92), second earl of Guilford; as prime minister (1770), he carried out George III's policy toward the American colonies. He resigned in 1782.

8. See letter 8 n. 5.

9. On 7 August 1826, Gladstone "wrote at length & at considerable length to Hallam" (D, 1:65).
Dear Gladstone,

I wish you would write to me, as I want particularly to know how your part of the world is going on. I had begun to fear you had reasons for not doing so of some unpleasant nature: but Gaskell wrote me a letter, which I received this morning, & which he eked out with lamentable tales of commercial distress & ministerial alarm resting on your authority. I resolved therefore to draw some information from the fountain-source of his intelligence: & I expect from you a copious account of ships rotting piecemeal in Liverpool Docks, Huskisson looking uncommon blank over his venison, & Free Trade feeling her place of abode in old England uneasy in the extreme.

Gaskell seems to labour under some apprehension that the old Tories, the Blackwood Magaziners, the encomiasts of Malachi Malagrowther, & Sir Thomas Lethbridge will make formidable head next session. I should be loath to have this Parliament known to posterity by the name of the "Restriction & Prohibition Parliament." However I feel conscious that no temporary distress, arising naturally from the crash of that iniquitous system, which by pampering particular trades, & particular interests has defrauded the nation of so much benefit; no temporary union of parties under the banners of what Farr calls a "Constitutional" & I a "Bigotted Opposition"; no menaces of such men as Knatchbull, or such writers as Blackwood's crew, will eventually hinder the full & free establishment of all that excellent system which it has been the aim of his Majesty's Ministers to establish, to consolidate, & to improve.

But a truce to politics: write me word at your leisure all sorts of news, for we take in nothing in the way of newspapers but the Globe, an evening paper, uncommon dull, & empty.

I spend my time here in riding, which, as the country is "passablement bien" about here; (Banstead Downs, & Epsom race course & so
forth) becomes a very pleasant resource. A good horse is one of the greatest lounges—a secluded place like this can afford. Au reste I yawn about a thing misnamed a garden; read Byron or Rogers or Miller's George the 3d. (a book which does its best to spoil a noble subject); watch one or two vile pigeons; wonder at the heat of the weather; make resolutions for writing letters which in about 3 or 4 days are duly performed. Ennui is the chief of our Sutton goddesses: we conjugate the verb, which she gives to her adorers as a task, with great promptitude: 'Je m'ennuie; tu t'ennuyes; il s'ennuie; &c &c &c. You may conceive that your letter will be a real charity: & though I know you detest common beggars, perhaps you will do your humble petitioner the honor to place him in a higher class:

"And your petitioner shall always pray" &c

Believe me,
Yours most sincerely,
A H Hallam.

Addressed to W. Gladstone Esq. / Seaforth House / near Liverpool.

1. Gladstone wrote a long letter to Gaskell on 1 August 1826 (D, 1:64).
2. For the association between the Gladstones and William Huskisson (1770-1830), then M.P. for Liverpool and a representative of the mercantile interests, see Checkland, especially chapter 16.
3. Malagrowther was the pseudonym used by Sir Walter Scott in three letters to the Edinburgh Weekly Journal on the Scottish currency; J. W. Croker's Two Letters... from E. B. Waverley Esq. to Malachi Malagrowther, Esq. (1826) was reviewed negatively by David Robinson in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine 19 (May 1826): 596-607. Sir Thomas Lethbridge (1778-1849) was conservative M.P. for Somersetshire.
5. The Globe incorporated the Traveller in 1822.
6. Eton slang for pastime or treat.
7. Samuel Rogers (1763-1855), poet and man of letters, was a close friend of
Henry Hallam. J. R. Miller’s History of Great Britain from the Death of George II to the Coronation of George IV (1824?) proclaimed itself a continuation of the histories of Hume and Smollett.

Dear Gaskell,

I am very well aware that in writing to you a second time before you had acknowledged the receipt of my first, I am guilty of high crimes and misdemeanours according to the canons of epistolary correspondence. But submitting myself to the judgment of the court, or to a select committee composed of Gladstone, Pickering major, Pickering minor, and Doyle, who are principally versed in the business of fining, both as finers and finees, I crave your forgiveness and take up my Bramah's pen. I hope you have been spending your time as pleasantly and not quite so monotonously as I have done; hitherto I have been exactly the same one day as another—all my reveries, as usual, περί τῶν πολιτικῶν, and all my perambulations extending no further than the extremity of my little garden.

I heard from Gladstone shortly after your letter reached me—a long and very orderly epistle, as you may suppose, full of lamentations about Liverpool, the country, and the ministry, and of high-flying eulogiums on Walter Scott's "Woodstock," in which, by-the-by, I suppose you concur, for it is a fine piece of Cavalieranism. I do think, Gaskell, you are as singular a mixture of politics as well may be conceived, though, I grant you, you do the thing cleverly, and do not, like Farr, in your desire to cull the sweets of all parties, and all measures, run into the grossest contradictions. How he contrived to fit into the Jacobitical fabric of his ideas any admiration for Lord Russell and Lord Chatham, is beyond my humble imagination—but so it was. Perhaps he is the first instance in which an ultra-Tory, a cordial hater of most ministers, and lover of none except Lord Bolingbroke, boasted ultra-popular principles, and advocated Radical Reform. Windham and Shippen used to belie their Toryism by their practice: but they were consistency itself compared with the immortal Farr.
I anticipate a splendid session next half, or term, as Pickering thinks it his duty to call it; we must positively debate Charles the First, Lord Strafford, the conduct of England to Ireland, with a good long list of et ceteras as soon as possible. What think you of the "Εικων Βασιλική controversy? would it do for a debate? I think the ayes have it. Pray take up Charles's side: it is sweetly untenable, and I shall have the luxury of beating you down with fair sheer argument. Oh, Gaskell, Gaskell, wherefore art thou Gaskell? Why do you continue to uphold the cause of the tyrant Charles, the frantic Laud, the ruffian Strafford? Why are you the apologist of the murder of Mountnorris and the persecution of Leighton? Jupiter help thee for a bigot!

But I see your eye flashing fire at this attack, I see you stamping on the ground and smiting the table with your fist, and wishing, like that genuine Tory Caius Caligula, that all the modern Whigs had but one neck, and that neck in your grasp.

Pazienza Signor! We shall meet again, and in arms, proud Chevalier: woe to him that falls in our encounter! Spirits of Hampden, and Russell, and Sidney, and Somers animate my breast and nerve my arm for next session: I will raise the lofty banner of Whiggism in the society, and who shall view it unmoved? I will raise the joyful cri de guerre, "Liberty and the rights of man," and who shall gainsay me? Thou? E bene verrà il tempo. Pardon for so much folly; I am apt to be a fool in letter-writing. It is a disease of my nature, which wants a little Star-Chamber castigation. Knowing my foible you will excuse it the easier: if I may choose my own punishment it shall be a long, copious, political, and withal, amusing letter from you in your proper dignity to your sincere and affectionate friend,

A H Hallam.

1. "Concerning civic affairs."
2. Gladstone finished Woodstock on 7 August 1826 (D, 1:65); according to Lionel Tollemache, he thought Scott "the greatest delineator of human character next to Homer and Shakespeare" (Talks with Mr. Gladstone [London: 1898], p. 47).
3. William Russell (1639-83), Whig partisan, was executed for his alleged complicity in the "Rye-house Plot" against Charles II; William Pitt (1708-78) was first earl of Chatham.
4. Henry Saint-John (1678–1751), first viscount Bolingbroke, Tory statesman, was the author of political tracts, historical essays, and philosophical pamphlets; William Windham (1750–1810) was secretary of war from 1794 to 1801; William Shippen (1673–1743) was a parliamentary Jacobite.

5. Thomas Wentworth (1593–1641), first earl of Strafford, chief adviser to Charles I, was beheaded at the instigation of Parliament.

6. The authorship of *Eikon Basilike: The Pourtraicture of His Sacred Majestie in His Solitudes and Sufferings*, supposedly Charles I’s own account of his thoughts and feelings up to and during his imprisonment, was a matter of constant debate throughout this period; Henry Hallam attacked its authenticity in *Const. Hist.*, 2:85–86 (and endnote).

7. William Laud (1573–1645) was archbishop of Canterbury; Sir Francis Annesley (1585–1660), baron Mountnorris, quarreled with Strafford, who tried to have him executed; Alexander Leighton (1568–1649), physician and divine, was condemned to mutilation and imprisonment in 1630. Henry Hallam defended Mountnorris and Leighton in *Const. Hist.*, 1:492; 499–500.

8. John Hampden (1594–1643), parliamentarian, was mortally wounded in a skirmish with Charles I’s forces; Algernon Sidney (1622–83) was executed for treason; John Somers (1651–1716) was lord chancellor of England.

9. “And high time.”
Sutton: near Epsom. Friday [25 August 1826].

Dear Gladstone,

If I am really in your debt I am very sorry for it, but as our two letters crossed I conceived we were both at par, & delayed bothering you with any more nonsense of mine. However as you call upon me, & as your moans about the state of our domestic affairs are so very doleful, write I must— & write I will with great pleasure. You are severe on my Whiggism, or as Blackwood calls it, Whiggery: if you supposed me rightly an Anti-Reformer, as you say I am, I should indeed be in a difficult predicament as to justifying my politics. An opponent of Reform, Sir, I was for a few days, misled by a few specious arguments of Mr. Canning: but I have long been contrite for my error. Reform is one of those grand measures which this country so decidedly wants: it is not, as its enemies represent it, a seductive theory alone; more practical benefit would (in my humble & perhaps mistaken opinion) result from it, than from any other measure whatsoever, Catholic Emancipation alone excepted.

I do not prefer Aristocracy to Democracy: such an admirable government as that of the American United States the world has never seen, save & except our own Constitution: perhaps in a few years the progress of civilization in the west will render that saving clause untrue, & unnecessary!

As to your favorite theme of the variable nature of Whig policy: if you mean to assert our principles to have changed, I meet your charge with a denial "in limine" & "in toto": but if all you mean is that Mr. Tierney & Lord Somers pursue the same end by different means, which difference the lapse of time, increase of improvement, & change of circumstance has naturally brought on, if this be your meaning, I quite agree with you. The dispersion of that brave & gallant phalanx who nobly stood
"Round HIM who dared be singularly Good" at the first awful burst of the French Revolution, no one can regret more than myself.\(^5\) That Fox's principles differed from Lord Chatham's I have yet to learn: I mean of course his constitutional principles, for it is not likely that the great man of whom it was so justly said,

"Peace, when he spoke, was ever on his tongue"

would have approved of Chatham's inordinate fondness for a War policy.

Look round you, Gladstone, look at the country groaning in the eleventh year after peace under a load of unparalleled miseries, look at Ruin by your own account staring our Trade in the face—& then sit down calmly, IF YOU CAN, & write me word that you approve of the late war, of Pitt's infatuated administration, of all those measures, big with horror & desolation, which have brought England to the verge of a precipice I shudder to gaze at. Add too in a postscript that you disapprove of that Reform, by which alone such destructive policy would have been nipped in the bud.

I have been on a visit to Pickering (his direction is Clapham; that will do), & have passed two very agreeable days there. Mr. P.\(^6\) is a pleasant man: I had a fierce dispute with him on the Cath: Quest: of course I fought the good fight to my own satisfaction, but to convince a complete No-Popery man (& such a one is Mr. P.) is as I have long ago discovered, to attempt washing a blackamoor white. I have just had a very sensible letter from Gaskell, who by no means gives up the ministry as you do.

Let me hear from you soon; at present, I must conclude, & believe me, whatever be your politics,

Yours most truly & affect:ly

A Whig Hallam.\(^7\)

Addressed to W. E. Gladstone / Seaforth House.

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1. Gladstone wrote a long letter to AHH on 22 August 1826; he apparently did not receive letter 11 until 30 August (D, 1:67-69).
2. AHH deals with a number of issues discussed in Canning’s 25 April 1822 speech in the Commons opposing Parliamentary reform.

3. The Eton Society voted unanimously on 10 June 1826 that aristocracy was preferable to democracy as a form of government; AHH, on leave, did not participate.

4. George Tierney (1761-1830), M.P. for Knaresborough, opponent of Pitt, was leader of the opposition until 1821.

5. Burke’s break with Fox over the French Revolution had splintered the Whig opposition to Pitt’s administration. AHH quotes lines 16 and 30 from Samuel Roger’s elegy on Fox, “Written in Westminster Abbey, October 10, 1806.”

6. Edward Rowland Pickering (1778-1859) was a barrister at Lincoln’s Inn.

7. Compare letter 5 n. 2.
Sutton: near Epsom. Wednesday. 6th [September 1826].

Dear Gladstone,

I confess my last letter was vile, stupid, prolix, absurd, ludicrous, disagreeable &c. &c. & whatever else you may choose to call it: but I wish you would not drive me to the necessity of plaguing you out of your five senses a second time, by not answering the aforesaid letter. I believe however it is but fair revenge, as I kept you at bay for an equal length of time: but pray, consider there is a material difference between my delaying to overwhelm you with my nonsense, & your delaying to enlighten my dark prison at Sutton with the rays of your understanding.

I have been carrying on political controversy with Gaskell till I find my ears tingling, & head aching with the often-dinned sounds of Whig, Radical, & Tory. So I shall keep clear of politics "pour le present."

I forget whether I told you in my last letter, that I had been to spend a day or two with Pickering at Clapham: he has a pretty good house there, & by dint of driving me out in his gig, & mounting me upon a hack (who if he had not been lame, scarified, & bare-boned might have had some pretensions to rank as high as Rozinante,' or even Sancho's Dapple), not to mention, taking me to bathe in a large < pond > public bath at Camberwell, to which Virgil's epithet of "stagna virentia" might be applied correctly enough; though I question whether we could fairly go on with the verse, & add "musco": by help, I say, of all these rustic employments I passed the day. He gave me a glorious dinner, a very agreeable party, & a capital debate on the Catholic Question with Mr. Pickering. This latter seems a sensible, though not a very liberal man: but, as Burke has justly observed, those who are nurtured in office, seldom possess
enlarged views on any subject, especially on those great & important questions which require caution, knowledge, & experience to decide upon.\textsuperscript{3}

Perhaps you may form some idea of his style of arguing, from hearing that he asserted Burke, Fox, Pitt, Grattan, Sheridan &c. &c. &c. to be hypocrites, who advocated Emancipation not from real conviction of its importance, but "to curry favor with the Papists!!!"\textsuperscript{4}

"Canning sincere! he would shrink, as from a viper's touch, from granting Emancipation if it depended on himself alone! But it is a good subject for display; & he knows it!!!" I had some difficulty to refrain laughing at this: & still more, when P. gravely told [me] I had never answered properly many of his fat[her's arg]uments, & his own: this I fancy was one, [& a]nother his own dignified interrogatory: "Could I say any Papist had ever, at any time done any good to the world?" I confessed my fault: & owned that I thought the "ασβεστος γελώ?'' of Homer's Deities the best answer to such pompous absurdity.

I have been lately on an expedition down the Thames, which gave me a great deal of pleasure, as it served to relieve the monotony of a holiday spent at Sutton. The country along the Kent coast about Sheerness, the Nore, the Reculvers &c. is very fine. We slept one night in the Medway, than which, I think, I have never seen a nobler river: and this is not saying little, for I have seen Rhenus & Rhodanus in all their glory; & have watched their progress from their first gush amidst the glaciers to their calm & dignified approach towards the Ocean.\textsuperscript{6} I do not mean of course to assert that the Medway as a whole is superior to these rivers: but at that particular spot, I should think the majesty of its wide-spreading waters, & picturesque scenery of its banks, richly set off by the line of battleships lying in calm grandeur at stated intervals along the stream, were seldom, if ever surpassed by European rivers. What a magnificent sight a man of war is! It brings to one's mind all the triumphs of Howe,\textsuperscript{7} & the glories of Nelson with an irresistible power. The Regent (one of these-memorials of British intrepidity) is the largest ship in the service. Our little vessel seemed an object of utter scorn as we passed under the elevated stern.

I expect Pickering here to-morrow: I fear my powers of entertainment will fall far short of his, but I must do my best to give him his
“revanche.” He wrote to me to say he had been on a shooting expedition, & was miserably drenched with rain. Pickering a sportsman!! Proh Superi!8

Believe me,

Ever yours most sincerely,

Arthur Henry Hallam.

Addressed to William E. Gladstone Esq.

1. Don Quixote’s horse.
2. Georgics 4. 18: “a pool moss-green.”
3. Burke’s 19 April 1774 speech on American taxation (2:390). See also letter 13 n. 6.
4. In his 18 May 1779 speech, Burke had advocated relief of the Scottish Catholics; Henry Grattan (1746-1820), Irish M.P., was a constant advocate of Catholic emancipation; Richard Brinsley Sheridan (1751-1816), dramatist and M.P., had opposed union of Great Britain and Ireland.
5. Iliad 1. 599: “unquenchable laughter.”
6. AHH had traveled in Europe in 1818 and in the summer of 1822, before entering Eton.
7. Richard Howe (1726-99), earl, admiral of the fleet.
TO WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE

Dear Gladstone,

I have not dealt fairly by you. You deserved better treatment, than to be left in the back-ground, while I talked over all the sense & nonsense contained in both our craniological systems with Gaskell. You ask me to wind up with a long letter; & with great moderation ask for a scheme of Parliamentary Reform; opinions upon Pitt & Fox; & (Jupiter knows how long) a list of etceteras, which would require volumes to answer rightly, instead of three short pages. I certainly have neither wish nor ability to enter with you into a discussion of the momentous question, which you press so ardently upon me. I believe, this was my fault: I expressed myself with too much eagerness & dogmatism in one of my letters, & this of course gives you a fair right to demand an explanation. I am sure you will give me credit for not being so infatuated with the names of Liberty & Reform as to have the least inclination to break a lance amidst the frantic tournaments of Radicalism: I have but a low opinion of the integrity of heart of most Radicals: & none whatever of the soundness of their understandings. I consider their philosophy as frantic indeed: not only teaching the pernicious doctrine that we are to "fly from present ill to others that we know not of"; ¹ but advocating a system which in nine cases out of ten will be productive of misery & havoc by rooting up all those habits, connexions, & sympathies which link in such holy union the inhabitants of an ancient & limited Monarchy. Having premised thus much, suppose we examine the different forms under which A Reform of our Representation has been hitherto supported. These I think are divisible into three: the first, I mean, Annual

[77]
Parliaments & Universal Suffrage, I have already discarded, as visionary, impolitic, & absurd: the second & third will deserve far more serious notice as bearing with them the testimony & approbation of several great & illustrious characters to whom I shall always look up with feelings of the purest veneration, the most heart-felt gratitude. One of these schemes, bold in its outset, & carrying novelty on its features, proposes by a sweeping plan of commutation to take from all or most of the boroughs their actual privileges, & by equalizing, or at least assimilating the districts allowed to vote, render the whole Empire subject to a uniform representation. This theory is naturally calculated to please the ardent spirit of youth: by rooting out corruption to all appearance from the land, it satisfies those generous feelings of our nature which revolt from ministerial venality, & look with suspicion on the enormous increase of the fatal influence of the Crown. But I confess, even at the risk of your piercing sarcasms, at the peril of the contemptuous smile which I see playing round your countenance, the seductive eloquence of Fox, & the youthful spirit of Grey, cannot conceal from me the defectiveness of any such attempts to change our Constitution. "What," you exclaim, "is it not for change you Reformers are so clamorous? Why not rest content with our ancient Constitution which with all its theoretical imperfections has erected in this blessed country a system of laws, privileges, manners, & institutions superior to any the world ever witnessed, & which has raised us to a pitch of glory imagination herself could never have attained some hundred years ago." What is the House of Commons? Let Burke answer for me: "A controll for the people, to be resolved into the mass of that people when its functions are performed." Are the Commons an adequate representation of the people? Let facts answer for me: The American war, at first eagerly entered [into] was long before its termination loathed & detested by the p[eople,] yet the voice of the Commons of England could not (the fact is notorious) prevail against Lord North's influence for near 3 years. It is a corollary therefore, that during the present constitution of the House, the most dreadful miseries, even a civil war, even the immense loss of millions of our fellow-creatures, & oppressive burdens of the country, cannot be averted, even though the People cry night & day for relief. Here is a plain, & in my opinion, an
unanswerable argument for Reform. But is not the liberty of the press strong enough to check these evils? Unquestionably, that & some other powers do at last prevail over the corrupting power of the treasury: Heaven be thanked for it! But do they prevail soon enough? No! The American war as I have shewn is an instance: it is one out of many! A pretty excuse it would be for a clock-maker that his chronometers always got right at last after some thousand erroneous vibrations of the pendulum, while in the interval ships might be overwhelmed, & hundreds sunk in the deep waters! All this argument I mean as an introduction to my scheme of Reform, the third on the list: a scheme which seems to me to effect that popular curb on the Crown which the Reformers wish, while at the same time it excludes its advocates from the number of those who are given to change.

When Lord Chatham proposed the restoration of Triennial Parliaments & the addition of 100 members to the County representation, with a sort of sinking-fund to annihilate such boroughs as being notoriously corrupt had forfeited their trusts, & to transfer their privileges to some of the unrepresented towns, in my humble opinion he proposed a truly constitutional Reform. Triennial Parliaments keep the representative under the rod of the constituent, & are the best antidote to Corruption: for the immediate prospect of revisiting his electors would deter the meanest man from undergoing their displeasure at least nine times out of ten. At present members have 6 years for sin; one for repentance, & courting favor. The 100 members counterbalance the borough interest and are influenced by popular interests: the expunction of rotten & really profligate boroughs, not with general theoretical views, but from clear proof of guilt, is a duty we owe to ourselves, to our country, & to our God. Here is my plan, or rather Chatham's: young Pitt again brought it before the House, & the celebrated Junius, whose opinion has no trivial weight with me, recommended it as the only salvation of the state. Chatham protested against all innovators, & their crude schemes, unwarranted by man's truest guide Experience: his only aim was in his own admirable words, "to infuse new streams of blood into the Constitution to make her bear her infirmities." I ought to apologise for my dreadful assaults on your patience: you must allow you provoked them. I leave much of your excellent letter unanswered, & am,
With the warmest friendship & affection,
Yours ever,
A H Hallam.

Addressed to William Ewart Gladstone

1. *Hamlet*, 3. 1. 81–82.
2. John Dunning, baron Ashburton’s motion, “That the power of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished,” passed the Commons in 1780.
5. Chatham’s speech of 22 January 1770, from which AHH paraphrases below.
6. Pitt reintroduced his father’s plan on 7 May 1783. The dedication to the first collected edition of the *Letters of Junius* (1772), probably written by Sir Philip Francis (1740–1818), argued for a legislative reform: “Your representatives have six years for offence, and but one for atonement.”
Dear Farr, 

I certainly ought to apologise for troubling you with a letter at a time when I suppose you are too much taken up with guns, & dogs, & partridges to think of such sublunary things as Eton, the Society, or your humble servant. Perhaps however, should you be drenched with rain after some unlucky expedition, & enjoying the best of all luxuries, an autumn fireside, you may not disdain to give a zest to your morrow’s sport by reading this letter. I have received several epistles from Messrs. Gaskell, Gladstone, &c., breathing politics at every pore, & anticipating a glorious Session. It will give you, I suppose, great pleasure to hear that the latter is tremendously dispirited about the present Administration; nay, even dares (what a thought for a light Blue) to entertain doubts as to the policy of Free Trade. Gaskell is more sanguine, but looks blue at the Reciprocity Treaties, & can hardly digest the present state of affairs. As for me, though I never professed to be so vehement a champion of Ministers as they did, I happen to be a little more consistent: when we first determined to cut up by the roots that impolitic system which by pampering particular trades & interests prevented that equality of Industry by which alone the grandeur of nations can be promoted, & the cause of civilization advanced—when we did this, we foresaw the consequences. If landlords are luxuriously maintained at the cost of the public, it is not to be expected that laws which relieve the public will please the landlords. “It is a better thing that a part should perish than the whole”: much more then is to be desired that one class should be reduced than that every class should suffer. Besides, two thirds of the late distresses arose from other causes; from the errors of the currency, & the absurdity of Utopian speculations. I wonder you are an opponent of Free Trade, since you must be aware that it was the
most favorite of all favorite theories with those old Tories whom you
admire so vehemently. Think of Queen Anne’s reign, of your
Bolingbroke’s Commercial Treaty in which the French Trade was the
prominent object: think how the Whigs wrote, spoke, & acted against
it, how they enlisted every prejudice, every scrap of ignorance, or error
on the side of the bigotted Mercantile System. But I see how it is;
your modern love of the Blackwoodites bears the palm from your
antique affections for genuine Toryism. I have long been endeavoring
to fathom your politics, Farr; & I believe I have succeeded: your
political system may be resolved into two great principles, Abhor­
rence of Cant, & Love of Originality. You are a Jacobite: Why?
Because the “blessings of our happy establishment, & the security of
the Protestant Succession” have been handed from mouth to mouth,
till it has grown into the currency of a proverb. Here is Principle I in
all its glory. You admire Bolingbroke: Why? Purely because he has
acquired the reputation of a villain, & the stream of cant has hitherto
flowed steadily against him. Principle I again: with perhaps a mixture
of Principle II. You admire Lord Russell: who doubts the reason?
Because nobody else ever admired him & St. John both! Principle II
fully displayed. You are an Anticatholic: “Impromptu causa est”: you
hate to hear of Toleration, & Liberality, & Conciliation & such
branches of Cant; ergo you obey the irresistible impulse of Principle I.
You dislike the Canning party in the Cabinet, & rev[ere L]ord Eldon: the
same principle accounts for this, as also for your affection towards
Bull, Blackwood & Co., who are in your eyes the steady, consistent, &
adroit opponents of Cant. You are a Reformer!!! Here bursts forth
with overwhelming radiance the Second Principle. Who ever heard of
an Eldon-loving Reformer; of a son of Blackwood daring to inhale the
atmosphere of “Triennial Parliaments, & extended Representation!”
It is absolutely needful then that you should make the experiment. In
some cases, such is the exquisite refinement of your mind, such the
ductility of your fancy, that you take second-rate Cant, instead of
first-rate as the rock you are to avoid. This happens in the case of Sir
R. Walpole: Poor man! Cant has flowed against him with a vengeance:
but then the Jacobites were his mortal foes, & they were the original
anti-Cantites, who withstood all new nonsense about Privilege &
Resistance with the most laudable sturdiness. Here then is Anti-Cant
versus Anti-Cant: the ass (I beg your pardon) is between two bundles
of hay. Here comes the refinement: you make choice of the Anti-Cantites of the second degree, i.e. the Jacobites who thundered down Walpole, rather than those of the first, who advocate the poor devil, i.e. the Whigs, & your humble servant. I do not pretend that I have explained all your dogmas on my hypothesis: some are of course owing to accidental circumstances, to favorite authors, to particular opposition (which always confirms opinions at first only slight), some perhaps to family notions sucked in with your mother’s milk. But by far the greatest portion of your singular fabric of politics rests on the two solid inmoveable principles which I mentioned before. I dare say you are ready to deny these premises in argument, but your conscience tells you they are true.

I dined the other day with Walpole, our famous member (great-great-nephew by the bye of Sir Bob), who told me much of the Union: it is divided into two parties he says, Radicals & Republicans in the one, Whigs, Tories of all sorts & sects in the other. The latter have of course the votes: the former the speakers!! Woe is me for our future politicians! You are sadly wanted to reinforce the good side, I mean the Anti-Radical one. I gave a high character of you to Walpole: who promised to call on you at Cambridge, as an Etonian, & Society-man, & to gain your eloquence to the Union.6

Believe me,
Yours most faithfully
A H Hallam

What think you of the Duke of York? I am really sorry for him: I understand he knows well there is no hope, & bears it firmly.7 Οὐατ ἤμω, Ἀντι-καθολικοί!8 Pray forgive my railleries about your politics: & if you have time on your hands, answer this: or, which would be far better, come down & join the Debates some Saturday. Vale, I hope not, longum Vale.

Addressed to W. W. Farr Esq. / Iford House / Christchurch / Hants.
P/M 21 [September 1826]
1. An Eton man: AHH may allude to Gladstone's Tory sympathies, however.
2. See Matthew 5:29.
3. The 1713 treaty of Utrecht was rejected 194-185 by the Commons.
5. John Scott (1751-1838), first earl of Eldon, lord chancellor from 1807 to 1827, was a strong opponent of Canning, Catholic emancipation, and parliamentary reform.
6. Spencer Horatio Walpole (1806-98), a member of the Eton Society, who matriculated at Trinity in 1824 (B.A. 1828), was president of the Union in 1827 and an original member of the Apostles; he later served as home secretary. On 28 November 1826, Farr spoke at the Cambridge Union (apparently for the first time) in favor of Burke's leaving his party at the beginning of the French Revolution.
7. Frederick Augustus (1763-1827), duke of York and Albany, was considered the leader of the anti-Catholics; he died of dropsy on 5 January 1827.
8. "Woe unto you, anti-Catholics!" (see Matthew 23:13 ff. for biblical use of the phrase).
Dear Farr,

I was agreeably surprised at finding your letter on my table yesterday; of course my pleasure was very sensibly increased by reading it. To plague you with politics is a very cruel thing in me, to be sure: but what can a poor bewildered devil like me talk about else? Pray, do not let me discourage you from entering upon any subject in your letters: for, since my happiness in reading letters on any subject is very great, how much more must this be the case on any which relate to you. You may flourish away in tropes & metaphors concerning Free Trade: but I certainly am not convinced by your eloquence that "all interests are reduced to an equality of misery," & that "the apprentice to a Parisian pill-gilder" is not, in this respect, a good minister. Had you but seen the Light-Blues Gaskell, & Gladstone lift their hands in pious horror on hearing of the "guilty splendor of William Huskisson" which I spouted to them!!! "Why the man has but £6000 a year!" bellowed Gaskell: "Only £6000 for all his services!" echoed Gladstone. "He ought to have a great, great sum more!" cries G. the big: "Poor fellow! so he ought!" simpers G. the little. Egad! I believe, if these Minister's Friends had their way, each dependent on the Treasury would have a salary centuple that of the President of the United States. I am sure I wish well to the existing Administration for many reasons: but to champion them as men who are to bring in a golden age, men, who are to be pampered, & flattered at the public expense, is in my humble opinion a crude ridiculous attempt to sneer down common sense. You speak with apparent exultation on the subject of the infamous Auto-da-fé at Valencia. Infamous indeed it was! but what is the great moral lesson we are to draw from this disgusting scene? surely, that Intolerance is the bane & curse of every country, Protestant, or Catholic, Monarchical or
Republican, in which that dreadful spirit has appeared. What has ruined Spain? I answer, the arm of the cursed Inquisition: a system of exclusion, & persecution: a scheme of human insolence hallowed by the name of God. Why should the order of Nature be reversed when we look at home; why should similar causes in England not tend to the same effect? Why, in a word, do we imitate the worst Catholic Intolerance by establishing Protestant Penal laws in this free country? Perhaps you smile, & think I am evading your precedent: but for God's sake, reflect for a moment: think how England stands with respect to Ireland. The body of the Irish are a discontented people; they groan under periodical famines, & periodical fevers, two of the most horrid visitations that ever scourge man for his sins: in this state of things they are wrought on by artful demagogues, by O'Connell, O'Gorman, & Sheil; by bigoted priests, who think such policy a duty, & set no bounds to their zeal! Such is the fact, Sir: now let me ask you on your conscience do you think, when a war comes, & come it will, & must (ay, & that soon), that the Irish millions will let slip the opportunity? Do you suppose they did us no harm in the last war? Two rebellions, & a body of armed men kept to terrify Ireland, instead of aiding Wellington or Moore, are my answer, if you do. Yet have they not increased in spirit, in numbers, in rage, factious fury? since that peace? They have: ye Waterford elections bear witness; & but one out of many! Then in the name of common sense why leave this infuriated, besotted populace under the guidance of hedge-priests, & mob-orators? Secure the Catholic Clergy, by making them dependent on the State for their subsistence: disfranchise the 40s. Freeholders who are the instruments of bigotry: give Catholic Peers & Gentry seats in Parliament, for we have tried their loyalty & found it pure: they have passed through the fire, & lo! it has not harmed them! These are my reasons for granting Emancipation: this dreadful danger which yawns before us overwhelms me, I confess, with horror & fear: grant Emancipation, & you paralyse the blow of bigotry, you save us from the awful depth of ruin. At present, remember my words, we are digging with our own hands the pit which will bury us!

I have made this appeal to you on the Catholic Question, not to call forth your eloquence in reply: a debate would be useless as
tedious: I simply beg of you to reflect; to beware how your voice is added to the cry of No Popery. Beware how you unite with those who have not acquired audacity of assertion from profundity of thinking! You have all the old women, all the stupid, all the foolish on your side: but, good Heaven, is the immediate safety of this noble & ancient Monarchy to be sacrificed to the petty triumphs of controversial loquacity?

Forgive me so much politics, but you provoked the contest, & when I once give myself the reins, Beelzebub himself cannot stop me. Apropos of reins, Wentworth bids me say Mulatto carried more weight because of the rain, & that he was in a sweat at starting. Doyle maintains he never could have won. Both saw the race. Wentworth is in the Society: so is Wilder. I do not much like the subject for Saturday: my heart is for Dicky the lion, but I fear there will be no debate if I do not patronise the Swedish madman. Nothing new at Eton in any way. To make a landholder love Free Trade is a sheer miracle, much above my powers: "what have country-gentlemen, forsooth, to do with the good of the public?" Nothing, if we judge by their practice! How neatly Hunt floored the whole of your herd at Andover! Hoping you will write to me again bye-&-bye, as also to Pick: who is much pleased with his letter from you. I shall conclude, & remain,

Yours sincerely, & affect:ly

A H Hallam.

Gladstone desires me to say, that he has not ratted about Free Trade, & that he never did approve of all the Ministerial plans on that subject. As for big G. he is a regular bigot: he swears by Huskisson on the Reciprocity Business, yet owns he does not know why? "I am convinced" verbatim his declaration: "I am convinced, but of what, & by what I have no idea!" This was said gravely. O ye light-blues!!!

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

[87]
1. Huskisson's early education was undertaken by his maternal great-uncle, Dr. Gem, physician to the British embassy in Paris. See also letter 16 n. 1.

2. Set at $25,000 annually in 1789.

3. On 31 July 1826, a Jewish schoolmaster was burned for heresy in Valencia.


5. As prime minister (1828-30), Arthur Wellesley, duke of Wellington (1769-1852), carried Catholic emancipation, despite personal misgivings. Sir John Moore (1761-1809) was a lieutenant general in the Napoleonic wars.

6. With the aid of the Catholic priests, O'Connell's Catholic Association rallied the forty-shilling freeholders to defeat the anti-Catholic incumbent, Lord George Beresford, in 1826; similar upsets took place at Monaghan, Louth, and Westmeath (in Ireland).

7. Lord Scarborough's Tarrare beat Lord Fitzwilliam's Mulatto in the Great St. Leger's race at Doncaster on 19 September 1826; Mulatto won the 1827 race. See Reminiscences, pp. 68-70. William Charles Wentworth (1812-35), Fitzwilliam's eldest son, was Whig M.P. for Northamptonshire from 1830 to 1835. Charles Wilder (1808-38), who contributed prose and poetry to the Eton Miscellany, matriculated at King's College, Cambridge, in 1827 (B.A. 1831) and was assistant master at Eton from 1831 to 1838. Both Wentworth and Wilder were unanimously elected to the Eton Society on 25 September 1826.

8. AHH alone voted for Charles XII over Richard I as the more admirable character.

9. Henry Hunt (1773-1835), radical politician, spoke against the Corn Laws at a meeting of tenant farmers and landowners on 22 September 1826.
18. TO ELLEN HALLAM

TO ELLEN HALLAM

MS: Christ Church

Windsor: Saturday [14 October 1826].

Dear little Woman,

I hope on your arrival at Sutton, you found every thing comfortable, & prosperous: & especially that you found an unstarved, uncrushed, unhanged Puss waiting to receive you. I fancied that I saw your equipage driving along the Long Walk about one o'clock on Thursday; but neither the direction, nor the time would have suited. I received a letter from Uncle Henry, which announces that John is to enter the Army, & that he has got a commission for him in the 12th. Lancers.1 He also informs me that he fell down the Clevedon stairs, & nearly broke his back: & that his wife somehow pulled the window down upon her, which nearly broke her head! Really, this is not a very pleasant, or a very auspicious beginning to his "sejour" at Clevedon Court. Moreover, the weather has been bad, & he got no coursing: & before that, the weather was good, & he got no shooting, for the very simple & unanswerable reason, that he found nothing to shoot! Altogether he seems in a bad humor, quite a contrast to John Toucher, who is ready to jump out of his skin at being a Lancer!

Quaere, is the Oriel business off; or not? He says not a syllable to me about it.

We have had an exquisite debate to-day. Question: "Was the political conduct of Milton laudable?" Gladstone opened the debate in a very violent speech against Milton: I replied to him: Gaskell supported Gladstone: Doyle took my side: & lastly Wentworth made his maiden speech in favor of Milton. The speeches on the whole were good: & the discussion highly interesting. On the division there appeared:

For Milton
Hallam

Against Milton
Wilder

[89]
A ballot then took place, & Mr. Law was declared duly elected, there appearing only one blackball against him. The debate lasted till 20 minutes to 6.

I do not know that I have anything more to say, except to bid my little woman mind her Hume, & her St. John, & all her duties: to recommend Pusses, & Donkeys of all Species & Genera to your care, & to Mottle's: & so wishing luck, & sending love to all,

I remain,
Your tendre frère,
A H Hallam.

Addressed to Miss Ellen Hallam / Sutton / near Epsom.
P/M 16 October 1826

1. John Touchet, only son of Peter Touchet, and hence stepson of Henry Elton, matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, in 1828, and was a student at Lincoln's Inn in 1831.

2. Gaskell described the debate in his 22 October 1826 letter to Farr: “I dealt pretty largely in abuse, called Milton a ‘vile sycophant,’ ‘blind hireling,’ &c. whilst Hallam shook his head, all the time that Gladstone & I uttered incontrovertible truisms; and he then rose, incorporated his own opinions with Macaulay’s . . . and in a declamatory but eloquent speech flew away upon the wings of ‘liberty,’ ‘equality,’ and every kind of name, invented by the radical for a colouring to those measures which tend to destroy it” (Rylands). Gladstone's 17 October 1826 letter to Farr called AHH's speech “brilliant” (Autob., p. 179).

John Halse Law (1809-77), who contributed poetry to the Eton Miscellany, matriculated at King's College, Cambridge, in 1827 (B.A. 1832), was admitted at Lincoln's Inn in 1831, and called to the bar in 1835.
Hawtrey's: Eton. Tuesday [14 November 1826].

Dear Farr,

If you only treat your other correspondents as liberally as you treat me, you deserve a monument much more than a hundred ephemeral beings who sleep in marble at Westminster Abbey. It would be ungrateful not to answer so good a letter writer, & so good a letter, on the spur of the moment. "So here goes for 3 pages, & the little bits of stupid, Hallamic prose!" N'importe, it is the lot assigned by Providence to amusing epistolizers to be bored with dull answers. I am heartily glad you are in the Union: cultivate Walpole's acquaintance, & remind him of a sort of half-promise which he made me to come down, & visit us at Eton. Have you ever seen Wellesley's face yet? I suppose it is high treason against Dame Porcina,¹ to speak to Trinitarians, or I would ask you to jog Wellesley's memory a little as to writing &c. I envy your life of luxury on the sedgy banks of the Cam: balls, concerts, Miss Loves, spick & span Union politics—Diavolo! It is enough to make me forfeit the natural placidity of my temper for a few moments in order to rail at this accursed Eton system. φευ φευ,² I shall not take my place as Freshman for the next 2 years; so complaint is needless, & letters from you must supply the place of your conversation. You ask for Eton news: really I know of none; I am sincerely sick of this term, & long to breathe the invigorating air of Bowbells.³ Our debates have been on the whole good this time: but we have not yet managed an adjourned one. The grand question of Richard's Deposition was debated last Saturday: you cannot doubt which side I took? I voted against the wretch who, nursed in depravity, seemed to acquire an increase of crime, in proportion to the increase of his years; & who vainly endeavored, by decimating the aristocracy of the realm, & by deliberately murdering his own uncle, to prop his tottering throne. Yet such is the prevalence
of Toryism in the Society that they divided 7 to 4 against the Deposition. Gaskell made a < ranting > violent, but in many parts a masterly speech on the victorious side; & Pickering, who supported the same cause, hoped that “the Englishmen of 1826 had more loyalty in their hearts than those of 1688!” Here is the holy cause of the Stuarts with a vengeance! Our question for next Saturday is, “the execution of the rebel”—I beg pardon—the martyr “lords in George II’s reign justifiable?” The Saturday after, “Ancient, or Modern writers, which display most genius?” Now then for your Union questions: I think them very good, but wonder how the question about 1688 is stated, as it must require something more than your effrontery to arraign the whole transaction. I should like to see the man who would divide against the great, & good actors on that glorious theatre: to hear the man, who dared to assert the innocence of James, or the criminality of resistance to him: to know the man who in 1826 would preach up Passive Obedience, & even outdo the inimitable timeserver, Thomas Vaughan! If such a man is to be found, he belongs doubtless to that foul-mouthed faction, which, however at different times it may be distinguished by different disguises, is uniformly the retailer of slander, & the organ of malice against all that is good, or venerable, or holy! Such were the Sacheverels, of the last century; such are the Lethbridges, & Israelis of the present. “Measures, not men,” is truly their motto: so that evil be done, they care not who does it. With regard to Commerce, what have Ministers done, which has not been recommended by practical, & philosophical writers of the highest repute for the last 60 years? But I am deviating into Rant. You ask for my opinion about Burke: it is a capital question: sorry I am that you can sympathise with neither of those great men on the most interesting period of their lives. They are both aliens from your politics: the warm enthusiasm of Fox, & the stern vehemence of his rival were equally averse from Toryism, servility, & the Stuarts. I admire both these wonderful men: I revere the firmness with which they adhered to the principles which they had deliberately chosen: for how long had they been sharers in the same glory, champions of the same cause, partakers of the same peril? Hand in hand they struggled against the iniquitous system which gave birth to America’s independence: together they assailed the monster of secret influence which lurked behind the throne: both
roused a patriotic indignation against the young & aspiring minister, who abandoned the principles in which his immortal father had lived & died! Such was their lot: in their friendship principle & affection played an equal part: the dissolution of that friendship is one of the most painful events in the pages of our history. I wish, as much as possible, to preserve impartiality between such eminent characters: but I must confess my bias is towards Fox. Burke’s celebrated Reflections are undoubtedly replete with sound knowledge, & fervid eloquence, but they are stamped with a spirit of rancor, & violence which contaminates even the good they contain. In Fox’s speeches on this occasion there is violence also; but it is a violence arising from generous ardour, & a spirit of almost chivalrous zeal. That Burke should differ from his rival might be expected, for he had always disapproved of Reform, & except when hurried on by passion, had adopted the most tranquil tenets of the Rockingham school: but that he should turn difference into hatred, that he should sternly sacrifice his friend on account of the troubles of a foreign country; that he should obstinately refuse to communicate with those, whose faith he had so long professed to cherish: that he should carry his animosity to his grave, & in his last illness refuse to see the man, whom he had panegyrised, as one “born to be loved,” & who implored a return of friendship, all this, I own, does appear to me a degree of harshness not to be warranted by sound justice, or true morality. Differences must occur between the honorable adherents to a party: but why should those differences prevent their uniting for the common good, as long as their fundamental articles of faith remain unchanged, & unchangeable! But I have forgotten that I was writing a letter, not a speech: write to me a faithful account of your Union proceedings at your leisure, & believe me,

Yours very faithfully,

A H Hallam.

My direction in London is 67, Wimpole Street.

Addressed to W. W. Farr Esq. / St. John’s College / Cambridge.
P/M 22 November 1826

[93]
1. Perhaps an allusion to the Porson prize for translation of a passage of English poetry into Greek verse, established in 1816 in honor of Richard Porson (1759-1808), Regius professor of Greek at Cambridge, who also attended Eton and Trinity. Entries were due early in the year.

2. "Alas."

3. Of St. Mary-le-Bow, Cheapside, in AHH's own "Cockney" section of London.

4. Hervey, Doyle, and Law supported AHH against Richard II; Gladstone's 17 October 1826 letter to Farr somewhat prematurely characterized the three new members of the Society—Wilder, Wentworth, and Law—as "staunch Whigs" (Autob., p. 180). See also letter 5 n. 2.

5. On 16 May 1826, the Cambridge Union debated whether James the Second was justly dethroned. AHH apparently refers to Sir John Vaughan (1603-74), chief justice of common pleas, described as "disposed . . . to least reverence to the crown, and most to popular authority; yet without inclination to any change in government" (Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon, 1:37). See also Henry Hallam's discussion of Vaughan's position, Const. Hist., 2: 350-51.

6. Henry Sacheverell (1674?-1724) preached sermons advocating nonresistance and by implication opposing the 1688 Revolution; he was impeached by the Whig ministry but later rewarded by the Tories. Isaac D'Israeli (1766-1848), father of Benjamin, published works supporting royalist causes.

7. Apparently first used in The Herald; or, Patriot Proclaimer (1758), 2:viii: "Measures not men the proper objects of our regard" (see The Collected Works of Oliver Goldsmith, ed. Arthur Friedman [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966], 5:39 n. 3); the phrase was criticized by Burke (Discontents) and Canning (8 December 1802 speech).

8. The younger Pitt.

9. Charles Watson-Wentworth (1730-82), second marquis of Rockingham, was leader of the Whig opposition in the Lords, 1768-81.

10. See (Sir) James Prior, Memoir of the Life and Character of . . . Burke (2d ed., 1826), 2: 397—which gives Mrs. Burke's letter conveying her husband's cold rebuff to Fox's overtures, shortly before Burke's death—and 427: Burke said that Fox "was a man made to be loved; there was not a particle of gall in his composition."
Hawtrey's: Eton. Saturday [2 December 1826].

Dear Farr,

One more letter to you before I visit the Hounslow road. Your last delighted me; I would give worlds if I had them (a very safe assertion) to hear a debate in the Union. I am glad your speeches meet with proper applause: & however much I may wish that our little room of 6 feet square was the theatre of your eloquence, for you it is far better as it is. I am sorry so large a majority gave their votes in favor of Burke's desertion of the Whigs, & disgusted at the impudent Jacobinism which you have retailed to me from the other side's speeches. If I ever become a member of the Union I shall do pretty much as you have chalked out for me: I shall never lose an opportunity of defending the party to which the People owe their Bill of Rights, & the House of Brunswick their throne, but at the same time look with the utmost horror upon those, who seek to overthrow the Constitution & whose countenances would gleam with a demoniac smile amidst the awful ruin of our laws, our religion, & our throne. When a Whig advocates Reform he seeks only to preserve by analogous amendments the Constitution which is his pride: he spurns with conscious rectitude the bold politician who would level the <slow> work of ages in order to try a totally new experiment in government. When a Whig pleads the cause of the Catholics he does it on the firm principle that the preservation of our institutions depends on an immediate alteration of our policy towards Ireland, & that to fight public opinion by force is equally impolitic & unjust. When a Whig praises the deposition of any sovereign in general, or of our James in particular, he does it from a sincere conviction that such an exertion of power will prove a memento to future monarchs, & will secure the blessings of liberty & tranquillity by lessening the chance of tyranny on the one hand, & of faction on the other. But when he avows these
principles, while he venerates, & almost adores the memory of those "burning & shining lights" who have in our own country pro-
claimed, & defended them, he shrinks with loathing from those who do good only in theory, but evil in practice. In these principles may I live, & die! Come down the first Saturday next half to hear our debate on the conduct of England to Ireland. I intend to make a flaming Philo-Catholic speech; that is, Deo volente, for we are in some fear of being blown up by a sudden explosion of the Little Doctor's spleen. You must know he has for some time been chafing in secret at our fondness for political subjects, which how he found it out, his spies, & Jove only know: at this critical period some malign spirit put it into our heads to send a deputation to him, under the following circumstances. I had made a motion early this half that our rule about 50 years "should not include literary subjects, provided they had nothing to do with politics, or with living characters." What can be simpler, or, one would think, less liable to objection? At that time however it was negatived: but I thought it fair to have a second trial when the House was full, & brought it forwards again, when it was carried. On this Ld. A. Hervey who had supported it said that as it involved a fundamental rule an application to Keate was necessary. To Keate accordingly, after some disputing, Pickering went in our name: the [doctor] flew off in a tangent, almost swore at poor Per[cy and declared] that we had no right to debate anything subsequent to the Revolution, adding by the way of a soothing sequel, that [he would?] break up the Society all together!!! The falsehood of what he said about our not debating things subsequent to the Revolution is palpable: as for dissolving us à la Cromwell I hope it is but a mere squib of his rage, & that the holidays will prove an opiate. I wish my motion had been at the bottom of the Caspian, or Joe Hume's pocket, before I had unwittingly given cause for such a coup-de-theatre. I suppose however it will come to nothing: as for imposing further restrictions we will see Keate in the full enjoyment of purgatorial coals before we consent, at least till further steps are taken by the confounded little Autocrat! The Rebels had a respectable minority of 3 last Saturday: today we debated, "Ancient, or Modern writers, which display most genius?" It was a good debate: carried for moderns easily. Moreover we elected a chairman, & Gladstone proved the happy man: I think he will make a good one. To my great joy last
Saturday Pickering's (in my opinion, & Gladstone tells me, in yours) unconstitutional resolution was rescinded, & the question about W. Hastings declared legal.\textsuperscript{7}

I beg pardon for distrusting Wentworth's talents: he is a cap[ital] speaker, & indeed his manner one of the best for delivery that I have seen. Law is likewise a clever speaker: & it is a sh[ame] in Gaskell to cut him up so unmercifully for being a Rad[ical,] which he has never shewed signs of in debate, though, I must [own,] he denies the imputation but faintly.

I have dosed you well with nonsense: but I hope you have not yet learnt to consider Eton news as humbug, & rest my hopes of pardon on your good-nature. Now then for a final benediction. Go on flourishing at Cambridge: gain a few prizes, & a brilliant oratorical reputation: correct your politics into something a little less heterogeneous, or if that be impossible, proselytise into the number of the elect: come down occasionally to us poor wretches: & write me many, many more such capital letters as your last: as you do this may you prosper.

Believe me,
Yours faithfully,
A H Hallam.

67 Wimpole St., mind.

Addressed to W. W. Farr Esq. / St. John's College / Cambridge.

\begin{enumerate}
\item See letter 16 n. 6: Sunderland and Farr spoke for the affirmative, Sterling and Trench for the negative.
\item John 5:35
\item See letter 25.
\item AHH first proposed the change in rules on 25 September 1826; the motion carried two months later.
\item Joseph Hume (1777–1855), radical politician.
\end{enumerate}

7. Gladstone’s question, “Was the conduct of Warren Hastings to the Rohillas deserving of censure,” excited considerable and lengthy debate in the Society. On 11 October 1826, the question was voted illegal, since the action had taken place 52 years before, and Hastings’ trial was not concluded until 1795; AHH, Doyle, and Selwyn supported, Pickering, Wilder, Wentworth, and Gaskell opposed Gladstone, and Pickering, as president, cast the deciding vote. On 14 October, Gladstone was fined for putting down the question. One week later, Doyle, Gladstone, and AHH read an official protest into the records. On 25 November, AHH was fined for putting down the same question, but the motion to expunge it was defeated, with Durnford joining the opposition against, and Hervey and Law voting for the question. Gladstone solicited Farr’s opinion in his 17 and 31 October letters (Autob., pp. 180-81). But the debate apparently never took place.
Dear Gladstone,

I am going to perpetrate a letter, more as a sort of decoy to obtain a gallant answer from you, than for the conveyance of any intelligence, inasmuch as I have seen, done, & heard little, or nothing since my appearance in what Farr calls, "The Great Wen." I have however sapped tolerably hard, especially at Mathematics; read some small stock of Politics, & indulged in many reveries about the Society, & its Right Hon: Chairman, & Treasurer. We must have a glorious Session next half: your Administration must not pass over our heads undistinguished, or unheeded. I assure you, we expect miracles from that arithmetical head of yours in the way of reduction of public burdens, & progressive amelioration of our system. I have heard from Farr, who was so good as to wish me to come over to Cambridge, & see him: he promised a bottle of Claret, & a place at the round table of the Union! This, as you may suppose, I found impracticable: but his letter contained another more feasible plan for an interview: i.e. he passes through the Wen next Saturday, & pledges himself to rout me out for a few moments. He seems mad after the Union: but Papae! the account he gives of it is not inviting! The tumult, clapping, cheering, & hissing is so constant, & their expressions of disapprobation given so "con amore," that "one must have the courage of an imp of darkness to make head in such a Pandaemonium!!" The Jacobites have the effrontery to intend carrying the Revolution of 1688 their own infamous way: most cordially do I hope they will be disappointed. Is it not a pity an animal of Farr's respectability should list under the banners of those contemptible outcasts from common sense? I met Hamilton minor yesterday, who is designing wonders in the way of holiday task: he has half a Greek Play finished already! Of Pickering, Gaskell &c. I know nothing: I must positively take them by
storm, & issue fulminating epistles. Have you read Lingard’s Vindication? It is a clever piece of Jesuitry: but in the main points of the case he fails egregiously, & I doubt not, Allen will make him wince in the next number of the Edinburgh. One curious circumstance however has been brought to light: I mean, the declaration of Chateaubriand that after a careful perusal of the documents relative to the St. Barthelemy in the Vatican to which he had access while in the possession of Napoleon, he felt perfectly convinced that the massacre was not the result of previous dissimulation. Lingard’s other contests, viz: with Mr. Todd about Cranmer, & with the Quarterly about Anne Boleyn, are of less importance: but there seems no small portion of trick about him here also. But read his Vindication if it comes in your way: & read it with Allen’s review; so curious a point of history well deserves attention. I shall be glad to see Scott’s Napoleon, though I hardly anticipate any new lights on the subject: how will he reconcile the making a hero of the Corsican with his Ultra principles? All the talk here is about the war, into which our friendship “to the oldest of our allies” is about to plunge us: a pretty increase of National Debt we shall have, I suppose, & a pretty condition we are in to bear war taxes with thousands, I had almost said millions, expiring of hunger in Lancashire, & Scotland! Is Ferdinand, the Beloved, mad, that he runs headlong into a war to put down Representative Governments in foreign States, & those under the protection of England? Five, or ten thousand men on the frontiers will make him change his note, I trust: if not, a convulsion in Spain must be the issue, & the Catholic King may chance not to meet with the same lenity, from his Constitutionalist subjects, as he once before experienced. Perhaps the besotted driveller puts his trust in the petticoats which Fame says he hems so admirably for the Virgin: but, alas! the days of Chivalry are gone, & the Virgin no longer condescends to shew herself to her orthodox worshippers, apparelled in celestial armour, & charging at the head of her gallant knights against whole battalions of English heretics! I wish Mr. Canning would bring down a Bill to the House for sending out the distressed Manufacturers as soldiers, & the Spanish Refugees as officers in the ensuing contest. I have spun myself out, & can only add, that as I have been in mental agony with sines, cosines, tangents &c., so I have been screwed into every kind of corporeal torment, having been syringed &c. for deafness, & filed &c. for the sins of my teeth. Please to send me something to alleviate my miseries in the
shape of one of your letters: no rational being could wish for any thing better. Do not forget to meditate occasionally on the duties of your present exalted situation, &

Believe me,
Yours most faithfully, & affectily,

A H Hallam.

Addressed to William Ewart Gladstone

1. William Cobbett's characterization of London (see Rural Rides, 1821).
2. AHH's use of the verb—"to pore over books, to be studious"—predates the first OED reference by four years.
3. "Indeed!"
4. AHH's quotation is unidentified, possibly his own version of Paradise Lost, 2.
5. See letter 19 n. 5; AHH may refer, however, to the 12 December 1826 Cambridge Union debate on Clarendon, carried in his favor.
6. Edward William Terrick Hamilton (1809–98), brother of William Kerr, matriculated at Trinity in 1828; a scholar in 1830, Hamilton graduated with a B. A. as fifth Wrangler (1832), was admitted at the Inner Temple in 1832, and was M.P. for Salisbury 1865–69.
8. Scott's Life of Napoleon Buonaparte (1827) was first published in Edinburgh.
9. The intrigues of Ferdinand VII of Spain against the establishment of a representative government in Portugal threatened to draw England into a continental war.


11. On 13 May 1826, the Eton Society unanimously voted "that a Subscription be raised in aid of those already in progress for the relief of the distressed weavers in the Manufacturing districts."
Dear Gladstone,

Your very luminous, & voluminous letter was a source, as might be expected, of great pleasure to an unhappy Whiggish Cockney. You have handled so many topics that I must beg to be excused if I should omit anything which requires an answer. I. You quite mistake me about the War; I never questioned the necessity of our complying with the faith of treaties, but he must be a sanguine man indeed who looks forward to a Continental struggle without a quivering lip, & a blenched cheek. Such a struggle however I trust we shall avoid: France is apparently inclined & interested to raise the Oriflamme by the side of the Lion of England, or at least to preserve a pacific neutrality. The case I conceive to be this: if our troops on their landing should find Lisbon, & Oporto yet firm, the rebels will be instantly discomfited, Spain will disavow her assistance, the constitutional charter will continue to be the bulwark of Portuguese happiness, & peace will be preserved. But on the other hand, should the sinister reports now circulated prove true concerning the almost universal dissatisfaction of the Portuguese with their constitution, & their love for Dom Miguel, their legitimate, & absolute sovereign; should our regiments find Lisbon & Oporto in the hands of the insurgents, & should Mr. Canning find that he is in fact maintaining the cause of a small party against a united people, upon my word I think we shall be in an odd dilemma! May the first of these supposed cases prove as true as I wish it to be! A Continental war however it cannot become unless a third case should happen, viz: that the Ultra party at Paris prevail over the liberal & sensible classes, & satiate the malice of their hearts by a second war in favor of Despotism, a second mockery of England's negotiations. II. You mention Ireland: it is in truth a fearful subject. Shiel & O'Connell seem drunk with rapture at the news of a war.
"'War, my fellow-countrymen!' (Loud Cheers!) 'England is at war!' (Loud Cheers!) 'Let her fight, if she dares, without Ireland!' (Tremendous Cheers!)" Here is the fruit of Anti-Catholicism: it may be splendid to the eye, & glossed over by honeyed words, but, like the gorgeous fruit in Milton’s Pandemonium,\(^3\) it turns to bitter ashes in the mouths of Ireland’s infatuated oppressors. III. I do not wonder you find it difficult to make up your mind about Pitt’s revolutionary war: it was long before I did so. Between three such opposite systems as those of Burke, Pitt, & Fox, a liberal mind will long hesitate: I will just give you my own opinion on the subject. Burke you know, from the beginning declared himself for a war to the knife’s point, a war to reinstate the Bourbons on their throne, the clergy & nobility in their privileges, & both in their despotism over the "tiers etat." In the Chaos of Jacobinical misrule which desolated France in -93 Burke saw no gleam of hope, nothing that could justify an attempt to establish a peace. According to him to make peace with the Convention or Directory would be to treat with felons & assassins: the cause of morality was best upheld by rejecting all offers short of submission & restitution with unlimited scorn. I think I have stated his case fairly. Pitt maintained a different position. "Divide et impera," was the watch-word of his career from -89: he temporized first by courting Fox, then by applauding Burke, & finally by gaining the active support of many eminent Whigs. His scheme answered admirably: he broke the phalanx of Opposition, & firmly secured his power. He professed a perfect neutrality with respect to France till his plans were ripe: then issued forth the famous Proclamation, then were broached the alarms of a conspiracy, then was the design of war proclaimed from one end of the kingdom to the other.\(^4\) This design once formed he pursued it to its completion rapidly, yet cautiously: a series of insults to the French ambassador, & an open licence of abuse of France, were meant to provoke a declaration of war, & succeeded. When the war was begun the minister wrapt himself in impenetrable reserve, so that no man could assign one definite object for which we were contending. Is it to destroy <Jacobinism> republicanism in France, asked the Opposition. No, says Pitt, with their forms of government we have nothing to do: his Majesty has no objection to treat with a republic. Is it to procure an apology for the decree of the 19th. November?\(^5\) Pitt answered, his Majesty would not at present declare what terms would satisfy him. Meanwhile his actions veered
perpetually from one extreme to the other: twice he attempted an abortive peace with men whom he had repeatedly stigmatized as monsters in human shape; often he raised the standard of the Bourbons in France: there was no end to his vacillating policy: this moment it was to be the destruction of Jacobinism; the next, indemnity & security. As for Fox, he opposed the war from the beginning, as unjust, & impolitic. 1. as unjust, because whatever crimes were committed in an independent state, it was no concern of ours, & could not justify our hostile preparations, our studied insults long before the desire of war was reciprocated on their part: “if” said Fox “your object is to prevent these horrors, suffer not a moment to elapse without negotiations to prevent them: mediate between France, & the Emperor; endeavor to preserve the life of the King, & the independence of France. But you have not done this: you have refused to interfere peaceably: you have accelerated by contemptuous treatment the death of the King. You have no right to assert their crimes to be a just cause of war, since you have used no pains to hinder their commission. The internal struggles of a country are not a ground for interference.” 2. as impolitic: “To go to war at present” exclaimed Fox (these are his own words) “is to prepare a hotbed for Jacobinism.” War inflamed the discontented; confirmed the wavering in their dislike; afforded a pretence for sedition; in a short time for a few insinuating Jacobins in -92, we had hundreds, I may say, thousands in -94 -5 & -6. “But we will extirpate the Jacobins altogether from France.” Vain & foolish idea! I have no doubt that by engaging in war we greatly increased the strength of the enemy, & by consequence our own danger. The French nation would not have borne the reign of terror, had not their attention been called off to a far more pressing danger, that of conquest & destruction. Gaskell may ridicule the idea of the nation rising “en masse” against the crusade of European potentates; but he cannot disprove the fact that more energy, & enthusiasm were called forth from the French people in defence of their territory, than had been witnessed for centuries. By a fatal mistake, we forced France to contend for existence; we gave her the right cause, we helped the terrible arm of Terrorism, & shook Europe to the very centre!

I am not satisfied with what I have said on reviewing it; it is hardly clear enough, but I hope it will set you thinking on the subject.

IV. You speak with modesty about your own future government: I
am forming no Utopias on the subject; I only hope for what is practicable. I have also another hope: it is that you may sometimes support me with your eloquence, & fight the battles of freedom & justice in union with myself. Few things would give me more pleasure.

Εἰ μὲν δὴ ἔταρων γε κελευεῖν μ’ αὐτοῦ ἔλεεθαί
Πῶς ἀν ἐπείτ’ ὌΔΥΣΗΟΣ ἐγὼ ΘΕΙΟΙΟ λάθοιην
"Ὅν περὶ μὲν προφρον κραδῆ καὶ θυμος ἀγνυωρ
Ἐν παντεσσι πονοια!"

And now, divine Ulysses, I think I have pretty well wearied you: one thing however I must say: I utterly deny "contemptible outcasts from common sense" to be an improper or bigotted expression. Men who deny the rectitude of contributing to the happiness of millions of their fellow-creatures by inflicting punishment on a few; men, who deny the right of self-defense, though a fundamental law of nature; men, who impiously wrest the Scriptures to prove that the Almighty is a friend to moral debasement, intellectual servitude, & frenzied tyranny; men too, who belied every one of their own principles by their actions, proving their love of non-resistance by perpetual rebellion (& such, we never must forget, were the true Jacobites & Tories of old); must be either detestable children of hypocrisy, or as I more charitably asserted, contemptible outcasts from common sense.

Let me hear from you soon: I have seen Farr & Wellesley in their way from the Cam.

Believe me,
yrs. very faithfully,
A H Hallam.

Addressed to William E. Gladstone Esq.

1. See letter 19 n. 3.
2. See letter 21 n. 9. Because of the threat of English intervention on the side of
Portugal, the anticonstitutional rebels (aided by Spain) had little success in obtaining support from other countries. English troops landed at Lisbon in December 1826. Dom Miguel Maria Evaristo de Braganca (1802–66), third son of John VI of Portugal (1769–1826), usurped the throne in 1828, precipitating a five-year civil war with his brother, Dom Pedro I of Brazil; Miguel was forced to give up all claims to the throne by England and France in 1834.

3. See Paradise Lost, 10. 547–72.

4. In Pitt’s 1 February 1793 speech (on the king’s message for an augmentation of forces); France declared war on England the next day.

5. On 19 November 1792, the National Convention offered “fraternity and assistance to all peoples wishing to procure their liberty,” and charged its generals “to assist such citizens who have suffered or who are now suffering for the cause of liberty.”

6. See Fox’s 12 February 1793 speech on the king’s message respecting the declaration of war by France, and his subsequent speeches in the same year.

7. A constant theme in Fox’s speeches during the French Revolution (e.g., 21 January, 6 March, 30 May 1794); AHH seems to be paraphrasing rather than quoting directly.

8. See letter 20 n. 6; letter 21.

9. Iliad 10. 242–45: “If of a truth ye bid me of myself choose me a comrade, how should I then forget godlike Odysseus, whose heart and proud spirit are beyond all others eager in all manner of toils.” As usual, AHH omits a number of accents and stress marks; he also adapts Homer’s κελεύετε (242).
67 Wimpole St. Sunday [31 December 1826].

Dear Gladstone,

Why, what an unconscionable fellow you must be? You "do not consider yourself much complimented" by the "formidable quotation"! Are the "προφρων κραδιη" & the "θυμος αγηνωρ" no praise? Surely as the lines stand (& to anything else relating to Ulysses I never alluded), few higher compliments, pace tua dixerim, can be found. Since however you force me to look to other points of the character of the Homeric statesman, you may perhaps make the application of the following passage with more pleasure:

Αλλ' οτε δη δπα ΤΗΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΗΝ εκ σπιθεος ιει,  
Και Επεα νφαδεσι εοικοτα χειμερησιν,  
Ουκ αν επειτ ΟΔΥΣΗΙ γ' ερισευε βροτος αλλος!

I. "The days of chivalry are gone" said Burke: had he read your last letter to me he might have hoped for its speedy revival: the honor of the ancient Jacobites is insulted, & the voice of William Gladstone must rouse the spirit of loyalty, which the infamous lustre of the 19th. century was forsooth dispelling from the face of the earth. So Edward Hyde was a Tory! I am surprised to hear it: I believe he would have been so too: I had always thought his fall from power preceded the memorable divisions of parties, the effects of which are fresh even at this day. If you will mention the work, page, &c. in which Lord Clarendon avows himself a Tory, you will oblige by your kindness, but greatly disappoint by your information one who has hitherto preserved an unbending respect for a character of no inconsiderable merit. Your elogium on him is fulsome (I will not use a harsher word): it is astonishing to see how your Cavalier spirit runs away with you. I tell you frankly, as I always have, that I approve highly of the
principles which animated the Parliamentarian leaders in their opposition to the Court: I am firmly convinced from examining the circumstances & signs of those times that the cause of the Parliament, even after the breaking out of the civil war, was a righteous cause: I do not excuse any one of their numberless faults: they were amply redeemed: but there is a class of men who can exaggerate errors, & excesses, much to be lamented, but naturally to be expected, while the most dangerous crimes to society are sunk into petty indiscretions. (I give you leave to adopt this sentence: it is ambiguous, & will do for either side.) You yourself will not dare to stigmatise the Long Parliament as republicans: you know that till the Independents got the upper hand, the preservation of our ancient Monarchy was the aim of those whom you take pleasure in reviling. You anoint yourself with the venom of those times: remember, much that may be pardonable amidst the frenzy of factious contention, is inexcusable in the mouth of one of our days. II. I judge of the Tories by their doctrines, & their practice: what more would you have? Remember the manner in which the Tories to a man cried up the blasphemer Sacheverel: remember how their professed champion Bolingbroke intrigued with the Pretender: remember how their pride, Bp. Atterbury, was detected in the same treason: remember, how during an avowed Tory ministry addresses were presented to Queen Anne which had the plainest tendency towards confessing the Pretender’s right: when you have considered this, have the goodness to tell me how you would have me judge of a party, except from their professed opinions, & their actual practice. I have no doubt many worthy private characters were seduced into the faction, but with that I have nothing to do: I speak of the Tories as Tories, as a body corporate, & I will not revoke my judgement, even for the spleen of a no party man. I dare say you will pity my foolish notions; & start into another fit of chivalrous indignation in behalf of the much injured Jacobitical faction. But then to be sure you have a right to do so: for you are no party man! You never talked of a man’s being “a true, a genuine Tory” apparently with the same feeling as if you had said “a true, a genuine patriot”: for you are no party man. You never felt a pleasure in affixing the name of Whig to a man whose character you thought “mean & dishonorable”: for you are no party man. You never raked in a great man’s works for the casual expressions of controversial rage, or for erroneous theories
long since forgotten: for you are no party man. You never branded a
great national party with censure, forgetting their good deeds, &
studiously parading their vices, & this on the credit of a confessedly
partial historian: for you are no party man. All this I acknowledge: but
you will acknowledge also that, had the exact contrary of this been
true, you would have had no claim to the title of no party man.
Meanwhile, as I want to bring the affair of the Civil War something
nearer to an understanding between us, will you oblige me so far as to
answer the following queries. 1. Had not Charles I solemnly re­
nounced by assenting to the Petition of Right,\textsuperscript{6} those antiquated
prerogatives arbitrary exertions of power which he conceived to be
his right, especially, the taking money out of his people’s pockets
without the consent of Parliament, the imprisoning of Englishmen
without a speedy trial, & the enforcing martial law in time of peace?
2. Did he not violate this pledge in many instances? the case of
Shipmoney was one, the conduct of Strafforde in Ireland another.\textsuperscript{7}
3. Did not this shew, as clearly as facts could shew it, that he conceived
his concessions to be concessions to power, & not to right, & that he
was fully justified in regaining what he had promised to abandon? 4.
Was not this a lesson to the Commons not to intermit their
exertions, but on the contrary to be jealous in the extreme of one
whom compacts could not bind, & not to be content with palliatives?
5. Did not Strafforde shew a contempt for public principle when he
for a peerage employed all his talents to destroy that very cause which
he had himself endeavored to promote, & this (marked me) long, long
before any man now alive could object to the proceedings of the
Commons. 6. Does not this Strafforde avow in his letters an intention
of substituting the most arbitrary power for our limited government?
7. Was he not an adulterer? (remember Loftus)\textsuperscript{8} an extortioner?
(Ditto) a cruel, & tyrannical governor (Mountnorris: the inquiry into
titles, & confiscation of the estates of Connaught, & the imprison­
ment of refractory juries). 8. Yet did not the King continue him in his
counsels, & openly patronise his conduct? 9. Was not Bp. Laud guilty
of persecution? did he not introduce innovations of a singular nature
into the liturgy, & canons?\textsuperscript{9} yet was he not the favored minister of the
King? 10. Did not Charles take the sacrament from Usher never to
connive at Popery, or to relax the penal laws, yet did he not send over
Glamorgan with private instructions to offer full relief to that
powerful party?\textsuperscript{10}
I merely submit these queries to your patience & consideration, that you may have some idea of my meaning when I speak of Charles’s insincerity, & tyrannical rule. I do not wish to be misunderstood: pray remember that I acknowledge & admire many points in that Monarch’s character: I believe in his manners he was a perfect gentleman, he understood & valued moral rectitude, & was altogether a being of a different stamp from that profligate wretch his son & successor. But well intentioned, & conscientious as he was, he wanted firmness of principle, & this fault, with some others imbibed in a bad education in the worst of courts, led him by a gradual process of corruption into error, vice, & crime.11

Is not my pen drugged with opium? I am sure you are sound asleep, while I am sporting scraps of morality. Have you been very gay in the City of Ships? The death of the Duke of York is daily expected, which will knock up all festivities here.12 I was at the new Opera last night, & had a near escape from being broiled alive. One of the Pavilions in the Ballet caught fire: but the Ladies on the Stage extinguished it gallantly, & the Ladies in the audience did not scream, so there was no press, no tumult, & no fire. The opera very good: Zucchelli admirable; Caradori divine.13 I have seen one of the new Pantomimes, which I think very fair: but the more one sees of these exhibitions the more one feels the justice of the remark, “Which scene of a Pantomime is the best? The last!” I have taken you at your word, you see, about long letters: pay me in kind; & believe me,

Yours very faithfully & sincerely,

A H Hallam.

Addressed to William Ewart Gladstone Esq.

1. See letter 22 n. 9.
2. Iliad 3, 221-23: “But whenso he uttered his great voice from his chest, and words like snowflakes on a winter’s day, then could no mortal man beside vie with Odysseus.” Here AHH’s errors extend beyond omitted accents.
3. See letter 21 n. 10.
4. Edward Hyde (1609–74), first earl of Clarendon, strong supporter of constitutional monarchy, author of The History of The Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, Begun in 1641 (1702–4), was impeached and fled to France in 1667.

5. James Francis Edward Stuart (1688–1766), the "Old Pretender," was the only son of James II; Francis Atterbury (1662–1732), bishop of Rochester, who was banished from England for his alleged connection with an attempt to restore the Stuarts in 1720, died in the service of the Old Pretender. See discussion of the Tories' activities in Const. Hist., 2:571–81.

6. Signed 7 June 1628.

7. In 1634, Charles demanded money from seaports (in 1635 from inland counties) for ships, supposedly to defend England against pirates and external enemies. As lord-deputy of Ireland, Strafford used arbitrary power in confiscating estates.

8. Strafford's judgment against Adam Loftus (1568?–1643), lord chancellor of Ireland, in favor of Loftus's daughter-in-law, was allegedly motivated by Strafford's intimacy with her.

9. An unwavering foe of Puritanism, Laud sought to enforce a strict conformity among clergymen.

10. James Ussher (1581–1656), archbishop of Armagh, was a strong defender of the Catholic penal laws; Edward Somerset (1601–67), titular earl of Glamorgan, was Charles's agent in an attempt to raise forces of Irish rebels and Roman Catholic troops from abroad in 1644. Glamorgan, a Roman Catholic, seems to have exceeded the king's commission in his zeal to obtain Irish support.

11. AHH follows his father's characterization of Charles (Const. Hist., 1:404–5).

12. See letter 16 n. 7.

13. Maria Caradori-Allan (1800–1865) sang the soprano lead in La Schiava di Bagdad, by Giovanni Pacini (1796–1867) at the King's Theatre. Zucchelli, the male lead, was described as "a vocalist of great feeling and judgment. . . . no common acquisition to the theatre" (Times, 1 January 1827).