

WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR'S LETTERS TO HIS FAMILY, 1830-1832

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THE 1830s were to be a period of great changes in the life of Walter Savage Landor. The early years of the decade were filled with contentment as he devoted himself to his children¹ and his new estate near Florence. However, this idyll ended abruptly in 1835, when he decided to leave his beloved children and home because he could no longer endure life with his wife Julia. The later years were filled with his anguish over the separation from his children and over his precarious finances, with his gradual adjustment to his new life alone in England, and with renewed literary activity. The present edition of his letters to his family during this decade consists of sixteen written between 1830 and 1832 to his sisters Elizabeth Savage (1776-1854) and Ellen (1782-1838) and to his brother Henry Eyres (1781-1869), eleven from the John Rylands University Library of Manchester (English MS. 1237/16-26), three from the Berg Collection in New York Public Library (hereafter Berg Coll., NYPL), one from the Osborn Collection, Yale University Library (hereafter Osborn Coll., YUL), and one extant only in a transcript made by Walter Noble Landor.²

¹ Arnold Savage (1818-71), Julia Elizabeth Savage (1820-44), Walter Savage (1822-99), and Charles Savage (1825-66). (Information about the Landor family is taken from the following sources: *Burke's Landed Gentry* (1952), s.v. "Landor of Llanthony Abbey formerly of Ipsley Court", and Rashleigh E. H. Duke, "A Pedigree of the Paternal Ancestry of Walter Savage Landor", *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, 4th Ser., v (June 1912), 40-64.)

² For permission to use original material in this article I am grateful to the custodians of these collections and especially to Professor R. H. Super for permission to use his collection of Landor material. All citations from Walter Noble Landor's transcripts are from typescripts loaned by Professor Super. In addition, I am grateful to Miss Diana Landor and to Mr. M. W. Farr, County Archivist, Warwickshire County Record Office, for research on my behalf.

Research for this article was done at the Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois, and was made possible by grants from the Research Board, Graduate College, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle.

Landor's letters between 1830 and 1832 are filled with his pride in and plans for the Villa Gherardesca, which his friend Joseph Ablett had purchased for him in the spring of 1829. Super notes that for once Landor was hardly able to exaggerate the loveliness and fertility of the spot, which remains one of the finest estates on the hillside of Fiesole.¹ Landor's first letter of 1830 is addressed to his sister Elizabeth, to whom he sent most of his letters after the death of his mother in 1829. His expressions of firm resolve to live out his life in Italy are intended to counter the urging of his family to return to England and his estates there. This resolve, however, did not lessen his desire for news of old Warwickshire friends. Written shortly before his fifty-fifth birthday (30 January), the letter also reveals Landor's growing consciousness of his advancing years :

January 1, 1830^a

Dear Elizabeth

Charles³ wrote to me several weeks ago and gave me a very indifferent account of your and Ellen's health. Every post I have been in anxious expectation of hearing from one of you. Surely the season is less severe in England than in Italy. I am living two miles from Florence, and it is now eight days since the children have been able to go to school,⁴ either on foot or in a carriage. The

Editorial intrusions are in square brackets. Deleted words and phrases are indicated thus: [~~land~~]. Landor's spellings, punctuation, and capitals are retained throughout. Accidentals have been silently corrected. Unless otherwise indicated, biographical information is from the *DNB*.

¹ Joseph Ablett (1773–1848) was a wealthy squire from Llanbedr Hall, near Ruthin, Denbighshire (William Tydeman, "Ablett of Llanbedr: Patron of the Arts" (*Trans. Denbighshire Hist. Soc.*, xix (1970), 141–87). For details of the purchase, see W. S. L. to Elizabeth, 2 February [1831] (Ryl. Eng. MS. 1237/20, and R. H. Super, *Walter Savage Landor: A Biography* (New York, 1954), pp. 207–9 (hereafter Super).

² Four pages, 7½ × 5¾ inches. Addressed on the back (as are all subsequent letters): *Inghilterra*/Miss Landor/Warwick. Postmarks: FIRENZE; I.T.; FPO/JA-20/1830; JA/W20/1830; [1 *illeg.*] (Ryl. Eng. MS. 1237/16).

³ Charles Savage Landor (1777–1849), who was at Worcester College, Oxford, received his B.A. in 1798 and his M.A. in 1801. From 1806 until his death, he was rector of Colton, Staffordshire. In 1812 he married Catharine Willson.

⁴ Landor's statement that the children went to school is contradicted by Sir Henry Layard. Describing the happy hours he and his school-fellows passed in the Fiesolan hills, where he frequently saw Landor and his children, Layard states that they were not sent to school. Instead Landor practised his own theories of education on his children, who were "allowed to run wild, nearly barefooted, and in peasant's dress, amongst the *contadini*" (Layard, *Autobiography and Letters*, ed. William N. Bruce (London, 1903), i. 25).

roads are covered with ice, and appear like so many frozen cataracts. There have been for several days two woodcocks within a few yards of my door, where there is an open spring. About a fortnight ago I met Sir John Mordaunt¹ at Sir Robert Lawley's² who invited me to meet him again at dinner—but all parties, and principally dinner ones, are disagreeable to me; tho' S^r Robert offered me a bed, I did not go. Sir John appears a very modest and mild young man—in intellect rather a Holbech³ than a Mordaunt. M^r Grimes, who was in the navy, came to make me a visit here in the country. I never dare make inquiries about people I have not seen lately, so that I did not ask after his brother,⁴ whom I remember at Rugby. Has not he a wife and many children? How does our old acquaintance M^{rs} Cook of Tachebroke⁵ do? There is hardly anybody else that I remember so long. I often think of her patience with me, and of the christmas kindness of poor M^r & M^{rs} Farman⁵: I have them before my eyes at this moment. How do the Shuckburghs⁶ go on? Do they content themselves with Bourton and the society of Jack Venour,⁷ or are they gay people

¹ Sir John Mordaunt (1808–45), 9th Bt., of Farnborough, Warwickshire, succeeded his father to the baronetcy in 1823. He was at Christ Church, Oxford, graduating B.A. in 1829 and M.A. in 1832. From 1835 until his death he was M.P. for South Warwickshire (see Foster, ed., *Alumni Oxoniensis, 1715–1886* (Oxford, 1888); H. E. C. Stapylton, ed., *The Eton School Lists, 1791–1850* (2nd ed., London, 1874); and *Burke's Peerage* (1967), s.v. "Mordaunt").

² Sir Robert Lawley, 6th Bt., succeeded his father, an old Whig friend of Dr. Landor's, to the baronetcy in 1793 (Super, p. 205). He was elevated to the peerage as Baron Wenlock in 1831 and died in 1834 (Burke, *Peerage* (1855), s.v. "Wenlock"). (Burke gives the date of his death as 1832, but see his obituary in *Gentleman's Magazine*, civ (September 1834), 314).

³ Sir John's mother Marianne (d. 1842) was the daughter of William Holbech of Farnborough, Warwickshire. Holbech was M.P. for Warwickshire from 1804 to 1820.

⁴ The visitor was probably Robert Grimes (b. 1790), fifth son of Abraham Grimes of Coton House, Rugby, who entered Rugby in January 1803. While serving as a lieutenant in the Royal Army, he was wounded at Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz in 1812. He later assumed the name of Cholmley. None of the other sons has a service record.

Henry Grimes, the eldest son (born c. 1776), entered Rugby in January 1790 and Christ Church, Oxford, in 1794. He became a barrister-at-law of Lincoln's Inn in 1801 and a trustee of Rugby School in 1833 (A. T. Michell, ed., *Rugby School Register* (Rugby, 1901), i. 135, 106; Foster, *Alum. Oxon.*).

⁵ Unidentified.

⁶ John Shuckburgh (1767–1837), of Bourton, Warwickshire, who married Landor's cousin Sophia Venour (b. 1769) in 1788 (notes on Landor and Venour families kindly loaned by R. H. Super; all information on the Venour family is from this source).

⁷ John Venour (1768–1839), brother of Sophia, entered Rugby in July 1777; he was at Worcester College, Oxford, graduating B.A. in 1789 and M.A. in 1792, and served as Rector of Bourton-on-Dunsmore, Warwickshire, from 1818 until his death. The Venours and Landors were related through Catharine

and frequenters of London? You never have told me whether my friend, who was Miss Parkhurst,¹ and whose name as a married lady I have forgotten, has the prospect of a family. It is not improbable that I may come over to England, for a month or two, another year. I have had many invitations, and more at Paris. But my country now is Italy, where I have a residence for life, an[d]² literally may sit under my own vine and my own figtree. I have some thousands of the one and some scores of the other, with myrtles, pom[e]granates, oranges, lemons, gacias and mimosas, in great quantity. I intend to make a garden, not very unlike yours at Warwick; but alas time is wanting. I *may* live another ten years, but do not expect it. In a few days, whenever the weather will allow it, I have four mimosas ready to place round my intended tomb.³ Love to Ellen—Adieu Y^{rs} very truly WL

In his next letter to Elizabeth, Landor alludes to financial arrangements necessitated by his mother's death. Since 1815

Landor (b. 1745), daughter of Robert Landor (1708–81) and Mary Noble (1706–98), who married John Venour of Wellesbourne, Warwickshire, 1766 (Duke, "A Pedigree of the Paternal Ancestry of Walter Savage Landor", *Misc. Gen. et Her.*, 4th Ser., v (June 1912), 50; Foster, *Alum. Oxon.*; Michell, *Rugby Reg.*, i. 74).

¹ Frances Parkhurst (d. 1843), daughter of Fleetwood, sen. (d. 1801), married Anthony Rosenhagen (see p. 492, n. 6) in 1821. Her brother Fleetwood (see p. 493, n. 1) was a classmate of Landor's at Rugby and Oxford. Landor remembered her as the little girl who listened while he read the terrors of *Alonzo the Brave*, who climbed gates and hedges, or rolled in the grass with all the animal spirits of childhood (John Forster, *Walter Savage Landor. A Biography* (London, 1869), i. 26, 27, 27 n.—hereafter Forster; Super, p. 52; Ashworth P. Burke, *Family Records* (London, 1897), s.v. "Parkhurst").

² MS. torn.

³ There is some confusion as to when these trees were planted. According to William Swifte [sic], the planting occurred on an "autumnal" evening when Landor led Jane Swift, now the Countess of Molandé, her son, and her daughters up the hill from his villa to a small square, at each corner of which lay a young mimosa. Landor begged "Ianthé" and her three daughters to plant the trees which would shade his tomb and asked William to improvise an epitaph. He then composed his own, which set the hills re-echoing with the group's laughter (Super, pp. 213, 552 n. 66). In his quotation of Landor's letter above, Forster adds after "tomb" the phrase "and a friend who is coming to plant them", identifying the friend as "Ianthé" (ii. 226). Landor wrote his sister Ellen, in a letter postmarked 2 November 1829 (extant only in W. N. Landor's transcript), that the Countess had arrived in Florence. Both W. N. Landor and Forster (ii. 222) date this letter as c. 15 October.

Landor's own epitaph commemorating the planting of the mimosas was published in *Gebir, Count Julian and Other Poems* (1831) (*The Complete Works of Walter Savage Landor*, ed. T. Earle Welby and Stephen Wheeler (London, 1927–36), xvi. 9; hereafter *CW*). Unfortunately, Landor's final resting place was not this lovely spot but the Protestant Cemetery at Florence (Super, p. 508).

his business affairs had been handled by his brother Henry and his cousin Walter Landor of Rugeley (Super, p. 125). However, business matters were of far less concern to Landor now than were the pleasures he and his family derived from his new estate :

Florence March 22 [1830]¹

Dear Elizabeth,

No other means occur to me of forwarding to Florence the papers relative to the houses at Tachebrook, than the Post. The expense is of no consequence. If Henry thinks it requisite to give any money for the little interest I have in them, after all he has paid for me on various occasions, I would rather it should be about five pounds for the subscription they are raising for the family that bears the name of Shakespeare, and in which it would be disgraceful if mine did not appear.² He is the great glory of our country, and without any second in the universe. I dined on Sunday with Sir Robert Lawley, who made many very kind inquiries after all the family and gave Julia the key of his operabox for Monday. We were going, we and three of the children, when the horses jibbed, and we were obliged to give up our scheme. In fact, the road to my house is extremely steep. We had races here, very capital ones, they say : but I never go to such amusements. I am afraid on this occasion I may have given a little displeasure to Lord Normanby,³ who told me of them before the day and whose horses run, and who wishes them to be well attended.

I have my garden very much enriched by raspberries and strawberries from France : I have also some black currants ; a great treasure every where, and here particularly, tho they grow wild in the woods of the Appennines. Arnold and Julia are strong and happy by being perpetually in the air, and having such a garden—so have the two youngest, who are fond of transplanting flowers, but only when they are in full bloom. Your account of poor Shuckburg distressed me extremely. When John Venour went first to Bourton, and indeed long before, I was quite certain he would give dismal vexation to his neighbour. Of all the creatures that ever lived he appears to me the most intolerably tiresome.

¹ Four pages, $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{5}{8}$ inches. Addressed : *Inghilterra*/Miss Landor/Warwick. Postmarks : FIRENZE ; I.T./FPO/AP 6/1830/AP/K6/1830 (Ryl. Eng. MS. 1237/17).

² Forster indicates that Dr. John Conolly (1794–1866) had written Landor about this subscription (ii. 226). In 1830 Conolly became inspecting physician to asylums in Warwickshire, a post he had formerly held at Stratford-on-Avon. While living at Warwick, he chaired a committee to restore the chancel of Stratford Church and helped organize successful opposition to the removal of Shakespeare's remains from Stratford.

³ Constantine Henry Phipps (1797–1863), Viscount Normanby, succeeded his father as 2nd Earl of Mulgrave in 1831 and was created 1st Marquess of Normanby in 1838. He was well known among English residents of Florence for his private theatricals. See W. S. L. to his mother, 1 [?] December [1826] in Ruoff, "Landor's Letters to his Family : 1826–1829", *BULLETIN*, liv (1971–2), 409–10, 409 n. and Layard, *Autobiog. and Letters*, i. 35–36.

How does George Lloyd¹ go on? I² hear that Mr Arnold,³ the master at Rugby, is the person most fit of any in the world for the management of a great school. He is the great friend of Augustus Hare,⁴ not Francis⁵—who I hear has lately lost his little daughter, to his and Mrs Hare's⁶ excessive grief.

What could have been the reason for West and his wife⁷ to reside in France? Surely no two people are less congenial with such a country, and they must have been pressed, I trow, to make themselves understood for the first seven years. I hardly know any place in England more delightful than theirs—I forget the name of it—and the house is magnificent. Above all things, your account of Mrs Cook going to France seemed the most extraordinary. Next, I shall expect to hear of her kissing the pope's toe. By the by, my old acquaintance Mr Weld,⁸ who married the sister of Sir Thomas Clifford,⁹ is made a cardinal.

¹ George Lloyd (1768–1831) of Welcombe House, Warwickshire, son of John Lloyd of Snitterfield, Warwickshire. He matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1787, and became high sheriff of Warwick in 1806. He died unmarried (Foster, *Alum. Oxon.*, and Joseph Foster, *Pedigrees of the County Families of England: Lancashire* (London, 1873), s.v. "Lloyd, of Strancally Castle, and of Stockton Hall").

² Inexplicably, Forster dates his excerpts from the remainder of this letter as "April 1830" (ii. 227). Forster's dating and excerpting from the letters of 1830–1 are both confusing and unreliable.

³ The famous Dr. Arnold, who was headmaster of Rugby from 1828 to 1842.

⁴ Augustus William Hare (1792–1834), the second son of Francis Hare-Naylor. After being at New College, Oxford, he took orders in 1825. He was appointed to a small college living at Alton Barnes and married Maria Leycester in 1829.

⁵ Francis George Hare (1786–1842), eldest son of Francis Hare-Naylor, settled in Italy around 1819 (Foster, *Alum. Oxon.*).

⁶ Anne Paul (b. 1801), daughter of Sir John Dean Paul, married Francis Hare in 1828. Their daughter Caroline was born in 1829 but died of water on the brain before her first birthday. According to their son Augustus J. C. Hare, although Mrs. Hare was very much blamed for having neglected her child for society, she became severely depressed after the child's death (*The Story of My Life* (London, 1896), i. 33–35).

⁷ James West (1775–1838) married Anne, daughter of the late Joseph Roberts of New Combe, Gloucs., in 1808 and assumed the additional name and arms of Roberts (Burke, *Landed Gentry* (1852), s.v. "West of Alscot Park").

⁸ Thomas Weld (1773–1837) married Lucy Bridget, daughter of the Hon. Thomas Clifford of Tixall, Staffordshire. After the death of Weld's wife in 1815 and the marriage of his daughter Mary Lucy (b. 1799) in 1818, Weld studied for the priesthood and was ordained in 1821. Shortly after his arrival in Rome with his daughter, who was ill, and her husband in January 1830, he learned that he had been nominated to the College of Cardinals, to which he was admitted on 15 March 1830. His daughter died in May 1831.

⁹ Sir Thomas Hugh Clifford (1762–1823), topographer and botanist, was created a baronet in 1815 at the special request of Louis XVIII in recognition of the cordial welcome he gave to French emigrants during his residence at Bath. In 1821, he assumed the surname and arms of "Constable" only (Burke, *Peerage* (1895), s.v. "Constable").

At least I believe it is he—for I heard that on the death of his wife he became a monk and retired into Italy. The weather here is changed much for the better. Some lilacs that I planted just eighteen days ago without a bud, are now bursting with flower, and my gooseberries, raspberries, and black currants are in leaf. I expect to have peas by this day month, sowed on the twentyfourth of last. The air is perfumed up to my bedroom by the mignonette thirty feet under it—indeed more before it reaches my nose—for the kitchen is ten feet and a half high.—the diningroom over is eighteen.¹ The mezereon grows wild in all the woods of the Appennines, yet I have not been able to procure a single plant—nor of the cystisus, tho it covers the banks of the river for miles—Julia and the children send their love to you and Ellen.

Believe me Dear Elizabeth

Y^{rs} ever affectionately
WSL

Landor's improvements of his estate went on at such a furious pace that Charles Armitage Brown wrote Leigh Hunt on 1 June 1830 that there were fifty things going on at once.² During their first summer in their new home the whole family flourished; even Mrs. Landor's often delicate health improved.³ The only thing to mar Landor's happiness was his inability to protect the birds on the estate from the rapacious appetites of the Italians:

Dear Elizabeth,⁴

Your account of poor old Farman's quiet house, converted into a shop, split, and pushed up higher, made my heart ache. I doubt whether there are any two people in the world (I should have said out of it), for these make one think most about them, of whom I think oftener than of this kind old friend and

¹ One of the most famous anecdotes about Landor, and one of his own personal favourites, took place in this room. One day he became so furious at a badly prepared dish that he flung the cook out the window. When his wife upbraided him, he was suddenly stricken with horror and remorse: "' I forgot our best tulip-bed under that window!'" The story is told in many variations (Super, pp. 215, 552 n. 76).

² Jack Stillinger, ed., *The Letters of Charles Armitage Brown* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), p. 319.

³ See W. S. L.'s letters to his mother dated 5 April 1818 and 22 April [1821] and to Ellen dated 5 February [1825] in Ruoff, "Landor's Letters to his Family: 1802-1825", *BULLETIN*, liii (1970-1), 489, 493, 497. His wife's health was one of the reasons cited by Landor in his petition of 15 April 1829 for a delay in the execution of the order that he be expelled from Tuscany ("High and Low Life in Italy" (1837-8), *CW*, xi. 89). For an account of the incident, see Super, pp. 203-6.

⁴ No date; no signature or initials. Four pages, $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{5}{8}$ inches. Addressed: *Inghilterra*/Miss Landor/Warwick. Postmarks: FIRENZE; Toscana; I.T.; FPO/JY-1/1830; Z/JY-1/1830 (Ryl. Eng. MS. 1237/18).

of his equally kind wife. Tell Mrs Cook that if she will come to Florence, I will take her to the picture-gallery and shew her every thing worth seeing, and she shall have all the comforts my house can afford. Weld is not made a bishop, but a cardinal—a prince—the last time I saw his Eminence was at Clifton, in his own house, where I dined with him. Sir Thomas Clifford, with whom I had been walking on the downs the day before, told me to eat of the pastry and praise it. I saw him smile, and asked him why he gave me the advice. He replied that Weld always made his own pastry, and that nothing pleased him so much as to have it praised. Indeed it was excellent. He deserved not only a cardinal's hat but the fair hand of our good aunt Eyres.¹ Nobody else ever equalled him in the sublimity of this science. I have lately lost at Rome one of the most intelligent and friendly of my acquaintances, Lady Northampton. She had been delivered of a child in the morning, and people in the street were complimenting Lord N.² at the moment she died. On his return to the house he found her dead, remarkably well and in good spirits as he had left her three hours before ; and he had gone out only to execute some little commissions she had given him, and to tell her friends how favorable had been her accouchement. She was an excellent greek scholar, and played and sang divinely.

My children are all well, and Julia much better than ever she was in her life—she is fat and strong, and always in the air. She amuses herself with her fantail pigeons, her blackbirds and nightingales. I could not prevent the nests being taken—Three were taken before, of nightingales—which grieved me. Upon this she employed some boys to take the fourth nest for her. I never took one in my life, tho I have found many. I hear a cuckoo at this moment ; but woodpigeons I must not hope for—they are large and eatable, and an Italian would take a nest of them, if it were in the clouds. Happily within half a mile of my house there are two woods enclosed with stone-walls, which preserve a few belonging to the smaller birds—tho even nightingales are killed for the spit in every part of Italy. I tremble for my cuckoo, tho he keeps within the stone walls—for the young cuckoo is preferred here to young pigeons. My little Julietta promises to play well on the pianoforte—so does Arnold, but he is an idler. Walter and Charles must take up other instruments, when they are old enough. A house without music is almost as comfortless as a house without

¹ Probably Margaret Eyres (1712–1800), who died unmarried and is buried at Whitenash. She was the sister of Landor's grandmother Anne Eyres (1711–95), who married Charles Savage (1696–1759) in 1742. They were the daughters of Henry Eyres (d. 1730) of Radford Semale, Warwickshire. Landor got his leonine appearance from his grandmother Eyres (Pedigree of the Eyres-Savage-Landor families, dated 1822, in Warwick County Record Office, kindly provided by Mr. F. W. Farr, County Archivist. See also Rashleigh E. H. Duke, "The Family of Savage of Warwickshire", *Misc. Gen. et Her.*, 3rd ser., v (March 1902), 102).

² Spencer Joshua Alwyne Compton (1790–1851) succeeded to the title as 2nd Marquess of Northampton on the death of his father in 1828. In 1815 he married Margaret, daughter of Major-General William Douglas-Maclean-Clephane. Evidently the child did not survive (Burke's *Peerage* (1895), s.v. "Northampton", lists no children born in 1830).

warmth and light. I am rejoiced to hear that Shuckburg is well again. Pray remember me affectionately to him and Mrs Sh. I hope W. Venour¹ has made a good fortune after so many years in India—and that he has brought back with him what fewer do, and what is better, health.—Ellen must not forget that she owes me a letter. Y^{rs} ever

Replying to this letter, the practical-minded Elizabeth remarked that she had no objection whatever to cooks becoming cardinals, if they would only stick to their own frying-pans and not meddle with other people's (Forster, ii. 228).

Landor's next letter, addressed to his sister Ellen, demonstrates his continuing absorption in the private world of his villa. Indeed, he is far less interested in the death of George IV than in his new dog²—a set of priorities which reflected his sentiments toward his late sovereign.³ The playful letter below gives a delightful picture of Landor the lover of children and animals :

July 6 [1830]⁴

Dear Ellen,

About a week ago I received from Henry a paper for my signature.⁵ I did not delay it one moment ; and two days afterwards I consigned it to the care of a friend who will take it with him to England—Mr Craufurd,⁶ Secretary of state

¹ Walter Ashall Venour (1781–1850), brother of John and Sophia and former resident of Calcutta. His first wife died in 1824 (Michell, *Rugby Reg.*, i. 228).

² The dog was named Parigi (Super, p. 240).

³ Landor's attitude toward George IV is summarized by a comment which appears only in the 1846 edition of "Landor, English Visitor, and Florentine Visitor" (1828): "[he had] all the vices of all the Neroes, without one virtue or semblance of virtue: who abandoned two contemporary wives, every mistress, every relative, every friend, and every supporter" (*The Works of Walter Savage Landor* (London, 1846), i. 339). Many of Landor's later works contain attacks on George IV's morality. See particularly "Emperor of China and Tsing-Ti" (1846), "M. Thiers and M. Lamartine" (1848), and "Alfieri and Metastasio" (1856) (*CW*, ix. 28; viii. 29; iii. 92–93).

⁴ Four pages, 9½ × 7¼ inches. Addressed: *Inghilterra*/Miss Ellen Landor/Warwick. Postmarks: FIRENZE; FRANCO; FPO/JY-23/1830; F/JY-23/1830. (Berg Coll., NYPL).

⁵ The paper may have related to the repeated requests of Messrs. I. and P. Jones and Co., bankers of Abergavenny, for payment of Landor's debts incurred at Llanthony. Although they made such requests in 1827 and 1828, they became more insistent in 1830 after Landor came into his full estate following the death of his mother in 1829. For the details of this correspondence, see Ruoff, "Landor's Letters to his Family: 1826–1829", *BULLETIN*, liv. 432, 432 n., 433 n.

⁶ John Craufurd (1780–1867), entered Westminster in 1795. He married Sophia Marianna Churchill in 1814, the same year in which he succeeded to

in the island of Corfu, who I believe is going to lay before the House of Lords his claim to the Earldom of Craufurd. He told me yesterday that he should be detained in Florence three or four days longer. I write this that you may inform Henry of the fact, and that he may not think I neglected or delayed to execute his wish. Sir Robert Lawley has been making a great purchase of land in Tuscany, which he intends for his eldest natural son¹—a very fine youth about thirteen years old. I think I could collect from what Lady Lawley² said to me, that she will not return. She invited Julia & the children to come and stay with her in England—She said—Mind, I do not invite you without them and I must have them all.—This is remarkable, as she hates children, and does not like ladies—

We have had only one hour's rain for four months, yet the weather is far from violently hot. About an hour ago, our resident here received a courier with news of the king's death. But the most important matter is, I have bought a shepherd-dog, with a tail that curls over the back and upright ears. These ears look stiff, but they are more pliable than any others. The back is yellowish, the rest whitish, the nose very pointed, and the teeth so sharp that these dogs are called here wolf-dogs, cane-lupo. He came very young and is extremely fond of me. Sir William Gell³ had two of them at Naples, who used to accompany him on the double flute, and one (Tikkette) was rarely out of tune: but I have heard better voices, even out of Italy. The currants, gooseberries, and raspberries which either you or Elizabeth sent me the seed of are very flourishing—but there are only three of the raspberries. If the season is not too advanced, pray send me both red & white raspberries, and some more currants and gooseberries of both sorts. I despair of getting any hautbois strawberries, tho I have one plant (barely alive) from France, called fraise noire. Where does Walter Venour think of settling? I suspect he will be less happy in England than in India. I suppose my nephew Charles⁴ is nearly old enough for the university. He must be in his seventeenth year, I think. I shall be very happy

the Aucherames estate in Ayrshire on the death of his cousin. Later he served as secretary to the Senate of the Ionian Islands. He was a friend of Charles Armitage Brown and of Joseph Severn, whom he commissioned to make several paintings (G. F. Russell Barker and Alan H. Stenning, eds., *The Record of Old Westminster* (London, 1928), i. 230; Stillinger, op. cit. p. 188 and n.).

¹ Unidentified.

² Maria, daughter of Joseph Dinison, married Sir Robert Lawley, Bt., in 1793 (Burke, *Peerage* (1855), s.v. "Wenlock").

³ Sir William Gell (1777–1836), classical archaeologist and traveller. From 1820 to his death he lived in Italy, where he had houses in Rome and Naples. He was especially intimate with Sir William Drummond and Lady Blessington, when she resided in Naples. Landor may have met Gell when he accompanied Lord Blessington on a cruise to Naples aboard the latter's yacht in August 1827 (Super, p. 193; see also W. S. L. to Ellen, postmarked 16 August 1827, in Ruoff, "Landor's Letters to his Family: 1826–1829", *BULLETIN*, liv. 412).

⁴ Charles Willson Landor (1812–77) matriculated at Worcester College, Oxford, in 1831 and received his B.A. in 1835. He later became rector of Over Whitacre and of Lindridge, Worcs.

to hear that he is stronger, tho I fear there is little chance that he will ever be in possession of so much strength and agility as his father. All my children are better this year than ever before, owing to the benefit of the country-air.

Arnold grows idle, but he speaks french well. I do not wish children to study much, yet I would not have them lose the habit of reading. Julia is very studious, and will certainly excell [*sic*] in music. They are very busy in catching grasshoppers for three young nightingales: nevertheless the three young nightingales like me best, and fly to me over the back of the cane-lupo, who growls and takes it ill. He wishes to expostulate and seems to insinuate that they have no business in houses. I tell him that he has reason on his side, but I whisper that something may be said too about cane-lupo.

Julia and the children send their love.

Believe me Dear Ellen

Y^{rs} very truly WL

The death of George IV was only the first of many events of political significance in Europe during the last half of 1830. The French rebelled against Charles X after he attempted on 26 July to cut back popular sovereignty and freedom of the press. His abdication on 2 August in favour of Louis Phillipe was considered a victory for the bourgeoisie and for popular sovereignty. The repercussions were immediate. In August, the people of Brussels rose up against the Dutch. When William of Holland decided to reoccupy the city before making any concessions, there was a general revolt. Concern about the Belgian question and its consequences for Europe resulted in a November conference held in London of the five great powers: Great Britain, France, Russia, Austria, and Prussia. Nor was Great Britain herself unaffected by the revolutionary fever. During the autumn, rumours of events in France excited the labourers of the agricultural districts of southern England, who pressed for a living wage. The fall of Charles X also stimulated a revival of interest in parliamentary reform. Landor's Christmas letter to Elizabeth below alludes to these political changes:

Dear Elizabeth,¹

I believe I wrote both to you and Ellen since either of you wrote to me—but I do not pretend to be certain. This is Christmas-day, and I wish it may be a pleasanter one to you than to us. We have rain and snow coming down together. I had several invitations to spend the day in Florence, but the children would insist on my staying at home with them.

¹ Four pages, $7\frac{1}{8} \times 5\frac{5}{8}$ inches. Addressed: *Inghilterra/* Miss Landor/ Warwick. Postmarks: VERONA/ 31 Dec; I.T.; FPO/ JA-11/1831; D/JA-11/1831 (Ryl. Eng. MS. 1237/19).

The English here are all very busy about the political changes that are taking place in every part of Europe. The Florentines are quiet and silent. What their opinions are I neither know nor heed, nor should I be the wiser on the subject if they ventured to speak aloud, for they are all dissemblers and liars from first to last. The spirit of party is more violent among the French abroad than at home. I was at a dinner last week at which there was the Duc de Laval-Montmorency¹—In the evening there came the Duc de Dino,² Talleyrand's nephew and heir. It was curious to see the care with which these two men, the two first in France, avoided each other. Their new king will however reconcile all that are worth reconciliation. He is the best and almost the wisest man in his kingdom. I once saw him in London, in the year 1795. He was knocking at a door in York-Place, where I also had a call to make. He was extremely handsome and *thin*, which he is no longer, and spoke two or three words in English, perfectly well. I did not know who he was until I entered the house, and then I congratulated myself that I had insisted on his entering first—for I learned that he was so sensible and independent a man, that he rather gained his bread by teaching french in two or three distinguished families than accept the two hundred pounds a year which the king of Sardinia offered him.³ It was a lucky house—for the abbé on whom I called was made bishop of Agen by Bonaparte, tho a christian and a royalist.⁴ I wondered as much at this, as he once wondered at me, for eating a red herring without mustard and vinegar, *faute de salade*. I hope you will send me lots of Warwickshire news.

¹ Anne Adrien Pierre de Montmorency (1768–1837), duc de Laval. Between 1814 and 1828 he held diplomatic posts in Spain, Vienna, and London.

² Alexandre Edmond de Talleyrand-Périgord (1787–1872), duc de Dino, son of Archambault (1762–1838), duc de Talleyrand, and nephew of Charles Maurice (1754–1838), prince and duc de Bénévent. The title duc de Dino, given to Talleyrand by the King of Naples, was conferred by the Prince on his niece Dorothée de Courlande, who had married Edmond in 1809. The duc de Dino held a number of posts in the French army. After being admitted to the reserve corps in 1831, he retired to Florence, where he had been living and where he spent the remainder of his life. After the death of his father, he succeeded to the title duc de Talleyrand (*Dict. de Biographie Française*, s.v. "Dino").

³ Landor errs in the date. Louis Philippe, then duc d'Orleans, did not reach England until February 1800. Although he was noted for the careful manner in which he managed his money while living with his brothers at Twickenham, I find no evidence that he worked as a tutor or that he turned down money offered by the King of Sardinia. See Louis Gabriel Michaud, *The Public and Private Life of Louis Philippe of Orleans*, trans. V. L. Chemery (London, 1851), p. 85; Raymond Recouly, *Louis Philippe, Roi des Français* (Paris, 1930), p. 188. Landor included the king in "Louis Philippe and M. Guizot" (1853), *CW*, viii. 16–26, and alluded to him in "Frenchmen" (1846), "To a Traitor" (1855), and "To the President of France" (1851), *CW*, xv. 39, 96, 58.

⁴ Jean Jacoupy (d. 1848) was bishop of Agen from 1802 to 1840, when he resigned (Alfred Baudrillart, *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* (Paris, 1912), s.v. "Agen").

My cousin Walter Landor's daughter¹ is, I suppose, grown up. Is she pretty, and likely to marry? In what part of England does W. Venour think of settling? I do not imagine that Jack is

Like medlar-fruit, delicious in decay.²

but what sort of persons do his children³ turn out? I imagine Charles's son is almost ready for Oxford, and I hope, as he ceases to grow he will get stronger. Poor Mrs Cook is not likely to leave her fireside at Tachebrook to cross the Alps. Hers is now one of the oldest of the living faces I remember in my childhood and yet she cannot be above sixty-six or sixty-seven years old.—Have you read Dr Buckland's book on geology.⁴ Three years ago I was invited to meet him, and dined with him at Lord Dillon's.⁵ He told me I little suspected, when I was playing at cricket⁶ at Rugby, that I was running over some hundreds of hyenas. Several parishes in that neighborhood are resting entirely on immense droves of these brutes. He says they must have occupied the world before men did, yet the marks of their teeth are still visible on the thigh-bones one of another. I have been reading a book which I was laughed at for reading when a boy, and which I believe I then threw aside—Sandford and Merton⁷—I find it one of the most sensible books that ever was written for the education of children. I shall now set about Bishop Heber's Life—His widow, to the surprise and grief of all her family, has married some Ionian count.⁸ I had a letter from

¹ Walter Landor of Rugeley had three daughters. Landor alludes to the eldest, Lucy Elizabeth (1816–98), who did not marry (information provided by Miss Diana Landor).

² Cf. Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, III. ii. 125: "You'll be rotten ere you be halfe ripe, and that's the right vertue of the medler."

³ Unidentified, except for Walter (b. 1819), who entered Rugby in September 1827 (Michell, *Rugby Reg.*, i. 228).

⁴ William Buckland (1784–1856), geologist and dean of Westminster. His *Vindiciae Geologiae* (1820) caused a sensation as he argued that the siliceous pebbles over a wide range of Warwickshire and the Midlands were evidence of a recent deluge. In 1823 he published *Reliquiae Diluvianae*.

⁵ Henry Augustus Dillon-Lee (1777–1832), who succeeded to the title as 13th Viscount Dillon in the peerage of Ireland on the death of his father in 1813. He served in the House of Commons from 1802 to 1813 and was also a minor writer. He was the cousin of Viscount Normanby (see p. 471, n. 3).

⁶ MS. torn.

⁷ Under the name of Harry Sandford, Thomas Day (1748–89) wrote *The History of Sandford and Merton* (1783–9), a three-volume work intended for children which was strongly influenced by Rousseau's *Émile*.

⁸ Amelia Heber, daughter of the Rev. William Davies Shipley, dean of St. Asaph and widow of the Rev. Reginald Heber (1783–1826), bishop of Calcutta, published *The Life of Reginald Heber* (1830) in 4 volumes. In the same year in which the book was published, she married a Count Valsamachi, Secretary of the Ionian Islands, who was either Greek or Venetian and had no fortune. The family's outrage at her remarriage may be seen in the letter from Bishop Heber's sister, Mrs. Charles Cholmondeley (*née* Mary Heber), to Richard Heber, dated 17 July 1830, in which she confesses herself shocked beyond anything she can

her sister¹ a few days ago, who has suffered much in her health from this degradation.

I wish you could send me about a pound of red filberts—and a few of the other kind. My cousin W. Landor was so obliging as to offer to send me any seed I wanted when he went to London. I did not think of any, but I have heard since that we have none of those filberts in Italy, tho their name *avellana* proves their origin to have been in this country. And if you have any *white* broom-seed send me a little, with some holy oak seed & Ipsley double poppies.

They may be directed to “ M^r Lanpronti Florence (for M^r Landor) to the care of M^{sr}. Norsa & Gabrielli London.”² I have now sixteen kinds of strawberries, but only a very few and weak plants of the *black Wilmot superb*³, and 2 others which I fear I shall lose. There is growing wild before my house a most beautiful pointed tulip, with narcissuses and jonquils innumerable, and the blue iris, the root of which is called orris root and used to be mixed in hair-powder. All this month I have cut every week at least sixty well-blown cabbage roses. Yesterday I cut twenty-four, besides as many buds.

Y^{rs} ever—

WSL

Landor’s letter below to Elizabeth, written shortly after his birthday, is the only one extant to his sisters giving the details of Joseph Ablett’s generous purchase of the Fiesolan estate for him. Super conjectures that because Ablett’s part in the purchase is never mentioned by Landor’s friends in Florence, he apparently kept the entire transaction confidential (p. 208). The loan was still unpaid in 1838. On 16 June of that year, Landor’s brother Charles, a trustee for the estate, wrote Arnold urging him to come to England to see his future inheritance and to become acquainted with his own and his father’s circumstances and obligations. One of these was the debt owed Ablett: “. . . as Mr A’s conduct was influenced entirely by kindness and con-

express, accuses the count of fortune hunting, and concludes with the hope that she may never see Amelia again (R. H. Cholmondeley, *The Heber Letters : 1783-1832* (London, 1950), pp. 336-7).

¹ Anna Maria Dashwood (d. 1841), the widow of Lt.-Col. Charles (d. 1812) and the cousin of the Hare brothers, introduced Landor to Ablett (Hare, *The Story of My Life*, i. 158).

² According to Forster, Landor’s sisters had mentioned in their letter preceding this letter from Landor to them that their garden had become one of the little lions at Warwick (ii. 229).

³ See J. M. Merrick, Jr., *The Strawberry and its Culture: with a Descriptive Catalogue of All Known Varieties* (Boston, 1870), p. 127. Information supplied by A. Otterbacher, Department of Horticulture, College of Agriculture, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

fidence, any opposition to his rights or wishes, will be deeply disgraceful.”¹

Some time later Ablett himself evidently wrote to Arnold about arrangements for repayment. On 11 December 1841 he forwarded to Walter Landor of Rugeley a copy of Arnold's letter to him of 24 November, in which Arnold said he could only repeat his answer to Ablett's former letter: he could not then liquidate the debt but was willing to secure the full amount by land to Ablett or his heirs. Ablett commented to Walter Landor that the letter showed Arnold's honourable sentiments. Unaware that any such offer had previously been made by Arnold, Ablett assumed that the letter containing it must have been lost on the way. “After what has passed between us on the subject it is hardly necessary to repeat that I have not the slightest wish to urge a settlement, but to suggest only the prudence, whilst the parties are living, of so arranging it that it may be in progress to a period which I leave entirely to you and your family connections.” The death of a creditor of the Llanthony estate caused Charles to address a strongly worded letter to Arnold, dated 30 January 1842, on the subject of the financial state of his future inheritance. In particular he urged the debt to Ablett be discharged: “Mr. Ablett's debt is one of honor and gratitude, as well of justice and law. He has been many years without any interest or any security. What would you think of me if I were to keep to myself the entire rentals of Llanthony and Ipsley; the same may be justly thought of you, if you do not repay (principal and interest) or give ample security and satisfaction to Mr Ablet [sic].” Arnold finally came to England in May, conferring with his uncle Charles and their cousin Walter Landor in June (Super, p. 333). On 27 June, Walter Landor wrote Henry the details of the proposed plan to settle Landor's debts by placing a mortgage on Ipsley.

The complexities and difficulties of his financial circumstances seemed far from Landor's mind as he described the magnificence of his new house. Despite his happiness in his new life, his comments in the following letter clearly reveal a growing

¹ All quotations from letters pertaining to this transaction are from R. H. Super's copies of W. N. Landor's transcripts.

alienation between husband and wife. His comments on his own marital state and his description of his possessive love of his children must have been especially disturbing to his sisters :

Feb. 2 [1831]¹

Dear Elizabeth,

The children were all sitting so comfortably round the fire on my birthday, that they spoilt my intention of writing to you that evening. This morning I receive your letter, dated the eleventh of last month, and am very much grieved to hear that you have lately been so unwell. My opinion is that you should never defer the advantage of medical advice on the first access of any indisposition—it always saves much pain and often much money. We have had six cold days, with snow upon the Appennines, and a little of it about half a mile from my villa. You will doubtless be curious to hear something of this villa, in which I shall pass the remainder of my life. Two years ago in the beginning of the spring, I took a walk towards the Fiesole with a gentleman settled in North Wales, Mr. Ablett. I shewed him a small cottage with about twelve acres of land which I was about to take. He admired the situation, but preferred another house very near it, with a much greater quantity of ground annexed. I endeavored to persuade him to become my neighbour. He said little at the time, beyond the pleasure he should have in seeing me so pleasantly situated: but he made enquiries about the price of the larger house, and heard that it was not to be lett, but that it might be bought for about two thousand pounds. He first desired me to buy it; then to keep it for myself; then to repay him the money whenever I was rich enough—and if I never was, to leave it for my heirs to settle it. In fact, he refuses even a farthing of interest. All this was done by a man with whom I had not been acquainted twenty days. It is true, his fortune is very large; but if others equal him in fortune, no human being ever equalled him in generosity. What have I done or what can I ever do, to deserve it? His wife² would have taken Julia and have educated her in her house, for she has no children. I must now give you a description of the place. The front of the house is towards the north, looking at the ancient town of Fiesole, 3 quarters of a mile off. The hills of Fiesole protect it from the north and north-east winds. The hall is 31 feet by 22 and 20 high—on the right is a drawing-room 22 by 20—and thro it you come to another 26 by 20. All are twenty feet high—Opposite the door is another leading down to the offices, on right and left and between them to a terrace-walk about a hundred yards long, overlooking Val-d'Arno and Vallombrose, celebrated by Milton³—on the right of the downward staircase is the upward staircase to the bedrooms—and on the left are two other rooms corresponding with the two drawing-rooms—Over the hall, which is vaulted, is another room of equal size, delightfully cool in summer. I have

¹ Four pages; $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{5}{8}$ inches. Addressed: *Inghilterra*/ Miss Landor/ Warwick. Postmarks: Toscana; VERONA/ 5 Feb; I.T.; FPO/ FE-15/1831; O/ FE-15/1831 (Ryl. Eng. MS. 1237/20).

² Anne Ablett was the daughter of William Bury of Swinton, Lancashire (Tydeman, "Ablett of Llanbedr", *Trans. Denbighshire Hist. Soc.*, xix (1970), 143).

³ *Paradise Lost*, i. 290-313.

four good bedrooms upstairs—thirteen feet high—one smaller—and two servants bedrooms over them, ten feet and a half high. In the center of the house is a high turret, a dovecote. The house is sixty feet high on the terrace side and 50 on the other—the turret is 18 feet above the 60. I have two gardens, one with a fountain and fine jet-d'eau. In the two are 165 large lemon-trees and 20 oranges—with two conservatories to keep them in winter. The whole could not be built in these days for ten thousand pounds. I am putting everything into good order by degrees: in fact I spend in improvements what I had to spend in house-rent; that is about 75 pounds a year. I have planted two hundred cypresses, 600 vines—400 roses, 200 arbutuses, and 700 bays, besides laurustinas &c &c and sixty fruit trees of the best qualities, from France. I have not had a moment's illness since I resided here, nor have the children—my wife runs after colds—it would be strange if she did not take them; but she has taken none here; hers are all from Florence. I have the best water, the best air, and the best oil in the world—they speak highly of the wine too, but here I doubt. In fact I hate wine, unless hock or claret.

Sir R. Lawley invited me to dine with L^d and Lady Conyngham. Their daughter, Lady Maria, is very pretty & amiable. Their son L^d Albert¹ is a great gamester—and has lately lost above 10,000£. Arnold is not a gazer at titles. He dined at Hares, with me, the other day, where he saw the Duc de Laval Montmorency, & the Duc Dino &c—He had the good sense to look more at the plateau and flowers than at them. He is very much admired for his manliness and spirit—He fences, speaks french, and reads greek passably. I hope he will dance, as I have told him that I lost more pleasure by being a bad dancer than by any thing else, and, since that, he begins to practise more. Julia and he both play pretty well—their master comes every day. Walter will begin in April. Music I think more important than languages—all which, excepting french, are nearly useless.

I am much concerned to hear that Robert's² health is amiss. The quiet

¹ Henry Conyngham (1766–1832), 3rd Baron Conyngham, was created Marquess Conyngham in the peerage of Ireland in 1816 and Baron Minster of Minster Abbey, Kent, in 1821. He served as an officer in the army and was a representative peer of Ireland. In 1794 he married Elizabeth Denison, sister of Lady Lawley.

Lady Henrietta Maria died in 1843. Lord Albert Denison (b. 1805) assumed in 1849 the surname of Denison after succeeding to the property of his uncle William J. Denison; he was created Baron Londesborough.

The Savage family were connected with the Conynghams through the marriage in 1744 of Ellen Merrett (d. 1802) to Henry, later created Baron Conyngham, Viscount Conyngham, and Baron and Earl Conyngham (Burke, *Peerage* (1895), s.v. "Conyngham", and Duke, "The Family of Savage of Warwickshire", *Misc. Gen. & Her.*, 3rd ser., v (March 1902), 101–2).

² Robert Eyres Landor (1781–1869), Walter's youngest brother and author of, among other works, *Count Arezzi* (1824), attributed to Byron; *Fawn of Sertorius* (1846); and *Fountain of Arethusa* (1848). He was at Worcester College, Oxford, graduating B.A. in 1801 and M.A. in 1804. He was rector of Birlingham from 1829 until his death.

life he leads ought to exempt him from every thing that wears us out. He has done wisely in not marrying. Henry is the only one of us exactly cut out for the marriage-state—but my extreme fondness for children compensates me for every thing. Arnold is not ashamed, tho almost thirteen, to throw his arms about my neck and kiss me twenty times together, and the others claim the same right “and have their claims allowed.”

Remember me very particularly to M^r and Miss Middleton¹ and Walter Venour—but above all to my old friend Mary Anne,² the best tempered of all God’s creation. I wish you and Ellen w^d try the air of Fiesole. I will give you two rooms, my two best, perfumed with orangeflowers, tuberoses, violets, and mignonette growing profusely under the windows. They are two more beautiful rooms than any in Warwick castle. Best love to Ellen & Henry—Y^{rs} ever WL

[*Written vertically on p. 4*] If any of my father’s breed of spaniels is extant, I should be glad to send M^r Ablett one (who very much wished it) directed to M^r Bull Surgeon at Oxford, who will deliver him to his brother of Exeter Coll : to forward to J. Ablett Esq. Lanbedr Hall Ruthin. N. Wales.

Perhaps because he feared his sisters’ concern about news of the 1831 outbreaks of political disturbances in Italy, Landor sent in February a second letter, addressed to Ellen. Italy had escaped the immediate uprisings which followed the July Revolution in France and then spread through Europe during the latter half of 1830 ; however, by 1831, similar uprisings were taking place in Parma, Modena, and the Papal State. Amidst the turmoil Tuscany remained calm under the benevolent despotism of Leopold II, who succeeded Ferdinand III as grand duke.³ King calls Leopold “a worthy, pains-taking bourgeois, whose chief interest it was to superintend drainage works, and visit his experimental farms in straw-hat and gaiters” (i. 66). Landor’s respect for both the grand duke and his noble dog contrasts sharply with his general contempt for Italians. Despite his disbelief in the regeneration of Italy expressed in the following letter, Landor later championed the cause of Italian unity :

¹ Probably John Middleton, who married Landor’s cousin Harriet Isabella Venour (1778–1826) in 1822. I am unable to identify the daughter.

² Mary Ann Venour (1770–1847).

³ Derek Beales, *The Risorgimento and the Unification of Italy*, in *Historical Problems : Studies and Documents*, ed. G. R. Elton (London, 1971), pp. 44–47 ; Bolton King, *A History of Italian Unity : A Political History of Italy from 1814–1871* (1924 ; reprinted New York, 1967), i. 139.

Florence Feb. 20 [1831]¹

Dear Ellen,

The disturbances that have broken out in Italy may perhaps make our friends in England a little curious and a little anxious. At Florence there is no danger of any commotion. The people are well contented in general with the government of the Granduke, and the patriotic party, as some men equally cowardly and restless call themselves, have lately more than ever excited the contempt and hatred of the people. On the G. duke's return from Saxony,² these worthless slaves proposed to receive him with a grand illumination. But, as the time drew nigh, their hearts misgave them, and they attempted to throw the greater part of the expenditure on the inferior classes. Many of these, holding places under government, were unable to refuse their shilling. However, the military shewed no small reluctance—and when it came at last to the clergy, the church, as you must suppose, was in danger. The granduke, hearing of the preparations, gave orders that there should be no such equivocal manifestation of the people's joy, and that all the money should be returned. The patriots were indignant, and surrendered their chamberlain's keys—for patriots here accept any gew gaw. The fools expected, from the easy disposition of the prince, that he would request them to retain their offices, but were disappointed. . Be assured there is not a patriot in Florence who would have a single piece of glass broken in his window, to bring about any change whatever. At my time of life, and with my utter indifference what befalls so rascally a race, you need not apprehend that, in case of a bustle, I should take any part in it. No little pride is excited in me, at the recollection that I voluntarily spent more in the Spanish cause,³ in which neither I nor any of my family had any personal interest, than all these villains ennobled 'shopkeepers' would voluntarily contribute for the cause they pretend to espouse. Sir Robert Lawley is in high spirits, and thinks the flame will blow nearer. Why he should think it is strange enough, but far more strange why he should wish it. I should not be surprised to see my friend Lord Dillon here again. He was always very enthusiastic for the regeneration of Italy—He is an excellent cavalry officer, and has great coolness in battle, tho nowhere else. I hope however he will be contented to remain quiet at Ditchley⁴ and that he will be persuaded that altho in Italy there may be many changes, there never can be any regeneration. The principle of honor and virtue was extinct in Tuscany long before the Romans appeared. They once had the idea of independence, but never of liberty; and the spirit of petty passionate revenge is the only spirit they shew now, and almost the only one

¹ Four pages; $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{5}{8}$ inches. Addressed: *Inghilterra*/ Miss Ellen Landor/ Warwick. Postmarks: FIRENZE; VERONA/ 26 Feb; L.T.; FPO/ FE-6/1831; [1 *illeg.*] (Ryl. Eng. MS. 1237/21).

² Leopold II was married to Marianna Carolina, Princess of Saxony.

³ In August 1808 Landor sailed to Spain, where he raised troops at his own expense to fight against Napoleon's forces. He also contributed 10,000 reals (about £100) for the relief of the town of Veturada. By October he was on his way home, disillusioned by his adventure and angered by a fancied insult (Super, pp. 85–88).

⁴ In 1806 Dillon became a colonel of the Duke of York's Irish regiment (101st Foot). He inherited Dytchley through his grandmother, Lady Charlotte Lee.

they ever shewed. The Lombards are sprung from better blood, and possess both sounder minds and stronger bodies. Nevertheless, there is one very respectable person in this city, and attached to his master from a sense of duty. A noble dog of the G. duke's. With this dog, and twenty german cooks and scullions, I would engage to drive either of the two parties out of the walls, if the G. duke w^d appoint me to the command, and let the dog be led by his feeder. I myself too have a fine and faithful one—the only creature I could ever place the smallest confidence in, since I came to Florence. I never let any of the natives enter my doors, except Luca Medici¹ and Julia's music-master—a quiet, sober, inoffensive man. At this season I am so busy, grafting my trees that I hardly visit my excellent friend Hare,² and his most accomplished and sweet-tempered wife once a week. I have grafted 40 peaches—26 apricots—14 green-gages—and as many apples—Tomorrow I go to the pears and cherries—of the morella I shall have twenty : they do not require a wall here, and are the best fruit we have. But my peaches come from Paris, so do the apples, pears and several plums. There is no garden in Italy so beautiful as yours at Warwick—or even as it was before the late improvements. I hope you and Elizabeth may enjoy it many years. As Ipsley is not let, why not go there for change of air? Indeed I would much rather never let it than deprive you of any benefit you might derive from such a change. Certainly our dear mother prolonged her life by the quiet of the place, and the delight she took in its beautiful scenery. Lantony, I am afraid, will never be occupied by any one. I proposed to take down the house and sell the materials—for certainly neither I nor Arnold will ever live there. I never think of it without thinking of the ruin to which it has brought me, leaving me one of the poorest Englishmen in Florence, instead of one of the richest.³ My sweetest little Julia has lately been unwell ; but, thank God! is now quite recovered. The boys are all robust as young eagles. I am grieved to have so indifferent an account of Robert. I do not remember whether you ever told me the name of his residence.⁴ Best love to Eliz. and Henry—Y^{rs} ever WL

Replying in March to the first of his February letters, his sisters said that they “ could understand his own enjoyment in

¹ Probably Luca Francesco de' Medici Tornaquinci (b. 1792), son of Piero and nephew of Francesco Aldobrando (d. 1824); the family held the title of Marchese de Castellina. Luca Francesco married the Marchesa Lucrezia Altoviti and died at the villa of Bagnani. From 1821 to 1827 Landor rented apartments in the Plazzo or Casa (he used both terms) Medici from the Marchese Altobrando de' Medici Tornaquinci (Super, pp. 157, 197). (Genealogy supplied by Sig. Manare, Secretary, Istituto Genealogico Italiano, Florence; I am grateful to him and to Professor Marion S. Miller, Department of History, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, for their assistance). ² Francis Hare.

³ As late as 1842 two mortgages of £10,000 and £5,000 remained on Llanthony. For the details of the financial disaster which caused Landor to flee from England in May 1814, see Super, pp. 109–25, and Ruoff, “ Landor's Letters to his Family : 1802–1825 ”, BULLETIN, liii. 487–8.

⁴ In 1829, Robert had moved to Birlingham, where his mother had purchased a living for him (Eric Partridge, *Robert Eyres Landor : A Biographical and Critical Sketch* (London, 1927), p. 12).

the caresses of his children, but not, in the absence of any present plan of life and study, the advantage the children were to derive from it in future years" (Forster, ii. 233). They wrote that their nephew Charles was such a favourite with Dr. Arnold that when their brother Charles thought of removing him from Rugby, the headmaster said he could not spare him. They wondered why his cousin should not come to England where all his future interests would be, pointing out that it was not too late for Arnold to be given the advantage of such a school, "where he would not be the less respected for his father's name" (ibid.).

Apparently replying to the second of his February letters, the sisters expressed their concern not about the troubles in Italy but rather about those in England. They reported to Walter that the whole country was for reform and destruction. Although their brother Robert was even more downcast than themselves, they regretted "that their brother Charles did not or would not see the danger, for his last letter to them had been all about foxes and fish" (Forster, ii. 240). They grieved that their glorious country should have fallen into the hands of fools and rogues (ibid.). During the Spring of 1831 England was in the early stages of its prolonged agitation over the passage of the Reform Bill. Introduced on 1 March, the first Bill was not acted upon that Spring. The Tory defeat of the government in committee during April forced William IV to dissolve Parliament. After a larger majority of reformers was elected, a second Bill was introduced in June.

Although in the following letter to Ellen, Landor calms her fears about agitation surrounding the debate on reform, he himself was far from calm. In a letter dated 21 March 1831, he wrote Henry Crabb Robinson that he feared that reform by parliamentary action would lead to violence and that the conflict between the Lords and Commons could best be avoided by the exercise of the king's prerogative to give representation to whatever boroughs were in need of it (Super, p. 223). Indeed, his concern was so great that at one point he wrote a letter on the subject to Lord Landsdowne, reminding him that "it is the duty of the wise to set the unwise right."¹ As is evident from

¹ W. S. L. to Lady Blessington, 24-30 June [?] 1833, in John Mariani, ed.,

his letter to Ellen, Landor blamed much of the unrest on the economic conditions in England which resulted from Pitt's fiscal policy.¹ During his first administration, Pitt drastically increased taxes and instituted the hated income tax (1798) to finance the war against France. Opposition to this tax involved such issues as the continuation of the war and the nature of the responsibilities of members of Parliament to their constituents. Landor was in the thick of the debate in Warwick. After being denied the opportunity to address the assembly of the burgesses of Warwick on these matters, he published his remarks in a pamphlet entitled *To the Burgesses of Warwick* (c. December 1797).² Between 1801 and 1815, the national debt of Great Britain more than doubled to a staggering £860 millions, or about £43 per head, with an annual charge of £32 millions. By 1830 the capital on the debt had been reduced only £60 millions. Attention was finally focused on the economic ramifications of the debt by Goderich in his speech before the House of Lords on 6 May of that year³ :

Florence May 20 [1831]⁴

Dear Ellen,

You are a little too melancholy in regard to the times. Whatever is happening and about to happen was foreseen by me in the period of Pitt's war against

"The Letters of Walter Savage Landor to Marguerite, Countess of Blessington", Diss. Columbia University 1973, p. 29; also in Alfred A. Morrison, *The Blessington Papers* (Privately printed, 1895), p. 100.

Henry Petty-Fitzmaurice (1780-1863), 3rd Marquess of Lansdowne, served as president of the council of the Whig administration which took office in November 1830; he strongly supported the Reform Bill.

Landor commented on England's unwillingness to engage in political reform in "Emperor of China and Tsing-Ti" (1846) (*CW*, ix. 23). See also "Louis Philippe and M. Guizot" (1853) (*CW*, viii. 20).

¹ Landor's works are filled with attacks on Pitt. His characterizations of the prime minister and of English politics in general are sharply presented in "Mr. Pitt and Mr. Canning" (1829), *CW*, v. 110-25; see Charles Proudift's edition of this conversation in *Selected Imaginary Conversations of Literary Men and Statesmen* (Lincoln, Neb., 1969), pp. 49-74.

² Ed., R. H. Super, Lutrell Society Reprints #8 (Oxford, 1949), pp. v-xiii.

³ Woodward, *The Age of Reform, 1815-1870* (Oxford, 1962), pp. 80-82; William Smart, *Economic Annals of the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1910), i. 433 n.; ii. 556.

⁴ Four pages; $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Addressed: Miss Ellen Landor/ Warwick/ Inghilterra. Postmarks: VERONA/ 26 May; L.T.; FPO/ JU-8/ 1831; C [?]/ JU-6/1831 (Ryl. Eng MS. 1237/22).

France. He squandered the nation's wealth with more impudence than the most wanton youth ever squandered his new inheritance; and the facility he found in raising supplies, from a venal parliament, shews the necessity of changing the system. The misfortune is, that the change had not taken place 55 years earlier. Then we should not have lost America, except as a colony and a dependent, and by no means as a confidante and friend—But above all, we should not have had a debt of about 40 millions instead of 800 [sic].—I hope you will have received a copy of my poems. Lady Mulgrave¹ sent me the Court Gazette,² in which a flaming panegyric is lavished on them—preparatory I presume to announcing my appointment to the See of Canterbury. My latin poetry is thought better than my english—I almost wish my nephew Charles had not found College-rooms at present, if that w^d have given me the pleasure of seeing him and you in Tuscany. I will however continue to hope it may be accomplished in another year. I have decided on nothing in regard to the professions of my younger sons. Probably one will be in the army, the other in the law—tho Walter is grave and stedly enough for the Church, and very mild and good. He is without exception the best-hearted and the best-tempered child I ever knew. He has begun to play on the piano-forte, and to fence a little. Many thanks for the trouble you have taken about the Ipsley furniture. As neither I nor Arnold will ever live at Ipsley,³ and the furniture can be of no use to us, I should be glad to give it to any honest family in low circumstances, particularly to any whose fathers or mothers ever shewed any kindness to any of us. My mother, I am certain, would rather it were applied to such a purpose than consumed by the moths and time. Some old servant of my grandmother⁴ or my aunt Eyres might be glad of it. However I leave it entirely at your disposal, and only hope you will dispose of it while it is worth having.

The seeds Elizabeth sent me all fell out of the letter—Pray send me in a small parcel (in the letter) some red & white currants seeds, some large gooseberry both colours, and some raspberry, chiefly white, 40 or 50 of each will occupy

¹ Maria, daughter of Thomas Henry Liddell, 1st Lord Ravensworth, and wife of Constantine Henry Phipps, Earl of Mulgrave (see p. 471, n. 3).

² Landor's *Gebir, Count Julian, and Other Poems* was published in April 1831 although the manuscript had been forwarded to England early in 1827. In addition to reprinting *Gebir, Count Julian* and most of the English *Simonidea*, the volume included various other poems composed throughout Landor's literary career. It is his only volume of English verse (except for two satires published in 1836) between 1812 and 1839 (R. H. Super, *The Publication of Landor's Works*, Suppl. to the Bibliographic Society's Transactions, no. 18 (London, 1954), p. 45). The book was reviewed in the *Court Journal* for 16 April 1831, which called it "a volume with a noble name on the face of it, and filled with many noble and beautiful things". Although Landor's poetry generally was found "lofty" and "lovely", *Count Julian* and the dramatic scenes received the most lavish praise (No. CIII. 279-80).

³ For his earlier expressions of dislike of Ipsley, see Landor's letters to Ellen dated 9 March 1826 and to Elizabeth dated 12 July [1828] (Ruoff, "Landor's Letters to his Family: 1826-1829", BULLETIN, liv 408-9, 422).

⁴ Anne Eyres Savage (d. 1795); see p. 474, n. 1.

little space—in a cap-paper—say 5 inches by 4. I have failed in my attempt to raise a turf—the ground produced every thing but grass—I shall try again in the autumn. If you raise silkworms, remember that Pietro della Valle¹ says the strongest and best silk is raised from the black mulberry, which is a hardier tree than the white. In his voyage thro Persia, he attributes the superiority of their silk over the Italian to this difference in the plant. My best love, with my wife's & the children's to Elizabeth

Y^{rs} ever WL

Almost five months later, Landor sent his sisters what is apparently the first word they had received of his dispute over water rights with his neighbour Joseph Antoir² which had begun in the late summer of 1830. Landor gives a fuller account in *High and Low Life in Italy* (1837–8) and in “The Cardinal Legate Albani and Picture-Dealers,” originally published in the serial version of the former but subsequently published as a separate dialogue in *The Works* (1846). The story, as told to Cardinal Albani by the Marchese Scampa, is a good example of Landor's use of irony: “The proud Englishman had bought a villa and a couple of farms under Fiesole; rooting up olives, cutting down vines, the madman! A Frenchman was his neighbour. He had a right to the waste water of the proud Englishman's fountain. The proud Englishman, in his spite and malignity, not only shaved every morning, and ordered all his men servants, to the number of five, to shave in the day, but he washed his hands and face several times in the day, and especially at that season when water is most wanted. In like manner did all his children, four of them; and all four bathed: all four, Eminence! all four! every day! the malignant father setting them the example” (CW, iii. 250–1). His wanton extravagance extended not only to personal cleanliness but also to watering two hundred shrubs and flowers (ibid. 251).

Other details are added in *High and Low Life* by Mr. Talboys,

¹ Pietro della Valle (1586–1652), Italian explorer and author of *Viaggi descritti in 54 lettere famigliari* (Rome, 1650–58) in 4 volumes. I do not find the passage. Landor cited the *Viaggi* in “Richard I and the Abbot of Boxley” (1824), CW, iv. 11–12 n.

² Joseph Antoir (1781–1847) served as attaché to the French legation in Florence and, after April 1830, as secretary. Following his marriage to Caroline Bruni in 1828, he purchased the small villa of Frosino (*Dict. Biog. Française*, s.v. “Antoir”).

who states that the quarrel led first to depositions and then to a challenge by Antoir to Landor, which his friends urged him not to accept: "it was couched in rather odd terms, threatening to come to the house with arms; when he knew that such a threat could only terrify the children, and only hurt the mother, whom he had seen subject to convulsions from the slightest cause, and suffering from an affection of the nerves, which endangered her existence, and for which alone Mr Landor was induced to purchase his residence in Tuscany" (*CW*, xi. 87). Landor was convinced that Prince Don Neri Corsini and the President of the Buon Governo were behind the plan.¹ When it failed, they ordered him "to leave Tuscany within an hour, though he had violated no law, and no order of the Government, and showed no displeasure at the person who violated the laws more than once in this very particular and who had disobeyed the order (serious or not) of the Presidente del Buon Governo" (*CW*, xi. 87). However, the French Minister, Count de Ganay,² interceded on Landor's behalf, stating that if Landor were sent out of Tuscany, he would accompany him (*CW*, xi. 87).

According to Seymour Kirkup,³ who had agreed to act as Landor's second, the minister also put an end to the duel by saying that he would be responsible for Antoir if Kirkup could restrain Landor. After some strong persuasion by Kirkup, Landor, who had agreed to abide by his friend's decision, gave in. Kirkup told Forster that the anecdote was proof that when not left wholly to himself, Landor was never quite unmanageable (ii. 236-7). Though the threat of a duel was ended, the legal case which grew out of the disagreement dragged on. As the Marchese Scampa puts it, "the litigant was condemned to a

¹ Prince Don Neri Corsini (1771-1845), diplomat and minister, was Secretary of State at this time. Landor believed that Corsini and the President bided their time to expel him after they were unsuccessful in 1829. See "High and Low Life", *CW*, xi. 87-90.

² Charles de Ganay served as minister from February 1831 to March 1833, except for the period between September and November 1831, when he was on leave. See Armando Saitta, ed. *Le relazioni diplomatiche fra la Francia e il Granducato di Toscana, 1830-48*, 2nd Ser. (Rome, 1960), I. x. Welby gives the name as de Garay.

³ Seymour Stocker Kirkup (1788-1880), artist and leader of a literary circle in Florence.

series of lawsuits for nine years, with more variations than ever were composed by Rossini. It was decided from the beginning that some should be won and some should be lost, and that at last all the costs should be cast upon this proud Englishman" (*CW*, iii. 252). The copy of Landor's printed brief before the Tuscan Court of Appeal (dated 1841), which he gave many years later to Browning, was a thick quarto pamphlet with 112 numbered paragraphs (*Super*, p. 220). The payment was still unsettled in 1842, when, on 27 June, Walter Landor of Rugeley proposed to Henry that between two and three hundred pounds be used for the suit (*W. N. Landor trans.*):

Nov. 4. [1831]¹

Dear Elizabeth,

Your last letter was full of deaths,—Riley,² George Lloyd,³ and God knows who—Today I hear that Coleridge is dispaired of⁴ and Walter Scott is setting out for Nice.⁵ He is not equal to Coleridge by many degrees, but he will make a great gap in the circulating library. I hear with great delight that my nephew Charles has overcome his lameness, and your account of my nieces is very satisfactory. Let me hope that you found M^{rs} Rosenhagen much better than you expected, and that her husband⁶ is not in such danger of losing his sight.

¹ Four pages; $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Addressed: *Inghilterra*; Miss Landor/Warwick. Postmarks: FPO/ NO-22/1831; I/ NO-22/1831. (Berg Coll., NYPL). ² Unidentified. ³ See p. 472, n. 1.

⁴ In 1830 Coleridge's health broke down. For the next three years he spent much of his time in his attic, often in bed but sometimes walking about it for seventeen hours a day. His mind, however, remained clear (E. K. Chambers, *Samuel Taylor Coleridge: A Biographical Study* (Oxford, 1938), pp. 323-4).

⁵ On 29 October 1831 an ailing Scott set sail for Malta and Italy (Edgar Johnson, *Sir Walter Scott* (New York, 1970), ii. 1200).

⁶ Anthony Rosenhagen (1777-1853) became a good friend of Landor. What little is known about him comes from Robert Landor's letter to Forster of 19 May 1867. Member of a Danish family, Rosenhagen served as first clerk in the Treasury and then as private secretary to Perceval. After Waterloo he served on the same commission as Wellington and Castlereagh to negotiate the peace at Paris; his part was financial. When his eyesight became bad, he retired to England and later married as his second wife Miss Frances Parkhurst (see p. 470, n. 1). The couple established themselves in Cheltenham about the same time that Robert Landor moved to Birlingham (1829). Subsequently, the Rosenhagens became good friends of Robert and then of his sisters and nieces. During Walter's visit to England in 1832 he, too, became acquainted with Rosenhagen. The latter's obituary appears in *Gentleman's Magazine*, cxxiv (February 1854), 219. I am grateful to Mrs. N. B. Pringle, Local History Librarian, Gloucestershire County Council, Cheltenham, for generous help in this matter.

Do not omit to tell him, when you write to her, that I often think of the many happy days I spent at Ripple. I believe I should shed tears if I saw the place again. No person in my early days was so partial to me as her father was. Fleetwood's son¹ I saw at Florence ten years ago. He was then in very bad health. What has become of Dormer and Robert?² Robert was a very promising boy—It is twentyfive years since I saw him, and nineteen since I saw M^{rs} Rosenhagen. In Warwick there can be remaining but very few people that I know, even by sight. The number of these did not exceed a dozen, I think. Who is now living in old Cattel's³ most gentlemanly-looking house? and who at grand St. John's?⁴ Do any of the Millers stil reside at Barford,⁴ and the Stauntons at Longbridge?⁵ These are merely names to me, but names connected with remembrances that reach beyond them. You are fortunate in having for neighbours such a family as General Maister's.⁶ My friend M^{rs} Hare, a daughter of Lady Pauls, is perhaps as fine a performer on the pianoforte as the lady you mention, but she cannot compose, much less extemporarily. The Duchess of Hamilton⁷ has this wonderful talent—and what appeared to me the finest part of a very fine sonata, I found to be her own. All my children play, but too negligently. Walter has a good ear, and more attention than the rest. Poor Julia caught a violent cold by swinging after dinner, and without her bonnet, and is stil unwell, for the first time in her life, excepting the measles.—

¹ Fleetwood Parkhurst (1774–1844), entered Rugby after mid-summer 1784 and matriculated at Trinity College, Oxford, 1794. He received his B.A. in 1797, and his M.A. in 1801. In 1804 he became vicar of Epsom. He and Landor were friends during their school and college years, until they quarrelled some time after they left Oxford. Writing to his brother Henry about Parkhurst's death, Landor commented that, as little as his former friend was to be respected, he was shocked and grieved to hear of his death; he would often think of their early friendship (MS. in Osborn Coll., YUL).

Fleetwood's son Henry died unmarried at Clifton in 1879 (Michell, *Rugby Regis.*, i. 91; Foster, *Alumn. Oxon.*; Burke, *Family Records*, s.v. "Parkhurst").

² John Dormer Parkhurst entered Rugby after midsummer 1788 (Michell, *Rugby Regis.*, i. 103).

Robert Parkhurst (1789–1847) was at Oriel College, Oxford, graduating B.A. in 1812 (Foster, *Alumn. Oxon.*; Burke, *Family Records*, s.v. "Parkhurst"—John Dormer does not appear in Burke).

³ Possibly an unidentified relative. Hannah Savage (b. 1704) married Hewens Cattell of Tysoe in 1735 (Duke, "The Family of Savage of Warwickshire", *Misc. Gen. et Her.*, 3rd ser., v (March 1902), 102).

⁴ Unidentified.

⁵ William Staunton (b. 1765), LL.B., of Longbridge, Warwickshire, married Elizabeth Standert in 1798. He was a captain in the 1st Regiment of the Life Guards as well as a magistrate and deputy-lieutenant of Warwickshire (Burke, *Landed Gentry* (1852), s.v. "Staunton of Longbridge").

⁶ Major-General John Maister, of the 34th Foot, went on half pay on 19 July 1821 (*A List of the Officers of the Army, and Royal Marines, Full, Retired, and Half Pay* (London, 1833), p. 14).

⁷ Susan Euphemia, wife of Alexander, 10th Duke of Hamilton, and daughter of William Beckford (Burke, *Peerage* (1855), s.v. "Hamilton").

Do not think about sending me fruit-seeds or cuttings. I have procured some strawberries from Paris, and some apples from Brussels. But never shall we see again a strawberry equal to the old Hautbois, nor an apple so rich in flavour as the golden pippin or nonpareil. When ever you wish to send cuttings far, send them in honey or treacle, in an olive-bottle, or tin case of that form.—I hope my brother Henry has gained his chancery-suit. Surely these things are both less expensive and less dilatory than formerly. I too am tormented by a scoundrel about a water-course. At first I gave up to him every thing he asked—altho my predecessor would give up nothing—but hearing that I had declared I would rather lose every thing than have a law-suit, he made fresh pretensions, which I must resist, as, without the water, I lose the produce of nearly a hundred lemon-trees, each at least a century old. They have enjoyed this water unrestricted for above forty years.—There was a question in Ellen's letter which I did not answer, because I could not. She asks me what I intend to do with my two younger boys. In fact, I think they are less likely to be rogues and imposters by keeping them out of professions. I lived nearly all the best days of my life on less than 150£ a year—they may do the same. A young single man in Italy need not spend more. Music, drawing, reading, occupy more innocently the few hours of life that are worth living, than wordly and lucrative pursuits. Happily all three are very fond one of another, and will never scramble—Is the Whitehorse¹ who has taken Ipsley-Court the father or son? For how long has he taken it?—I hope for many years. Never was any habitation more thoroly odious—red soil, mince-pie woods, and black and greasy needlemakers. I wish you could see my beautiful house here, my noble hall and staircase—Nevertheless I would rather have it near Swansea, the part of the world I like the best of any. By choice, I would be always within an easy walk of the sea. I hope to hear that M^{rs} Nutcombe¹ has quite recovered from the consequences of the influenza. Remember me to good M^{rs} Cook, and above all to M. A. Venour—the children & my wife send their love to you and Ellen.

Y^{rs} ever WSL

In his last letter to Ellen of 1831 Landor attempted to calm her fears about cholera and reform, both matters of great concern in England. In October of that year the first of the nineteenth-century outbreaks of cholera had struck parts of the northern coast of England, from which it spread rapidly across the country.² The epidemic lasted in England from 1831 to 1833 (Woodward, pp. 85, 463). During the autumn of 1831, turmoil over the second Reform Bill also intensified. The Bill had been passed by the House of Commons in September, only to be

¹ Unidentified.

² An article entitled "Cholera Morbus" in the November 1831 issue of *Gentleman's Magazine* states that the epidemic was preceded by an unhealthy Spring in 1829 and the very severe Winter of 1829–30. During July, August and September there was a series of illnesses before the cholera itself, in October (CI. 452–3).

rejected by the Lords in October. Reaction was instantaneous and violent: riots broke out across the country and by the end of October, even the House of Commons itself was sacked. Although a third Bill was introduced in December, it was not passed until the following June.

Although Landor comments briefly on the turmoil, he devotes most of his December letter to the subject which increasingly fascinated him as he grew older—the span of a person's life which could link him to the great names from more than one period of history¹:

December 29 [1831]²

Dear Ellen,

Many happy new years to you, for the new year will have begun before you get my letter. Do not torment yourself either about cholera or about reform—We know that the one is requisite, and many believe the other is. When the good people of England helped Pitt to gamble in war, and to run the nation in debt, beyond the value of all the money in Europe, we might easily have foreseen the result. I did see it, and tried to prevent it, in our remonstrance against the income-tax.—Mrs Jane Cotton³ must have died extremely old—She was old forty years ago.

I have an acquaintance⁴ here, an American by birth, formerly a painter, who remembers the election of Pope Ganganelli.⁵ He was in America when General Wolfe⁶ was killed—“*but a mere child, as you may suppose,*” says he. He is now a hundred and thirteen or fourteen—and will not own that he is

¹ Cf. Landor's note on Sir Oliver in “Oliver Cromwell and Sir Oliver Cromwell” (1843), *CW*, iv. 202 n.

² Four pages; $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{5}{8}$ inches. Addressed: *Inghilterra*/ Miss Ellen Landor/ Warwick. Postmarks: FIRENZE; [1 *illeg.*]; FPO/ JA-16/1832; S/JA-16/1832. Endorsed in unknown hand vertically on back: ~~1832~~ 1833/ to be kept (Ryl. Eng. MS. 1237/23).

³ Mrs. Jane A. Cotton (d. c. 1831) of Lottery Hall, Rugeley, Staffordshire, was a first cousin of Dr. Walter Landor (1733–1806) (note by W. N. Landor on his transcript of this letter). Dr. Landor's aunt Bridget Noble married Robert Cotton; perhaps Mrs. Cotton was married to their son Michael (Duke, “Notes on the Family of Savage of Warwickshire”, *Misc. Gen. et Her.*, 4th ser., v (December 1901), 202).

⁴ James Smith. Landor took Leigh Hunt to Bellosguardo to visit Smith. Writing to Hunt on 14 September 1829, Charles Armitage Brown informs him that Smith “is as young as ever, only that he grows deaf, and won't own it, and is more dirty” (Stillinger, *Letters of Charles Armitage Brown*, p. 287).

⁵ Clement XIV (Giovanni Vincenzo Antonio Ganganelli) (1705–74), became pope in 1769.

⁶ Wolfe was mortally wounded in an assault against the French in Quebec in 1759.

above eighty ~~five~~ nine, until reminded of Wolfe and Ganganelli—On this occasion, some years ago, he said, “ Yes, Sir, I am eighty-nine—I was eighty-nine at the time you mention, and eighty-nine I shall stick at, to the last.” He painted the picture of the late Lord Middleton¹ and his family about sixty years ago, at Middleton: soon after which he declined the profession because he found himself growing old. Fifty-five years ago he walked with a stick—Since that time he has left it off. He keeps late hours, and is not very abstemious in food or wine. A little while ago, somebody had redd in the papers of a man in Russia who was a hundred and thirty-two years old—When this was told him, he said “ I dare say that he is more, but wont own it: people, when they are *getting a little in years*, dont like to say any thing about it.” His hearing is perfect. I asked him one day in joke how he liked William Penn. He did not perceive that I was quizzing him, altho he is very suspicious, but answered gravely—“ Penn, *I believe*, was dead before my time—at all events his estate was a good way from Philadelphia.” “ True you never even saw him— ” “ No, no, not I.” I remember, when I went to Knowl, an old woman coming from Balsal Temple to the little Trehern² for a guinea, which he paid her yearly. She was 102 when I was four and a half—so that it is in the range of possibility that she might have seen people who had seen not only Milton, but Shakespear, Bacon, Spenser, and Raleigh. I myself have conversed with a man, not remarkably old, who had conversed with Pope, Warburton, and Fielding—This was Dr Harrington³ of Bath, who at the time I mention, was not above 72 years old. He told me that he dined with old Allen⁴ at Prior Park when he was about ten or eleven years old, and saw there Pope and Warburton, & several years afterwards (five or six) Fielding. Pope died the year afterwards, that is in 1745.⁵ But old James Smith, my American, might have had grey hairs in his head at Pope’s death.—Poor Lord Wenlock is nearly blind, but in good spirits—I dined with him, and found all the Corps Diplomatique there—so that politics were set aside. Today we have snow falling. On the 27 of November the hills 4 miles off were covered with it—since which we have had fine weather til now. Italy is a fine climate—but Swansea better. This however is the only spot in Great Britain where we have warmth without wet. However Italy is the country I

¹ Probably the family of Henry, 5th Baron Middleton (1726–1800) (*Burke’s Peerage* (1963), s.v. “ Middleton of Middleton, co. Warwick ”).

² Young Landor was sent to the school kept by Thomas Trehern in Knowle, about ten miles from his home. According to Super, this is the only reference to his years at Knowle (p. 3).

³ Henry Harrington (1727–1816), M.D., was a physician at Bath, a composer, and the founder of the Bath Harmonic Society. (I am grateful to Mr. John Kite, Area Librarian, Bath/Wansdyke, for biographical information from Jerom Murch, *Biographical Sketches of Bath Celebrities, Ancient and Modern* (Bath, 1893), pp. 147–51.)

⁴ Ralph Allen (1694–1764), a businessman famous for his munificence, was very influential on the town council and once served as mayor of Bath. At his Prior Park Estate in Widcombe, near Bath, he entertained many guests. Among his friends were Fielding, Pope and Warburton, who married his favourite niece.

⁵ Pope actually died in 1744.

would live in—My house wants new doors and windows—these I shall begin next year, and at the end of three shall have completed them. In two I hope to have a hundred good peaches every day at table during two months. At present I have as many bad ones. My land is said to produce the best figs in Tuscany. I have usually six or seven bushels of them. The best kind are peeled before they are dried—these are of a gold colour—The green and purple are less esteemed, but bear better. Nectarines, gooseberries, raspberries, and currants are better in England than anywhere: in other fruits I hope soon to excel you, even in apricots. Pray direct your red filberts and some *white* broom seed (if you have any) to M^r Trajan Wallis¹ (without any note) to the care of M^{rs} [?] Norsa and Gabrielli, Bankers London. I s^{hd} like *one* chestnut from the tree on the left of the summer-house. Remember me kindly to Elizabeth & Henry—WL

The year 1832 was to be important for Landor. After repeated urging by Ablett, he finally agreed to visit England, to which he had not returned since 1814. On 7 February he sent news of his sudden intention to his sisters, explaining that his obligations to Ablett were so great that he had not felt justified in continuing to refuse (Forster, ii. 241). He arrived in May, in the midst of the turmoil over the Reform Bill, and did not return to his villa until late November. On 9 May the ministers had resigned when William IV would only agree to appoint less than half the number of peers requested by Grey as necessary to get the Bill through the House of Lords. Although Grey was back in office within a week, the Tories steadfastly refused any compromise which would pass a Bill they opposed to the point of civil war. Coming as it did in the midst of the cholera epidemic and after prolonged political tension over the Bill, the latest crisis unnerved the public. Finally, the king submitted to the demands of the cabinet that he create as many peers as might be necessary. On 4 June the Bill passed its third reading in the Lords (Woodward, pp. 85–86). The agitation left its mark on Landor, who told Monckton Milnes in the summer of 1833 that his visit to England cured him of radicalism and sent him back a Tory²:

¹ Trajan Wallis was the son of George Augustus (1770–1847), an English painter who resided in Florence. About 1821 he painted a portrait of Landor's wife and young Julia (Super, p. 179; George C. Williamson, ed., *Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers*, rev. ed. (London, 1918)).

² T. Wemyss Reid, *The Life, Letters, and Friendships of Richard Monckton Milnes, First Lord Houghton* (New York, 1891), i. 145. As Super comments, Landor's statement to Lady Blessington that he hated Tory principles and

Monday May 14 [1832]¹

Dear Elizabeth and Ellen,

I went safely thro France in the midst of the Cholera, and reached Dieppe the very day after the steamvessel had departed for England. In consequence of this mishap I was detained a whole week at Dieppe, with nothing to see or read, and nobody to converse with. At Brighton I stayed two days with the Countess de Molandé and her family, in the midst of music, dancing, and fashionable people turned radicals. This amused me highly. Lady Bolingbroke told me that her husband² would never enter the House of Lords again—Yesterday I dined with our good old friend Lord Wenlock, and this morning the people were half-mad about the king and the Tories. . My excellent Mr Ablett will take me first to see Cambridge, for a single day, because Julius Hare³ came over here to see me, having heard from him that I should be here on the first or second of the month. I stay in London til after Saturday, because on that day I must be at the soirée of the Duke of Sussex⁴ by his invitation. I have one invitation for the beginning of the next week, but on Wednesday we shall set out for Warwick. Here I am grieved to think that Mr Ablett can remain but a single day, as he has waited for me in London too long. He expected me on the first of the month, at latest, and has business at home which requires his presence by the earliest day we can possibly reach it. However, I hope to spend three weeks with you later in the season. Mr Ablett's brother in law, Mr Strong,⁵ a most incomparably good and sensible man, will be with us. You can give us (all three) beds, I hope. We shall occupy them but one night.—I promised my dear Arnold to bring him with me, but his mother would not let him go. He was grieved at the disappointment, but bore it heroically. Dear good divine creature! Poor Julietta cried and hung about me and told me not

Whig practices is more accurate (p. 237). See W. S. L. to Lady Blessington, 24–30 June [?], 1833, in Mariani, "The Letters of Walter Savage Landor to Marguerite, Countess of Blessington", p. 28, and Morrison, *The Blessington Papers*, p. 100.

¹ Four pages, 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches. Addressed: Miss Landor/ Warwick. Postmark: CH/ 15 MY 1832/X (Ryl. Eng. MS. 1237/24).

² Maria (d. 1836), wife of Henry St. John (1786–1851), 4th Viscount Bolingbroke, who succeeded to the title on the death of his father in 1824. Lady Bolingbroke was the daughter of Sir Henry Paulet St. John Mildmay.

³ Julius Charles Hare (1795–1855), third son of Francis Hare-Naylor, matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge in 1812 and was elected to a Fellowship in 1818. Ordained in 1826, he accepted the family living at Hurstmonceaux offered in 1832. Hare arranged for the publication of Landor's *Imaginary Conversations* (1824–9).

⁴ Augustus Frederick (1773–1843), sixth son of George III, was created Duke of Sussex in 1801. He was noted for his support of liberal ideas, his encouragement of art and science, and his elaborate parties in his apartments at Kensington Palace, given during his term as president of the Royal Society (1830–8).

⁵ Unidentified.

to go away. If she had told me only once more, I could not have left her. I will tell you a ludicrous story about the Cholera at Dijon, if you remind me. I hope I shall meet Henry at Warwick.

I remain

Y^{rs} affectionate[ly]¹

WSL

The first visit I made here was to D^r Lambe. I could not find the House—his name is upon no door in Kings Road²

Although on 23 May Landor set out for Wales with Ablett and Strong, he did not make the promised overnight stop with his sisters in Warwick. In fact, despite his statement in the following letter, he did not visit them until almost two months later. The beauties of Llanbedr and the pleasant companionship of the Abletts caused him to prolong his visit :

Llanbedr Hall June 6 [1832]

Dear Elizabeth

In another week we are leaving this place for Lancashire and Cumberland, where I propose to spend a day or two with Southey, & then about as much time with Wordsworth.

Llanbedr is really in all respects the most delightful place I ever was in. Magnificent trees, the richest valley in the world and the most varied hills, with lofty mountains not too near nor too distant, but just as great folks should be.

I shall not attempt to describe my incomparable friends, they are worthy one of the other.

Every cottage is more habitable than the best house on the continent ; every man has a patent oven and a clock and is surrounded by a garden. Mrs Ablett is extremely fond of flowers, and I understand their gardens cost them three hundred a year.⁴ This morning we are going to visit Mrs Ablett's sister, Mrs. Strong, and a most polished and highly informed woman, a friend and correspondent of mine, Mrs Dashwood, niece of Sir William Jones and Hare's cousin.

I fear I shall not have the pleasure of seeing you at Warwick before the beginning of next month.

Mr. Ablett will spend perhaps four days with you. Of all men living he is, the very best, the most modest and sober minded. He is very religious, and reads prayers to his servants on the Sunday evening, and one before they go to

¹ MS. torn.

² William Lambe (1765–1847), the physician who succeeded to Dr. Landor's practice in Warwick in 1790. Ten years later he moved to London, where he maintained a consulting room in King's (now Theobald's) Road, Bedford Row.

³ Transcript by W. N. Landor ; no signature or termination to the letter.

⁴ This was half of Landor's annual income (Super, p. 227).

church.¹ He has set up a gravestone for himself on the north side of the churchyard to induce other people to overcome their prejudices against this situation. On this gravestone I wrote some verses, which I send for your criticism and Ellen's.

On a vacant tombstone in Llanbedr Churchyard.

- O parent Earth! in thy retreats
 My heart with holier fervour beats,
 And fearlessly, thou knowest well,
 Contemplates the sepulchral cell.
- [5] Guard, parent Earth, those trees, those flowers,
 Those refuges from wintry hours
 Where every plant from every clime
 Renews with joy its native prime.
 Long may the fane o'er this lone sod
- [10] Lift its meek head toward its God,
 And gather, round the tomes of Truth
 Its bending elds and blooming youth.
 And long too may the lindens wave
 O'er timely and untimely grave
- [15] But, if the virtuous be thy pride,
 Keep this one tomb unoccupied.²

In mid-June, Landor and Ablett left on their trip to Cumberland, intending to carry out the plan of visiting Southey and Wordsworth. Despite Landor's strong affection for Southey, the two had not corresponded for almost three years. Between 1822 and 1828 Landor had corresponded with Wordsworth, whom he greatly admired, but the two had never met.³ By chance, when Landor and Ablett landed by steamer at Whitehaven, they learned that Wordsworth was in nearby Moresby, to which

¹ Ablett was a strict conformist who achieved notoriety for refusing to grant Non-Conformists of the Llanbedr district a site for a proper chapel until forced to do so by circumstances and who fined his servants for taking the Lord's name in vain (Tydeman, "Ablett of Llanbedr", *Trans. Denbighshire Hist. Soc.*, xxix (1970), 141-2).

² The verses were published under the title "Lines Written in the Churchyard of Llanbedr, on a Vacant Tomb, 31st May 1832" in *Literary Hours* (1837), p. 8. Ablett initiated and published privately the volume as a project to help Landor recover from the separation from his wife (Super, p. 262). The text here follows that printed by Wheeler (*CW*, xv. 273), except for minor variations in punctuation and capitalization. The copy of the book given by Mrs. Amelia Dashwood to her sister Charlotte Shipley, containing her corrections and annotations, is in the Newberry Library, Chicago.

³ Super, pp. 227-8. For Landor's correspondence with Wordsworth, see Super, "Landor's Letters to Wordsworth and Coleridge", *Modern Philology*, lv (1957), 73-83.

they went around 18 June. After meeting Wordsworth, they were joined by him on a visit to his friend Stansfeld Rawson¹ at Wasdale Hall, on Wast Water (Super, pp. 227–8). Wordsworth greatly enjoyed the meeting, which he described in a letter dated 25 June. Because Wordsworth had not heard that Landor was in England, his gratification in seeing him was heightened by surprise. “His conversation is lively and original; his learning great, tho’ he will not allow it, and his laugh the heartiest I have heard for a long time.”² Leaving Wordsworth, Landor and Ablett went on to Keswick to see Southey, with whom they remained two days (Super, pp. 228–9). Southey, who was in poor health, wrote Landor on 26 June that his appearance there seemed like a dream, “but one like a pleasant one, & one that is distinctly remembered. It is a comfort to have something on which to look back with gratification, when there can be so little in looking forward”.³

Landor’s letter to Elizabeth of 14 July informed her of his latest plans for his delayed visit to Warwick, which now was to include a visit to his brother Charles at Colton:⁴

Llanbedr July 14 [1832]⁵

Dear Elizabeth,

It was my intention to have left Llanbedr the beginning of this month, but

¹ Stansfeld Rawson, of Gledholt, near Huddersfield, son of John Rawson of Stonyroyd (1744–1838) and Nelly Stansfeld. In 1802 Rawson married Elizabeth, daughter of Timothy Leach of Clapham (Burke, *Landed Gentry* (1852), s.v. “Rawson of Hope House”).

² W. W. to William Rowan Hamilton, Moresby, 25 June 1832, in Ernest De Selincourt, ed., *The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth: The Later Years* (Oxford, 1939), ii. 626.

³ Southey to W. S. L., Keswick, 26 June 1832, in John Wood Warter, ed., *Selections from the Letters of Robert Southey* (London, 1856), iv. 284; corrected from the original in the Forster Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum.

⁴ One member of the family nursed a long resentment about Landor’s itinerary during this visit. In the margin of an article on Walter, Robert wrote the following as part of a comment on his brother’s change of heart toward Wordsworth: “Why, Walter came from Italy—not to see his Brothers and Sisters—but to visit Worsworth [*sic*] who declined the proposal and therefore was an Idiot Boy himself” (Forster Coll., copy of E. Spender, “Life and Opinions of Walter Savage Landor”, *London Quarterly Review*, xxiv (April 1865), 190, quoted in Super, p. 554, n. 32).

⁵ Four pages; $6\frac{7}{8} \times 5\frac{5}{8}$ inches. Addressed: Miss Landor/ Warwick. Postmark: RUTHIN/[*illeg.*] (Ryl. Eng. MS. 1237/25).

my hospitable friends would not hear of it. I should however have left them yesterday, if we had not met Lord Bagot,¹ who very civilly invited me to spend a day in the coming week with him at Pool Park in this neighborhood. I am grieved that my excellent friend Ablett has given up all idea of coming with me to Warwick—You and Ellen would have been delighted with him. The only coach going from any part of this neighborhood to Warwick goes (I believe) thro Rugeley : at all events thro Birmingham.

This induces me to make Charles a visit at Colton, on my way to you. I write to him by the present post, telling him of my intention to be with him at dinner on Friday next—I think the twentieth, as well as I can count. I shall spend a week there. We have cholera on every side of us. However with speedy and frequent doses of laudanum and ether one may peradventure be a match for it. I should think it very spiteful of it to spite me anywhere but at my villa, where I have a place prepared, and where my two labourers are to have a crown each for planting me.

I am called away to walk—So adieu for the present

Y^{rs} ever
WSL

When Landor finally reached his sister's home in Warwick, he stayed at least until 13 August. During the visit he made many new friends, about whom he later inquired in his letters.² From Warwick, he travelled toward London by way of Bath, from which he sent the letter below to his brother Henry. Their correspondence, which Henry had broken off in 1815 as a result of disagreements over money matters, had been resumed in 1825 with Walter's brief, formal note to Henry.³ Both in the letter to Henry and that to his sisters which follows, Landor indicates that he had unexpectedly run into his youngest brother Robert. Although Robert's gout prevented him from making his promised return to see Walter at Bath, the meeting provided the impetus for the renewal of correspondence between them. Robert, never tolerant of Walter's weaknesses, had broken off

¹ William Bagot (1773–1856), of Bagot's Bromley, Staffordshire, succeeded his father as 2nd Baron Bagot and 7th Baronet in 1798. He was active in agricultural pursuits, in natural history and in archaeology. Landor went to Rugby with his brothers, who entered in January 1790: the Hon. Charles (1781–1843), later G.C.B. and Governor General of Canada, and Richard (1782–1854), later D.D., Bishop of Oxford, and Bishop of Bath and Wells (Burke, *Peerage* (1900), s.v. "Bagot", and Michell, *Rugby Regis.*, i. 107).

² Landor posted a letter to Mrs. Septimus Hodson from Warwick on the 13th (Super, pp. 230, 555, n. 41).

³ Super, p. 133, and Ruoff, "Landor's Letters to his Family: 1802–1825", *BULLETIN*, liii. 500.

correspondence with his brother in August or September 1820 rather than quarrel over the latter's tangled finances.¹ On his way to London, Landor also stopped at Richmond, Surrey, to visit his wife's family, the Thuilliers.² He arrived in London on 23 September (Super, pp. 230-2) :

Bath Sep^t 22 [1832]³

Dear Henry,

I send to you this morning, by the Cheltenham and Leamington coach, my little alto rilievo of Philoctetes.⁴ Let me request your acceptance of it, as a mark of gratitude for your innumerable acts of kindness to me. On Monday I set out for London—a day later than I intended. I left at Warwick a short black trowser, formerly called breeches. It was made for full dress.—Has Robert been with you? I met him in the town of Evesham, and he promised me, if possible to see me in Bath. I hope I may see him again before I go. Tell Elizabeth and Ellen that I cannot in conscience compliment them on their geometrical acquirements. I tried on a flannel waistcoat, and it wanted exactly three inches and a half in the circumference. According to my mathematical calculations, it will require a lace of eight feet to gird me within said strait-waistcoat.

Make my best love to them, and believe me ever

Dear Henry
Y^{rs} sincerely
WSL

19 Paragon Build⁵

I found today a letter for Elizabeth, which I ought to have left at Warwick and which I send with this.

My dear Sisters,⁵

I arrived last night in upper Brook Street, having left the Thuilliers with some

¹ R. E. L. to H. E. L., 23 September [1820] and 15 February 1821, MSS. in Berg Coll., NYPL.

² Jean or John Pierre Thuillier (1760-1836) and his wife, the former Julia Burrow, were the parents of nine children (*Notes and Queries*, clxxxiv (27 March 1943), p. 201, s.v. "Thuillier"). Members of the Thuillier family are listed in Richmond directories until at least 1924 (information provided by Mr. Gilbert Tuma, Borough Librarian, Richmond, Surrey).

³ Four pages, 9×7³/₈ inches. Addressed: Henry Landor Esq/ Warwick. Postmark: Bath/ SE 22/ [18]3[2]. Endorsements: 1) *Vertically in hand of H.E.L. : 1832/ 22 Sep^r—W sending/ Philoctetes*; 2) *Horizontally in unknown hand*: WSL/ M^{rs} Dashwood/ 52 Upper Brook S^t (Osborn Coll., YUL).

⁴ Son of Paeasas of Thessaly, he inherited Heracles' bow and arrows, which, according to prophecy, were the only weapons able to bring down Troy. He was left behind by the Greeks after he had been bitten by a snake. In some versions he was subsequently healed and brought back to Troy to fulfil the prophecy.

⁵ Four pages, 7×5³/₄ inches. No date. Addressed: M^{rs} Landor/ Warwick. Postmark: CH/ 24 SE 1832/X (Ryl. Eng. MS. 1237/26).

regret, they were so extremely kind and attentive to me. Just before setting out, I received a letter from Mr Ablett, to whom I had ordered five pictures to be sent, offering him either a Carlo Dolci¹ or a pair of Gaspar Poussins² or a pair of Both's.³ He preferred the Carlo Dolci. Let me then request your acceptance of the remaining four pictures.⁴ Robert has probably been at Warwick. I had the good fortune to meet him before the Inn at Evesham, where his carriage and my coach had stopped. He promised me that, if possible, he would come and see me at Bath, and I waited there a day longer than I proposed. I shall not leave England before Saturday next,⁵ and propose to sail by the steamboat to Rotterdam. There are many visits I ought to make here, but doubt whether I shall be able. I must of necessity be both at Richmond and at Brighton—How impatient I am to be again among my own creatures.

Y^{rs} ever
WSL

I open my letter again, to say that I have redd what lines you send me in my Brighton one—I hope and believe that Robert's general health will hereafter be much improved by his attack of the gout. However I must regret that either this or any other incident has deprived me of the satisfaction I should have had in seeing him again.

After making a trip to Brighton (and perhaps to Richmond), Landor returned to London by 28 September. He did not leave England until 1 October for his homeward journey, on which he was accompanied by Julius Hare and Thomas Worsley.⁶

¹ The Florentine painter Dolci (1616–1686), noted for the finely finished quality of his religious pictures.

² The landscape painter Gaspar Dughet (1615–75), who called himself Poussin after his brother-in-law Nicholas Poussin.

³ The Dutch landscape painter Jan Both (1610–c. 1662).

⁴ On 2 October 1832 Ablett wrote the Landor sisters that he was sending the pictures. He congratulated them on the state of Landor's health and expressed his hope that when Landor returned, their brother would not leave his native land again (quoted in Tydeman, "Ablett of Llanbedr", *Trans. Denbighshire Hist. Soc.*, xix (1970), 160).

⁵ I.e. 29 September.

⁶ Thomas Worsley (1796–1885), B.A. (1820), Trinity College, Cambridge; migrated to Downing College (1824), where he received his M.A. (1824) and D.D. (1859). He was a Fellow and Tutor of Downing (1824–36) and later Master (1836–85). He also served as Vice-Chancellor (1837–8). In 1842 he married Katharine, eldest daughter of Stansfeld Rawson (see p. , 501n. 1). He was a friend of Julius Hare.

Though Landor intended to leave on the 29th, he, instead, spent the day visiting Coleridge at Highgate, accompanied by Henry Crabb Robinson. He also spent 30 September with Robinson (Edith J. Morley, ed., *Henry Crabb Robinson on Books and Their Writers* (London, 1938), i. 413–15; Super, pp. 320–32).

The hope that Wordsworth would join them was not fulfilled.¹ The three travelled through the major Dutch and Belgian towns up the Rhine to Frankfurt and Munich. As they passed through the Tyrol on their way to Italy, they stopped at Innsbruck, the burial place of Andreas Hofer, whom Landor greatly respected.² The final lap of the return trip included stops in several Italian cities before they reached Florence on 30 November (Super, pp. 232-5). In the final letter of the present series, Landor sent his sisters news of his arrival home, along with a few details of his journey :

Christmas-day³

My dear Sisters,

After a journey of two whole months thro Germany and Tyrol, I reached my home (for Italy must now be called so) on the last of November. My wife and the children told me of your most extravagant liberality to them, and could have written you their thanks much earlier, as I should also, had we not waited to tell you that the long-expected box of seeds &c &c had arrived. However as this is not yet the case, I am resolved not to allow Christmas-day, so full of

¹ See Julius Hare to W. W., 4 August 1832, in Super, "Landor's Letters to Wordsworth and Coleridge", *Modern Philology*, lv (1957), 83.

² Hofer (1767-1810), the Tyrolese patriot who fought to prevent the separation of the Tyrol from Austria. In 1809, after his forces had several times routed the French and Bavarian troops who tried to occupy the area and after assurances (real and implied) that the unification would continue, the Tyrol was ceded to Bavaria. When there was little response to his call to arms, he hid in the mountains only to be betrayed by a neighbour. Captured on 27 January 1810 by Italian troops and sent in chains to Mantua, he was shot on 20 February, one day after his condemnation. His execution was widely thought to be a direct order by Napoleon. During the Romantic period, he became a popular hero.

In his letter of 9 March 1814, Southey called Landor's attention to the erroneous story that Hofer got himself arrested under a false name and thrown into prison at Vienna, from which asylum he was ejected by the Austrian government (Charles Cuthbert Southey, ed., *The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey* (London, 1850), iv. 61). Landor replied that the story made him wish for the extermination of the Austrian court (Forster, i. 380). The story suggested to Landor the subject for the conversation "Andrew Hofer, Count Metternich, and the Emperor Francis" (1824), *CW*, viii. 73-78. Landor also alluded to Napoleon's role in Hofer's death in "Maurocordato and Colocotrini" (1824), *CW*, viii. 185. For other allusions to Hofer see "To the Nobles of Venice, on the Reception of the Austrian" (1858) and "[Fragment]", (1895), *CW*, xv. 110, 239.

³ Four pages, 9½×7¼ inches. Addressed: *Inghilterra/ Mrs Landor/ Warwick*. Postmarks: FIRENZE; FPO/ JA-8/1833; [1 illeg.] (Berg Coll., NYPL).

delightful recollections, to pass by me, without my best wishes that you may both enjoy it as much as you have ever done, and many like it. I hope you received the pictures from M^r Ablett's. He kept only the Carlo Dolci.

I have several more for which I have little room in my house, and which I think will be an ornament to yours. The old hall looks rather naked, and would be the better for them. I must beg your acceptance of these, and will send them when the sea is a little smoother than at this season. I hope to hear that Robert has quite recovered from the illness brought on by his fatigue in the time of the Cholera, and that Henry continues to grow younger. I shall write to him very shortly, not that I believe he greatly likes to write or to be written to, but because I owe so much to his kindness, that I must express it, even at the peril of annoying him. Your friend M^r Hutton¹ called here on his way to Rome, a few weeks before my return, and promised that we should see him again on his way back to England, which I think was to be soon. I hope to hear that the Wises² and M^{rs} Nutcomb are well and happy, and desire to be very particularly remembered to General and M^{rs} Maistre and their most amiable and delightful family.—We are enjoying the most serene and brilliant sky, with our windows open. In going thro Tyrol, the snow fell upon us furiously, and we were in danger of passing the winter at Innsbruck [sic]. I conversed with several of the companions of Andrew Hofer, and received from one of them a narration of his death. Nothing was ever more heroic, not even his life. He said "I pray God to protect my children and their mother, and to pardon her brother, and to let his *fault* be forgotten."³ Now what do you think his *fault* was? Betraying

¹ Unidentified. Mr. Hutton was evidently living in Italy, frequently in Florence, during 1833, because Landor's letters allude to him. In letters written after he left his wife, Landor cited Hutton as a witness to Julia's verbal abuse.

² Probably the family of Mathew Wise (d. 1825) of Leamington who entered Rugby in July 1777 and Trinity College, Oxford, in 1785. He served as high sheriff of Warwickshire in 1807 (Michell, *Rugby Regis.*, i. 75; Foster, *Alumn. Oxon.*).

³ I find no confirmation of Landor's version of Hofer's last words. Hofer was betrayed by Josef Raffl, his neighbour, and, before he died, gave his possessions to Father Manifesti (500 Austrian bank notes, a silver snuff-box, and a rosary) to be distributed among his countrymen; an additional silver rosary was given to the priest. For a contemporary account in English, see Charles Hall, *Memoirs of the Life of Andrew Hofer, . . . Taken from the German* (London, 1820), pp. 191-7. Landor was given by an Innsbruck innkeeper a chain and crucifix worn by Hofer three days before his death, as a token of the innkeeper's appreciation for Landor's praise of Hofer as greater than king or emperor and in return for Landor's small gift to him. Landor described his experience and the incident in "The Death of Hofer. A Fragment" in *Literary hours* (1837), pp. 18-20. The fragment is a variation of his description of the experience and episode in his letter to Lady Blessington of 20 January 1833. The latter version was published in *The New Monthly Magazine*, xxxvii (March 1833), 326-7 (Marini, "The Letters of Walter Savage Landor to Marguerite, Countess of Blessington", pp. 17-20).

to the French this brave and righteous man. Hofer and Lord Colingwood¹ are, in my opinion, the two noblest characters of the present age. Believe me Y^{rs} ever WL.

[Written vertically in the left margin] Julia and the children send their love

Landor's trip to England had temporarily separated him from the increasing tensions at home, reunited him with his brothers and sisters, and greatly broadened his friendships in his native country. After his return, he became increasingly aware of his alienation from his wife. Despite his deep affection for his children and his home, only two and a half years later he was to leave again, intending never to return.

¹ Vice-Admiral Collingwood (1750–1810), created in 1805 Baron Collingwood of Coldburne and Hethpoole in Northumberland. He was, of course, a close friend of Nelson, with whom he served. After the latter was killed at Trafalgar, Collingwood succeeded to the chief command; as a result, he was popularly but inaccurately thought to have held command jointly with Nelson. Modern evaluations of his achievements find him competent when under Nelson's influence, but mediocre without it.

Cf. Landor's praise of Collingwood in a letter to Lady Blessington, post-marked 15 February 1834, objecting to the fact that the admiral was not among the peers created by the Whig faction: "Never has England produced a fighting man more able in his profession or more illustrious in his character than the late Lord Colingwood. He sacrificed his health and life to the service of his country, and asked only that the empty honour conferred on him might be continued to his descendant. Had he been a chapman in the house of commons, and could have commanded a couple of votes, his honour w^d have been perpetuated" (Mariani, p. 49; Morrison, *Blessington Papers*, p. 102). Landor paid tribute to Collingwood in "Nelson, Collingwood, Pellew" (1853), *CW*, iv. 74.