

LANDOR'S LETTERS TO HIS FAMILY : 1802-1825

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THERE is little record of the boyhood and young manhood of Walter Savage Landor. Inspired by reading a description of Southey's boyhood, Landor once began a reminiscence of his own but never went beyond his sixth year. Unfortunately his letters, slipped into some book for careful preservation, disappeared and the projected autobiography was never continued.¹ The earliest extant letters from Landor to his family were written in 1802, when he was twenty-seven. Although Forster had access to the letters from Landor's mother and sisters to him, almost all of those from the period 1802-25 have apparently disappeared. For many years Landor's own letters to his family were available only in transcripts made by Walter Noble Landor before the holographs passed out of the hands of the family; many still exist only in these transcripts. Most of the holographs were not available to Malcolm Elwin² and R. H. Super³ when they wrote their biographies.

The present edition consists of fifteen holograph letters from Landor to his mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Savage Landor, his sisters Elizabeth and Ellen, and his brothers Henry and Robert, as well as a copy of an unpublished letter from his mother written to him in 1808. Seven of these letters and the copy of Mrs. Landor's letter are now in the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection, New York Public Library, and eight in the John Rylands Library (English MS. 1237/29-31, 1-3, 7-8).⁴ This

¹ John Forster, *Walter Savage Landor, A Biography* (London, 1869), i. 10; hereafter Forster.

² *Savage Landor* (New York, 1941) and *Landor : A Replevin* (London, 1958).

³ *Walter Savage Landor : A Biography* (New York 1954); hereafter Super.

⁴ I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. F. Taylor, Librarian of the John Rylands Library, and to Mrs. Lola Szladits, Curator, and the Trustees of the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations (cited as Berg Coll., NYPL) for permission to use original material in this article.

I particularly wish to thank Miss Diana Landor for information she provided

edition begins and ends with letters to his brother Henry, the first letter describing his trip to France in the summer of 1802 and the last renewing a correspondence which had been broken off almost ten years before.

During this period, Landor established himself as a prolific writer of both Latin and English poetry and prose. His discussions of literature, history, politics, and religion (most of which were later incorporated into his works) were reserved for his letters to Robert Southey and the Rev. Walter Birch.¹ Few of these ideas were expressed in his extant family correspondence, the significance of which is biographical rather than literary. However, because these letters give the fullest available account of his life during this period, they constitute an invaluable record. In particular they reveal the affectionate relationship between Landor and his mother.

Mrs. Elizabeth Savage Landor (b. 1743)² became the second wife of Dr. Walter Landor of Warwick in April 1774 at the age of 31. Dr. Landor (1732/33-1805) was a widower of 41, whose

from family records and Mr. R. H. Super for permitting me to use his collection of Landor material. All citations from Walter Noble Landor's transcripts are from typescripts loaned by Mr. Super. I am also grateful for research done on my behalf by the librarians whose assistance is acknowledged in the footnotes.

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Editorial intrusions are in square brackets. Deleted words and phrases are indicated thus: [~~never~~], and the number of deleted and illegible words thus: [2 x]. Landor's spellings, punctuation, and capitals are retained throughout.

¹ Landor's letters to Southey have disappeared since Forster cited them in his biographies *Walter Savage Landor. A Biography* and *The Works and Life of Walter Savage Landor*, vol. i: *The Life* (London, 1876). The extant holographs of correspondence with Birch were published in my article "Landor's Letters to the Reverend Walter Birch", *BULLETIN*, li (1968-9), 200-61.

² Unless otherwise indicated, all dates for members of the Landor and Savage families have been taken from the following sources: Rashleigh E. H. Duke, "A Pedigree of the Paternal Ancestry of Walter Savage Landor", *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, 4th ser., v (June 1912), 49-64; id., "The Family of Savage of Warwickshire", *Misc. Gen.*, 3rd ser., iv, 284-88; v, 1-4, 64-69, 96-102 (December 1901-September 1902); *Burke's Landed Gentry* (1952), s.v. "Landor of Llanthony Abbey formerly of Ipsley Court"; R. H. Super's notes on the genealogy of the Landor and Savage families, used by permission.

first wife, Mary Wright, had died at the age of 30 after bearing him four daughters, only one of whom (Maria) had survived. While Dr. Landor, the son of a Rugeley, Staffordshire, lawyer was heir to sizeable estates in that county, Elizabeth Savage's prospects were much more modest. One of four daughters of the late Charles Savage of Bishop's Tachbrooke (about four miles from Warwick), she brought to the marriage annuities worth £4,500, securities valued at £200, and one-fourth interest in her father's small estates at Tachbrooke and Whitnash.¹

During the next eight years, Mrs. Landor bore seven children : Walter Savage (30 January 1775–17 September 1864), Elizabeth Savage (8 May 1776–24 February 1854), Charles Savage (7 May 1777–7 July 1849), Mary Anne (23 June 1778–2 January 1819), Henry Eyres (23 January 1780–29 November 1866), Robert Eyres (10 May 1781–26 January 1869), and Ellen (24 September 1782–17 July 1838).² To ease the burden of bearing and rearing so many children so close together, four-and-a-half-year-old Walter was sent to Thomas Trehern's school at Knowle, ten miles from Warwick.³ Hereafter his contact with his family was limited to school holidays. One of the most vivid accounts of young Walter's relationship with his mother is that narrated by Mrs. Henry Sherwood describing her visit to the household of "Dr. Larnder" in May 1782. Although her mother had been intimate with the family, seven-year-old Mary Martha was "amazed at the new view of domestic life" she found at the house :

We were ushered into a parlour, where Mrs. Larnder [sic] received us very cordially ; but before the fire . . . lay her eldest son Walter, a big boy, with rough hair. He was stretched on the carpet, and on his mother admonishing him to get up, he answered : " I won't ", or " I shan't ". She reprov'd him, and he bade her hold her tongue. From that day this youth became the prototype in my mind of all that was vulgar and disobedient, for I had never seen anything like family insubordination, and had hardly conceived the thing to be possible.⁴

¹ Duke, " A Pedigree of the Paternal Ancestry of Walter Savage Landor ", ut cit. v. 51 ; id. " Notes on the Family of Savage of Warwickshire ", 3rd ser., v (March 1902), 102, 98-99.

² Forster, ii. 216 n.

³ Super, p. 3 ; Forster, i. 11.

⁴ F. J. Harvey Dalton, ed., *The Life and Times of Mrs. Sherwood (1775-1851) from the Diaries of Captain and Mrs. Sherwood* (London, 1910), pp. 36, 40.

Nor was this the only example of disharmony in this "family of a thoroughly undisciplined household".¹ Later Walter's sister confided: "' I am glad you came to-day, for you have saved me from a good scolding, for my mother is out of humour ' ; and the poor lady, though exceedingly civil and hospitable, was in such a perpetual fume that her husband, a hearty, old-fashioned sort of man, a physician of the bygone day, kept constantly saying to her at dinner : ' Come, Betty, keep your temper. Do, Betty, keep your temper ' ".²

However, Mary Martha's description of Mrs. Landor's temperament and of life in the Landor household must be seen in perspective. At the time of the visit, Mrs. Landor was 39 (by which age a mother's patience has long since begun to fray), pregnant, and coping with six small children, the eldest of whom was seven. The reactions of young Mary Martha reflect her own upbringing in a household in which her body and character were moulded by a strict diet of cold milk and dry bread and her posture was assured by her being compelled to wear from morning to night a wooden board strapped to her shoulders and attached to her neck with an iron collar.³ Small wonder that the lively Landor household seemed thoroughly undisciplined in comparison.

Whatever the discipline within the Landor family, young Walter was—by all accounts—a handful. Robert Landor recalled an incident in which Walter, sitting with his brothers and sisters in their mother's room, expressed the wish that the French would invade England and assist in hanging George the Third between two such thieves as the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. Mrs. Landor rose immediately from her seat and boxed Walter's ears from behind. " They were all terrified at Walter, wondering what he might do ; when they heard their mother's high-heeled shoes clattering quickly over the margin of the uncarpeted oak near the door, and saw her neat little figure suddenly disappear. ' I'd advise you, mother ', shouted Walter after her, ' not to try that sort of thing again ! ' " ⁴

¹ Ibid.

³ Ibid. p. 34.

² Ibid. p. 41.

⁴ Forster, i. 73-74 n.

Robert characterized his mother as "an anxious rather than a fond parent" and "scrupulously just".¹ Since there was no financial provision for the four younger children, much of her concern for many years was their financial future. "And when she afterwards had less need of economy, the same early prudence was become habitual, and there was the appearance of too much parsimony. But it was never for herself. Under the guidance of my brother Henry who managed her affairs, she would give as much to any of her children as was consistent with justice to the rest. Parting all she had among them, it was sometimes easier to get from her a hundred pounds than ten shillings".² Secretly pleased by any commendations bestowed on Walter, she nevertheless cared less "about his literary reputation than about the holes in his shoes and stockings—a very constant grievance for which she thought herself in some degree responsible".³

Landor's mother and family do not figure in his own few reminiscences of his childhood. Most of these, contained in the correspondence of his old age, describe his happy associations with the gardens of the two family homes, the Landor house in East Gate, Warwick, and the Savage house in Tachbrooke.⁴ Nevertheless, his fondness for his mother can be judged from the regularity of their correspondence, his genuine concern for her welfare, and his comments to and about her, which always expressed his deep appreciation for her unceasing kindness and generosity to him and his family.

Since almost none of her correspondence is extant, we can only judge its content from the extracts cited by Forster and from his characterization of her letters to Walter as "shrewd and sensible to the last" and as having "the affection of home about them".⁵ "They have some sort of encouragement for him always; give him only kindly glimpses of the past, never tire of looking forward to a future when he shall be again among the county neighbours, of whom they [his mother and sisters]

¹ Ibid. 77.

² Ibid. 76-77.

³ Ibid. 77.

⁴ Forster, i. 10-11. Landor's letters during the 1850s are particularly full of references to Tachbrooke. See W. S. L. to Henry E. Landor: c. 19 April 1852 and c. 30 January 1857 (Marie-Louise and James M. Osborn Collection, Yale University Library; cited by permission).

⁵ Forster, ii. 123.

send him all sorts of news ; express not much interest, it must be confessed, in his literary achievements ; but display, every one of them, the utmost motherly solicitude for the welfare and future of his children ”.¹ She never let her son’s birthday pass without a present from her, which provided a small but welcome addition to his income.²

Landor’s letters in this edition are most frequently addressed either to his mother or to his sisters Elizabeth and Ellen. A year and a half younger than Walter, Elizabeth was the sister to whom he felt closest. After her death in 1854, he lamented that “ The earliest of my friends is gone/ Alas ! almost my only one ! ”³ It was she whom Dorothea Lyttleton described as more distressed than he could imagine at his failure to write his family when, after a quarrel with his father, he left home around Christmas 1794.⁴ During the period before his marriage in 1811, Elizabeth was his constant correspondent and “ would have saved him from many a folly if cleverness and good sense could have done it ”.⁵

Although Landor also corresponded regularly with Ellen almost until her death in 1838,⁶ no character portrait of her

¹ Forster, ii. 123.

² Ibid.

³ “ March 24 ”, ll. 9-10, *The Complete Works of Walter Savage Landor*, ed. T. Earle Welby and Stephen Wheeler (London, 1927-36), xv. 418 ; hereafter *CW*. See also W. S. L. to Henry E. Landor, c. 24 February 1854 (Marie-Louise and James M. Osborn Collection, Yale University Library ; cited by permission).

⁴ Super, p. 22 ; Forster, i. 64. Dorothea Lyttleton (d. June 1811) was the niece and heiress of Phillips Lyttleton of Studley Castle, the estate next to Ipsley. The same age as Landor, she carried on a mild flirtation with him before her marriage to Francis Holyoake of Tettenhall, Staffordshire, on 17 April 1795 (Super, p. 28 ; John Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland* (1836-38), s.v. “ Holyoake, of Tettenhall and Studley Castle ”).
⁵ Forster, i. 201.

⁶ Although the correspondence between Landor and his sisters was both regular and affectionate, there was evidently some strain in the relationship in 1837-8. Super indicates that there is no correspondence between them from the end of 1836 to the end of 1839. However, the Berg Collection, NYPL, now possesses four letters from Elizabeth to Walter during this period : postmarks 15 May 1837, 2 February [1838], 26 May [1838], 30 October [1838]. Nevertheless, Super’s interpretation of the silence as a result of “ rather strong feelings against him in Warwickshire at this time ” is borne out by Landor’s letter to Elizabeth of 2 February [1838], stating that her letter “ very much afflicted ” him : “ Of course if my letter gave uneasiness and agitation to poor Ellen, my presence would. Yet if there is a possibility of the contrary, I would set out instantly to show my last regard for her ”. Super suggests that the reason for

remains. None of the sisters married ; they were destined first to nurse their father through a long illness and later their mother through her old age.

Aside from Walter, the most famous of the brothers was Robert, who entered Worcester College, Oxford, on a scholarship in 1797 and took his B.A. in 1801 and M.A. in 1804, when he also took orders. In 1817 his cousin John Norris presented him with the living at Hughenden and in 1829 his mother purchased for him the living at Birlingham, Worcester, which he held until his death.¹ Among his works are *The Impious Feast* (1828), *The Fawn of Sertorius* (1846), and *The Fountain of Arethusa* (1848). The only letter from Walter to Robert in this edition is a fragment written in 1813. After Landor left England in 1814, Robert joined him at Tours in October 1815, carrying important papers for his brother's signature. They travelled together to Italy, where they went their separate ways. When Robert returned to England in 1816, they parted on good terms.² Four years later, their correspondence ended in an angry exchange in August or September over some proposals Walter made concerning property. Robert told Henry that he broke off all correspondence to avoid the danger of an irreparable quarrel rather than because he was in an evil temper.³ Landor made attempts at reconciliation in 1832 and 1839, but it was not until December 1840 that the brothers resumed correspondence.⁴ Nevertheless, Landor always thought highly of his brother. After their correspondence resumed, he wrote Lady Blessington that there "never was, a more honorable, upright christian gentleman" and characterized his brother's poetry as surpassing "by many

the coolness may be hidden in Landor's remark about Elizabeth to Rose Paynter in March 1839 : " If she has not shown the same kindness to my family as she always did to me in our early days, it is only a reason the more with me for showing my compliance with her wishes. And indeed I now find that if she had invited Julia to her house it would have been painful to them both " (*The Letters of Walter Savage Landor, Public and Private*, ed. Stephen Wheeler (London, 1899), p. 20; Super, pp. 295-96).

¹ Joseph Foster, ed. *Alumni Oxonienses, 1715-1886* (Oxford, 1888), iii. 813 (hereafter Foster) ; Eric Partridge, *Robert Eyres Landor* (London, 1927), pp. 4-5, 11 ; notes on Robert E. Landor taken from a paper written by Elizabeth Sophia (Sophy) Landor on 6 March 1869, R. H. Super transcript.

² Super, pp. 133, 134, 136.

³ *Ibid.* p. 155.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 323.

degrees, the best our country has produced in the present century or the last ”.¹

The most practical of the brothers was Henry. Super has rightly commented that of Landor’s three brothers, Henry shows up most pleasantly in his correspondence for his good humour and good sense: “ It was to Henry that all the brothers turned for advice and approval, and in his hands they were content to let their affairs rest ”.² After giving up his chance to go to Oxford in order for Robert to accept his scholarship there, Henry became a clerk in the office of John Hickin at Rugeley. Around 1800 he went to London to study law and returned to Warwick two years later to become first a conveyancer and then a land agent.³ Robert had high praise for this brother who never accepted any share in the common property or any bequest from his mother or sisters, but always transferred his rights to nephews and nieces: “ Here is another contrast [to Walter] of which I will say no more ”.⁴

Although Landor greatly respected his brother, he did become angry with him over business matters, as his letters to and from his mother in 1808 demonstrate. Robert’s letter to Henry of 4 and 5 October 1815 also makes clear that Walter quarrelled with Henry over his debts and tangled business affairs.⁵ Landor’s letters evidently became so heated that Henry refused to correspond with his brother at all.⁶ From this time until 1832 when Landor re-established his relationship with his brother during his visit to his family in England, there are only two extant letters to Henry. That dated 19 December 1825 is included in this edition; the other, pertaining to a business matter a few months later, exists only in W. N. Landor’s transcript.⁷

The first letter in the present edition is addressed to Henry from France, where Landor—like hundreds of other Englishmen—was spending the summer during the brief peace after the signing of the Treaty of Amiens (March 1802). One of the chief

¹ W. S. L. to Lady Blessington, quoted *ibid.* p. 324.

² *Ibid.* p. 590, n. 20.

³ Forster, i. 9; Super, p. 520, n. 62; memorandum regarding Forster’s biography in hand of Sophy Landor, Tachbrooke, August 1871 (MS. in possession of R. H. Super).

⁴ Forster, i. 77.

⁵ MS. in Berg Coll., NYPL.

⁶ Super, p. 133.

⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 330, 555, n. 42.

attractions was the Louvre, open as a public museum since 1793, which was now filled with magnificent works of art confiscated from Belgium and Italy. Landor's letter indicates that he was properly impressed by the treasures of the museum and by the splendor of French palaces—as well as by the high cost of living :

Dear Henry¹

I ought to have written to you when I arrived at Paris—but as I was delayed a whole day upon the road, & confined to my room in consequence of the journey, & without any waiter whom I could send to the Postoffice, I resolved to defer my letter till I was certain it would find you in Warwickshire. The Hotels in Paris are quite on a different plan from those in London. Unless you have servants of your own you cannot dine at home. Indeed tho here are sixty apartments, there is not a fire in the house, & I am obliged to put on my shirt as damp as a newspaper from the press. Lodgings are three times as dear as in London. I give four livres a night for a miserable bed room, besides which I have another poor brick-floor apartment for a guinea louis a-week. It has cost me six or eight shillings a-day on an average for coach-hire, having been completely laid up with a swelling on the ankle [*sic*—which however I do not think was gout & which I have now removed by bathing it in cold water. I have seen Versailles—a palace more than five times as large as Warwick castle. The rooms are incrusted with marble, and are magnificent beyond description. The gardens are full of statues, not one of which cost so little as five hundred guineas, & many groups five thousand. The religious houses alone have suffered by the revolution, and these in general not much. I spend three or four hours every day in the gallery of pictures. You are not to imagine that one quarter of these are the spoils of Italy. Many were brought from the Kings palaces and many were the property of rich emigrants. The number of statues brought recently from Italy does not exceed seventy four—while those belonging to the palaces and gardens are at least five hundred—not including those which are of bronze. I spent two days at the Petit Trianon, the favorite residence of Maria Antoinette. It is hardly a mile from the Palace of Versailles. The gardens are quite in the English taste. There is a temple of Love, about twenty feet or twenty five in diameter, open on every side, with a roof of carved stone, supported by twelve pillars. It cost four thousand guineas. It is the most exquisite piece of architecture I ever saw. The god has been removed to Paris. This statue was purchased for two thousand guineas. The house itself is perfectly square & regular. Each front is about sixty-five feet. Those rooms above the ground floor consisting of a drawing room & dining room, a bed room & dressing room were occupied by the queen—The others by her company.

My pocket begins to wax feeble. One cannot travel in France or live at Paris for a little. They know an Englishman everywhere—& the extravagance of a few is a heavy tax upon the rest. I have met with a party, going next month into

¹ No date. Four pages, $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Addressed (on the back, as are all subsequent letters) : Henry Landor Esq./Ipsley Court/ near Redditch/ Worcester-shire/ Angleterre. No postmark. Stamp : P. Paye Paris. Endorsed on p. 4 : Rec'd 6th Aug^t 1802/ Walter—from France (Ryl. Eng. MS. 1237/30).

Switzerland [*sic*—& I should like very much to go with them. But it is requisite for this purpose that I should ask my father [to]¹ advance me twenty pounds of my [next] quarters revenue. I wish you wou[ld] mention that matter to him. Th[e] sooner the better—for I have [but ?] nine guineas in my purse. [If] my mother would lend me a hund[red] this would make all the differen[ce] between travelling comfortably [and] uncomfortably. There is another [matter] which I mentioned to you in L[ondon] and which I hope you have [not] forgotten. I leave the management of every thing to your discretion. Pray write to me immediately & believe me Dear Henry
Y^{rs} very affectionately

WL.
A Monsieur
W. Landor
Poste Restante
à Paris.

In a letter to his sister Elizabeth, postmarked 13 August 1802, Landor indicated that he was still spending three or four hours every day at the museum and was now convinced that all the pictures could not be “seen and studied properly in less than three entire years”.² He jubilantly described how he had managed to get within six or eight yards of Napoleon for nearly a quarter of an hour: “He seems melancholy, and reserved, but not morose or proud. His figure and complexion are nearly like those of Charles Norris”.³ It is evident from his 16 July letter to Henry that the more he saw of Napoleon and his government the more his earlier adulation turned to contempt. The resumption of the Napoleonic wars intensified this feeling, which he expressed in his notes to *Gebir* (1803)⁴ and in the “Praefatio ad Poemata Latina” and “Bellum Hortatur” of *Simonidea* (1806):⁵

¹ MS. torn.

² W. N. Landor's transcript.

³ Charles Norris (1779-1858), younger son of John Norris of Marylebone, a wealthy London merchant. Norris was an artist and author of *The Architectural Antiquities of Wales* (1810). He was a particular friend of Robert Landor. See also W. S. L. to Ellen Landor, postmarked 21 November 1825 (Ryl. Eng. MS. 1237/8; *DNB*; see Arthur L. Leach, *Charles Norris, . . . Topographical Artist* (Tenby, 1949). Assistance provided by G. A. Dickman, librarian, Pembrokeshire County Library, Haverford).

⁴ v. 193, 307; *CW*, 47, 349.

⁵ pp. 69-77. Much of this was originally intended as a note to be added to *Gebirus* (1803). See W. S. L. to Birch, postmarked 20 November 1805 (Ryl. Eng. MS. 1237/33; Ruoff, “Landor's Letters to the Reverend Walter Birch”, p. 220). An early version of “Bellum Hortatur” appears in W. S. L.'s letter to Birch, c. 7 November 1805; see ll. 35-36, Ruoff, pp. 207-209.

July 16. [1802]¹

Dear Henry

It is not untill [sic] today that I receive your letter—as the posts are very regular here, the fault must lie somewhere in England. I cannot express how much I am obliged to you,—but if you had happened fortunately to have desired Ladbroke² to send me a letter of credit, I should have avoided some few inconveniences which I will not mention. They will not give me the money without it—nor indeed could I expect they would. I have written to Ladbroke & desired him to give me a letter of credit on Perigeaux.

Yesterday was the most important day since the commencement of the revolution. The palace of Government, the metropolitan church—the arches of the bridges, the bridges themselves and all the public edifices were illuminated most magnificently. In the garden of the Tuilleries there were several hundred pyramids of wood, about twenty-five feet high, covered with the most brilliant lamps. The sides of several pieces of water, in which were fountains playing, were ornamented in the same manner—and there was not a statue nor an orange-tree of which you could not distinguish the minutest part. Seven rows of benches were erected over the grand flight of steps which leads into the palace. Each contained about forty performers—the first musicians in the world. Immediately above, at the height perhaps of thirty feet sate the principal officers of state. On the leads which cover the colonnade, the military guards were walking. Buona-parté made his appearance in the centre, where his wife had sate some time in company with the other two consuls. I expected that the sky would have been rent with acclamations—on the contrary he experienced such a reception as was experienced by Richard the Third. He was sensibly mortified. He bowed—but he waved to & fro, and often wiped his face with his handkerchief [sic]. He retired in about ten minutes.³ Doubtless the government of Bonaparte is the best that can be contrived for Frenchmen. Monkeys must be chained, tho it may cost tem [sic] some grimaces. If you have read attentively the last Senatus consultum⁴

¹ Four pages; $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ inches; last third of pp. 3-4 missing. Addressed: Henry Landor Esq./ Ipsley Court, near Redditch/ Worcestershire/ Angleterre. Postmarks: 23 August 1802; Foreign Office, 23 August 1802. Stamp: P. Paye Paris. Endorsed on p. 4: 16 Aug^t 1802/ W^r from France (Ryl. Eng. MS. 1237/29).

² The Ladbrokes were bankers. This may be the Robert Ladbroke (c. 1749-1814), whom Dr. Landor helped elect as M.P. from Warwick borough in 1780; he served until 1790. Gerrit P. Judd, IV., lists him as a banker (*Members of Parliament 1734-1832*, Yale Historical Publications, ed. Lewis P. Curtis (New Haven, 1955), pp. 249, 91. I am unable to identify Perigeaux.

³ Cf. the description of the celebration in *Gentleman's Magazine* lxxii (July 1802), 669-70. Although the correspondent gave a detailed account of the parade and Napoleon's appearance before his troops, he does not describe the incident related by Landor. However, he did note that the fête was "not marked by anything very brilliant or striking".

⁴ On 8 May 1802, the Conservative Senate re-elected Napoleon First Consul. After receiving his acceptance, they decreed on 19 May a vote on whether or not he should be made consul for life (*Gentleman's Magazine*, lxxii (May 1802), 465).

you will find that not an atom of liberty is left. This people, the most inconstant, and therefor [sic] the most contemptible in the world, seem'd [sic] to have recovered their senses when they had lost their freedom.¹ The idol is beyond their reach—but the idolatry has vanished. The private houses were no more illuminated than usual. The shops had two lamps instead of one—this was the only difference. A consul of so great a genius will make the nation formidable to all the earth but England—but I hope there is no danger of any one imitating its example. As to the cause of liberty—this cursed nation has ruined it for ever.

You certainly have formed a wrong opinion of Mr. Geatheed [sic].² He is vain, but he is not corrupt. He has a sense of glory and a certain pride which may make him wish to seem the rival of L^d. Warwick, but would not suffer him to be the tool or even the copartner. He is vext and he *sulks*. That is all. He could not be so silly as to imagine that L^d. Warwick w^d. bring him in. On a suspicion of such a wish, all those friends whose assistance must at last do the business, would revolt against him. L^d. W. has friends enough to bring in one member provided this member is of his own family, but he cannot bring in two & Geatheed cannot pay him for a seat.³

The Senatus Consultum of 2 August 1802 announced that he had been elected for life (*ibid.* lxxii (August 1802), 769-70).

¹ Cf. his comment in "Blucher and Sandt" (1846) that Europe detests France because she is certain of nothing but her insecurity. "Nevertheless he [Napoleon] was made for those he governs: they must always have the trumpet before or the scourge behind them" (*CW*, viii. 94).

² Bertie Geatheed (1759-1826), of Guy's Cliff near Warwick, was a staunch Whig and good friend of Dr. Samuel Parr (1747-1825). Often asked to represent the borough of Warwick in Parliament, he always declined the honour (*Gentleman's Magazine*, xcvi (April 1826), 367-8). The Rev. William Field, friend and biographer of Dr. Parr, describes him as possessing "pleasing and polished manners" and "strong powers of mind" (*Memoirs of the Life, Writings, and Opinions of the Rev. Samuel Parr, LL.D.* (London, 1828), i. 208-9). Geatheed was also in Paris during the peace of 1802. Caught by the renewal of the war, he was detained as a prisoner on parole (Warren Derry, *Dr. Parr: A Portrait of the Whig Dr. Johnson* (Oxford, 1966), p. 67 n.). See also *DNB*.

³ George Greville (1746-1816) served as M.P. for Warwick borough from 1768 to 1773, when he became Earl Brooke of Warwick Castle and second Earl of Warwick (Frances E. Greville, Countess of Warwick, *Warwick Castle and its Earls* (London, 1903), ii. 765).

A Greville served as one of the borough representatives from 1768-1836. In the 6 July 1802 elections, Charles Mills (Marylebone parish, Middlesex County) and Henry Richard Greville (1779-1853), commonly called Lord Brooke, were returned for the borough (*Members of Parliament, 1705-1885*, Pt. II (House of Commons, 1 March 1878), 222; Judd, pp. 213, 277).

Up to the French Revolution Dr. Landor had been an active Whig supporter, working to break the dominance of the Greville family over Warwick borough politics. Although Dr. Landor switched his support to Burke and Pitt, Walter strongly supported Dr. Samuel Parr and the Whig cause (Forster, i. 116-17; Walter Savage Landor, *To the Burgesses of Warwick*, ed. R. H. Super (Oxford, 1949), pp. ix-xii).

I see by the papers that our friend Mr Rough¹ is married. I had written a letter of congratulation to him on the morning of the news—but I recollected that he might not be in London [&]² I burnt it. I repent not having [sent] it to Warwick, where I suppose i[t] would have found him—& now it is too late. If you will give me his address, I will write to him. This time, year too, I was to have been married³—But, after committing a piece of foolery in which I was the puppet, the farce concluded. But what can it signify?—I can only be sixty thousand [pounds] the poorer—to balance which I⁴

Little is known of Landor's activities after his return from France. While it is clear that the centre of his activities was Bath, the next three or four years are the most obscure of his life.⁵ His financial difficulties evidently increased to the point where his father was forced to sell some property in Rugeley in order to discharge his debts.⁶ His letter to his brother Henry below indicates that the difficulties were more obvious to his father than to Landor :

Dear Harry⁷

Do not be in any alarm lest I should write to Mr Hickin⁸ for money. I have more than I shall spend before the next quarter. Had I written to him at all, it would not have been for more than ten pounds,—and now the necessity is over.

¹ William Rough (1773-1838), lawyer and minor poet, married Harriet, natural daughter of John Wilkes, on 26 June 1802. An enthusiastic admirer of *Gebir*, Rough first became acquainted with Landor after he left Cambridge, from which he received his B.A. in 1796. He was an even closer friend of Henry Landor and had gone to Westminster with Southey. After being called to the bar at the Inner Temple in 1801, he went on the Midland circuit, about the same time that Henry became established at Warwick. Rough's intimacy with the Landor family dates from this period. According to Robert Landor, somehow Rough unintentionally offended his brother before guests, "whereupon Walter left his house and renounced his acquaintance" (Forster, i. 142-3, 147-8; *DNB*; G. F. Russell Barker and Alan H. Stenning, ed., *The Record of Old Westminsters* (London, 1928), ii. 802). ² MS. torn.

³ The woman Landor was to have married may have been Jane Sophia Swift ("Ilanthe"), whose marriage to Godwin Swift has been traditionally set in 1803. Landor's record of his love for her is preserved almost exclusively in his poems (Super, pp. 58-59). ⁴ Remainder of MS. missing.

⁵ Super, p. 69.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 71.

⁷ No date. Two pages, $8\frac{7}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ inches; last two pages missing. No address, postmark, or stamp. Top of p. 1 endorsed: Rec^d. 5th. February 1805 (Ryl. Eng. MS. 1237/31).

⁸ John Hickin was the Rugeley attorney in whose office Henry served as clerk (Super, p. 520, n. 62). In 1815 Hickin's only daughter Sarah married Landor's cousin Walter Landor of Rugeley (1782-1864), who served as the Landor family attorney.

My father tells me that " he supposes you have informed me of his having conveyed to me the house my uncle lives in, & the two next Godwin's & John Holts ".¹ I do not comprehend this, nor see the necessity of any such conveyance. Explain it, when you have the leisure. My poor father seems to take it for granted that my uncle will die before him—for he says " When my brother dies, I would recommend to you to sell them, & think that they would be a most desirable purchase to the proprietors of the forge " &c—I have often thought so too—but I am inclined also to think that these people would give as much for about one half of the garden, with the paddock as another person would for the whole premises.

I am surprised that Sr. George Baker, who writes remarkably good & graceful latin, should not have been able to make Inglis's *stuff* show better than it does.² But the latin for inscriptions is widely different from that which is read at schools, and perhaps Sr. George B. may not be versed in it. No man upon earth knows it so well as our friend at Hatton.³ It was a great disappointment to me that you were unable to decypher my verses. I took uncommon pains in transcribing them, and the verses are above mediocrity. One night I happened to think on poor James,⁴ and composed before I went to sleep the following iambics. I have often retouched them since. Send them to the Doctor. I mean my copy—as I have taken uncommon pains with the words & punctuation.⁵

By 3 November 1805, Dr. Landor was dead. In a letter post-marked 20 November, Landor sent the sad news to Walter Birch : " It was an event for which we were long prepared by a most tedious and excruciating malady—a species of cancer. It was

¹ John Landor (1736-1806), Walter's uncle, was rector of Colton. On 2 May 1809, Walter conveyed the rectory by deed to his brother Charles (Duke, " Paternal Ancestry of Walter Savage Landor ", ut cit. v. 51, 61).

The Landor house in Market Place is now occupied by the National Provincial Bank and a sweet shop. Alexander Godwin, a corn miller and baker, is listed in the 1818 *Staffordshire Directory* as living at Market Place. Listed there too is a Mrs. Anne Holt, Bridge End, Rugeley. Though the row of houses where Mrs. Holt lived is long since gone, the location given in the directory would have placed it next to the Landor garden (Information provided by Miss Diana Landor and D. B. Robinson, assistant archivist, Staffordshire County Council).

² Sir George Baker (1722-1809), physician and writer of graceful Latin prose and amusing epigrams (*DNB*). I am unable to identify Inglis.

³ Landor's respect for the classical knowledge of Dr. Samuel Parr was widely shared.

⁴ Dr. Thomas James (1748-1804), headmaster of Rugby from 1778-94. At James' request, Landor was removed from the school in 1791 (*Super*, p. 9).

⁵ Although the verses and conclusion of the letter are now missing, Forster cited the verses in his biography (i. 196 n.). Another version of the verses was included in Landor's letter to Birch, postmarked [5 ?] November [1805] (Ryl. Eng. MS. 1237/32 ; see Ruoff, pp. 212-14). They were subsequently included in *Simonidea* (1806), pp. 78-79. Landor quoted part of them in a fragment of a letter (c. 1863) now in the Houghton Library, Harvard ; cited by permission of Harvard College Library.

what he most earnestly & incessantly desired, and what on that account only we the less bitterly regret".¹ He also wrote Birch that his income would be increased to about eleven hundred a year.²

Now that he had come into part of his inheritance, Landor began looking for an estate. After he was unable to purchase Loweswater in the Lake District, Landor decided by the end of 1807 to buy a wild valley in Monmouth containing Llanthony Abbey. The purchase was advised by Henry, whose inspection had convinced him that it would be a profitable venture for his brother.³

At the time he bought his new estates in Monmouth and Hereford, they comprised over 3,000 acres of land. To get the necessary funds, Landor sold his patrimonial estates in Staffordshire which had been in the Landor family since the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Unfortunately the £37,715 realized from the sale was not enough to pay for the new estate since the owner Colonel Mark Wood retained a mortgage of £12,000 and Frederick Fredericks another of £2,000, for which the Llanthony rents were security. Estimated at £3,000 a year, the rents barely brought in £1,300 at this time.⁴ Landor then appealed to his mother to sell the Savage property in Tachbrooke, which was entailed on him but for which she held life tenure, so that he might pay off these mortgages, offering in exchange to transfer the entail to Llanthony. She agreed on condition that she receive from the new estate approximately the same income per annum for life as she had from the old—£450.⁵ Thus, Landor was free to sell his mother's only remaining estate, one which had been owned by a Savage at least since the reign of Henry VII.⁶ The

¹ Ryl. Eng. MS. 1237/33 ; Ruoff, pp. 220-1.

² Ryl. Eng. MS. 1237/33 ; Ruoff, pp. 220-1.

³ Henry E. Landor to W. S. L., 30 June 1853 (Berg Coll., NYPL ; Forster, i. 307 ; Super, p. 79).

⁴ Super, p. 83 ; Duke, " A Pedigree of the Paternal Ancestry of Walter Savage Landor ", ut cit. 4th ser., v. 64.

⁵ Super, pp. 83-84.

⁶ Duke, " The Family of Savage of Warwickshire ", ut cit. 3rd ser., v. 64. Landor wrote Wordsworth on 23 September [1820] that the estate had been in his mother's family almost seven hundred years (R. H. Super, " Landor's Letters to Wordsworth and Coleridge ", *Modern Philology*, lv (November 1957), 75).

following four letters, three from Landor to his mother and a copy of an unpublished letter from her to him, pertain to this transaction :

Dear Mother¹

I have just returned from Monmouthshire, and find here two letters from Henry. It is impossible for me to express how sensible I am of your goodness, in consenting to clear and complete the purchase of Lanthony, by selling the property at Tachebroke. There is not one of the family who will not be richer for it than I shall be. It is my determination to save a third part of the clear rents for improvements. I have already laid out three hundred pounds in trees and labour, and am about to pay, for the enclosure of a wood, five and thirty. Next year, my planting will not cost above one hundred. The fences are the principal expence. It is requisite to make them extremely strong against the mountain sheep, which leap like hares. One of my carriage horses is lame. If the roads were not so very bad, I would send them all to work on it. I believe I must at last. The Blackburns,² I suppose, are now at Warwick. I liked the family very much. Shuckburgh³ came here a few days since. He was the first person I saw on my return. John Venour⁴ seems the happiest man in the world. Indeed his wife is a very nice woman. Clifton is not fuller now than it has been all winter and Bath continues quite as gay as ever. I thought Humphrey Arden⁵ rather better when I saw him last. I hope Elizabeth and Ellen can enjoy this

¹ Four pages, $9\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Addressed : Mrs. Landor, / Warwick. Post-mark : Bristol / [Illeg.] (Berg Coll., NYPL).

² Mrs. Blackburn was a sister of Maria Briggs (1781-1857), who married John Venour on 1 March 1808 (Maria Arden to Robert E. Landor, 11 January 1808, W. N. Landor's transcript and notes). The Venours and Landors were related through Catharine Landor (b. 1745), daughter of Robert (1708-81) and Mary Noble, who married John Venour, Wellesbourne, co. Warwick, in 1766 (R. H. Super's notes on the genealogy of the Landor and Savage families. Unless otherwise indicated, information about the Venour family is taken from this source).

³ Probably John Shuckburgh (1767-1837), of Bourton, co. Warwick, who married Landor's cousin Sophia Venour (b. 1769) on 3 March 1788. Landor wrote a poem on the occasion (Super, p. 10).

⁴ John Venour (1768-1839), brother of Sophia, received his B.A. from Worcester College, Oxford, in 1789 and his M.A. in 1792. He became rector of Bourton-upon-Dunsmore, co. Warwick, in 1818, a position he held until his death (Foster, iv. 1469 ; Rev. A. T. Michell, ed., *Rugby School Register* (Rugby, 1909), i. 74).

⁵ Humphrey Arden (1758-1809), married Landor's half sister Maria in 1788. Little is known about him. He served in the 34th or Cumberland Regiment of Footguards and was promoted to the rank of adjutant on 2 August 1780 (*Army List* (1788), p. 110). In 1799 he served as warden (mayor) of Sutton Coldfield (Information provided by H. Sykes, borough librarian). After a long illness, he died in Bath on 13 July 1809 (M. Arden to Robert E. Landor, 11 January and 1 June 1808, W. N. Landor's transcript ; Super, p. 527, n. 40 ; *Burke's Landed Gentry* (1952), s.v. "Arden, formerly of Longcroft").

delightful weather, and that you are grown too prudent to go walking in the garden without some covering to your head. We elderly people, who have had rheumatisms must not be too adventurous. What is Robert doing that he does not write to me. Charles, I suppose, is gone into Staffordshire.

I wrote at Christmas to congratulate Mrs West on her son's marriage.¹ I saw it in the papers. She has not returned me any answer. If James West has any sense in his head, he will not marry a fat vulgar deaf woman. It is the worst thing he ever [c^d do?].² I hope to hear from you very soon, and remain

Dear Mother
Your ever affectionate Son
W Savage Landor.

Direct to me at Sydney House
Bath.

Thursday Evening. 16 [June 1808]³

Dear Mother⁴

On the receipt [sic] of Henry's very extraordinary letter, I wrote to you from Clifton. I have seen Mr Bevan,⁵ but did not mention one syllable on that subject, nor about the exchange at Tachebroke—for I am very desirous that you should have the opinion of so unprejudiced a man, and I am willing to agree to it whatever it may be. It certainly would save me at least a thousand pounds, if I were able to make my bargains with the free holders at Lanthony before the road is finished.⁶ I cannot do this, until we have agreed to sell. But surely the sale of Tachebroke will not alter your intentions in regard to the timber. Your accomodation to me is an act of kindness, and my giving up Colton to you is to make amends for any advantages (in timber or otherwise) that might arise to you from keeping the estate in your own hands. I have constantly and earnestly begged of Henry that

¹ Mrs. Sarah West (d. 1836), wife of James and youngest daughter of Christopher Wren, of Wroxhall Abbey, Warwickshire. Her son James West (1775-1838) married Anne, daughter of the late Joseph Roberts, New Combe, Gloucestershire, on 31 March 1808. West assumed the additional name and arms of Roberts (Burke, *Landed Gentry* (1852), s.v. "West of Alscot Park"). West was one of Parr's students at Hatton and one of Sheridan's particular friends. A life-long friend of Parr, West was a regular guest at his birthday celebrations (Derry, pp. 62 n., 313.) ² Blot on MS.

³ 16 June was a Thursday in 1808.

⁴ Four pages, 9¼ × 7½ inches. Addressed: Mrs. Landor/ Warwick. Postmark: 30 June 1808 (Berg Coll., NYPL).

⁵ Probably William Bevan, attorney at law, whose office is listed in the Bristol directory from 1815 on and who is later recorded as living in Clifton. Mr. Bevan practised in partnership with Mr. Mershach Brittan in the late 1820s or early 1830s under the name "Bevan & Brittan" (Information provided by W. S. Haugh, librarian, Bristol Public Libraries, and Mr. A. R. Boucher, former senior partner in the firm of Bevan, Hancock & Co., Solicitors).

⁶ According to Robert Landor, his brother did "one good thing" at Llanthony: "he made a good road, a considerable distance" (Memorandum of R. E. Landor (c. 1858); MS. in possession of R. H. Super).

every one of my letters on this business might be kept. I particularly begged that he would show them not only to my brothers, but to Mr Bevan. In regard to the trees, if you are at all disappointed in your expectations from Lady Conyngham,¹ they are such as are *hardly so old* as to rot by standing, and I shall have no uneasiness at seeing them cut down.

I am going to Brighton, tomorrow morning, and shall be very anxious to hear from you. Tell Elizabeth to write, and believe me

Dear Mother
Y^r ever affect. Son
W S Landor

London

Thursday Morning²

In the letter below, Mrs. Landor sets forth the terms under which she would agree to the sale of the Savage property at the

¹ Ellen Merret, daughter of Solomon Merret and Rebecca Savage, married Viscount Conyngham in 1774; her husband died in 1781 and she died on 15 June 1816 at the age of 97 (Duke, "The Family of Savage of Warwickshire", *ut cit.* 3rd ser., v. 102; he incorrectly lists her death date as 1806. See her obituaries in *Gentleman's Magazine*, lxxxvi (June 1816), 573, and *Morning Chronicle*, Wednesday, 19 June 1816, p. 2).

In 1786, after the death of John Norris (son of John Norris and her maternal aunt Ellen Savage), Lady Conyngham took possession of Hughenden, Buckinghamshire, in which she held a life interest. After expiry of this interest, the estate was to descend to Mrs. Landor and her three sisters (Duke, "The Family of Savage of Warwickshire", pp. 101-2). In order to provide for his younger children, Dr. Landor asked her to cut off the entail at "Hitchenden" as early as 1787. She replied on 2 July that she "neither *can nor will cut off the Entail*. These are my Sentiments upon the occasion, w^{ch}. I shall never deviate from—" (Berg Coll., NYPL).

Landor expressed his dislike of Lady Conyngham in the following epigram :

Threatening old woman ! thinkest thou
Before thy coronet I'll bow ?
Nought from our ancestors I claim
But half their virtue with their name :
Old as it is I will take care

It shall not be the worse for wear.—The MS., unknown hand, indicates that the note below is in W. S. L.'s hand :

The six verses to the threatening old woman are upon the old Countess of Conyngham, to whom I was the nearest male relation. Mr. Bevan, a barrister and friend of mine, who had been visiting her, told me she askt him whether he had seen me in London, as she had heard. He said he had. "Well, well", replied she, "I am an old woman—but others do stil [*sic*] respect me. He knows best, Mr. Bevan". Very kindly he repeated all this to me. I took it as threat and never went to her house after.

R. H. Super transcript. Neither the poem nor the note appears in *CW*.

² 30 June was a Thursday in 1808.

same time that she emphasizes her continuing concern for the financial future of her younger children. Probably written very early in July 1808, it is the only extant letter from Mrs. Landor to Walter :

Dear W¹—I recd a Letter from you on Saturday last. I shall be willing to accomodate you on the sale of Commanders² farm on receiving an annuity for my Life for 450 L a year—Henry tells me I may have an encrease of rent of that farm if I choose of 50 L a year & advises me not to make a Lease which I have declind doing. M^r & M^{rs} Bond³ have been lately paying me a visit & as they talked with indifference about Wyatts⁴ farm & if having that will be any advantage to the sale of Commanders you shall have my share if you desire it for 2000 L altho M^{rs} Bond expects near 2500L for her part. the Trees on Wyatts farm were valued by Henrys valuer when there was an auction & he said they were worth 700 L that are left for my share [.] something should be given the Trees on Commanders farm I should think may be worth nearly as much, but as I have once cut down there for Charles I am willing that they shall go to the money the estates sells for to be laid out at Lantony & settled as Tachb [sic] is, then there will only be the Ipsley Trees to consider of. I have laid out in draining & floating which are greater advantages to you than they can be to me from the leases about 80 L—I suspect, a heavy expence of Stewards⁵ Barn which is not likely to stand this. I certainly must fall some trees for this next season to pay for & as I think your Sisters & Robert will have very small fortunes I certainly aught to make up as much ~~as much~~ for them as I can & there is no other way than falling of Timber at Ipsley—I remember very well saying that I never would fall any without your knowledge nor have I but if your father could have suppos'd your fortune would have been near to what it is, he certainly would have made a better provision for them which he could have done by falling of Timber in Staffordshire—their whole fortunes will not in probability exceed three thousand each when at my Death you will have more p^r an^m—now ask your own heart if I am doing wrong by endeavouring to make them in a comfortable situation for Life & their health may occasion expences we little now think of—I will have all the Timber valued & when it is valued I will send you what it comes to & if you choose to secure the amount to my Executors after my Death I shall be very

¹ No date, no signature. Four pages, $7\frac{1}{4} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Endorsed on p. 4 : 1808/ Copy of a Letter from M^{rs} Landor/ to her Son W. S. Landor (Berg Coll., NYPL). The copy appears to be in her hand.

² Mrs. Landor alludes to the property of George Commander (d. 1750), who married Elizabeth Savage (1690-1739) in 1713 (*Local and Personal Acts*, 49 G.3. c. xcvi; R. H. Super's notes).

³ Mrs. Landor's sister Mary Savage (b. 1745) married William Bond of Wolverhampton in 1768.

⁴ This may be the Richard Wyatt, who held a seven-year lease on a farm of 225 acres in Tachbrooke (M. W. Farr, archivist, Warwickshire County Council ; County Records (1809), CR 931/65).

⁵ I am unable to identify Steward. His farm apparently was in Ipsley (W. S. L. to Henry E. Landor, c. 1826 ; W. N. Landor transcript).

willing ~~after my~~ to let you sell such part of it as is getting worse & out of sight of the house & what I shall set out for the purpose—you will have the advantage of that as long as I live without paying Interest & when I die the remainder you can do as you like with—I did not answer a Letter I rec^d from you some little time since as you spoke in such an unkind manner of Henry whose conduct you of all others have reason to be satisfied with as by his attention to your affairs you have had some thousands put into your pocket more than any other would have done for you & I am sure of this that he considers his friends interest more than his own & if he is not more attentive to his own health it will not be in his own power long to assist any one—he has been very far from well for a long time.¹

Landor responded to his mother's proposals in a letter, sent from Brighton and postmarked 7 July, which survives only in W. N. Landor's transcript: "I return you a thousand thanks for your very kind letter, and perfectly agree to all your proposals. Nothing can be more just than that I should pay the full value of the timber on Wyatt's farm. It relieves my mind to perceive that you think only of cutting down at Ipsley such trees as are getting worse, and are out of sight of the house, and I am sensible of your generosity and goodness in the offer to place at my disposal such money as they may produce, on securing the amount to your executors". To speed the disposition of the property, he suggested that it be offered immediately to Henry Richard Greville, Lord Warwick.²

His mother evidently raised more questions about the trees at Ipsley since Landor's letter of 11 July 1808 indicates his increased impatience with the details involved in the financial arrangements:

Dear Mother³

I certainly did not understand your letter in respect to Ipsley. You are at liberty to do whatever you like with the timber. Our concern is about Tachebrooke. Ipsley is out of the question altogether, and, as I shall never see the place again, I am not quite so anxious as I might be about any havoc that may be made. I shall want all the money I can raise to pay off the incumbrances on Lanthony and to purchase the remainder of the manor. You will have no objection, I trust, to permit the two thousand pounds for Wyatts to remain on mortgage, as Henry will receive the interest for you half-yearly. I have been at

¹ MS. ends here.

² See p. 476, n. 3. Lord Warwick did purchase the estate (Duke, "The Family Savage of Warwickshire", *ut cit.* 3rd ser., v. 99).

³ Four pages, 9¼ × 7½ inches. Addressed: M^{rs}. Landor/ Warwick. Postmark: 12 July 1808. Stamp: Worthing (Berg Coll., NYPL).

Worthing a few days. Tomorrow I return to Brighton, where I shall remain to receive and sign any papers that may be sent.

I remain
Dear Mother
Your ever affectionate
W S Landor

Monday Morning—¹

To complete the transaction required a private Act of Parliament, as well as the consent of the three younger sons.² Before the arrangements could be completed, Landor suddenly left for Spain early in August 1808.³ By late October he had returned to England, but the act enabling him to complete the purchase of Llanthony was not passed until May 1809, effective 24 June.⁴

Although one of the reasons he went to Spain was to try to escape his own confused emotions, his letter to Southey postmarked November 1808 makes clear that this aspect of the trip had been a failure: "I should have been a good and happy man if I had married. My heart is tender. I am fond of children and of talking childish. . . . I love a woman who will never love me, and am beloved by one who never ought".⁵ Despite the melancholy tone of this letter, Landor subsequently recovered enough to spend increasing amounts of time in the gay society of Bath, where he went from one infatuation to another during the next two years. Although there are no extant holographs of the correspondence between Landor and his family during this period, Forster indicates that Elizabeth, his constant correspondent at this time, was in a "perpetual agitation of warning" against any ill-advised marriage. The danger was ever present, despite Elizabeth's perceptive advice that "birth and fortune . . . are not requisites, but good disposition and good understanding are; and how many innocents, only for being pretty, have you all your life been thinking sensible!"⁶

¹ Monday was 11 July 1808.

² Memorandum of Robert E. Landor (c. 1858) (MS. in possession of R. H. Super).

³ Landor's letter to Southey postmarked 8 August 1808 announced that he would depart in three days (Forster, i. 220-1).

⁴ Super, pp. 88, 93 (Copy of this act, 49 G.3. c. xcvi, in Berg Coll., NYPL).

⁵ Forster, i. 238. A hint of his reasons for the trip to Spain is also contained in his letter postmarked 8 August (ibid. i. 221).

⁶ Ibid. i. 201-3.

Her warnings may have saved him for a time, but they failed at last. On 24 May 1811, Landor married just such a pretty innocent who, as he later bitterly recalled, had more golden curls on her head than any other girl in Bath.¹ The couple met around 30 January 1811, when Landor had turned thirty-six and Julia Thuillier² was just seventeen. Landor's family may first have heard the news of his intended marriage when he requested (probably in late April) to have jointure of £500 per annum from his Llanthony estate settled on his bride. Around the same time, his mother wrote to inquire about the reports she heard and to reproach him gently.³ His offhand announcement of his intention and description of his bride were hardly calculated to calm a mother's worries about her son's future happiness :

Dear Mother⁴

I hasten to acknowledge your very kind and affectionate letter, tho I am several hours too late for the post. You have, throughout the whole of my life, constantly treated me with the same goodness, and I should be very ungrateful if I could ever forget it. I hope we shall often meet again, and pass many, happy days together yet.

My presence will be so often requisite to overlook what is going on at Llanthony, that I am afraid I should hardly be able to stay longer than a few days

¹ Forster, i. 324. Eliza Lynn Linton, "Reminiscences of Walter Savage Landor", *Fraser's Magazine*, lxxxii, n.s., no. 2 (July 1870), 118.

² Julia (1794-1879) was the daughter of Julia Burrow of Exeter and Jean Pierre Thuillier (1760-1836), who was born in Geneva of a family claiming descent from the Baron Jean Thuillier Malaperte de Nieuville, gentleman of the Bedchamber to Charles VIII and belonging to one of the Huguenot families which fled France after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Thuillier's father had been a general in the Austrian service. After his republican opinions caused offence, Thuillier fled Geneva and settled in Banbury as a banker. When his business failed, he went to Cadiz to superintend his affairs there, leaving his family at Bath. He was abroad during Julia's courtship and marriage (Super, p. 99). For Landor's own account of his father-in-law's background, see his letter of 16 March [1855] to Mrs. Rose Paynter Graves-Sawle (*Letters of Walter Savage Landor, Private and Public*, ed. Wheeler, pp. 192-3). The Landors evidently did not know about Thuillier's ancestry at the time of the marriage (Memorandum of Robert E. Landor (c. 1858). MS. in possession of R. H. Super). See also the note by "C. C." on Thuillier and his children in *N & Q*, clxxiv (27 March 1948), 201. An article on Sir Henry Edward Landor Thuillier, his son, appears in the 2nd supplement of the *DNB* under "Thuillier".

³ Forster, i. 323-24.

⁴ No date, c. April 1811. Four pages, 9×7¼ inches. Addressed: Mrs. Landor/Warwick. No postmark. Stamp: Bath/[illeg.] (Ryl. Eng. MS. 1237/1).

with you at Ipsley. It would give me the greatest pleasure to see you, and I certainly would come over for that purpose, if it were only for a day. The name of my intended bride is Julia Thuillier—She has no pretensions of any kind, and her want of fortune was the very thing which determined me to marry her. I shall be sorry to leave Bath entirely, but when I have completed my house I must remain there.

Believe me
Dear Mother
Your ever affectionate
W S Landor

The family had so little hope for the marriage that on 31 May Henry wrote Walter Landor of Rugeley that he believed his brother had married last Sunday or Monday but “we have kept the secret pretty well: for it is awkward if things do not happen at last, & to make an excuse is impossible. I wish he may be happy, but I know that it is impossible with as much violence and impetuosity as he possesses”.¹

Shortly after their wedding, Landor and his wife settled at Llanthony. During the next two years, Landor concentrated much of his efforts on building up his estate. Unfortunately, he was spending large sums of money on Llanthony at the same time that he was also engaging in expensive litigation against his tenants. Landor's attempts to make Llanthony profitable ended in failure—not only because he was unsuited for the job both by training and temperament, but also because the high taxes and inflation of the times made his task almost impossible. As Super has commented, “the greater wisdom might have been not making the attempt”.²

The Act of Parliament of 1809 had enabled him to raise £10,000 on Llanthony and, when that was gone, he raised £10,000 more with no security. By the end of 1812 he was not only six months behind on his mother's annuity, but also was forced to ask his attorney Baker Gabb to procure the money to repay a loan of £1,550, “which if I had not lost the rents of 3 farms for a whole year, I should have paid. . . .”³ By April 1813, the bulk of the latter debt was still unpaid.⁴ Landor's desperation

¹ R. H. Super's transcript.

² Super, p. 109.

³ Ibid. p. 118. See also memorandum of Robert E. Landor (c. 1858) (MS. in possession of R. H. Super).

⁴ Super, p. 118.

is all too clear from the following letter to his brother Robert. This unsigned fragment is barely legible, blotted with ink stains and containing words which are both deleted and scribbled over and over. Nevertheless, the stamp indicates that it must have been sent :

May 8. 1813¹

Dear Robert

Tomorrow I go to prison, because [5 x] chose rather that the 2000 should remain in the hands of a Banker than pay off a mortgage, of which notice was given six months ago—

Watkins² is pressed by the person who sold him an Estate. I have no method but giving a draft for the money—Neither the one nor the other will accept it. The whole parish knowing that I could pay ~~the~~³

While there is no evidence that Landor went to prison, his situation became so precarious that on 3 October he left forever the estate on which he had lavished almost £70,000.⁴ During the next months he repeatedly tried to raise money and to bring order out of his financial chaos. He failed and, fearing imprisonment for debt, fled to St. Malo on 28 May 1814.⁵ After a brief stay there, he went to Jersey, where he was joined by his wife and one of her sisters. The strain resulting from their financial plight and exile forced into the open the differences in temperament and age between Landor and his wife that had been present from the beginning. Landor's insistence that they move to France—against Julia's wishes—was the issue over which they frequently quarrelled. Both said things better left unsaid: Landor confided to Southey that Julia "never was aware that more can be said in one minute than can be forgotten in a lifetime".⁶ After a particularly bitter argument, on 2 September,

¹ Two pages; $7\frac{1}{4} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Addressed: Rev. R. Landor/ Stocketon/ near Southam/ Warwick. No postmark. Stamp: Abergavenny (Berg Coll., NYPL).

² In 1799 a John Watkins rented Cwmyey Farm, Noyadd Lloyd, and Ty Cenner. On 28 December 1813, Landor frantically wrote Baker Gabb junior asking whether the three thousand pounds he had requested had been procured and urging him to get Watkins to make at least a partial payment on his rent. At that time Landor had no money and had given an order for £15 on the bank, the time on which had nearly expired. (MS. in National Library of Wales, cited by permission; R. H. Super notes.) ³ MS. ends here. ⁴ Super, p. 22.

⁵ Forster, i. 406-9.

⁶ W. S. L. to Southey, 2 October 1814 (Forster, i. 413; Super, p. 128).

Landor left his wife and by October had moved to Tours.¹ Although by February 1815 he had agreed to be reunited with his wife, he wrote Southey that "certainly I shall never be so happy as I was before; that is beyond all question".² Despite their difficulties, the Landors remained together for the next twenty years.

They left Tours in late October, accompanied by Robert,³ and by November were settled in Como. During the period 1814-17, there are no extant holograph letters from Landor to his family.⁴ The correspondence began again when Landor sent his mother the happy news that Julia had borne him his first child—Arnold Savage Landor (5 March 1818–2 April 1871):

Como April 5.
1818⁵

Dear Mother,

You have probably heard that Julia was delivered of a son exactly a month ago. I waited for her perfect recovery before I thought it requisite to write, knowing the accidents to which such events are liable, particularly to persons in her very delicate and feeble state of health. But, contrary to all expectation, the child is remarkably strong and healthy, and Julia has not enjoyed such health and spirits for these last five years. She was bled seventeen times in six months. This in England would be considered as imprudent, if not fatal, but the physician assured me that, without it, she never would have a child born alive.

The skill and attention of this man are totally unexampled in Italy where, to say nothing of ignorance, slovenliness & negligence, particularly among the medical men, are almost universal.

I intend to call the boy Arnold Savage, from a Sir Arnold Savage⁶ who was

¹ Forster, i. 413.

² W. S. L. to Southey, Tours, 28 January 1815 (Forster, i. 415; Super, p. 132).

³ Super, pp. 133-5.

⁴ Robert E. Landor's holograph letters to his family during this period are in the Berg Coll., NYPL.

⁵ Four pages, 7¼ × 9½ inches. Addressed: Mrs Landor/ Warwick/ Inghilterra. Postmark: 23 April 1818. Stamp: Como (Berg Coll., NYPL).

⁶ Sir Arnold (d. 1410) was first elected speaker on 22 January 1401 and re-elected 15 January 1404 (*DNB*). However, since his only son, also named Arnold, died without issue in 1420, Landor could not have been directly related to him (G. F. A. Armstrong-Savage, *The Ancient and Noble Family of the Savages of the Ards* (London, 1888), pp. 72-73). Duke states that the extracts of Savage family deeds included in his article "The Family of Savage of Warwickshire" are printed as evidence that the Savages were a yeoman family indigenous at and about Tachbrooke and that "they were a family to themselves with no connection with the Savages of Rock-Savage and Elmely Castle" (*Misc. Gen.*, 3rd ser., v (March 1902), 99). According to Miss Diana Landor, there is no family tradition

Second Speaker of the House of Commons, and who, as Mr Bevan assured me, was of our family, and proprietor of Baginton [Warw.]. I looked for him in a book which I bought on purpose and procured with extreme difficulty, written by a person named Hakewell, on the manner of holding Parliaments, and found that Sir Arnold Savage was the first who declared that grievances should be redressed before money should be granted.¹ I have so much respect for a person of this stamp that I should be likely to name a son after him even if I had no connection with his family or name. The ceremony of baptism is the same here as in England, and the godfather does not promise that the child shall be educated in any kind of romish idolatry or superstition. For which reason I shall comply with the custom of the country in about five or six days. He will be christened again in England, if he should return within the next twelve or fourteen years—but on this subject I am doubtful, or rather, I am indifferent. I have learned that it is possible to live out of England, and that a person, who hates all society, can do w[ithout]² it here full as well as the[re.]

General Meyrick³ and Mr Bu [or Ba ?]⁴ will be godfathers, and my wife[’s] sister Laura⁵ godmother.

that the relationship existed. Nevertheless, Landor always believed it did. See his allusion to it in his letter to Wordsworth, 23 September 1820, in Super, “Landor’s Letters to Wordsworth and Coleridge”, 75, and his letter to an unidentified recipient, 31 August [1848] (Berg. Coll., NYPL).

Landor paid tribute to Sir Arnold in a conversation entitled “King Henry IV. and Sir Arnold Savage” (1824), i. 27-36, which he told Southey on 9 March 1822 he had written more than twenty years ago (Forster, i. 511). See my dissertation written under the name of Prasher, “Walter Savage Landor’s *Imaginary Conversations*: A Critical Edition of the First Eight Conversations in Volume One” (Northwestern Univ., 1966), pp. 278-92, 589-99. See also his poem entitled “Arnoldus Savagius”, *Heroic Idylls* (1863), p. 392.

¹ Cf. William Hakewill, *De Modus tenendi Parliamentum* (1659; repr. 1671): “After he had made the ordinary protestation concerning his own mistakings, he further desired the King in the names of the Commons, that they might freely make complaint of anything amiss in the Government, and that the King by the sinister information of any person would not take offensively that which they should complain of in that behalf: which Petition was yielded unto by the King. 5 H.5 [sic] 11.8” (1671 edn., pp. 203-4).

² MS. torn.

³ Lt.-Col. George Meyrick, 130th Infantry, was promoted to that rank on 1 January 1805 and is listed in 1809 as being on half pay (*Army List* (1809), pp. 13, 553). Landor alludes to him as an old friend in a letter to Miss Rose Paynter [19 August 1843] (*Letters of Walter Savage Landor: Private and Public*, ed. Wheeler, p. 116).

⁴ MS. torn. I am unable to identify Mr. Bu or Ba. If there was a baptismal certificate for Arnold, containing the names of his god-parents, it has not survived. Information provided by Miss Diana Landor and Mr. V. Lucati, librarian, Biblioteca Comunale di Como.

⁵ Laura Thuillier Stopford was born on 9 January 1792 and died in 1880 in Richmond, Surrey, where her mother had lived and where her sister Lucy

Julia desires her love—she has great abundance of milk and intends to suckle her child eleven or twelve months.

I remain
Dear Mother
Your very affectionate Son
W. S. Landor

Landor's indifference about whether or not his son should return to England was not shared by his mother. Each year made her even more conscious of the need to keep before her son the ties that bound him to England and which she hoped would bind him to Ipsley. Writing to him in 1819 that his brothers had bought back for him some of his favourite pictures from Llanthony, which they had placed at Ipsley as heirlooms, she expressed her wish that he would return to Ipsley "and find as much pleasure here as I have done these many years".¹

Landor's next letter to her was written from Pisa, where, by 1820, he had settled with his young family and where his only daughter, Julia Elizabeth Savage (d. 2 May 1884) was born :

March 6. 1820²

Dear Mother,

I am happy to inform you that Julia was safely delivered of a girl, about ~~seven~~ nineteen minutes after seven this morning. She suffered very little, and has been laughing and talking with the nurses ever since. It does not appear to be very favourable weather, the hills all round being covered with snow. Such a winter was never remembered in this part of Italy. It is the custom here to carry the children to be baptised the very day of their birth. I shall not pay any attention to such foolery.

Thuillier (d. 1894) and many of the Stopford family were living (Information provided by Major-General Leslie de Malapert Thuillier and by Mr. Gilbert Tuma, borough librarian, Richmond). Even after his separation from his wife, Landor remained fond of his sister-in-law. Forster describes her letters as a "solace when everything around him was unpropitious" (ii. 577). Writing to his sister-in-law Lucy (c. September-October 1841), Landor commented that he could not see how anybody could be ill who had the happiness of Laura's society (MS. in Houghton Library (MS. Eng. 971); cited by permission of Harvard College Library). He dedicated volume one of the *Imaginary Conversations* to Laura's husband Edward Stopford (1788-1862). For biographical information on Stopford, see Prasher, pp. 516-21.

¹ Forster, i. 477. His citations of the letters from Mrs. Landor, Elizabeth, and Ellen to Walter during this period are particularly full.

² Four pages, 7¼ × 9½ inches. Addressed : Mrs Landor/ Warwick, Inghilterra. Postmark : 21 March 1820. Stamp : Pisa (Berg Coll., NYPL).

As I have other letters to write by this morning's post, I must leave off—

I remain

Dear Mother

Your very affectionate

W S. Landor

The birth of another grandchild made Mrs. Landor even more conscious of her son's need for a secure financial future. Consequently, in 1821 she revealed to him that she had now given up to him in her will all the arrears due her from the Llanthony property "as it may the sooner lessen your embarrassment; and I hope in time you will come and spend the remainder of your life in this country where you have many well-wishers, which some time or other you will be convinced of. By my retired way of living I have been enabled to provide comfortably for your sisters; and whenever I leave this world you will find your property improved by my having kept all in good repair".¹

Landor's reply expressed his genuine appreciation of her generosity as well as his anxiety about her health:

Florence 22 April [1821]²

Dear Mother.

I received your letter just as I was setting out for Florence, in search of a house, and answer it without losing a single day. I pray to God that you may quite recover your health, as the weather becomes milder, and that you will look forward to spend many more summers at Ipsley. The misery of not being able to see you, is by far the greatest I have ever suffered. Never shall I forget the thousand acts of kindness and affection I have received from you, from my earliest to my latest days. I have deferred the christening of my little daughter, because I wished to have one to be named after you, and to whom I might request you to be godmother. As perhaps I may never have another, I shall call my little Julia by the name of Julia Elizabeth Savage Landor, and, with your permission, will

¹ Forster, i. 476. On 17 May 1819, Mrs. Landor wrote Henry that "I wish it to be understood by you as one of my Executors & by all my family that I have given some time since to your Brother Walter all arrears of the Lanthony Rent Charge, that were then due to me—for which he in return Engaged to give security not to fall any Trees upon the Ipsley Estate during his Life nor to suffer any to be fallen without your Consent in writing & I now write this to say that all Arrears that may happen to be due to me to the time of my Death I have given up for his benefit—such Arrears I have directed to be applied first in payment of what is owing to Miss Hopkins & afterwards to his other Creditors & consequently that such Arrears from henceforth are to be considered not as my Property but your Brother Walter" (Berg Coll., NYPL).

² Four pages, $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{8}$ inches. Addressed: Mrs Landor/ Warwick, Inghilterra. Postmark: 8 May 1821. Stamp: Firenze. (Ryl. Eng. MS. 1237/2)

engage some one of Julia's English friends to represent you. This is the first time I was ever a whole day without seeing Arnold. I wonder what his thoughts are upon the occasion. Mine are a great deal more about him than about the house I must look for. He is of all living creatures the most engaging, and already repeats ten of the most beautiful pieces of Italian poetry. The honest priest,¹ his master, says he is a miracle and a marvel, and exceeds in abilities all he ever saw or heard of. He turns into ridicule every person that speaks bad Italian. What a pity it is that such divine creatures should ever be men, and subject to regrets and sorrows.

Julia is thin and weak, but is without any particular complaint, and is recommended to change the air for the summer, as Pisa lies low, and is abandoned by all the inhabitants in the warm season. There are some Austrians in Florence, but not many. They are a great annoyance wherever th[ey]² go—in fact, foreign soldiers ar[e] nowhere favorites. The city [is]³ a most beautiful one, and contains many fine paintings and statues. The Grand Duke⁴ is universally beloved, and his late illness occasioned throughout all Tuscany the greatest consternation. I saw him this morning: he appears weak, but the medical men pronounce him quite recovered. I hope your health will be restored in the same manner. I will write as you wish me, and entreat that you let me hear from you very often, tho you should write only a few lines. This will be sufficient if they assure me that you are well. Believe me, dear mother, your ever affectionate son, W Savage Landor.

Mrs. Landor replied to her son's letter with a subtle reminder of home: she hoped Florence would suit him better than Pisa, but "no place can be truly beautiful without fine trees, which I suppose in Italy you seldom see".⁵

Between the years 1821 and 1824 there is another gap in the extant correspondence from Landor to his family. During this time, Landor had been writing the *Imaginary Conversations*, volumes one and two of which were published in March 1824.⁶ The passing years, however, made Mrs. Landor very aware of her own advanced age. On his forty-ninth birthday (30 January 1824), which she mistook for his fiftieth, she wrote Landor that "sometimes it must be impossible that I should have lived to

¹ I am unable to identify the priest.

² MS. torn.

³ Blot on MS.

⁴ Ferdinand III (1769-1824), grand duke of Tuscany and archduke of Austria. When his father, Leopold II, became emperor of Austria in 1790, he succeeded him as grand duke. He was the subject of the conversation "Landor, English Visitor, Florentine Visitor" (1828), in which Landor, responding to the question of whether he knew the grand duke, stated proudly "I am the only Englishman in Florence who has two coats (as I have or had lately) that did not attend his court: and I am the only one whom he ever omitted to salute" (iii. 393).

⁵ Forster, i. 476.

⁶ Super, p. 167.

see you at this age. . . . Surely it is time I should make room for others, for I have passed my eighty-first year, have had as many blessings as fall to the lot of mortals, and am very willing to go. Who would wish to outlive all their friends? ”¹—a sentiment that years later would be frequently expressed by Landor himself. She also thanked him for the picture of himself he had sent. Although he had thought his face too altered to be recognized, she assured him that his face was too constantly before her ever to be forgotten.²

Four or five months after the publication of the *Conversations*, Mrs. Landor wrote to acknowledge their success, at the same time that she expressed real anxiety lest he write so much as to endanger his health :

I have heard you have a publication just come out. For God's sake do not hurt your eyes, nor rack your brains too much, to amuse the world by writing : but take care of your health, which will be of greater consequence to your family. . . . I have heard your late publication highly spoken of by many ; but as I am no judge, I shall say nothing relating to it. I wish you to take care of your eyes and health, and let the world go on as it has done. I think of the fate of Lord Byron, and that those who have the greatest abilities have the greatest misfortunes—because they have, more than others, mortifications and disappointments.³

However, her continuing concern during these years was Arnold's education. By November 1824 she could contain her worry no longer and formally proposed that she be permitted to receive and educate her grandson in England. Disliking both Italian and French education, she wished Arnold to have an English education and to know the country of his forbears.⁴ Initially Landor too had felt somewhat the same concern. In May 1818 he wrote Southey that he wished his son had been born in England so that he could look forward to his education there,⁵ but by the next year he had evidently given up the hope of an English education for Arnold. His own plans for his son's education were unrealistic, to say the least : “ My plan ”, he wrote Birch in April, “ is to have no plan at all ”.⁶ Latin and

¹ Forster, ii. 124.

² Ibid.

³ Forster, ii. 124-5. In June 1819 he wrote Southey that he had strained his eyes from too much study (Forster, i. 449). His eyesight, however, remained generally good until near his death (Super, p. 148).

⁴ Forster, ii. 125-6.

⁵ Ibid. i. 440.

⁶ Ruoff, “ Landor's Letters to the Reverend Walter Birch ”, p. 237.

Greek he would teach by practice, as he had taught him Italian and English. "To swim and fence and love cleanliness are the three things to be taught first. I intend to keep him always among women, that he may be desirous of pleasing, and learn gracefulness and ease of manners which few Englishmen—educated in England—can acquire".¹ He would forbid his son to enter gaming houses, brothels, and colleges, and he would repress too ardent a desire for study. But he would encourage a fondness for gardening. "Health, good humour, and the habitude of pleasing are the only objects I keep constantly in view".²

Fortunately, Landor modified his views and by 1824 had begun giving Arnold some formal education. Nevertheless, his firm rejection of his mother's proposal indicates that his primary concern was keeping the boy close to him. His letters increasingly reveal a parental love little short of dotage and an unwillingness to prepare either his children or himself for the day when they would reach adulthood :

Florence Dec. 2 [1824]³

Dear Mother,

I received your letter yesterday, and Arnold was quite delighted at what you wrote to him.⁴ Many thanks for your kindness in offering to place him in some English school. At present he is not quite seven years old, his birthday being the fifth of March. I do not think I could live a single month without him, and it is not my intention to send him ever to any school where I cannot see him every day. We have in Florence an excellent schoolmistress, who takes ten or twelve young scholars, none above eight years old. Here they learn English, Italian, French, and dancing, as well as drawing and accounts. Arnold does not at present learn to draw, and I do not know whether he ever will. Latin and Greek I can teach him myself, and intend to do so in the spring. He reads English and Italian extremely well, and begins french this week. At present he is in the house, and confined to his room by a cold, which he caught by going into a wine-cellar. If he was not asleep at this moment, I promised him that he should write a few

¹ Ibid. p. 238.

² Ibid.

³ Four pages, $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{8}$ inches. Addressed : Mrs. Landor/ Warwick/ Inghilterra. Postmark : 16 December 1824. Stamps : Autriche par Munigen ; Firenze (Ryl. Eng. MS. 1237/3).

⁴ Arnold had written his grandmother a letter in his own hand, which she answered with a letter looking forward to his visit next spring and promising him a garden of his own (Forster, ii. 125-6 n.). During the autumn of 1824, Julia Landor thought of accompanying her brother back to England for a visit, taking with her the two oldest children. She did not make the trip (Super, p. 171).

lines, to thank you for offering him a garden. He is as fond of it as I was, at his age. If ever he goes to any public school, it shall be Eton, and that five or six years hence, for about three years.

Julia, Julietta, and Walter¹ are all well—Julia desires her love—

Believe me
Dear Mother
Your affectionate Son
W S Landor

Landor's refusal did not discourage his family, who renewed the offer each year up to his mother's death.² Early in 1825 Ellen wrote to tell him all the things they meant to do to make Arnold happy. She also passed on to him Dr. Parr's wish that he might not be forgotten in the *Conversations*, about which the family heard such wonderful things. "Learned men have desired it, not ignorant women like me. The Doctor himself has grieved for the omission. He said to Charles last week, 'How is Walter? I hope he is well. O, he has shown a mighty mind—a mighty mind'".³ Touched by his old friend's wish, Landor immediately forwarded a tribute to be included in the third volume, which was to be published in early March:⁴

Florence Feb. 5 [1825]⁵

Dear Ellen,

I received your letter this morning, but it will be three days before the post sets out again, and I am very doubtful whether my third volume will not make its appearance, before the printer can receive what I beg you to read on the other side. P[lease]⁶ send it immediately to Dr Parr, *unless* the book is actually out.⁷

¹ Walter Savage Landor, junior (13 November 1822–9 March 1899).

² Forster, ii. 126.

³ *Ibid.* 126-7.

⁴ *Super*, p. 175.

⁵ Two pages, 9 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Addressed: Miss Ellen Landor/ Warwick/ Inghilterra. Postmark: 23 February 1825. Stamps: Autriche par Munigen; Firenze (Ryl. Eng. MS. 1237/7).

⁶ Blot on MS.

⁷ The tribute reached Parr as he lay dying: "My admiration of some others I have expressed in the few words preceding each volume; my esteem and love of yourself I have expressed in still fewer; but with such feelings as that man's are who has shaken hands with the friends that followed him to the shore, and who sees from the vessel one separate from the rest: one whom he can never meet again. May you enjoy yet for some years, my dear friend, all that can be enjoyed of life. I am myself heartily sated of it" (Forster, ii. 127). After Parr's death, Landor included a tribute in the preface to volume four (1829, xxxi-xxxii). On 3 January 1825, Landor wrote Parr's biographer, Dr. John Johnstone, that he had intended to dedicate to his friend "the last volume of my book; for which I had selected and sett [sic] apart the most important subjects; this intention I have announced at the close of it" (MS. in Houghton Library; cited by permission of the Harvard College Library).

I am sorry to hear that my mother has lately been so unwell and Elizabeth not much better ; but let us hope, as the season is growing milder, that they will overcome their ailments completely.

Julia has some symptoms, they think, of dropsy. Her face and fingers and legs often swell.¹ Today she is better than she has been for some time. The children are better than usual with children in cold weather. So little do I hear of what passes with my relations, I never knew that W. Venour² was married.

As for sending Arnold to England, I refused an invitation to Rome last year, becau[se]³ I could not leave him. In fact I do not even wish to be a day without any one of them while they are children. They are different creatures when they grow up.

I remain
Dear Ellen
Yr^s very truly
WSL

Even if the 3 Vol. should be published, I w^d still send the enclosed to Parr, as at all events it will be published in a 2nd Edition. You will, of course, tear it off from this, and enclose it in another half-sheet.

By 6 March Parr was dead. Mrs. Landor sent the news on 19 April. Her respect for Parr did not prevent her wondering how, in a world about which he complained so much, he had managed to acquire sufficient worldly goods to give such generous sums to his family and to various others.⁴ A few months later, she wrote him that she had caught cold, which, according to Ellen, resulted from sleeping with both her windows open—despite her eighty-two years.⁵ Perhaps her illness explains why Landor received no letters from Warwick. This lack of news caused Landor considerable anxiety :

Dear Ellen,⁶

I wrote about a fortnight since to my mother. Not having had any letter from any of you for nearly four months, I feared there must be some serious illness in the family. Today I receive yours and my mother's, which relieve me

¹ Julia was also pregnant with her last child, Charles Savage Landor (5 August 1825–12 February 1917).

² Landor's cousin Walter Ashall Venour (1781-1850), brother of John and Sophia (see p. 480, nn. 2-4) and resident of Calcutta, was married twice. His first wife died in Cawnpore in 1824 ; his son Walter entered Rugby at the age of 8 on 23 September 1827 (W. N. Landor note on transcript of this letter ; Michell, *Rugby School Register*, i. 228).

³ Blot on MS.

⁴ Forster, ii. 127-8.

⁵ Ibid. 128.

⁶ No date. Four pages, 9 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Address : Miss Ellen Landor/ Warwick/ Inghilterra. Postmark : 21 November 1825. Stamp : Firenze/ Toscana (Ryl. Eng. MS. 1237/8).

from all anxiety on this score. We have had for these last three months several friends and old acquaintance here, which has occupied my time more than usual. The children are all in excellent health, and the baby promises to be one of the strongest of the party. It is remarkable that the small-pox has been as prevalent in Florence as you describe it to have been at Warwick. In my opinion every child ought to be inoculated with the vaccine at three months by order of the magistrates, and every parent who resists it, to be imprisoned for a year—and in case another catches the distemper, for fourteen. I remember Lord Aston¹—a most gentlemanly and exemplary man. I am sorry to hear that Charles Norris² has experienced so much calamity in the loss of his children. I knew the brother³ very little—he was too magnificent a personage for so humble a man as I am—and as little civil to me, as is convenient for any one to be. Hence in Florence I have two or three friends—a manageable number, and some dozens who call on me, but whom I cannot receive.—One however, a friend of D^r Lambe's,⁴ Mr. Hogg,⁵ is welcome—a M^r Hare,⁶ a very learned man, was sitting with us one morning when M^r Hogg sent in his card with D^r Lambe's name also on it. I showed it to Hare—and told him I now thought myself La Fontaine,⁷ with all the better company of the beasts about me. He was delighted. I thank Elizabeth for her intended present of poor Parr's portrait. I am afraid it would make me

¹ Walter Hutchinson Aston, Lord Aston of Forfar (1769-1845), served as a clergyman in the Church of England (*Burke's Peerage* (1840), s.v. "Aston, of Forfar"; Woods, i. 38).

² Young Charles Norris died in 1825. The Norris children died in rapid succession; five of the eleven children preceded their mother Sarah (1781-1823) to the grave: Sarah (1802-7), Elizabeth (1804-20), Louisa (1806-22), Mary (1809-d. by 1819), Ellen (1818-19). The only clue to the cause of their death is that Richard Norris died in 1850 of haemophilia (Leach, pp. 13, 15, 22, 23, 25).

³ John Norris (1773-1845), elder brother of Charles, inherited Hughenden Manor, which was sold at his death to Disraeli (*Gentleman's Magazine*, cxv (November 1845), 545; Robert Blake, *Disraeli* (London, 1966), p. 251). See also Rashleigh E. H. Duke to Ellen Duke, Christmas 1925; R. H. Super transcript.

⁴ William Lambe, M.D. (1765-1847) succeeded to Dr. Landor's practice in Warwick; around 1800 he moved to London, where he continued to practice and where he became intimate with Shelley. He was the physician who ordered Keats abroad shortly before his death (*DNB*; John Venn and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Pt. 2 (Cambridge, 1922-47), iv. 81).

⁵ Thomas Jefferson Hogg (1792-1862) received an invitation to call at six in the evening of 9 November and remained until eleven, talking of Shelley (Super, p. 186). Super comments that Hogg's story of Shelley's delight in *Gebir* did not diminish Landor's new admiration (p. 179).

⁶ Francis George Hare (d. 1842) first met Landor in Tours in 1875 (Super, p. 131).

⁷ Jean de La Fontaine (1621-1693), author of *Fables Choisies*. From around 1692, La Fontaine was a member of the household of Mme de la Sablière, whose salon was a famous meeting place for scholars, writers, and philosophers.

melancholic—to which I am sometimes very much disposed. To relieve this, and to improve the health of Julia, I have taken a country-house for three years.¹ Of which 2 months only are expired—So I am something like John Tomes.² In fact I shall pass my life upon the continent, having met with so many acts of injustice and unkindness in England. Eleven years have domesticated me; and the children may live together after my death. I wish Julia could consent to live entirely in the country, but she cannot live without some company in the evening—one or two—old or young³—For my part, I could live and work [and]⁴ enjoy life, if I never were to see any other face, or hear any other voice, than those of my children. With best love to my mother & Elizabeth.

I remain,
Dear Ellen
Y^{rs} very truly
W Landor

Ironically, after Landor's death his children did remain together—but out of financial necessity rather than desire. Although Landor was obviously content to live the secluded life of a country gentleman, Julia was not. The hint of incompatibility in the midst of domesticity is all too clear. By 1835 Landor found life with her so unbearable that he left his family, not to return until 1858, when he fled England during his trial for libelling Mrs. Yescombe.⁵

For the moment, at least, Landor had found contentment. Perhaps because of this and because of still another act of kindness toward him by Henry, he made his peace with his brother by renewing their correspondence with the brief note below :

¹ Shortly before 29 May, Landor moved his family to their country villa, but by 29 October they had returned to the city and were living in the Via de' Pandolfini (Super, p. 189).

² John Tomes (c. 1761-1844), M.P. for Warwick borough from 1826-32 and friend of Dr. Parr, who admired his vigorous understanding and useful activity. For many years he served as coroner of Warwick. Landor may refer to his purchase of the house owned by the previous coroner, John Parry, which Tomes tore down in order to build a splendid mansion on the property (Gerrit P. Judd, IV, *Members of Parliament 1734-1832*, p. 356; Field, i. 215-16; *Gentleman's Magazine*, civ (July 1844), 94).

³ Cf. W.S.L. to Elizabeth Landor, 2 February [1831]: "I have not had a minute'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" (Ryl. Eng. MS. 1237/20).

⁴ MS. torn.

⁵ Super, pp. 254, 458.

Dear Henry¹

My cousin W. Landor has informed me how very kindly and nobly you have acted in regard to me,² and I cannot do so great a violence to my heart as to suppress the declaration of my gratitude for it. I hope the manner in which I propose to live abroad will enable me to indemnify my family for any losses they might have sustained by the arrangements made in my behalf. The letter I have written to W.L. is long & explicit, and leaves me no further time, by the present post, than what is sufficient to return you my best thanks, and request you to believe me

Dear Henry
Your very obliged
& affectionate brother
W S Landor

The financial arrangements made for Landor by his mother and brother enabled him to live more comfortably than he had at any time since leaving Llanthony. Italy, the birthplace of his children, was home now, and he felt less and less inclination to return to England. His letters during the next few years express his enthusiasm for his new friends in Florence, then the gathering place of a new generation of writers whose ideas were similar to his own: Hazlitt, Hogg, Hunt, and Charles Brown. Despite his pride in being a private man, Landor's renown as the author of the *Imaginary Conversations* made him a public figure, whose company was sought out not only by young men like Hogg with letters of introduction from old friends but also by those like Hazlitt brash enough to walk up to his door and introduce themselves.³

Nevertheless, the ties to England and especially to Warwick were still strong. What bound him closest was his love for his mother, who during the remaining four years of her life never ceased reminding him of home in the hope that he would return. Although her wish was not fulfilled during her lifetime, she at least had the satisfaction of knowing that her son had now achieved some measure of financial security, domestic happiness, and literary fame.

¹ No date. Four pages, $7\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Addressed: Henry Eyres Landor Esq/ Warwick/ Inghilterra. Postmark: 19 December 1825. Stamp: Firenze/ Toscana (Berg Coll., NYPL).

² Walter Landor of Rugeley, Landor's attorney. See p. 477, n. 8.

³ Super, pp. 177-9.