

## NLS MS 9481, Journal of Miss Ewbank of York, 1803–5<sup>1</sup>

### Introduction

Jane Ewbank was part of the social elite of York. She was born in York on 17 January 1778, the younger daughter of George Ewbank (1738–1795) and of Margaret Miers (1744–1815). She was baptised in St Mary's Castlegate and lived on the fashionable street of Castlegate, where, since 1764, her family had owned numbers 7, 9 and 11. Her grandfather, George Ewbank the elder (1711–1787), was a druggist as well as a partner in the New Street bank of Crompton, Ewbank & Co.

The Ewbank family lived a comfortable life. After serving as an apprentice in Castlegate in the 1750s,<sup>2</sup> Jane Ewbank's father became a druggist and ran the family business, with 7 Castlegate serving as the shop and warehouse.<sup>3</sup> In 1761 he became a freeman of York. He also owned several properties in and outside York.<sup>4</sup> On his father's death in 1787 he inherited the bank partnership.<sup>5</sup> After his death in 1795 Jane's widowed mother kept only number 9, where she lived with Jane and three servants. Jane herself was left comfortably off with a legacy of £2000 in her father's will.<sup>6</sup> Her diary records not only her sociable life in the city but her frequent travels outside York. She travelled to the Lake District and the North Yorkshire Moors, but also made frequent family visits, especially to her sister Elizabeth Lodge (1767-1824) in Thorp Arch near Tadcaster and to the family of her uncle, the Rev. Andrew Ewbank (1742-1823), in Londesborough near Market Weighton.

After 1805 Jane Ewbank continued to live in York, though after her mother's death in 1815 she moved to Ripon, probably to be near her sister, who lived nearby with her daughter Elizabeth Dalton (1794-1840). In 1823 or early 1824 Jane Ewbank returned to York and on

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1. Jane Rendall would like to acknowledge the work of Naomi Symes in the original transcription of this diary, which has been invaluable, and Rachel Feldberg and Jane Rendall would like to thank Sylvia Hogarth and Peter Hogarth for their kind assistance in the annotation and proofreading of the diary.

2. George Ewbank the younger was apprenticed to his grandfather, George Skelton, in 1751, recorded on 7 July 1752, Register of apprenticeship indentures, 1721–1756, York City Archives [YCA], Y/COU/3/4/3, fol. 114r.

3. Matthew Jenkins, 'The View from the Street: Housing and Shopping in York during the Long Eighteenth Century', PhD, University of York, 2 vols, 2013, 63–70; Borthwick Institute for Archives, University of York [BIAY], Parish Records of St Mary Castlegate, PR/Y/MC/112 Land Tax Assessments 1749–1805.

4. BIAY, PR/Y/MC/112 Land Tax Assessments 1749–1805; National Archives, PROB 11/929/31, will of George Skelton, served 9 May 1767; George Ewbank's property dealings are indexed in Register of Deeds acknowledged before the Lord Mayor, YCA, , Y/LEG/2/2, vols. 2–3.

5. *York Courant* [YC], 25 June 1771; W. B. Taylor, 'Banking in York in the 18th Century', *York Historian*, 14 (1997): 47–52.

6. BIAY, Parish Records of St Mary Castlegate, PR/Y/MC/112, Land Tax Assessments 1749–1805; BIAY, GB193, will of George Ewbank of York, June 1795, Prob. Reg. vol. 139, fol. 495r.

her death in March 1824 was buried in St Mary Castlegate. In her will she left small legacies to her female cousins and great-nieces, and her estate to Elizabeth Dalton, in trust for her eight daughters.<sup>7</sup>

### **Miss Ewbank of York.**

{ } indicates references inserted by Jane Ewbank -

1803

(September 9th) Rose early in the morning and set off in company with Mr & Mrs Carus Wilson<sup>8</sup> & my mother for Ambleside. Was much delighted with the road from Casterton to Kendal, the distant mountains very grand, the forms of many very fine. We breakfasted at Kendal with Mrs Scales, found my old acquaintance Agnes Scales<sup>9</sup> looking very well & blooming. At twelve o'clock we again set forward on our journey & soon came to one of the wildest scenes imaginable, moors & rocks of the most fantastic forms with distant mountains, sometimes we came to sweet [secluded?] spots embosomed in trees, richly cultivated & sheltered from the winds; & then rising upon the hills again, we came to scenes so wild, that save the turn pike road, no vestige appeared that man had ever been there. At last a scene of mountains appeared more magnificent than I can express and in the bosom of these we caught the first view of Windermere Lake; this was a delicious moment; a moment of rapture, which will ever be remember'd as one of the sweetest I have experienced. Here we paused to contemplate for a while the sublime objects before us. We then proceeded & winding round a hill, soon found ourselves close upon the Lake of Windermere. Another mile or two of delicious road, upon the margin of the Lake brought us to Bowness. Here we command a fine view of the Lake, to the North stupendous hills of very fine forms; nearly opposite to us Mr Curwin's<sup>10</sup> Island, with his fleet of boats, & behind these a high & long ridge of rocky hills, which however are somewhat too uniform in colour and form for a perfect picture, but still very fine, to the South the Lake assumes a milder aspect, & the bold & prominent features of the landscape are gradually soften'd ~~into a scene of tranquility & calmness~~ yet not tame. Numberless little islands appear on the surface of the Lake & a great many gentlemen's seats appear on the its borders<sup>11</sup> of the Lake, in particular I

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7. BIAY, Parish Records of St Mary Castlegate, PR/Y/MC/148, p. 36; will of Jane Ewbank, National Archives, PROB 11/1685/255.

8. William Carus Wilson (1764-1852) of Casterton Hall, Kirkby Lonsdale, and his wife Margaret, née Shippard. See <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/wilson-william-1764-1851> accessed 15 February 2022.

9. Probably Agnes Scales (1786-1824) daughter of John and Margaret Scales of Kendal, who in 1806 married Frederic Hare of Stanhoe, Norfolk.

10. Belle Isle, the largest island on Lake Windermere, was owned by John Christian Curwen (1756-1828), agriculturalist and politician, and his wife Isabella.

11. The 6th edition of Thomas West, *A Guide to the Lakes* (1796), pp. 70n-71n, included a

remember Sir John Legard's<sup>12</sup>, Mr J. Dixon's<sup>13</sup>, Mrs Taylor's<sup>14</sup> & the Bishop of Landaff's<sup>15</sup>. We dined at the Inn at Bowness, & immediately after dinner, Mr & Mrs Wilson & myself went in a Boat across the Lake, we passed very near Mr Curwin's Island & thro' his fleet of Boats; the Island is extremely well wooded, but to me appears rather too much dressed, the grass being kept short and smooth down to the very water's edge as far as I could discern, & a regular stone embankment; this latter may be necessary for any thing I know, but the regularity of it might have been more hid; Mr Curwin I hear has also shewn his want of taste by cutting down several large trees, because he would not have a mixture of large and small ones, and I think he has not judged much better in cloathing all his rowers & boatmen in flaming red jackets. All these however are but trifling specks in a scene of uncommon magnificence & beauty. The Lake was not so smooth as I expected, its waves rose as much as those of a tolerably calm sea; the water is wonderfully clear, we could distinguish the pebbles at its bottom to a great depth, & in some parts could perceive it cover'd with a kind of green herbage like grass. We landed on the west side of the Lake at the Station, & having ascended a rocky eminence by a delightful path we came to a summer house, from whence we enjoyed perhaps the finest views possible of the Lake. The rocky hill, which from the opposite side of the Lake had rather a sombre & uniform appearance, now made the finest foreground imaginable, bold projecting rocks, intermingled with grass, wild flowers, shrubs & trees, in the most picturesque forms; now rising almost perpendicularly, now projecting in sharp angles, yet every crevice teeming with vegetation; trees seemed to have forced their roots even into the solid rock, ferns of various kinds abounded, and appear'd to grow out of the stone, whilst grass, moss, creepers & low shrubs, of the most luxuriant growth ornamented in the richest way possible every part, but what was impenetrable rock, or rather even this was dressed with moss and lichens, except as much as even by its barrenness was ornamental, with this exquisite foreground we had the finest views possible of the Lake, both of the north end with its stupendous mountains, & the soft repose of the south. The upper room of this summer house is elegantly fitted up, but the appearance of the outside, as well as the still delightful walk which leads to it, has suffer'd a little from the improvements of Mr Curwin. Having again crossed the Lake we rejoin'd my mother, & re-entering the carriage proceeded towards Ambleside, the road stays very near the Lake, yet

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footnote listing these villas; see also Adam Menuge, "Inhabited by Strangers": Tourism and the Lake District Villa', in *The Making of a Cultural Landscape: The English Lake District as Tourist Destination, 1750-2010* ed. Jason Wood and John K. Walton (2013), pp. 123-139.

12. Storrs Hall, built in the 1790s by the Yorkshire landowner Sir John Legard of Ganton (c.1758-1808).

13. The farmhouse at Fell Foot, on Lake Windermere, was expanded after 1784 into a substantial villa overlooking the lake by Jeremiah Dixon, a Leeds merchant and former Lord Mayor of Leeds, and his wife Mary née Smeaton. See *The Discovery of the Lake District*, (exhibition catalogue, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1984), p. 30.

14. Mrs Taylor, Bells-Field, near Bowness.

15. Richard Watson, Bishop of Llandaff (1737-1816) in 1788 bought Calgarth, a large estate on the shores of Windermere, between Ambleside and Bowness. In the early 1790s he built a new house, Calgarth Park. See *ODNB*.

is frequently hid from the view of it, by winding thro' coppice woods, ~~emerging from these~~ which in their way are very beautiful, & emerging from these, the Lake & distant mountains broke upon us with added beauty. The evening was not such as to give much richness or colouring to the hills, a sober gray was the most predominant hue, but the lights & shades were often extremely fine, once a faint glow of red in the sky, was finely reflected in the Lake, the effect was charming. We passed Lowood, which is a delightful situation, & arrived at Ambleside before dusk, where we slept.

(Sept. 10th). Before breakfast, I sauntered out with Mr Wilson, we went thro' the village & turn'd up by some little bye paths, every step we took seem'd to present us with new and charming prospects. Ambleside affords no one particular view so striking as to demand praise above the rest, but every way you can turn it is beautiful & almost every two or [three?] yards you advance some new prospect, some fresh combination of hills & wood & water is seen. After breakfast Mr and Mrs Wilson left us to return to Kendal, & at about half past 9 my mother & I set out on a morning's excursion of which the following is the account.

We first went towards the Lake, & soon came within sight of it & of a beautiful little bridge over the river Rothay; the Lake, the river, the bridge & the hills formed together a beautiful picture, advancing farther we left the Lake & the hills became more stupendous, more wild & more grand, at a little distance ~~among~~ below some of the highest of them we saw Scalwith [Skelwith] bridge, which was a very pretty object. ~~Having come by a part of the road from which Langdale pikes are seen to great advantage we alighted from the carriage & walked.~~

Continuing to travel along a road every step of which offer'd views at once sublime & picturesque, we at length ascended a hill from the top of which when we looked down we discover'd a beautiful little lake embosomed amidst the most stupendous mountains, its calm unruffled surface with the sheltering wood on its banks presented a scene of peacefulness and serenity which was render'd the more fascinating by the dark frowning hills which surrounded it. This little lake is called Loughrigg Tarn & is remarkable from the circumstance of its not having any visible inlet or outlet for the water. Having quitted this we came to a part of the road from which Langdale Pikes are seen to great advantage here we alighted, & walked to the brow of a hill at the bottom of which we saw the small lake of Elter Water, I do not think this so beautiful as Loughrigg Tarn, but the mountain scene beyond is sublime beyond anything I had yet seen, the hills called Hard Knot & Wrynose rear their giant forms beyond Elter, to the right of these Langdale Pikes project terrific over the vale between, down which hill beyond hill is seen in long perspective.

Having left this we travelled on till we ~~came to Grasmere Fell~~ ascended Loughrigg Fell when we again alighted, & walking on to the summit, we from thence discovered the Lake of Grasmere. "The bosom of the mountains, spreading here into a broad Bason, discover in the midst Grasmere water; its margin is hollowed into small bays, with eminences; some of rock, some of soft turf, that half conceal and vary the figure of the little Lake they

command".<sup>16</sup> At the farther end of the Lake is the white village of Grasmere, with a parish church rising in the midst of it, "hanging inclosures, cornfields, & meadows, green as an emerald, with their trees and hedges, & cattle, fill up the whole space from the edge of the water":— "Not a single red tile, no flaring gentleman's house, or garden wall, break in upon the repose of this unsuspected little paradise; but all is peace, rusticity & happy poverty, in its neatest, most becoming attire". Near the center of the Lake is a little Island wooded on one side which adds much to its beauty. This vale is about four miles in circumference, & guarded at the upper end by Helmeccrag, a broken pyramidal mountain, that exhibits an immense mass of antediluvian ruins. The river Rothay is the principal feeder of Grasmere Lake, from Grasmere it runs to Rydale, & from Rydale into Windermere Lake; on the side of a hill, (I think Loughrigg) which overlooks the Lake is a little cottage, which belongs to a Mr Gell, or Jell<sup>17</sup> (I do not know exactly) it commands a charming view, is truly rustic, & in every particular bespeaks the taste of the owner.

After having walked at Grasmere for some time we proceeded to Rydale; the first view we obtained of this Lake was also enchanting, a great part of its margin richly wooded, & a number of little islands on its surface mostly cover'd with trees; we did not get out of the carriage at this Lake, but having passed a high hill called Nab Scar we alighted to walk to the Cascades; the road by which our guide led us is the most delightful that can be, thro' woods & rocks, & winding amongst magnificent hills. We were shewn first the upper fall, this is a "torrent tumbling headlong & uninterruptedly, from an immense height of rock, into the rocky bason below, shaking the mountain under you with its fall, & the air above with its rebound. It is a surprising scene!"- so says West in his guide to the Lakes<sup>18</sup>, & I agree with him that it is indeed a surprising scene, tho' from the small quantity of water in it at the time I saw it, the foregoing part of the description does not exactly answer, yet I thought it wonderfully fine, the force with which a considerable body of water descends from a great height ~~was~~ is a circumstance of sublimity I never before witnessed, & the rocks, the woods, even the Ferns & weeds that grace the banks, every thing has its effect, & unites to form a scene most grand, picturesque & enchanting. The lower cascade is a smaller fall of water, seen thro' the windows of a summer house, in Sir Michael Fleming's Orchard.<sup>19</sup> The following is Mr Mason's account of it. "Here nature has performed every thing in little that she usually executes in her larger scale; & on that account, like the miniature painter, seems to have finished every part of it in a studied manner. Not a little fragment of a rock thrown

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16. {From Gray's description}. Thomas Gray's 'Journal of his Tour in the Lake District' (1769) took the form of a series of letters to his friend Dr Wharton. These were edited into a journal form by William Mason and first published, posthumously, in William Mason (ed.) *The Poems of Mr Gray: To which are prefixed Memoirs of his Life and Writings*, 2 vols (1776). The journal was then included in Thomas West, *A Guide to the Lakes* (1778), and the quotation above is on pp. 82-3.

17. William Gell (1777-1836), author of *A Tour in the Lakes Made in 1797*, ed. W. Rollinson (2000), built a cottage on the edge of Grasmere in the late 1790s.

18. West, *Guide to the Lakes*, p. 80.

19. Sir Michael le Fleming (1748-1806), 4th baronet, politician, had his family seat at Rydal Hall.

into the bason, not a single stem of brush wood that starts from its craggy sides, but has a picturesque meaning, & the little central current dashing down a cleft of the darkest colour'd stone produces an effect of light & shadow beautiful beyond description. This little theatrical scene might be painted as large as the original (on a canvas not bigger than those usually dropped in the opera house."<sup>20</sup> Immediately over this charming little fall, there is a rude stone arch sweetly ornamented with moss, grass & ferns & c, just when we saw it, it happened that the arch, the fall & its banks were all enveloped in shade, but thro' the arch a brilliant light from the sun was seen on the bank, which had an effect almost magical. Quitting this enchanting spot, we re-entered the carriage, & returned to Ambleside to dinner.

After dinner I took a solitary stroll out, I went up a shady lane from whence there were some charming views, then went on by the stream by a very rough path. I believe one could not find a walk here but what is lovely.

(Sept. 11th). Sunday we went to church at Ambleside. After church, took a walk, which as usual was beautiful, we came at last to a little bridge, from which a richly wooded valley opens with a stream running thro' it over a very rocky channel, it must be very fine when there is much water, as it is it is beautiful. Passing on beyond this I ascended a pretty steep hill from whence the two Lakes of Windermere & Rydal are at once seen, with the hills of Nab Scar, Fairfield, Langdale & Loughrigg; a very fine scene.

In the afternoon, we went to drink tea with Miss Pritchard<sup>21</sup>, a lady who shewed us civilities on account of Mr & Mrs Wilson. Her house is most enchantingly situated, a little beyond Rothay bridge, close under Loughrigg Fell & commanding a very fine view of Windermere & Brathay river. Her cousin (a young lady whose name I did not learn) conducted me thro' Miss Pritchard's shrubberies, which are very rough & wild, to a scar about half way up Loughrigg Fell, from whence we had a view of the greatest part of Windermere, with its mountains, one which I noticed particularly to the right, is called Coniston Old Man; the evening was the most brilliant we had had since our arrival here & the lights & shadows about the time of Sunset produced very fine effects; a fine glow which tinged the mist that hung over Coniston Old Man, I was particularly struck with. I was much pleased with my conductress,<sup>22</sup> she was communicative, had a propriety of conversation, & seem'd intelligent & desirous to please. Miss Pritchard also seems an agreeable woman.

(Sept. 12th). Got up at 6— & before breakfast ~~walked~~ took the short walk that we did yesterday, only varying it by turning into a wood & afterwards up a field, the looks of which pleased me, I was well repaid in this last instance. After having again reached Ambleside, I turned down the Keswick Road, on which I walked a good way; very fine mountain scenery.

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20. Mason (ed.) *The Poems of Mr Gray*, vol. 2, p. 152n.

21 Laetitia Pritchard (c. 1756-1827) of Croft Lodge, Clappersgate, Loughrigg. There is a memorial to her in St Oswalds Church, Grasmere.

22. {I have since heard that she is a Miss White.}

After breakfast, my Mother & I walked to Stockgill Force; if this was full of water I should think it the finest Cascade I have seen yet. The vale which it terminates with its immensely high wooded banks is far more grand, than the accompaniments of the Hall at Rydal, instead of descending in one or two streams as the former it is broke by huge rocks into several; which disappearing behind the trees & immense rocks are seen again far below, it is a sublime and tremendous sight. I cannot describe it. The walk to & from it is delightful, thro' woods & looking down into the vale at the bottom which runs the stream which issues from Stockgill Force.

Whilst we were at dinner a note was brought me, it was from Mrs Green<sup>23</sup> & had been convey'd by Miss Hamilton<sup>24</sup> who was on the road for Keswick; impatient to meet this admired authoress, with whom I already felt so well acquainted in her works & by character; I set off as soon as I had got my dinner for Stockgill Force, where I had heard she was gone; having arrived there I was in some difficulty how to introduce myself; however I laid myself down on the ground & for some time again enjoyed this tremendously fine waterfall, after which I sauntered about till Miss Hamilton & her sister Mrs Blake moved from the station they had chosen to return towards Ambleside. The introduction was soon effected; & I found them both much disposed to be civil & to enter into conversation. Nothing very particular however passed, as it turned chiefly upon the friends we mutually know; Mr & Mrs Green & Mrs Fletcher.<sup>25</sup> They seemed to have much relish for natural beauties; & conversed without the least affectation, or appearance of thinking they did a favour. Mrs Blake spoke highly of Wordsworth's poems as being accurate pictures of the country & its manners, in which she was seconded by Miss Hamilton. On returning from our walk they sat a few minutes with my mother and me conversing very pleasantly; & at parting Miss H— expressed a wish that if we ever met again, we might have more intercourse.

Adieu, Miss Hamilton, I wish from my heart we may meet again.

After they were gone my Mother & I walk'd over Rothay bridge, past Croft Lodge, Miss Pritchard's house, over Brathay Bridge & a little way up the river, very beautiful indeed, I do not think I have yet seen the lights and shadows upon the hills so fine as they were this evening. On our return from this walk I set out by myself, & went towards the waterfall, but instead of going quite to it, I turned down a narrow lane to the right, & in short found a road which brought me another way back to Ambleside, this my last walk at this delightful place was a very sweet one & gave me a soft and beautiful view of the Lake, tho' a less grand one,

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23. Harriett Green née Lister (1750-1821), artist, York resident, and wife of Amos Green (1735-1801), fruit and landscape painter. See H. Green, *Memoir of Amos Green, esq, written by his late widow* (1823) and *ODNB* entry on Amos Green.

24. Elizabeth Hamilton (1756?-1816), novelist and educationalist. She was close to her widowed sister, Katherine Blake, with whom she spent much of her later life. See *ODNB*.

25. Elizabeth (Eliza) Fletcher née Dawson (1770-1858), autobiographer, poet and Edinburgh hostess, born at Oxton, near Tadcaster. See *Autobiography of Mrs Fletcher*, ed. Mary Richardson (2nd ed. 1875) and *ODNB*.

than I have from other points seen.

(Sept. 13th). At 9 o'clock, we left charming Ambleside to return to Casterton, for the first few miles of the road to Kendal, we kept close to the edge of Windermere, or separated from it only by a few trees; during this the road was delightful; with deep regret I at last lost sight of the charming Lake after which the road became less beautiful I think than that from Kendal to Bowness, or perhaps the scenes I had quitted made me think so; however it was not without its beauties, the hills tho' far, far inferior to those of Ambleside in point of grandeur, were considerable enough to make the prospects very pleasing, at another time I should have admired them perhaps still more. At about half past eleven we arrived at Mrs Scales's at Kendal. I walked out with Miss Scales to see what Kendal offer'd worthy of observation. We ascended a hill which lay on one side of the town, & on the top of which stand the ruins of an old Castle; this ruin is not a very interesting one, it stands on the top of a roundish green hill, without single tree or shrub near it, except a few very young & poor ones, & of the Castle so little remains that being destitute of these accompaniments it is by no means picturesque, nor any ways interesting except in as much as the ideas of fallen grandeur must make every ruin so; these ideas, one circumstance of this Castle is particularly calculated to give rise to. I mean the immense thickness of the few walls which yet remain; what must have been the ravages which could level with the ground an edifice so massive, so substantial! It is said that from this Castle Henry 8th married his Queen Catherine Parr.

Kendal is a pretty large town consisting chiefly of two long streets, & has a clean cheerful appearance from being built, as is everywhere the case in this country, of stone; there is rather a scarcity of wood about it, otherwise the situation is very pretty.

The evening was delightful, & we had a very pleasant ride to Casterton, where we arrived between 7 & 8.

(Sept. 14th) Miss Hasell<sup>26</sup> of York came to Casterton.

(Sept. 16th) We left Casterton. I left it with regret; the kindness and hospitality we experienced, there, can never cease to be remembered, & combined with the natural beauties of the place, & the amiable and excellent qualities of its possessors, will ever make this last month be remember'd as a period of unusual enjoyment.

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26. Mary Hasell (1747-1808/9); daughter of Edward and Julia Hasell of Dalemain, Westmoreland, and a sister of Mrs Jane Salmond (see note for 16 February 1804); E.M.Schofield and M.M.Schofield, 'A Good Fortune and a Good Wife: the Marriage of Christopher Hasell of Liverpool, Merchant, 1765', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 138 (1989), pp. 85-111. Mary Hasell was a longstanding member of the Ladies Committee of the Grey Coat School, York, from 1794 to 1807. See Minutes of the Ladies Committee of the Grey Coat School, GCS1/1/1/1 1789-1814 and 1815, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research.



When we got to Giggleswick Scar I got out of the carriage to examine the ebbing and flowing well, but while I observed it, no alteration took place; probably the season is too dry for it, as Mr Wilson says that in seasons either remarkably dry, or remarkably wet, it does not ebb and flow. The day was fine, & our journey pleasant till we got to Skipton; from hence, we took horses to Blubber House, the first part of this stage, as far as Bolton bridge the road was tolerable, and we got on very well; after that the road was as bad as any I ever saw, & for about four miles it was almost a continual ascent. At a place where the hill was steep we got out of the carriage to walk up; the scene here was as wild as it is possible to conceive, nothing but moors and mountains, not a habitation, nor even a spot of cultivated ground in sight; happening to look back at our post boy; whose face I had not before observed, I beheld just such a countenance and figure as Salvator<sup>27</sup> might have drawn for an assassin in such a scene. The combination was really terrific. It soon appear'd that my fears thus excited, (which however I suppressed at the time) were not altogether groundless, for coming to another steep hill, when the horses ran back, & a precipice near made our situation very alarming, he refused at first to let us alight, & when we persisted, he abused us in the most insolent manner; it appear'd clearly now that one of the horses was restive. This made us determine the more to walk whenever the hills were more than commonly steep, and when we desired a third time to alight, he only became the more insolent, and drove on the faster for our entreaties to him to stop; we however at length succeeded in getting out of the carriage this time also; but he declared we should get into it no more that stage, & immediately drove away out of our sight. Night was now coming on fast, the rain began to pour, & my mother and I were on a wild moor in a country we did not know, with not a single human being, or human habitation as far as eye could reach. This was such a situation as might have suited Mrs Radcliffe<sup>28</sup>, but does not often occur in real life in such a country as this. We thought we must have walk'd to the end of the stage, which was still, we did not know how many miles off. Contrary to our expectations however the post boy stopped, and we at last unexpectedly came up with the carriage, having once more seated ourselves in it, we reached without farther disaster, tho' not without farther fears Blubber House. To conclude the business the post boy apprehensive that my mother did not mean to give him any thing (which in consequence of his behaviour she had threatened) took possession of our trunk, declaring that nothing should make him give it up till he was paid, the men of the Inn frighten'd as I suppose at this ruffian like conduct could not be persuaded to interfere, & the master of the house being absent, my mother was actually obliged to yield to his insolent demands before we could get possession of our trunk.

(Sept. 17th) The morning fine. We breakfasted at Blubber House, and went from thence to Knaresbro' the 1st stage. This ride presented us with as compleat a contrast as could possibly be to the magnificent scenes we had left; a very flat country, divided into square fields by stone walls, or miserable stunted hedges, but not a single tree. When we drew

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27. Salvator Rosa (1615-1673), whose romanticized landscapes had considerable influence on romanticism.

28. Ann Radcliffe (1764-1823), Gothic novelist.

near Knaresbro' indeed the scene improved. At Knaresbro' we walked to see the Castle, not much of it remains, but enough to shew that it has formerly been very extensive, the situation is fine, being on a hill at the foot of which runs a beautiful river, the opposite banks of which are very richly wooded. From Knaresbro' we proceeded to Boroughbridge, from B— to Coxwold: Hambleton Hills wore a different aspect to me now to what they ever did before, I am now convinced that they are very unpicturesque hills, yet certainly far better than no hills, consequently I have till now very much admired them, for till this journey I had seen no others; after a proper interval passed in my own flat country, I may again admire them, but at present they appear to me tame and insipid, I can hardly discover a shadow of the grand or picturesque about them.

(Sept. 19th). We walked to Byland Abbey, this fine old ruin has lost none of its attractions for me, in consequence of my excursion into Westmorland, but I am sorry to find that it is in a likely way to be stripped of all its antiquity, of all that now makes it delightful; for Sir M— Stapleton<sup>29</sup> the proprietor of it not only permits his tenants to dig in it for stone, but even to take down parts of the ~~building to construct~~ edifice to build their houses, & very lately by digging for stone a pavement was discover'd, very curious & doubtless of high antiquity but instead of taking care that such a vestige should be preserved, Sir M— S— has left it to be hacked up by the work people, till not two stones of it are left together. Of the scattered fragments I brought home a few pieces, they are of different colours, glazed at the top, & cut into curious shapes.

(Sept. 22nd). Jane Peirson<sup>30</sup> and I took a very pleasant walk past the thicket to high Kilburn & in coming back passed near low Kilburn. I admire the situation of both these villages, particularly the latter. In some parts of our walk we had very good views of Hambleton Hills. I begin to think better of these Hills again. The great objection to them is the long strait line which their summit presents, and which it is not perhaps going too far to pronounce ugly; but when, as is sometimes the case, you catch Hood Hill and Whiston Cliff, when the long stretch beyond is hid, or broken by intervening objects, they ~~really~~ form a beautiful prospect.

(Sept. 23rd). We walked to Carlton.

(Sept. 24th). Walked to Highthorn; this is a very beautiful situation of its kind; but it is of a kind I am not apt to be enraptured with. The house stands on the top of a hill from which you have a bird's eye view of perhaps 60 or 70 miles.

(Sept. 25th) We all went to Husthwaite Church, where we heard a charming sermon from Mr Peirson on the text — "Nay but O Man who art thou that replies against God? Shall the

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29. Sir Martin Stapylton (1751-1817) of Myton Hall, owner of Byland Abbey.

30. Jane Peirson (1774-1808), daughter of Rev. Robert Peirson (1748-1805), Archdeacon of Cleveland and vicar of Husthwaite, and Frances Cooper.

thing formed say to him that formed it: Why hast thou made me thus?["]<sup>31</sup>

I have hardly ever heard a sermon which so much gratified me. We dined at Highthorn, & walked home in the evening. A most beautiful sun setting.

(Sept. 26th). Mr Peirson, my Mother & me went to make a call at Thirkleby. The ride there is exceedingly pretty & the place appears beautiful, tho' I did not see much more than the view from the house, as Lady Frankland<sup>32</sup> could not walk farther than just in the gravel walks near the house. The House is a very charming one indeed, I never saw anything more elegantly, & completely finish'd, than is every, the minutest part of it.

(Sept. 29th). I had a long conversation with Mrs P— in which she told me many of the circumstances of Jane P—'s former attachment to Mr C. Cooper,

[Pages 25-28 missing.]

. . . could be supposed rich enough to afford a contribution however small, informed them of the scheme in hand & solicited their assistance. We met with varying success, in some instances our reception was not very gracious, in others every thing we could desire. One woman in particular quite delighted me, the tears gushed into her eyes, as I explain'd my errand, because it reminded her of her son, who had been a soldier & whom she had had the misfortune to lose; but she seem'd highly gratified to find that slender as her means were, (too slender to afford to buy flannel) she could yet by the labour of her hands contribute her mite to the good of her country.

We met for the first time as a committee on the 21st Nov. in the Merchant Taylor's Hall in Aldwark, & for the 2nd time on Nov. 28th when the Lady Mayoress read us an anonymous letter she had received on the subject of the flannel clothing stating a number of frivolous objections to the plan; as these objections appear'd frivolous as they were to be pretty much stirring in the town it was resolved to explain more fully our views, in the hopes of silencing once for all, all murmurs, and accordingly the advertisement No. 2 was drawn up by Mrs Cappe<sup>33</sup> & appear'd in all the York papers. Our hopes of silencing all objections were however ill founded; great discontents prevailed among the volunteers in particular, who seemed to apprehend that they were to be entirely excluded from any share in the distribution of the flannel & at the same time to imagine that they, above all others, had the

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31. Romans 9:20.

32. Either Lady (Sarah) Frankland née Rhett (1724-1808) widow of Sir Thomas Frankland, 5th baronet (1718-1784), or Lady (Dorothy) Frankland née Smelt, wife of Sir Thomas Frankland (1750-1831), 6th baronet, landowner and politician, both of Thirkleby Hall near Thirsk.

33. Catherine Cappe (1744-1821) née Harrison, wife of Unitarian minister Newcome Cappe, writer and philanthropist, a leading figure in the revival of the York Grey Coat School from 1785 and one of the founders of the York Female Friendly Society in 1786. See Helen Plant, *Unitarianism, Philanthropy and Feminism in York* (2003). For newspaper coverage of these events, see *York Courant*, 21, 28 November, 5 and 19 December 1803, and 16 January 1804.

first right to it. In order to obviate these mistakes, for such they were; a circular letter, (of which the copy appears in No 5) was on the 12th of December addressed to the different Captains of the York Volunteer companies. This letter, to our great surprise, was taken in high dudgeon, Townend's company refused to accept any, & their captain did not even vouchsafe a written answer to the ladies but contented himself with a mere verbal answer deliver'd to the Lady Mayoress by himself with considerable marks of pique. Capt. Ellin on the contrary wrote word that all his company consisting of 75 would accept, though several of them had declared that they did not consider themselves as coming under the descriptions of persons who ought to receive from our store, and though the serjeant of the company had made out a list of 32 only who did. Bagley in like manner required 67. Shaw asked for 6 only. Cap. Bland had the Ladies' letter read at the head of his company, accompanied by a remark from himself, or his Serjeant "that it was expected no man would chuse to accept a gift, which was considered by the Ladies as a charity" and immediately several of the men cried out "no-no-no" & behaved in a very tumultuous way. It was a long time ere Capt. Oldfield vouchsafed any answer, when he did it was to decline the offer'd benefit, & couched in terms that bordered on impertinence. Capt. Hotham has not yet Jan 17th returned any answer. Capt. Tweedy is the only one who has understood the intentions of the committee & acted accordingly. He instead of applying to his men to know who would, or who would not accept of flannel clothing, was at pains to make as accurate a discrimination as he could with respect to the circumstances of the men of his company, & sent us a list of 44 to whom it would be acceptable. In the meantime the common men having got hold of the word object (unluckily used in the circular letter) insulted with it those companies who had accepted of any flannel clothing, calling them "objects of pity", "objects of charity" & c & c, & in consequence Bagley sent a second note to the Ladies to say that his company declined accepting any, & 3 of Shaw's men came also to ~~decline~~ request that they might not be included amongst those who were to receive.

These clamours daily increasing & the Captains having entirely frustrated the intentions of the committee, with respect to making the wished for discrimination among the Volunteers, in order to give to those who wanted such assistance and to those only, the Ladies were much perplexed, & on . .

#### 1804

Jan. 3rd. It was proposed by Mrs Cappe that we should by an advertisement or hand bill call upon the Volunteer privates themselves to come to the Merchant Taylor's Hall & give in their names as many as would accept of flannel clothing, it being thought that many of the men would gladly avail themselves of the Ladies' offer had it been fairly explained to them & had they not been misled by their officers. This proposal was overruled by Mrs Dalton,<sup>34</sup>

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34. Ann Norcliffe Dalton, née Wilson (1762-1835), of Langton Hall, near Malton, member of the Ladies Committee of the Grey Coat School from 1803 to 1808. See Minutes of the Ladies Committee of the Grey Coat School, GCS1/1/1/1 1789-1814 and 1815, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research.

who thought that after having written to the Officers we could not take the affair out of their hands & refer it to their men, without seeming to encourage insubordination, and that should any riotous conduct ensue (of which she appear'd very apprehensive) it would be entirely laid to the Ladies.

(Jan. 4th). Another meeting when it was proposed that our designs having miscarried, & our intentions having been misconceived & frustrated, we should give up our delegated trust, return the flannel clothing to the individuals who had contributed it & dissolve ourselves as a Committee. The motion was carried, & we immediately began to sort out the things & pack them up in order to be returned to the several individuals who sent them.

(Jan. 5th). Another meeting, it was debated in what manner we should give up our trust, but nothing finally resolved on.

I went home much dissatisfied that we should give up an undertaking, which promised in its outset to be so extensively beneficial, & which yet might be so to other Corps tho' the York Volunteers rejected or misunderstood our offers. Finding that my sister was much of my sentiments, I wrote to her the same evening the note No. 4 —which she shewed to Miss Marshe, & both highly approved of it & sent copies of it to Lady Mayoress, Mrs Dalton, Mrs Wilson & Mrs Dring.

(Jan. 6th) In our way to the Committee, my sister & I called upon Mrs Cappe; I read my note to her which she much approved, provided my scheme could be carried into execution, which she seemed to doubt. However on our arrival at the committee we found only one dissenting voice (Mrs Dalton). Lady Mayoress declined giving any vote, & the rest warmly approved my plan, & I had the satisfaction of finding that by having the courage to speak my sentiments I had met those of a great majority of the committee, who had been held back from doing the same only by the apprehension that they stood alone.

~~(Jan. 7th Another meeting)~~ The hand bill no 5 was drawn up in order to be printed & dispersed the following day, hoping it might tend to conciliate our opposers & reconcile the Volunteers to our measures.

(Janry 7th). Another meeting. I wrote letters to the 3 Captains, Ellin, Tweedy & Shaw informing them that shirts & caps for the number of men mentioned in their respective letters, were set apart for their use, which was accordingly done, & deposited at the mansion house.

(Janry 10th). Another meeting. Lady Mayoress informed us of her having received insults in the public streets from two separate parties of people, one composed of boys & others; the other consisting of Volunteers, both of whom saluted her with the cry of "objects of pity . . . objects of pity" and followed her along the street with it. In consequence of this & other provocations & vexations from the same cause, she has withdrawn her name from the committee. Ellin sent out a 2nd letter declining the shirts appropriated to his troop.

(Jan. 14th). A handbill No 6 was distributed in the town which highly gratified the committee & their friends, & highly incensed the Volunteer Officers, particularly Oldfield, who in a rude & boisterous manner accosting the Lady Mayoress, called it "a most infamous thing, which would make matters ten thousand times worse, but the author should be found out & prosecuted to the utmost limits of the law". Who the author is remains yet a secret, I have even heard a probable guess.

(Jan. 16) Another meeting, nothing particular done.

(Jan. 23rd). Another meeting. 14 shirts & caps packed up for Mr Ware's riflemen, in consequence of the very polite & handsome answer from him to the letter addressed to him by the committee, similar to those which had been sent the Volunteer Captains.

(Jan. 26th). Went to the Concert. Miss Denny, who has been a pupil of Corry's<sup>35</sup> made her first appearance as a singer at York; two English songs which she sung were so ugly that one could not form any fair judgement of her talents, but the Italian song was very pretty & her manner of singing it very pleasing. I like her voice much, her tones are particularly good; but she was heard to great disadvantage, as she evidently labour'd under the remains of a bad cold.

Jan. 27th — Frances Ewbank<sup>36</sup> & Miss Barton came to stay with us.

Jan. 27, 28 & 29 — We received an invitation from Mrs Belcombe<sup>37</sup> for a musical party on the following Thursday, & I was strongly requested to perform; a sober conviction that I do not play well enough for such exhibitions determined me either to refuse this, or, to do as little as possible. Mrs B— being very urgent with me, I found I could not entirely get off playing unless I had also declined going, I therefore agreed to play Haydn's beautiful Duett with Miss H. Belcombe, thinking that this would be a more modest way of exhibiting, than playing a Lesson, either with or without accompaniments.

Feb. 2d. Mrs Belcombe's private concert. The performers were Miss Goodricke<sup>38</sup>, Miss

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35. Domenico Corri (1746-1825), Italian composer, impresario and voice teacher, based in Britain from 1781.

36. Frances Ewbank (b. 1790) was Jane Ewbank's cousin, the youngest child of Andrew Ewbank (1742-1823), Rector of Londesbrough, close to Market Weighton, and Jane Withers (1751-1817).

37. Mary Anne Belcombe née Mountford (1760-1842), wife of Dr William Belcombe (1757-1828). The Belcombe daughters were Sarah Anne (1785-1847), Henrietta (1787-1860), Mariana (1788-1868) (later as Mariana Lawton the lover of Anne Lister), and Eliza (1793-1869). See <https://sjriocain.com/belcombes/> accessed 16/2/22.

38. Probably Elizabeth Goodricke (1776-1838), the youngest and only unmarried sister of the astronomer John Goodricke (1764-86). C.A. Goodricke (ed.), *History of the Goodricke Family* (1885), p. 38.

Morritt<sup>39</sup>, 3 Miss Belcombes, Mrs Marshal & myself, Mr J. Atkinson<sup>40</sup>, Mr Miles Stapleton, Erskine<sup>41</sup>, Knapton<sup>42</sup> & Mr Marshall. The music in general was very indifferent; of the Quartetts & c performed by the gentlemen, not one was pretty; Miss B— sings wretchedly, Miss H. B— sings I think considerably better than her sister, yet very far from absolutely well. Miss Goodricke played an exceedingly good Lesson & played it very well indeed; this was by far the best part of the evening's performance. For the rest, it was so very so so! that I think Mrs B— had better not bring her daughters quite so forward in the musical line, till they have made greater proficiency. b 3rd. I went with Mr Allen<sup>43</sup> to hear the performance of the silver miners<sup>44</sup>, at the dancing room, in the Minster Yard. Miss Goodricke is in raptures; with it. I am not; yet I was much

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[pages 39-40 missing]

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there were 240 people; and all were highly pleased for it seems that it is the fashion to be in raptures with the silver miners.

Another circumstance worth notice this evening is that Mr Dickens officiated as Master of the Ceremonies; being the first time that this office has been exercised by any one at York.

Feb. 13th. We went to see a collection of curiosities of sundry kinds at the Sycamore Tree Minster Yard<sup>45</sup>, the only thing much worth notice is a young Crocodile brought alive from Egypt; it appeared very vigorous & lively, tho' the man told us that in a morning it was generally (from want of warmth during the night) so stiff & benumbed that you would

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39. Possibly Frances Morritt (c. 1743-1807), daughter of Bacon Morritt and Anne Powray, who lived in the Treasurer's House, York; see 'The Treasurer's House and Gray's Court', in *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in City of York, Volume 5, Central* (London, 1981), pp. 69-76.

40. James Atkinson (1759 -1839), surgeon, bibliographer and co-founder of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society in 1822. See *ODNB* and Michael Brown, *Performing Medicine: Medical Culture and Identity in Provincial England, c. 1760-1850* (2011), passim.

41. Probably John Erskine, player of the flute and oboe, and promoter of the York subscription concerts, 1801-1822.

42. Probably either Samuel Knapton (1756-1831), cellist and double bass player, or his son Philip (1788-1833), violinist, pianist, and composer, both of York.

43. Oswald Allen (1767-1848), York apothecary and memoirist, married to Frances Withers, sister to Jane Ewbank née Withers, mother of the diarist's Londesbrough cousins. See Brown, *Performing Medicine*, pp. 32-9.

44. A Band of Silver Miners, from Bohemia, were advertised as performing a concert of vocal and instrumental music, wearing the original costumes they wore in the mines, at Tate and Noke's Dancing-Room, Minster Yard. *York Courant*, 6 February 1804.

45. The Sycamore Tree was one of three public houses in Minster Yard, at the eastern end of the Minster. James Joseph Sheahan and T. Whellan, *History and Topography of the City of York* (1857), p. 461n.

almost suppose it dead. It appeared not a yard long, & the other little one, (for there were two) was not a quarter the size of this; a degree of diminutiveness which I was surprised at, as the animal is so very large when it has got its growth. It is fed chiefly on raw beef. The rest of the exhibition consisted of some stuffed birds & animals, among the latter was the Armadillo, some of birds were very pretty; a great quantity of figures in very indifferent wax- work, & 5 or 6 pieces of equally indifferent Clock work.

(Feb. 16th) Met Miss Maria Salmond<sup>46</sup> at the Grey Coat School; & had a conversation with her in which I explained to her my objections to the ~~present~~ mode of punishment at present most usually adopted & my ideas as to what would the system most likely to prove effectual. She seem'd to coincide entirely with me, & promised to consult Mrs S— & to get her to consult Mrs Grey<sup>47</sup> on the subject.

(Feb. 17th). Went to the Concert.

(Feb. 20th). A Flannel meeting; nothing very particular done.

(Feb. 22nd). George came over from Londesbro'. William<sup>48</sup> is still in London.

(Feb. 24th). Went to the Concert. Erskine's benefit. Liked Miss Denny very much; & think Miss Erskine improved, but her talents were too much exhibited this evening.

(March 2). Went to the Concert.

(March 11) Took a walk with Mrs Green, in which I in part open'd my mind to her on a particular interesting subject. Had no reason to [be] dissatisfied with the result of the conference.

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46. Maria Salmond (1776-1858) was the daughter of Jane Salmond née Hasell (1745-1820), second wife of William Salmond (1737-1779), owner of Antigua plantations. Jane Salmond was an active member of the Ladies Committee of the Grey Coat School from 1786, and a committee member of the York Female Friendly Society from its foundation in 1788. Maria Salmond and her sister Julia (1772-1860) were also both very active in these charities. See Minutes of the Ladies Committee of the Grey Coat School, GCS1/1/1/1 1789-1814 and 1815, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research.

47. Faith Gray née Hopwood (1751-1826), wife of William Gray, York solicitor and political agent. An Anglican evangelical, Faith Gray worked closely with the Unitarian Catherine Cappe in the reorganisation of the Grey Coat School and the foundation of the York Female Friendly Society. See *ODNB* entry on William Gray, and Mrs Edwin Gray (ed.) *Papers and Diaries of a York Family* (1927).]

48. George Ewbank (1779-1807) and William Ewbank (1781-1840), sons of Andrew Ewbank and the diarist's cousins.



(March 16). Went to the Concert & was enchanted with the singing of Mrs Ashe<sup>49</sup>; I have heard her in London, but was I think more delighted with her here. Here she shone as a single & brilliant star. There she was one of a constellation. She has great powers of voice, but I was still more struck with the extreme delicacy of expression with which she gave her songs. Mr Ashe is a first rate performer at the flute; I cannot determine whether I like him or Nicholson the best on this instrument; I think they both carry it very near to perfection.

(March 21st). Was at the second Assize concert, & was again delighted with Mrs Ashe. Her Italian song by Cimarosa<sup>50</sup> was more beautiful than that of the preceding night, & her singing was exquisite. In Handel's "sweet bird"<sup>51</sup> she was accompanied on the flute by Mr Ashe; this very difficult song she executed in a very superior style of excellence, & the manner in which her voice blended with those tones of the flute was something (aerial?) & enchanting. Her last song fair Ellen<sup>52</sup> I liked much, but not so much as the former two.

(March 23rd). Was at the Concert & for the third night heard Mrs Ashe; her songs this night were "Ye Sacred Priests"<sup>53</sup> & "Sweet Echo"<sup>54</sup>. The first was certainly by far the most beautiful, but with the second also I was highly pleased. Mr Ashe's accompaniment was quite delightful.

(April 3rd). Went to the Play. It was the Wife of two Husbands.<sup>55</sup> This is a species of Play somewhat new, at least to me; being a serious English Opera. The plot is really interesting, & on that account one is but the more shocked at the monstrous absurdity of the singing, as it is usually introduced; after having given oneself up to the ~~Illusion~~ fiction & become really interested in the distresses of the scene, a song completely destroys the delusion, and when that is over, the interest is all to fetch back again, it returns with diminished force, & this ebbs and flows at each return weaker than before. Let the singing be ever so excellent, this objection holds good, as it equally destroys the interest of the scene very good singing may indeed compensate for an indifferent play, but this is only to substitute one pleasure for another, the gratification that should arise from the drama is destroy'd, & that of music is quite foreign to the business. This night another circumstance combined with this to prevent this really interesting story from producing its full effect, viz. that the acting was very bad; Mrs Aickin & Mr Cummins contrived to spoil the two parts of the Count &

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49. Wife of Andrew Ashe (c. 1758-1838) flautist from Lisburn, Northern Ireland, and said to be a pupil of Venanzio Rauzzini (1746-1810), Venetian composer and teacher, based in Bath from 1780. See John Weeks Moore, *Complete Encyclopaedia of Music* (1875), pp. 69-71.

50. Domenico Cimarosa (1749-1801), Italian composer, mainly based in Naples.

51. George Frideric Handel, 'Sweet bird that shuns't the noise of folly' from *L'Allegro, il Penseroso*.

52. Ballad composed c. 1802 by John Braham (1774-1856) with words by T. J. Dibdin.

53. George Frideric Handel, from *Jephtha*.

54. Probably by Thomas Augustine Arne (1710-1778).

55. J. Cobb, *The Wife of Two Husbands: A Musical Drama* (1803). See Sybil Rosenfeld, *The York Theatre* (2001), p. 185.

Countess of Belfiori, on whom the interest chiefly depends.

(April 9th). Went to the Card assembly with my sister<sup>56</sup> & Mrs T. Walker.

(April 12th). Went to the play which was the Soldier's Daughter by Cherry<sup>57</sup> & was exceedingly well entertained. The story excites interest, & some of the characters I think are drawn with spirit; I mean particularly those of Governor Hearsall & his nephews, & the Widow Cheerly, on the other hand this play has the absurdity of Love at first sight, not only felt but acted upon; & a kind of benevolence was inculcated, which I fear can never be found usefully practicable, since we can have no criterion for judging at a glance, how far the objects in question are worthy of it. There are indeed cases when to hesitate in bestowing our assistance, is to render it useless; in these & in these only I think ought this hastily unexamining beneficence to be cultivated in our own minds, or encouraged in others.

I was much pleased with the performance of Miss Mills in the Widow Cheerly; she appears a lively little Girl & acted with much spirit; of the other new actress, Miss Smith, I can only say that there appears nothing offensive, no striking defects in her acting, but on the other hand, no beauties. The farce was a pantomime.

(April 17th). Went to the Play, the West Indian<sup>58</sup>; the part of Belcour would have been performed well by Melvin<sup>59</sup>, had he been more the gentleman, but this was an important defect, & one which was felt in every word and action; I did not like Miss Mills in Charlotte Rusport near so well as I had done in the Widow Cheerly; I suspect that her forte is entirely confined to the lively, & that where the pathetic is even but slightly blended with it, we shall feel the loss of our old favourite Miss Smith. Upon the whole the Play was ill acted. After the play Miss Smith (the new Miss S—) recited "Mary the Maid of the Inn" —& displayed in this much greater powers than I imagined from her acting she possessed.

The Farce was called the Counterfeit<sup>60</sup>; I never saw anything more thoroughly stupid; even novelty could lend it no attractions; & upon my word I thought it was almost an insult to the audience to present them with such absurdity.

(April ~~20th~~ 21st). Cordelia<sup>61</sup> came to spend a little time with us.

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56. Elizabeth Lodge née Ewbank (1767-1824), of Thorp Arch, widow of Richard Lodge.

57. *The Soldier's Daughter*, by Andrew Cherry, was first performed at Drury Lane in February 1804.

58. *The West Indian*, by Richard Cumberland, was first performed in Drury Lane in 1771.

59. Melvin, from Edinburgh, joined the York company of actors in 1798/9, and stayed until 1806 when he went to Covent Garden. Rosenfeld, *York Theatre*, pp. 166-190.

60. *The Counterfeit*, by Andrew Franklin, first published 1804.

61. Dorothy Cordelia Ewbank (1783-1866), second daughter of Andrew and Jane Ewbank of Londesborough, and Jane Ewbank's cousin.

(April 22nd). Conversing with Cordelia I had the mortification of learning from herself that she has adopted her Mother's sentiments ~~about~~ respecting plays, and means to enter a Theater no more, I lament this on many accounts, first because I think her objections are founded on mistake, & secondly because of the effects which I foresee this unlucky mistake will have on the minds of other friends, influencing their opinions and feelings towards the young semi-methodist, for in some such unpleasant light I doubt not she will from this time be consider'd. For myself, I intend never more to attempt to controvert her opinions on this subject; her mind is made up, if my arguments should have no weight with her they can ~~must~~ only be teasing, if they should produce some effect upon her mind, it would most likely be no more than to reduce it again to that state of doubt, from which she appears for the present to have escaped; it will be a more friendly, & perhaps not much less difficult task, to labour to counteract those unpleasing impressions in the minds of others which this declaration of her sentiments is calculated to produce. The more I reflect on this affair the more do I lament it, & the more cause do I see for apprehending unpleasant consequences. My mother even says — but no matter — I would wish to forget what she says; she will not I hope adhere to opinions & designs thus hastily expressed.

(April 26). We spent the day & supped with my sister, & returned home about the usual time, & went to bed. I had fallen into a sound sleep, where I was disturbed by some persons in my room, & opening my eyes saw my mother & the two Maids, as I presently found them to be, tho' at the instant I could not sufficiently collect myself, to be certain who they were. I was then informed that they were ~~alarmed by~~ in the greater alarm, for they were certain that somebody had got into the house; they then, having got our candles left ~~us~~ my mother & me — but the more methodical way of recording this affair will be to describe the rise & progress of the alarm as I have been able to collect it from the accounts of the servants, which agree in the following detail.

Scheringill<sup>62</sup> having been this night to the play was later in retiring to bed than usual, she thinks it might be about ½ past 12 when, ~~being~~ being just ready to get into bed, she heard a step descending the stairs which led to the garret where the Man servant sleeps across the landing; "Bless me!" she exclaimed to Ann, "What can William be going downstairs for now, after he has been so long in bed" — for he had been gone to bed a good while. Ann begg'd she would go and see; so Scheringill went on to the landing but did not take her candle because being undressed she did not chuse to be seen by William; — & ~~when she~~ called "William" nothing answered at first & when by repeated calls she at last obtain'd an answer, William's voice evidently proceeded from his own room, as if he had just been awaken'd by her calls; she now became alarmed & begg'd that he would come down to her; she also relates that upon her coming out of her room & calling out, the sound of steps which she had heard, ceased, as if the person was standing still that ~~they~~ he might not be heard, & when after having told William to come down she was returning to her own room to ~~put~~

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62. The two maids at 9 Castlegate were Mary and Ann Scheringill, together with William the manservant.

throw on some clothing & fetch the light, she again heard the footsteps as if descending farther; she thinks she could not have heard them at first, had the door been shut, but as shutting the door is generally the last thing she does before getting into bed, it was still standing open & she ~~both~~ not only distinctly heard the sound of steps but also of a person breathing; having taken up her candle, she unfortunately knock'd it against something in her hurry by which means it fell from her hand & went out, & the three servants now groped their way down to the kitchen & having there struck a light proceeded to search the house, but finding no one they did not alarm the rest of the family but returned to their respective chambers, determined however to remain on the watch for some time longer. Perhaps half an hour might have elapsed from this when William (who had only lain down in his clothes) was roused by a gentle rustling of his curtain, & looking up he distinctly saw, by the light afforded by the Moon tho' it did not shine directly in at his window, a man in his room; he says the man appear'd to be lusty? & he even thinks he could know him again; William directly started up, & his bed being much nearer to the door than the man was at that instant, he had no difficulty in escaping out of his room, which he had no sooner done, than he began to call out as loud as he could vociferating "here is a Man" & almost at the same instant a violent rushing noise was heard from his room; the Maids once more joined him on the stairs & they all sallied down, not daring to venture into William's room after what had passed. The Maids now came to my Mother, and me, awoke us and informed us of the cause of their alarm. They then went downstairs, William went over the street to call up our neighbour Mr Watson, & having procured his assistance they once more proceeded to search the house, still they did not find anyone, but when they came to William's room, they found the window open; a table which had stood under it thrown down & turned completely over, & a candlestick which had stood upon it thrown upon the floor, & considerably bent by the violence of the fall; probably the table had fallen upon it. These several circumstances combined lead us to conclude that for some unjustifiable purpose, (most likely that of robbery) a Man had, by means which we cannot at present make out, found his way into the house, & that finding the family alarmed, & his ends thereby defeated, he escaped out of the garret window immediately after being seen by William & in doing so threw down the table which occasion'd the noise heard by all the servants. The garret window opens on to the leads, & as a parapet wall runs ~~runs~~ all along the edge of the roof he would be in no danger of falling; it is true the houses on each side of ours are considerably lower, but two or three men who have since examined it think that an active man could very easily either descend from our roof to Mrs Hearon's or ascend from her's to our's.

Several people to whom we have mentioned this directly conjectured, or rather seemed to take it for granted, that it must have been a lover of one of the Maids; but my Mother & I have both too much confidence in their integrity to admit of such an idea; & besides I should have thought that the bare circumstance of Mary Scheringill's having given the first alarm, must be sufficient to free both herself & her sister Ann from any such suspicion.

How the man got in, & how he at last escaped ~~must~~ will most likely ever remain a mystery, he seems to have been an unpractised offender, or he would not have the imprudence to

venture out of his hiding place at so early an hour; heaven grant that his failure here may deter from such attempts for the time to come.

(April 28th). Went to the play, the *Clandestine Marriage*<sup>63</sup> & *Wags of Windsor*<sup>64</sup>; the part of Lord Ogleby was performed by Mathews<sup>65</sup>, who is come down from London & acts here two nights; in some parts I liked his acting much, particularly his self complacency when he supposes Fanny to be in love with him; however he did not on the whole give a fair representation of the character, that he was not I think enough the gentleman, was I think one defect; & those who had seen the character better performed were less satisfied with Mathews than I was. After the play, Mathews gave us imitations of many of the principal London performers, in a really surprising style; it is wonderful how much his voice resembled Kemble's<sup>66</sup> & Suett's<sup>67</sup> alternately as he gave us a scene from the *Wheel of Fortune*, had I only heard & not seen I should have remain'd perfectly satisfied that two people, & those two Suett & Kemble were on the stage. The imitation of Incledon<sup>68</sup> was also excellent, tho' highly caricatured, so was Munden<sup>69</sup>. Bannister<sup>70</sup> I think was not so good, of Cooke's<sup>71</sup> I could not judge.

This evening Bessy Lutton arrived from Leeds, having quitted that place on account of some disagreements between the two Miss Fryars, which indeed seem[s] to make her stay with them absolutely improper if not impossible.

(May 2nd). My cousin William<sup>72</sup> arrived from London, he looks very well & I think appears somewhat more cheerful than has of late been usual with him.

(May 3rd) Cordelia took a walk with William; she tells him that when she led the conversation to the subject . . .

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63. *The Clandestine Marriage*, by George Colman the Elder and David Garrick, first performed in 1766.]

64. *The Review, or, the Wags of Windsor, A Musical Farce* by George Colman the Younger, first performed in 1800.

65. Charles Mathews (1776-1835), actor, joined the York company at the Theatre Royal in 1798, and in March 1803 married an actress with the company. In that year he made his London debut, and in 1804 he signed a contract with Drury Lane for five years. See *ODNB* and Rosenfeld, *York Theatre*, pp. 164-86.

66. John Philip Kemble (1757-1823), actor. See *ODNB*.

67. Richard Suett (1755-1805) actor and singer. See *ODNB*.

68. Charles Benjamin Incledon (1763-1826), tenor singer, known especially for the singing of English theatre music and ballads. See *ODNB*.

69. Joseph Shepherd Munden (1758-1832), actor, see *ODNB*.

70 Charles Bannister (1741-1804), actor, see *ODNB*.

71. George Frederick Cooke (1756?-1812), actor, see *ODNB*.

72. William Ewbank (1781-1840), second son of Andrew and Jane Ewbank of Londesborough.

[pp. 55-58 missing]

. . . to the eye. To the heart it is at once gratifying & melancholy. I do not wonder that Xerxes wept. "The wonder is that it should be recorded".

(May 15th). I attended the meeting of the Female Friendly Society<sup>73</sup>, when we all walked in procession to the Minster, heard a Sermon preached on the occasion, & then drank tea together. What a contrast this, to the procession of yesterday; the common observer may find less to dazzle; but to those who think & feel how unmixed the pleasure; how far more satisfactory to the reflection this assemblage, of the affluent who contribute their money & their time & pains for the succour of the indigent, of young & blooming girls who under the patronage of these their benefactresses also contribute their mite in order to relieve or be relieved as occasion shall determine, of innocent & healthy children, who under the inspection of the same kind friends are training up in habits of religion, sobriety, & honest industry; how much more satisfactory to the feelings I say is such an assemblage, than that of men glittering in arms & trained in the work of slaughter; tis' true the cause in the present case is just, is glorious! & as such its defenders will claim our approbation & thanks; but our esteem & gratitude must still be deeply tinged with sorrow, whenever we reflect on the direful chances of war, or even the "Price of a Victory".

(May 21st). Two horses riding furiously up the water lane<sup>74</sup>, one of them came with such violence against the window of our dining room, which is opposite to the door, as to break every pane in the lower sash, a part of the frame & a mahogany chair which stood before it. But this is the least disastrous part of the accident for a boy of 9 years old walking by at the instant, the horse drove him with fury against the wall, or the window, & he was so much hurt as to make it doubtful if he should recover. However we find that no bones are broke, and it is hoped that with care he may be restored.

(June 1st) I was glad to hear from Mrs Green that Miss Hamilton had told her she believed Miss Edgeworth to be uninfected by her father's infidelity & that the complete restraint she is kept under by her father will not suffer her to publish anything contrary to his sentiments is the reason why we find no traces of religion in her works. It may be observed in confirmation of this that we find nothing said or insinuating against religion, no precepts uncongenial to its spirit, nothing that can weaken its force on minds already imbued with its salutary influence. In further confirmation of the above assertion of Miss Hamilton, Mrs

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73. The York Female Friendly Society was founded in 1788 by Catherine Cappe and Faith Gray, at first primarily for former pupils of the Grey Coat School; such societies offered a form of insurance for working women, and were sometimes, as here, philanthropic enterprises.

74. The Water Lanes were three narrow and dilapidated streets leading from Castlegate down to the waterfront of the River Ouse.

Green heard from Mr G. Strickland<sup>75</sup> who is intimate with H. Edgeworth<sup>76</sup> that he is a young man of very religious turn. When it is considered what share Maria E. must have had in his education, it affords a strong presumption that his religion was derived from her, since we are sure he could not receive any right impressions on that subject from his father.

(Thursday 14th). George & Cordelia came to us. My Aunt also came to York to Mrs Allen's.

(15th). Cordelia & Jane<sup>77</sup> accompanied Mrs Brooksbank to Healaugh?<sup>78</sup> I have the satisfaction of seeing Cordelia in much more cheerful spirits than when she last left us. My dear Jane is as formerly all sensibility & affection; the first night of her arrival, the recollection of all that had happen'd since we last met crowding on her mind somewhat overcame her, she could not quite check her tears, or hide her emotion, but afterwards her spirits were good & she was as much as ever disposed to enjoy ~~every~~ conversation with me, & every pleasure that was offer'd to her. Mrs E. Cooper passed through York on her way to Bath Easton. I am much concerned to hear from her that my friend Theodosia<sup>79</sup> is in a very alarming state of health. Mrs E—.C—. thinks that it is partly occasioned by struggles of her mind between love, & prudence. Mrs E—. C—. also tells us that Jane Peirson is to be married ere long.

(June 19th). Mr & Mrs Allen, my Aunt & William, my Mother & myself set off for Thorp Arch at a quarter past 7, we arrived there at about half past 9, breakfasted at the Inn, & immediately afterwards went to the seminary<sup>80</sup>, where we were able to hear the young men speak. The exhibition lasted 3 or 4 hours. Henry Ewbank<sup>81</sup> I think was the child hero of the day. He open'd the performance with Stephens's lecture on heads<sup>82</sup>, & really went through it in a manner which much surpassed the ~~opinion~~ expectations I had formed of his abilities in this way. One misfortune however happen'd to him; towards the latter end of this long recitation, his memory (which had served him most faithfully hitherto) seemed of a sudden

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75. Possibly George Strickland (1782-1874), second son of Sir William Strickland of Boynton Hall, East Riding.

76. Henry Edgeworth (1782-1813), son of Richard Lovell Edgeworth and Elizabeth Sneyd, younger brother of Maria Edgeworth (1768-1849), the novelist and educationalist discussed here.

77 Jane Elizabeth Ewbank (1784-1816), daughter of Andrew and Jane Ewbank of Londesborough, and Cordelia's sister.

78. Benjamin Brooksbank (1757-1842) and Philippa Brooksbank née Clitherow lived at Healaugh Hall, Tadcaster.

79. Theodosia Cooper, daughter of Benjamin and Grace Cooper of New Sleaford, Lincolnshire, was in (1778-1846) 1806 to marry William Ewbank, second son of Andrew and Jane Ewbank. Mrs E. Cooper has not been identified.

80. The Literary and Commercial Seminary in Thorp Arch was founded in 1798 by Dr Peers.

81. Henry Ewbank (1787-1859), third son of Andrew and Jane Ewbank of Londesborough, brother of Jane and Cordelia.

82. George Alexander Stevens, *The Celebrated Lecture on Heads . . .* (1765). See ODNB.

to fail him, & he stopped short; ~~no one could recollect the~~ as no book was at hand, no one could give him a word, & for some minutes he stood silent and embarrassed, his friends were still more distressed than he was, particularly poor Jane, who was quite overcome by it. Henry however preserved his composure surprisingly, & at last regained the thread of his discourse, & concluded with a very good grace. Besides this Henry ~~went~~ supported a principal part in a French scene; Portia in the trial scene in the Merchant of Venice; & Hotspur in the scene with the King including the speech "I do remember when the fight was done" — &c. But the first thing was his master piece.

A young man of the name of Bayley was the only one who could be said to rival Henry, & I really think he shewed considerable comic powers but of course he wants experience, & perhaps he strove too much to imitate the different comic actors he may have seen. On the whole I think this kind of thing may have both its advantages & disadvantages. Its advantages are obvious in cultivating the valuable talent of elocution, nor can I deem the time given to the attainment of this end wasted, tho' a few hours may be subtracted from that usually devoted to the languages.

On the other hand these public exhibitions must tend greatly to foster vanity, & I was not pleased, to hear frequently the name of the Almighty occur in the recitations. It would be better if that sacred name was to be entirely avoided; as too great, too awful, to be used in our sports. Perhaps in some others respects a better selection might have been made, but I cannot say I think ~~it~~ the one we had, so very objectionable as my Aunt seems to do.

It must not be omitted that Henry received two Medals. One for French, & the other for his maps.

After this was over we all went to dine at Mr Brooksbank's of Healaugh; the party now consisted of 21 persons, viz Mr & Mrs B— & their 7 children, our own party, & Mr & Miss Willoughby. With Mrs B— we were all much pleased, there is something uncommonly friendly & engaging in her manner. Mr B— is more reserved, & less prepossessing, the boys were playful & joyous, & Miss B— I feel very well inclined to like, both from what I have heard & what I see, but she does not seem easy to get acquainted with. Healaugh seems to be a very nice place, Tadcaster Bridge appears to peculiar advantage from some of the windows, & the River Wharf, running thro' the grounds is an advantage of no small importance to this beauty. We got home from our day's excursion at about 10 o'clock.

(June Saturday 23rd). Mrs Brooksbank brought Cordelia, Jane, & Henry from Healaugh, & the Londesbro' party went home in the afternoon.

I have forgot to mention that on ~~Wednesday~~ Thursday morning (June 21st) I took an early walk with my Aunt, in the course of which she introduced the subject of Cordelia's having given up going to plays, & seem'd satisfied that my conduct on that occasion had been kind & friendly. This was certainly what I meant it to be; ~~however before we~~ & so far all was well; but I told my Aunt very plainly how sorry I was for the part Cordelia had taken; & also



expressed to her how much I had regretted having made the promise she once drew from me, not to persuade my Cousins to my way of thinking on this subject, & acknowledged that I had felt it was a very irksome restraint; she did not seem to enter much into my feelings on this matter; but at last, on my persisting to urge them, she said "Well then I release you from your promise". I really feel a relief in having gained this point; tho' I have not at present any intention of using my liberty, to endeavour to overturn their sentiments. I say their sentiments because I have no longer any doubt that Jane will follow her sister's example.

(July 12th). George arrived from Cambridge, where he has been taking the degree of Master of Arts.

(July 13th). We went to see & hear Mrs Mountain's<sup>83</sup> performance of the "Lyrical Novelist"—. I was certainly very much entertain'd yet cannot quite adopt what seems to be the prevailing sentiment, that is, unmixed approbation. This entertainment consists in songs & recitation, the recitation is a kind of tale, in which the songs are introduced. And was prefaced by what Mrs M— calls an "explanatory exordium" which was by much too long, & was deliver'd in an affected manner. ~~After~~ When the tale was begun this disagreeable affectation disappear'd. It seems as tho' she had been so much used to acting, that when she had occasion to speak to an audience simply in her own character, she could not do it naturally. Mrs M—'s voice in speaking is I think the sweetest I ever heard, I know not whether even Mrs Jordan<sup>84</sup> can surpass it. Every tone is melody. The thing she recited was but indifferently written & I think does no credit to her taste & judgement in the choice; but she must be allowed the merit of making the best of a bad thing. The musical part of the performance was the best; her voice is exquisite, & so is her manner of singing, & she was accompanied by Mr Mountain who plays exceedingly well on the violin. Some of the songs were very pretty, yet I rather wished for a different selection, I think I had rather have heard her in three or four of her best songs; than in this long story, & the 15 songs into the bargain. On the whole tho' really much pleased I was rather disappointed; I think I have heard her to far greater advantage in London, & must confess that I should not have discover'd in the Lyrical Novelist, the celebrated singer who vies with Mrs Billington.<sup>85</sup>

(July 19th). Went to see Mr & Mrs H. Siddons<sup>86</sup> in the characters of Irwin, & Lady Eleanor Irwin in the play "Every one has his fault".<sup>87</sup> These people have certainly no claim to the

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83. Rosemund Mountain née Wilkinson (c. 1768-1841), singer and actress, a leading performer on the London stage, who from 1802 toured with a solo programme of recitations and songs entitled *The Lyric Novelist*. See *ODNB*.

84. Dorothy Jordan [real name Dorothy Phillips] (1761-1816), actress in London and the provinces and from 1790 mistress of the Duke of Clarence, the future William IV.

85. Elizabeth Billington née Weichsel (1765-1818), actress. See *ODNB*.

86. Henry Siddons (1774-1815), actor, playwright, and eldest son of William and Sarah Siddons; Harriet Siddons née Murray (1783-1844), actress. See *ODNB*.

87. *Every One Has His Fault: a Comedy in Five Acts* (1793), by Elizabeth Inchbald.

praise of first rate actors; yet I thought that she was pleasing & interesting in her part, & that he shewed some powers tho' mixt up with various faults. In ~~person~~ face he is strikingly like his family, & in person, as tall & as thin as his uncle Kemble; he has a better voice, than the latter, but unfortunately has a double portion of his stiffness of action. One arm akimbo seems a favourite attitude, & a very bad one it is.

(July 21st). Went again to the Play, the Castle Spectre<sup>88</sup>, Osmond, & Angela by Mr & Mrs H. Siddons. I have nothing more to say of these performers; as before I was very well entertain'd; for at least they infinitely surpass any that at present belong to the York stage in their line. She was to a certain degree interesting, but I think I begin to perceive an uniformity of manner & action which might in time become wearisome. He as before displayed some powers, but he ranted too much, & was too stiff.

I was next Mr Burgh<sup>89</sup> a part of this evening; he considers this play as a most contemptible thing; & he observed that it was rather extraordinary, that having in our language perhaps more fine plays than there are in any other, we should have more bad ones brought upon the stage. I asked whether this inequality among our dramatic writers might not be attributed in part to the irregularities of Shakespeare, some having only copied his faults. On this Mr Burgh warmly took up the defence of Shakespeare, asserting that he had no faults. Or at least that his faults were superior to the very best of what had come from the pens of all others. Was not this a little too much?

(July 23rd). My sister went to Thorparch.

Mr & Mrs Peirson came to us on a melancholy occasion, to avoid the misery of seeing Jane ~~married~~ give her hand, where they were convinced she could not find happiness.

(July 24th). Jane Peirson was married to Mr J. Sheppard. Mr & Mrs P— supported their spirits on this day & indeed during the whole of their visit to us, better than I should have expected; till they came to take leave of us on Friday 27th when poor Mrs P— seemed to be overpower'd by the apprehensions of the painful meeting she was going to encounter with her daughter.

(August 4th) I agreed to undertake the management of the cloathing department at the Grey Coat School, Miss Swainston<sup>90</sup> having giving [sic] up that office.

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88. *The Castle Spectre*, by Matthew 'Monk' Lewis, first performed in 1797.

89. William Burgh (1741/2-1808), politician and theological writer, who lived in York for nearly forty years, dying in his house in Bootham. There is an elaborate memorial to him, by Richard Westmacott, in York Minster.

90. Miss Mary Elizabeth Swainston was on the Ladies Committee of the Grey Coat School from 1797 to 1812, and Mrs Frances Swainston née Strangways, widow of Dr Allen Swainston, from 1789-1799. See Brown, *Performing Medicine*, 2, 19-20; Minutes of the Ladies Committee of the Grey Coat School, GCS1/1/1/1 1789-1814 and 1815, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research.

(August 6th). My Mother & I went to Londesbro' — found all the family well, except dear Jane, who I fear is in a very delicate state.

(August 8th) George left us to go to Woodlands.<sup>91</sup>

(August 10th) Dear Elizabeth<sup>92</sup> this day 10 years old.

((August 14th & 15th). William & Henry arrived at home on their return from Woodlands. I think William is improved, his spirits are pretty good, he associates with the family, & discovers less of that self-sufficiency which was so offensive in him. With Henry I am delighted, I think I never saw a finer disposition, & so long as it is gratifying to the human heart to contemplate human happiness, so long must Henry be a welcome associate, for joy which springs from an innocent affectionate heart, sans fault, lightens up his countenance & discovers itself in every word & action.

(August 19th). We left Londesbro' & my uncle accompanied my mother & me to York in the chaise.

(August the 20th Monday). This night my uncle & Henry set off in the Mail for Newcastle; where Henry is going to be bound apprentice in the House of Barras & Co.<sup>93</sup> This is an important era of Henry's life; I can perceive that he goes with high hopes & expectations; & he was beyond expression delighted when the news first came that he might be admitted into this house. As the hour of departure drew near, his spirits seemed to flag, but it was his affectionate heart that caused this, ~~not~~ I think more than any apprehensions on his own account. May this measure be productive of all happiness & prosperity to him; & above all may he escape the temptations peculiar to the trader, & return to us with the same innocent uncorrupted heart he takes with him.

(August 22nd). Went at half price to the play, & saw 2 acts of *John Bull*<sup>94</sup>, & the farce of the *Jew & the Doctor*.<sup>95</sup> Fawcett<sup>96</sup> performed the parts of Job Thornberry & Abednego I thought

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91. Woodlands was the house and estate, at Briggswath near Whitby, rented by Mrs Cordelia Withers from c. 1804 to 1813. Cordelia Withers (1740-1820) was the widow of William Withers (d. 1802), York lawyer and Recorder for the corporation, the brother of Jane Ewbank née Withers. Cordelia Withers was a member of the Ladies Committee of the Grey Coat School from 1786 to 1802. See Brown, *Performing Medicine*, 21, 38; Minutes of the Ladies Committee.

92. Elizabeth Lodge (1794-1840), the daughter of Richard Lodge of Thorp Arch (1763-95) and Elizabeth Ewbank (1767-1824), Jane's sister.

93. Barras & Co was a brewing company in Gateshead, founded in 1770.

94. *John Bull* (1803) by George Colman the younger.

95. *The Jew and the Doctor*, by Thomas Dibdin, first performed 1798.

96. John Fawcett (1769-1837), actor and playwright. See *ODNB*.

him very clever in both, tho' in Job Thornberry I think he did not play with quite so much feeling, as I once admired him for in the part of Jack Junk. Yet at times he certainly display'd it considerably, particularly I thought when after much difficulty he yields to Mary's entreaties to be left in the Hall, while he goes to represent his wrongs to Sir Simon Rochdale. In the Jew I thought him very great, yet I would not decide whether in this part he exceeds Melvin.

(August 27 Thursday). My mother & I came to Thorparch. In the evening we walked to Mr Brewin's grounds & gardens. This place is very near the river which however is hid from the house owing to its steep banks, so is the case at Casterton. Thorparch appears greatly increased in size since I was here last.

(August 24th). Walked before breakfast with Miss Booth<sup>97</sup> & Elizabeth, they took me thro' some fields by a brook, a very pretty walk I was not acquainted with. Mrs & Miss Becket & Lady Smith dined with us.

(August 26th. Sunday). We went to Newton Church.<sup>98</sup> Mr Ray did duty.

(August 27th). My sister, Elizabeth, Miss Booth & myself walked through Mr Brewin's woods to Flint Mills. This walk is among the most beautiful I have seen; in some parts, rocks of a considerable height, & nearly perpendicular, approach close to the water, leaving only the path you walk along & trees hanging from the rock, or rising from its base & bending into the water, render the scenery rich as well as picturesque in the highest degree.

I did not gain any very clear ideas of the works carried on at the Flint Mills.<sup>99</sup> I only saw some large wheels in which some very large & heavy stones are carried round with prodigious force, ~~which~~ and grind the flint (which has first been burnt) as they move. After this operation is completed, the flint thus ground, is (I know not how) conveyed into cisterns, from whence the water is then drain'd off, here it stands to harden into a kind of thick clay; & in this state I believe is carried to Leeds or other places for the use of the potters. We walk'd back to Thorparch by the opposite bank of the river, by which means we enjoyed a delightful variety of prospect, for the banks on this side being so high gave us quite different views of the Woods, water & c.

(Aug. 29th). We left Thorparch, at about 4 o'clock, & staid to drink tea with Mr Dawson's<sup>100</sup> at Tadcaster. ~~And~~ We had the good luck to meet here Dr Hague & his family<sup>101</sup>; & heard

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97. Possibly the governess of Jane Ewbank's niece Elizabeth, or a companion to Jane's sister.

98. Probably the Church of St Andrew, Newton Kyme, West Yorkshire.

99. For the flint mill at Thorp Arch see <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1135034>, accessed 15 March 2022.

100. Probably either John or William Dawson, the brothers of Miles Dawson (1741-1799), father of Eliza Fletcher.

101. Charles Hague (1769-1821), violinist and composer. His eldest daughter, Harriot (d. 1816), was an accomplished pianist. See *ODNB*.

Miss H— perform a piece of Mozart's on the Piano Forte in a style of excellence which I thought quite astonishing when it is consider'd that her age is only 12 years. She was accompanied by her father. After this she sung a song of her own composition; the words, the flower girl's cry; by Caroline Symmons.<sup>102</sup> Her voice seems weak & does not do justice to her own composition, which to me appears far above her years. From Mrs Brudenell<sup>103</sup> I heard some particulars of Beattie [sic], the young Roscius<sup>104</sup>; for which see anecdotes of children, page —Arrived at home about 8.

(Sept. 1st Saturday). At 8 o'clock my mother & I set off for Woodlands. The road as far as Whitwell flat & uninteresting, near that place the scene improves, & at Croambeck [Crambeck] bridge it is beautiful. After we passed Pickering the country is wild & desolate, & what would be generally called insipid & ugly, but I confess such scenes are not without their charms for me. This wide tract of uncultivated lane with its deep Vallies & swelling knolls seem'd to me to speak a present Deity more than the more fertile fields. That Man should earn his bread by the sweat of his brow, is necessary to his real good, & accordingly the Almighty has given him lands to Labour, & fields to cultivate; but that the majesty of the Almighty may not be overlooked by Man when he finds the ground became productive under his hands, it also happens that what it gains in profit it loses in grandeur, & touched by Man seems from that moment to partake more or less of his littleness. As we approached within a few miles of Whitby we gain'd an extensive view of the sea; which I enjoyed perhaps the more as it was unexpected. At about 5 we arrived at Woodlands. My cousin George, & Miss Judy Williamson were with Mrs Withers. After tea we walk'd in Mrs Withers's grounds which are singularly romantic & picturesque<sup>105</sup>; I never saw a piece of ground consist so entirely of hill & dale; scarce can you find a few yards of level ground; & as the risings are very steep & abrupt; it makes it no idle saunter for us Yorkites to traverse these grounds. However in this circumstance greatly consists their beauty, but not it also greatly consists in others; rich wood, both great and small, richly clothes these hills & vallies, & the river Esk runs with many a winding ~~at the~~ thro' banks, steep, high & fantastically varied.

(Sept. 2nd). In the afternoon, I walked with Miss J. Williamson to the village of Aislaby. It is a

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102. Caroline Symmons (1789-1803). A printed score of this composition does exist: *The Flower Girl's Cry, written by Miss Caroline Symmons & the music composed, by Miss Harriot Hague . . . The age of the poet & musician, added together, amount to two & twenty years only* [ca. 1803].

103. Mrs Brudenell née Hepburn (d. 1806), separated wife of Rev. Edward Brudenell, close friend of Eliza Fletcher, and former pupil of King's Manor School. See *Autobiography of Mrs Fletcher*, ed. [M. Richardson] (1875) pp. 4-5,17.

104. William Henry West Betty (1791-1874), actor, known for his performances as a child, when he was called the Young Roscius, after a famous Roman actor. See *ODNB*.

105. For a full description of the estate, and an 1804 painting of it by Amos Green, see the website of the Yorkshire Gardens Trust.

continued ascent on the way there, & the road affords very pleasing views. At A- there is a house with a curious entrance to it. A little round, dirty duck pond close before the Gates over which there is a bridge, the battlements of which are in a waving line thus [diagram]. It was built it is said by a sea captain, who intended that this waving wall, should represent the waves of ~~the sea~~ his beloved element. Strange! that such an attachment to the sea should exist, in conjunction with such entire deprivation of all conception of its beauties, as this whim evinces. Not long after passing this, we came ~~to a~~ within view of the Sea itself; an object that I always feel to be most interesting. We returned from Aislaby by Feather bed Lane; a most curious lane upon my word! Its name is given in contradiction to its nature, being remarkably rough & stony, & would I think be impassable if it was not for a row of flag stones, which are laid (rudely enough) from one end to the other. It is perhaps a mile long, & a steep descent the whole way. It affords some very sweet views, & notwithstanding its ruggedness I liked it very much. This lane brings you to a Bridge over the Esk, which is beautifully situated & we returned to Woodlands by the wooded, picturesque, piece of road, which first took us there.

(Sept. 3rd) Miss Williamson left Woodlands.

(Sept. 4th. Tuesday). I mounted a little grey pony & with my cousin George rode to see Gromont [Grosmont] Bridge, at the distance of about 4 miles. This ride presented extensive & varied views, & I think gave me a fairer conception of this country, than I should have attain'd with much walking. The general character of it seems to be that of Hilly in the fullest sense. It cannot rightly be called mountainous, but the Hills are steep, abrupt & incessant, so that the most difficult thing here, is to find a piece of level ground. This is remarkably the case at Woodlands, where the house itself stands on the side of a hill; & for want of a proper piece of garden ground, the garden is made in a sort of dingle, which I never can pass by without wishing that it had been left to nature to dress; so that tho' perhaps as well managed as the case will admit, it is in some degree a deformity. But to return to our ride; after being exceedingly well entertain'd with the prospects that presented themselves, in which were comprised some very fine wood [sic] that stretched along the bottom of Eskdale; we came to a piece of road so bad that we were induced to dismount; & proceeded on foot to the bottom of a hill which took us to Gromont [Grosmont]. Here we found the River Esk, with rocks of tremendous height rising close to it; & dress'd with trees in the wildest and most graceful manner; among which I observed the Mountain Ash; a tree which I have hardly ever till now seen growing wild. With George's help I crossed the River on stones which lay in its bed; soon taking a sudden turn it leaves these high rocks, & we came in view of a waterfall of no height indeed, but from its situation & the form of the rock it tumbles over, very beautiful & picturesque. Beyond this the trees crowding to the water on each side extend their branches almost to meeting, & form a delightful termination to the river prospect.

Encouraged, & assisted, by George I scrambled over places & surmounted difficulties I should not otherwise have thought possible for me, so that I saw this enchanting place to peculiar advantage. Gromont Bridge is the least of the beauties we came to see, yet is well worthy of admiration, & reminded me in some degree of some of the Westmorland Bridges. There are some small remains of an abbey at Gromont; at first founded & dependent on the Monastery of Grandemont of Grosmont in Normandy.

(Sept. 5th Wednesday). Mr Watson from Whitby came to breakfast at Woodlands & as soon as breakfast was over, Mr W—, George Ewbank, my Mother & myself set out for Mulgrave, the seat of Lord Mulgrave; the road lay chiefly over moors, from whence we enjoyed very fine & extensive views of the Sea, with the Abbey at Whitby. In speaking of Mulgrave, I feel myself entirely at a loss, as I always do when scenes of nature so surpassingly beautiful are in question. Never surely was there found in ~~the~~ a like space, such an assemblage of the beautiful, the grand, & the picturesque.<sup>106</sup> On first entering the grounds of Mulgrave, I was struck with the richness of the Woods hanging down the steep sides of the Hills. At last Mr Watson, who proved an excellent guide; desired us to alight & we walked a little way thro' a road that afforded us enchanting views of the Woods & lawns. Alighting a second time, he conducted us along a gravel walk planted with trees & shrubs on either side in a very well judged manner; but this was art; & however I might admire it for the time was tame & insipid to what we were shortly to behold. Our path soon assumed a much wider character, & art appear'd only in making the foot-way tolerably commodious. We now found ourselves on the side of a very high & steep cliff; at the bottom rich woods, & on the other side rose hills as wild, & as rugged as these; sometimes adorned with luxuriant foliage, sometimes broken by large projecting masses of the Alum Rock. The valley between winding down to the Sea, ~~of~~ which terminated a view of the utmost richness, wildness & grandeur. We had a pretty long walk before we rejoined the carriage; all while enjoying scenes which no pen can describe. O! that my pencil could!

When we next alighted Mr W— led us ~~by a way~~[?] to a scene of quite opposite character; but equally indescribable. A retired vale, shut out by rocky cliffs from human ken; large masses of stone obstructing the course of a stream, & o'ergrown with mosses, long grass & ferns, a rugged path, an air of wildness & solitude, that was enchanting. This place on the whole I think has much of the air & character of Castle Eden Deane.<sup>107</sup>

Our third walk was to the Hermitage<sup>108</sup>; I think this was as well done as most things of the kind, but I do not like the kind. Hermits being now out of fashion, we are sure these little edifices are all make believe, & that spoils the effect; & makes them appear but like impertinent intruders in such majestic scenes as these. From the Hermitage our walk continued by the side of a Rock; a stream on the other side, whose narrow bed was formed by this, & another very steep & high Rock; I never saw a place which gave you so much the idea of perfect seclusion; especially when we came to the end, where the Rocks unite & seem almost to shut out day. The fall of water at this place must be very fine whenever the stream is swollen by rains; but now there was hardly any water. A want which was

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106. The park at Mulgrave was laid out in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries incorporating proposals made by Humphry Repton in 1792-93. See <http://www.parksandgardens.org/places/Mulgrave-castle> (accessed 24 February 2022).

107. Castle Eden Dene is in the Easington district of County Durham.

108. The Hermitage is a cave carved out of a giant boulder, engraved C & G 1790, in Little Beck Wood, near Falling Foss waterfall and the village of Littlebeck, and is now on the Coast to Coast Path.

experienced too in the other vale where we had walked. Mulgrave Castle<sup>109</sup> is a large & handsome building, very conspicuous from its situation to the country round; I am inclined to think it would have been better placed lower, & more concealed by the Woods. We did not come near it. There are also remains of an old castle which we past close by. It occupies a charming situation, appears to have been a place of considerable strength & now forms an object of considerable importance to the picturesque eye in the grounds of Mulgrave. You see it from many parts, yet it ~~does not~~ never appears perched up on high, like the new castle; but sometimes half obscured by the Woods, sometimes frowning on the vale below, always grand, or picturesque. We were led by Mrs Watson thro' another walk, very beautiful with woods, & the wild banks of the stream, but not so remarkable as what we had already seen.

Returning to Woodlands we found Miss Watson, & Mrs & 2 Miss Batemans. The latter appear pleasing young women, with more information than one is accustomed to meet within the frivolous circles which comprise too much what is called society in York. Mr Watson I like much.

(Sept. 6th) Walked with my mother & Mrs Withers up to Aislaby, & back by Feather-bed Lane.

(Sept. 8th). We walked towards New Biggin.<sup>110</sup> After passing thro' a few fields which afforded very pleasing views of the country, we came down to the River's side; & continuing the course of the river our walk was indeed beautiful. On the opposite side tall bare cliffs rising from the water had a very striking effect, farther on these cliffs became sprinkled with wood, & farther on still, they were richly clothed. A bridge crosses the River here of a truly Alpine appearance, consisting of a single narrow plank, formerly a ship's mast, with a hand railing; raised very high above the water & supported in the middle by a kind of stone Pillar; but indeed it is too bulky to deserve the name of a Pillar, & has a heavy appearance. The views both up & down the river from this Bridge are particularly fine. We continued to walk as far as to the woods of New Biggin. I went a little way into the wood; it wears a most tempting appearance, & the River making there a graceful winding adds greatly [to] the beauty of the scene.

(Sept. 9th Sunday). Went to Sleights Chapel, a neat little edifice on the outside, but too much ornamented with gilding, painting & c within. In the evening we walked on by some fields that led us by the water's side. Very pretty; tho' not equal to the last mention'd walk.

(Sept. 10th). We walked up to Aislaby to call on Mrs Benson. Found her & her daughter Miss Robson at home; & were treated with Cake, & Perry & Grapes. These good ladies do not

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109. Mulgrave Castle refers to three structures on the estate. The oldest was legendary, apparently founded in the 6th century; the second, of Norman construction, was dismantled in 1647, but left as a ruin; and the third, built in the early eighteenth century is the still surviving castellated mansion.

110. Newbiggin Hall, Aislaby, near Whitby.



seem remarkably polish'd, but have a great deal of hearty civility about them; for which I thank them.

(Sept. 11th) I walk'd in the morning down to the Mill, from whence I think Sleights Bridge, the river, & the Woods of Woodlands appear to particular advantage.

In the afternoon my Mother and I went to Sleights to drink tea with Mrs Bateman; Mrs Withers not being able to accompany us. Mrs B— & one of her daughters with Mr Watson & a Doctor Campbell accompanied us to see the Allum Works. The road there is a part of the road to Gromont [Grosmont], & affords of the country. Of the process of making Allum the following account is extracted from the Dict. of Arts & sciences<sup>111</sup> "At Whitby, in Yorkshire, alum is made thus: having burnt a quality of the ore with whins, or wood, till it becomes white, they then barrow it in a pit, where it is steeped in water for eight to ten hours. This liquor, or lixivium, is conveyed by troughs to the alum-house into cisterns, and from them into the pans, where it is boiled about twenty-four hours. They add a certain quantity of the lee of kelp, the whole is drawn off into a settler; where having remained about an hour; that the sulphur and other dregs may have time to settle to the bottom, it is conveyed into coolers. This done, to every ton of the liquor they add about eight gallons of urine; and having stood four days and nights, till quite cool, the alum begins to crystalize on the sides of the vessel, from which being scraped off, it is washed with fair water; and then thrown into a bing, to let the water drain off. After this it is thrown into a pan, called the roching pan, and there melted; in which state it is conveyed by troughs into tuns, where it stands about ten days till perfectly condensed. Then staving the tuns, the alum is taken out, chipped, and carried to the store houses."

At the Eskdale-side Allum Works we saw the alum boiling, after being conveyed in troughs from the pits, we then saw it in the coolers, & lastly in the tuns, where it crystalizes in the most beautiful forms. The allum is always boiled in lead, that being the only metal that will bear it; iron would be melted. I believe the outside of the vessels next the [fin?] are iron, the inside containing the liquor, lead. After staving the tuns, some of the allum will adhere to the boards, this they melt over again; some of this we saw in the coolers, where it was beginning to crystalize. The liquor appear'd of a dark, dirty green, tho' the crystalizations were perfectly white.— I am still more pleased with Miss Batemans, & hope our acquaintance will improve. They walked back with us as far as Sleights Bridge.

(Sept. 12th). I called upon Miss Robson of Aislaby to claim her promise of shewing me a walk; she conducted me by one thro' some fields & over a moor, by which we gained very extensive views of the country round; Whitby, Mulgrave Castle, Raven Hill, Sandsend & c & c & beyond these the sea. Miss R— seems to conceive that a view is fine, in proportion as it is extensive, I should not exactly chuse her for a constant guide in a picturesque country; but I was well enough pleased with this walk, & with my guide also; there is a solicitude to give pleasure which one cannot but feel grateful for; & it would in such case be ungrateful not to be pleased. I was also much gratified to hear from Miss R— some curious particulars

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111. The following account is taken from: *Encyclopaedia Britannica, or Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* . . . (1771), vol. 1, p. 29. It is not known which edition Jane Ewbank used.

concerning Sir Walter James Head<sup>112</sup>, & his pretended apparitions; by which the whole mystery is explained. In the evening I enjoyed a delicious walk in the grounds at Woodlands by moonlight. The moon is scarce more than a quarter old, so she did not cast a very strong light; I think this circumstance made the dark woods more solemn. I love such a walk. It makes me think of soothing things & of all those friends I love best.

(Sept. 14th Friday). I set out at 8 o'clock to meet Miss Bateman. I thought I had never seen the walk to Sleights Bridge so beautiful as it was at this early hour; a thin mist hung over the hills which added inexpressibly to the charms of the scene. I met Miss B— exactly on the Bridge & returned with her to Woodlands.

Immediately after breakfast Miss Bateman & I set out for Whitby; neither Mrs Withers nor my Mother being well enough to accompany us. We got to Whitby before 11, & drove directly to the Abbey, where we found Mr Watson & Dr Campbell waiting to conduct us. This ruin stands on a high cliff, which overlooks, & is washed by the Sea, this situation is commanding & striking, & the more so from its singularity being so strongly contrasted with the secluded & shelter'd spots, which have been most commonly chosen for such edifices. This ruin itself too possesses a grandeur I have hardly seen equalled in any other. It appears to have been nearly upon the plan of York Minster, consisting of one long aisle from East to West with narrow side aisles & a shorter one across from north to south, with a high square tower in the middle; & in some other respects, tho' falling far short in size & grandeur, it reminded me of York Minster. The form of the Gothic arches & pillars, the fretted work over the small aisle, & the style & richness of the ornaments. It is to be lamented that this fine ruin is falling fast into decay, a good deal fell down so late as last winter; & they say that it is now too far gone for repairing it, even if Mr Cholmondely<sup>113</sup>, the proprietor, was so disposed. Tho' the architecture is chiefly Gothic, there is a mixture of roman, at least such the two gentlemen told me were the rounded arches of which I saw several. Mr W— & Dr C— measured the length of the building by striding, and as near as they could guess by that uncertain mode of measuring, its length is 89 yards or 267<sup>114</sup> feet. According to Charlton<sup>115</sup> the Abbey was founded in A.D. 656 by King Oswy, was burnt by the Danes A.D. 867 & rebuilt by King Stephen 1084. Hilda, niece of Edwin King of Northumbria was the first Abbess, & since the tutelary saint. Very near the Abbey stands the church at Whitby, a very old edifice, being built by Edwin A.D. 630. The cliff is so high that the inhabitants of Whitby have to ascend 195 steps every time they go to church. Having descended by these into the town, we crossed the draw-bridge, & soon came upon the pier; it is a remarkably fine one, of a

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112. Sir Walter James Head, also known as Sir Walter James James [sic], 1st baronet (1759-1829), of Langley Hall, Berkshire, Warden of the Mint 1796-1829. Nothing is known of the apparitions.

113. The Cholmley family bought the estate of Whitby Abbey in 1555. In 1672, they built Cholmley House or Whitby Hall next to the Abbey; but in 1743 the family succeeded to the Wentworth estates and moved to Howsham Hall, leaving the house and abbey to fall into ruins.

114. {Charlton says 100 feet}

115. Lionel Charlton, *The History of Whitby, and of Whitby Abbey* (1779).

greater length than any other I ever saw, but is not yet quite finished. I very much enjoyed the finding myself once more close by the Sea; the view of it from this pier is extensive, & the Rocks & cliffs, high & bold. There is also a particularly fine view of the Abbey from hence. Leaving the Pier, we climbed the cliff on the opposite side of the town to that where the Abbey stands. From the top of this also we had a fine view of the Abbey & Church, of the town, the harbour, the Piers (3 or 4 in number) & the Sea. At the foot of this cliff, & between it & the new Pier, is a battery. Having view'd these various objects we accompanied Mr Watson to his house; where he soon provided fresh entertainment by bringing out his Shells; of which he has some very beautiful ones; but his collection is not large. He then produced some fossils, petrifications & c, & several articles which he had lately received from China, among which were two Chinese books, some Chinese characters with the explanation, & a nest (if I may call it so) of ivory balls to the number of 8 or 9, one within another, all very curiously & finely wrought.

I am much pleased with Mr Watson; he is said to be a man of great learning, he evidently is one of considerable information & intelligence; what gives the charm to this, is the simplicity & unpretendingness of his manners, with an appearance of benevolence, & kind-heartedness in which one cannot be mistaken. We got back to Woodlands a little before three; Mrs Bateman, & Miss A. B— join'd us there at dinner.

In the evening, when those ladies walked home, I set them as far as Sleights Bridge; the walk back again was delightful, the Moon shone in the water, I passed close by the Mill, & there saw it to perfection; leaving this part, the trees often interrupted her light, & then I caught only partial glances; but whether the moonlight scene is open & unbroken, or whether we only catch it at intervals thro' the trembling foliage; it is always most soothing, heartfelt & delightful.

(Sept. 15th). Miss Robson called upon me to take a walk; I accepted her invitation, & she conducted me to a stone quarry, which is perhaps a mile & half above Woodlands, & we staid there some time to observe the progress of the work. It is of stones from this quarry that the pier of Whitby is built, we saw them place two of these stones on the low strong carts, which were to convey them to Whitby, each stone is drawn by two Oxen, & two horses, one of those we saw, the workmen said might be between 3 & 4 ton weight, the other about 3 ton. We saw the master of the works, & he told us that the expense of each stone when laid down at Whitby might be estimated at about 20s, there are about 20 workmen employed & they can hew out of the rock & roughly drew 3 or 4 of these stones in a day, they ~~however~~ also get a considerable quantity of smaller stone for other purposes; or this ~~alone~~ would not sufficiently pay them. A great quantity of stone has been sent from this quarry as far as to Arundel Castle in Sussex, & they have at this time an order, for some, for making a road near London, Miss R— thought she had heard the road was from London to Portsmouth. What is the superior excellence in this stone, which causes it to be sent from such distances, I did not learn, unless it be what Miss R— mention'd, viz being easier worked than most other; and one must suppose its advantages are very great to make it thus prefer'd to the Portland stone, which is so much nearer to the places above mention'd. The manner of moving these large & heavy stones, is by raising them a little with levers; then placing others under them, & when this is done, the united strength of 4 or 5 men, with

their levers, made it move forwards on to the cart, which was placed ready to receive it. It is by wedges that they first split the rock, & by wedges that they afterwards take off the protuberances, in order to reduce the block to something of a regular form. I saw great quantities of these stones on the Pier at Whitby, which as I said before is not quite finished; no cement is used, but they are fastened together ~~by~~ with iron bars, & those which had been last laid on at the end of the pier, where it is not yet got to half the intended height, ~~where~~ were held down by iron chains, their own weights & the iron bars, not being thought sufficient to secure them against the violence of the waves, before they received the superincumbent weight of the upper part of the Pier. What an astonishing idea does this give one of the power of that element.

This evening — Sept. 15th — I called upon Miss Bateman to take a walk. We went up blue-bank; & after a while came to a precipice from whence we looked down upon the mine, or quarry from whence they dig the alum. It was a very large excavation; the men dig it out with pick-axes, & let it fall in large masses to the bottom. It is then burnt & steeped, & the liquor convey'd in pipes or gutters to the Alum Works before mention'd. We then descended this very steep hill, & came to a little valley; wild, rude & romantic; the walk thro' this, & the fields till we got to Sleights was very beautiful. I staid tea at Mrs Bateman's, & the two Miss B—s afterwards set me as far as the Mill on my way home. The Moon shone bright, it was a charming evening.

(Sept. 16th Sunday). Went to Sleights Chapel in the morning, walked to the Alpine Bridge in the evening.

(Sept. 17th). Walked in the evening to Aislaby to call upon Miss Robson; she shewed me some dried specimens of plants, belonging to her brother Mr Benson. They seemed to be very well done, & the collection is esteemed a particularly fine one.

(Sept. 18th). My mother & I took a farewell walk round the gardens at Woodlands; it was with regret I considered that it was a farewell walk.

(Sept. 19th Wednesday). We bid Adieu to Woodlands where I have experienced much, & long-to-be remember'd pleasure; nothing could exceed the kind & affectionate solicitude of Mrs Withers to promote my enjoyments, in every possible manner, & her endeavours ~~have~~ succeeded; I have enjoyed myself highly & remain grateful to her for it. I love and admire Mrs Withers. I added to our regret in leaving Woodlands; that we left her far from well. We got to Thornton<sup>116</sup> for dinner. We were politely — nay even kindly received. But what a change from Woodlands & Mrs Withers!

(Sept. 20th) A Mr Bramwell arrived at Thornton to breakfast, & Lady Norcliffe<sup>117</sup> to dinner.

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116. Thornton, now Thornton Dale, a village just east of Pickering. Thornton Hall was owned by the Hill family from 1661.

117. This is probably Mary Wray (1729-1807), who inherited the Norcliffe estates, including Langton Hall, from her uncle Thomas Norcliffe (1694-1768), and who married Sir James

Their old lady is said to be upwards of 80 yet has the use of all her faculties in a surprising manner.

Richard Hill<sup>118</sup> was at home at this time. I still think him as I always have done a well disposed boy; or I should rather say young man. But what a pity that he should not have been made still more excellent! Mrs Gilby quite provokes me by talking as she is always doing of the "folly of making such a roué about that nasty Greek & Latin, if a boy has his way to make in the World, why then to be sure it may be very proper, but when there is a fortune ready made, there are other things of far more consequence for a Gentleman". — Mr Gilby does not agree to all this, but he helps to spoil Richard another way, that is teaching him by example & precept, to be as great an epicure as himself. I have been led during this visit to reflect a good deal on the character of Mr Gilby; & here as I conceive it, it is. A regard for the interests of religion, a desire to act conformably to its precepts & to disclose the duties of his station, & make himself a useful member of society. ~~And~~ Hence he is an acute & upright magistrate; he behaves with attention & kindness to his Wife yet evidently asserting his own authority & superiority; in company not ~~actually~~ controverting her mistaken opinions; yet never influenced by them, in short his behaviour towards her, is (her character consider'd) very well judged & ~~The?~~ calculated at once to promote her happiness & ensure her respect; I think she stands in some awe of him; ~~towards~~ with respect to his children he is affectionate & sedulous to promote their real welfare. What is his manner ~~with~~ towards them I do not know, never having seen him with any of them except his son, when the latter was a little boy & then I thought he was too severe & almost fussed the poor ~~boy~~ child to death; this however proceeded from his solicitude, that the boy should in the minutest trifles be correct; but it shewed either a defect in gentleness of temper; or mistaken views on that important subject; education. I suspect both. Towards Richard Hill his conduct is in some respects highly praise-worthy, & well judged. He would gladly have Richard a scholar, but Richard has no turn that way; & his mother encourages him in his idleness; so that being hopeless, Mr G— very wisely forbears to press the point so as to disgust the young Squire, but by promoting his pleasures, & even sharing in them, seems to be . . .

Pages 97-100 missing from the manuscript

. . . & lastly the paper in press. The walk to this place is very pretty, but the day was not favourable.

(Sept. 23rd) We returned home. When we came to Croambeck [Crambeck] bridge I got out of the carriage & walk'd down into the little dell over which this bridge conveys the road. It is a very singular looking structure, consists, if I remember right of eleven arches; very high & narrow, their form may be as thus — [illustration]. It was built not many years ago, I think perhaps 14 or 15. It is with its accompaniments an interesting object; the little dell, or

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Innes, who added Norcliffe to his surname. She was known as Lady Innes-Norcliffe.

118. Probably Richard Hill, son of Richard Johnson Hill (d. 1793) and Eliza née Johnson (d. 1830) of Thornton Hall.

dingle which it crosses being very wild, well-wooded & picturesque. I viewed it from both sides, & sometimes caught combinations of trees & arches which were very beautiful.

(Sept. 24th). Mr & Mrs Green returned home from their tour in the Isle of Wight, & into Wales. They have seen & heard much, in hearing the account of which I have had some very pleasant walks with Mrs G—. They saw the young Roscius & think him utterly devoid of Genius with no one requisite for an Actor, except a memory which enables him to get his parts with surprising ease. Mrs G— has had an interview with Miss Smith, & comes home convinced of her innocence from all that calumny has branded her with. She has also received a letter from her which she read to me, & from which I feel strongly inclined to draw the same conclusions. Yet — I wish I could feel quite so sure of her innocence as Mrs Green appears to do.

(Oct. 13th). Mrs Green returned from Londesbro' yesterday, & she gives me an account of dear Jane, which makes my very heart bleed; she appears to have been growing rapidly worse since we saw her. Mrs G— says she eats almost nothing; the pain in her breast is much worse, & will not permit her to walk at all & hardly to converse. Sometimes she is pretty cheerful, & appears to have her usual relish for Books & conversation; at other times she is quite unable to support even the appearance of it. One day when they had assembled at the Piano Forte, & Mrs Green was singing "When Spring returns" — Jane hastily quitted the room. Her Mother & Miss Barton & afterwards Frances<sup>119</sup> followed her much alarmed. Mrs G— also presently went upstairs to learn what was the matter, when she met Frances who was just coming out of her Mother's room crying bitterly, & asking her what was the matter, F— told Mrs G— that Jane had been saying that she believ'd she had not long to live. Dear Girl; I doubt not that she had applied the words of this long to herself; & fear with too much reason. Yet notwithstanding this sense of her own danger she looks forward to Cordelia's going to Woodlands without repining, & even talks cheerfully of it; saying that "George has promised to read to her, & that with him & Frances she shall do very well; & besides, that, her eyes are better, that she has been taking such care of them, that she shall be able better to employ herself". Surely! surely! they can never seriously think of sending Cordelia from her; but in what an amicable light does all this place Jane. Dear, dear Jane! I think I never knew till now how much I loved her.

One thing must strike every friend of Jane with alarm & vexation, I mean the blind reliance on Dr Withers's<sup>120</sup> skill, which has prevented their calling in other advice. Mrs Green has acted the part of a true friend in urging this point with all the rhetoric, earnestness & delicacy she was mistress of; William with all his oddities seems the only one of the family who has his eyes open about the Doctor, & has said some very sensible things on the subject. Mrs G— however before she came away had the satisfaction to hear my Aunt declare that her mind was made up, & she would propose it to my uncle & the doctor.

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119. See note for 27 January 1804.

120. Dr Thomas Withers (1750-1808), brother to William Withers, Recorder of York. See Brown, *Performing Medicine*, 21, 37, 48-9.

(Oct. 14th Sunday). This morning I heard of an instance of Dr Simpson's success in the cure of consumptive complaints; the patient was Mrs Barker. I told this with glee to Mrs Green in the hopes that he might be called in to Jane; & she advised me much to write to Londesbro' directly with the anecdote. But on farther deliberation, & consulting with my Mother, we thought it better I should not, any interference on this subject from our family would be looked upon as springing from inveterate prejudice, & such a letter would have an air of officiousness which might preclude any good influence, it will come better from Mrs Green, & accordingly she has promised to write it to L— on Wednesday from Woodlands.

This evening I saw the Doctor who was just returned from Londesbro'. He says Jane is not worse than when he saw her about 10 days ago; & yet Mrs Green who was in the house a week of that time thought her very evidently alter'd during her stay, & Miss Barton who watches her incessantly, thinks she grows worse daily & hourly.

(Oct. 15th). I saw Mrs Allen & learnt from her that no other advice has yet been resolved on at Londesbro'. The Doctor has order'd another blister on her breast, & a change in her medicines, & this experiment is to be tried before other advice is resorted to, & thus are they trifling with this dear girl's life; blinded by the strangest infatuation that ever possessed rational minds; & cannot yet free themselves from the Doctor, tho' every remedy he has prescribed has hitherto been wholly inefficacious.

My mother had an interview with the Doctor this morning, when he told her a tale very different from the account he gave me yesterday. He now represented her case, as not merely alarming, but nearly hopeless; said that both her lungs & liver were affect'd & in short seem'd to consider her death as an event which must be look[ed] forward to.

Dear, beloved Girl! & must I then lose you! I can ill bear it. I have loved you with something more than Cousin's love, & am convinced my affection was amply returned. And now perhaps I may never see you more! Heart piercing thought! But 18 miles is a passable distance; surely friends will not oppose our once more meeting. I think it would be a comfort to you my Jane; & I am sure it would be a consolation to me to behold you once more, to hear from your lips the accents of affection, & testify mine by all the attentions & acts of kindness in my power. After this I think I could better bear to resign you to our all-merciful Father; & give up what has to me been the source of so much happiness; my friendship & intercourse with you.

(Oct. 18th). I have seen Mrs Allen. She tells me Jane has found no relief from her last Blister; that the Doctor is to go over again tomorrow; & then it is determined to send for Doctor Simpson; I am glad it is at last resolved on; but why! O! why! was it not done before? Unhappy parents, it might have saved you some self reproach; if still more desirable effects had not been the result.

This evening I have written to my Aunt making an offer to go to Londesbro' to see Jane. I hope they will let me go. It would be a great consolation. My Mother behaves with great kindness on this occasion. I think I feel rather happier already since this letter was written.

(Oct. 19th). Mrs Brudenell came to stay with us.

(Oct. 20th). I again saw Mrs Allen, & with surprise learnt that notwithstanding my Aunt's request the Doctor is not gone to Londesbro'. Mrs A— drank tea with us this evening; when finding that the Dr was still not gone I could not help expressing my indignation at such conduct in terms so warm that I was afterwards sorry; but I believe Mrs A— goodnatur'dly excuses it for the sake of the motive. Mrs A— herself is far from well, she has got a complaint in her hands & feet, for which Mr Champney<sup>121</sup> & Mr Allen advise her to keep herself warm. But the Doctor says she must keep herself cool; & so, she keeps herself cool. What blind infatuation! And to infatuation like this, must my poor Jane fall the sacrifice? Alas! Alas!

(Oct. 21st). We went upon the new Walk<sup>122</sup>, met Dr Withers. My mother accosted him with "Doctor I am surprised to see you here, I hoped you had been gone to Londesbro, I am sorry to see it is not so". His answer "No I am not gone yet. I don't know when I shall get. Good Morning" — he abruptly walk'd off. Unfeeling man! It is misery to think of Jane's being solely under the direction of such obduracy, & ignorance (yes! that is my entire belief) united. On my return home, I sat down & in the bitterness of my heart I wrote to Mrs Green of Woodlands a circumstantial account of Dr W—'s behaviour, with the view that she should inform Mrs W— & that they might jointly interfere to the end that Dr Simpson should be immediately called in, & his advice taken without consulting Dr W—.

(Oct. 22nd). My uncle came over. He is come for the purpose of getting Dr W. to fix a time for meeting Dr Simpson at Londesbro',; but does not express one word of displeasure at the conduct which had so greatly excited our indignation. He is perfectly satisfied with the Dr's advice & seems convinced that if he cannot do her good, nothing can. He looks ill himself, & is very lame; but sometimes appears in much better spirits than I should have thought possible. He certainly possesses an oddly constituted mind, for he abounds in feeling & affection for his children; but has a strange faculty of withdrawing his attention from painful subjects, & fixing it on the most light & trifling. He brought me a letter from my Aunt, she writes very low, & appears to despair of Jane's recovery; says they shall be glad to see me after the Dr's visit.

One drop of comfort mingles with all this affliction. They have heard of Henry's safe arrival at Dantzich [Danzig?]; & the account my uncle gives of his situation at Newcastle is highly satisfactory.

(Oct. 23rd). My uncle returned to Londesbro'. Dr W— also went today.

(Oct. 24th). The Dr returned from L— & brings us the pleasing news of dear Jane's being something better, but in consequence of that, the consultation is again defer'd. This I lament & am now convinced that all interference from friends is useless, or hurtful; I find I

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121. The Champneys were one of the two major surgical families in York in this period; it is not known which Champney this refers to. See Brown, *Performing Medicine*, p. 20.

122. The New Walk alongside the River Ouse was laid out in the 1730s and 40s to provide a fashionable outdoor promenade for the city's elite.



have got into a scrape by my letter to Mrs Green at Woodlands; & on such a delicate subject I know not how to explain with my Aunt. But confident in the integrity of my own intentions I do not repent of the part I have taken, & as my Aunt with all her prejudices has a great share of candour I hope we shall be able to make matters up without much difficulty. It seems Dr Withers was not sent for to Londesbro' to consult Dr S—, that was a blunder of Mrs Allen's.

(Oct 26). At 6 o'clock, I set off in the Hull coach, met my Aunt's double horse, at the Shipton Turnpike, & soon got safe to Londesbro', when I had the unspeakable pleasure of finding Jane look a great deal better than I expected. She seemed pleased to see me, & conversed with some degree of cheerfulness. All her family agree that she is much better than she has been, both in her breathing & in being able to take more nourishment without bringing on those terrible pains in the breast. She is very thin, yet I think is not so much reduced as one might expect from the very small quantity of nourishment she has for sometime been able to take, this is probably owing to her good nights. The delicate bloom on her cheeks would frighten me, but they assure me it is not hectic, being accompanied with no one symptom of fever. Her spirits vary, sometimes she is almost cheerful, but ah! how unlike the vivacity that formerly sparkled in her looks & animated her conversation.

(Oct. 27th). Jane's favourable symptoms continue.

(Oct. 28th). Jane is I think hardly so well today, she wanted to go to church. Dear Girl! How could she think of such a thing? In the afternoon I staid from church to read to her. It is very consoling to my heart to have the opportunity of rendering any such little services, even tho' surrounded as she is by anxious friends, I can do nothing for her, that could not be as well or better done by others.

(Oct. 29) Jane eats very little & suffers a good deal from her breast. Yet in the afternoon, as I walk'd up & down the room with her she talk'd with interest, & some degree of earnestness on some of our old subjects, as education & c.

(Oct. 30th) Jane is worse than I have seen her yet, she can hardly swallow anything; but this is not from want of appetite; she is often really hungry when she is obliged to abstain from all manner of food because it brings on such terrible pains in the breast. In the afternoon I read to her the two last chapters of the gospel of St. Luke, & the first part of Sherlock's Sermon on Faith, Sermon 14 vol 1, on the text Heb 3d v 12. Take heed brethern [sic], lest there be in any of you an evil heart of unbelief in departing from the living God.<sup>123</sup> William then came to sit with us, & I was delighted to see Jane again converse with something like animation & spirit.

(Oct. 31st). Jane was no better this morning, & eat [sic] hardly any breakfast. Immediately

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123. Thomas Sherlock, *Several Discourses preached at the Temple Church* (1770), 4 vols, vol. I, Discourse XIV, pp. 279-309. The text is Hebrews iii.12.

after breakfast I walk'd with my Aunt & we talk'd a good deal . . .

[pages 113-114 missing from the manuscript]

. . . last time! —dear, dear Girl! What a thought is this! Before I went to L— I thought this parting would have overwhelm'd me, I could hardly bear even the idea of it. But I found myself more able to support it than I expected. For tho' I do fear the worst, I do not yet despair. Perhaps indeed I never have quite done that, but I leave her with better hopes than I went to her. And besides I have accustomed myself of late to look forward to that happy meeting. "When bliss shall join, nor death shall part us more".

And this thought is a very precious one to me. I ~~sometimes~~ feel as if this hope would make me strive more earnestly to render myself acceptable to our Almighty Father; that it may be realised. Perhaps these feelings are not quite right, I ought to rest assured that the joys of heaven are so beyond conception excellent, that the meeting with one earthly friend would be but as a drop of water in the bucket. Yet I cannot help it, I should be very sorry to part with this cherish'd idea. I hope it will operate as a motive with me, for a virtuous life, & that will not be, on that account, displeasing to my heavenly Judge. It is a great consolation to me also to have seen Jane. If (which Almighty Lord avert!) we meet no more, in this World. The remembrance of this meeting will always be a balm, a precious balm to my sorrowing heart.

(Nov. 2d). Mrs Brudenell left my mother & me.

(Nov. 22d). I went to a lecture given by Dr Moyes<sup>124</sup>, being the first of a course which is to consist of 22. I was much pleased. Dr Moyes is a scotchman & has something of the dialect; but his voice is pleasing, clear, & articulate, & his manner unembarrassed. When I recollect Dr Garnetts<sup>125</sup> ungraceful mode of delivery, ~~& his so automaton-like way?~~ (if automatons could be made to speak) Dr Moyes appears to me all grace & animation; yet in one or two particulars I could wish that Dr M— more resembled Dr G—. He begins at the beginning & goes straight on to the end without stop or pause of any sort, a method very unfavourable to the improvement of his hearers as it leaves no time for recollection, much less for taking notes; whereas Dr G— used to pause, & repeat a thing twice over for that very purpose.

The subject of this lecture was in a great measure new to me, & I found it very

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124. Henry Moyes (1749/50-1807), touring lecturer in natural philosophy, who went blind in infancy. Moyes attended the universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow and was a friend of Adam Smith and other literati. See *ODNB* and J. A. Harrison, 'Blind Henry Moyes, "an excellent lecturer in philosophy"', *Annals of Science*, 13 (1957), 109–25.

125. Thomas Garnett (1766-1802), chemist, physician and lecturer, appointed in 1796 professor of natural philosophy at the John Anderson Institute, Glasgow, where he pioneered the admission of young women to his lectures. In 1799 he became professor of natural philosophy and chemistry at the Royal Institution, London. See *ODNB* and Sarah J. Smith, 'Retaking the Register: Women's Higher Education in Glasgow and Beyond, c. 1796-1845', *Gender & History*, 12 (July 2000), pp. 310-336.

interesting, & look forward with great pleasure to the ensuing course.

(Nov. 24th). Dr Moyes's 2d lecture; I was even more pleased than before. The experiments very neat.

(Nov. 26th. Monday). I heard that it is at length resolved at Londesbro' to call in Dr Simpson to Jane, & he is to meet Dr Withers there on Wednesday. God may send a blessing on his skill to make him the instrument of dear Jane's recovery, but indeed I have very little hope, a month ago I should have rejoiced to hear of Dr Simpson's being called in; but now it only impresses me with the conviction that Jane must be materially worse or it would not have been done.

(Nov. 27th). Dr Moyes's 3d Lecture. I continued to attend Dr Moyes's Lectures, was most particularly pleased with that deliver'd Decr 1st on the Constitution of the Atmosphere it happen'd this evening that the Servant was too late in coming to attend me home, so I was left in the room when all the rest of the company were gone, with nobody but Dr Moyes; so I took the opportunity of asking him some questions relating to the subject of the preceding Lecture. He enter'd on the subject most readily, sat down besides me & seem'd well disposed to have talk'd Philosophy for an hour. His manner & countenance bespeak benevolence & contentment in a high degree.

(Dec. 6th). Dr Moyes's lecture on Light & Colours. It was curious to hear a blind man, instruct others on these subjects. However he certainly may, & does understand the Theory of them, but as it is absolutely impossible that he can have the least conception of what Light & colours really are, I think it would be better if he did not quite so much affect to talk of them like people who can see. He descants for instance on the beauties of the setting Sun, & the Moon rising in clouded majesty & c.

(Dec. 11th). Dr Moyes's lecture on Thunder & Lightning. I was very much pleased with this; the experiments were neat, & curious, & the matter clear & interesting. Elizabeth<sup>126</sup> was with us at this Lecture, & much delighted. Nothing could exceed her ardent desire to understand all she saw & heard.

(Dec. 14th). Cordelia came from Londesbro' being on her way to pay Mrs Withers a visit at Woodlands. I think I should not have liked to leave Jane in her present state if I had been in her place; but however I do not mean to accuse her of want of affection, I am sure she loves her sister dearly, & at present she leaves her with the more ease, because she [is] much elated with Jane's amendment. Indeed I feel my hopes revive very much. Dr Simpson pronounces her complaint more asthmatic than consumptive, & talks cheerfully of it. He has order'd her warm-bathing, which agrees very well with her, & she likes it exceedingly, & her spirits are improved because she thinks herself getting better. Blessings on Doctor Simpson.

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126. Elizabeth Lodge, Jane's ten-year old niece. See note 85, for 10 August 1804..

This afternoon I enjoyed a high treat, as I drank tea with Mrs Green to meet Dr Moyes & Mr Burgh.<sup>127</sup> I am more & more delighted with Dr M—. He has a flow of spirits, & a fund of conversation which make him a delightful companion; Mr Burgh has the same, so that no two Men could be better calculated to shew each other, & in fact they almost engrossed the conversation. Dr Burgh took an opportunity of asking Dr Moyes, if he spoke from his own experience when he asserted that colours might be distinguished by the touch; Dr M— said he did not, but was well assured of the possibility of it. He said it was a thing that required practice, & he never had time to give up to the acquirement of a talent, that was of no particular use. He thinks that people in general scarce know what the sense of touch is. He then proceeded to talk of his own blindness, in a strain that to me was quite delightful, as it shewed a mind so contented, & so reconciled to the loss of one of the first of blessings, he even went so far as sportively to shew the advantages he possessed over us; in his friends never having wrinkles, or looking ill to him; but a more unexpected advantage which he pointed out, was in riding single, in general he says horses depend too much on the hand that guides them, if left to themselves they will scarcely ever stumble or fall, & will pass safely over ridges & narrow places, which a rider would shudder to look at. His horse is necessarily left to choose his own road, & he never had an accident. He said he would challenge any person not knowing he was blind, to converse with him an hour together in a dark room, without discovering from his conversation his want of sight. He is thinking now of making the tour of the Highlands on foot. It seems his residence is at Edinburgh where he has lately built himself a very good house. Dr Moyes & Dr Burgh talked of chemistry, the year 1789 it seems is the grand aera of the revolutions in that science, as well as of the revolution in France. Dr M— remarked that in Chemistry as well as other sciences & arts, it is curious to observe how very near some persons have approach'd to an important discovery without exactly reaching it. Dr Priestly<sup>128</sup> separated the Gasses without finding out what they were.

The Romans printed their own names in signatures, but never thought of applying the art of printing to the diffusion of knowledge, & the multiplying of books. With Mr Burgh's conversation I was also highly pleased he possesses a liveliness of thought & expression, & his turns of thought are often so unexpected; that it is impossible to withstand the visible emotion excited. The discourse turned in a sportive way on Milton's Paradise lost, & the circumstance of his making Eve go to tend her flowers, while the Angel was instructing Adam in some of the mysteries of Nature. "Oh! it was very wrong of her to leave the Lecture;" said Dr M— "if I had been Adam I should have said, 'I insist upon your staying here, to improve by the Lecture' she should not have gone by any means". "We must consider" — said Dr B— with the gravest face imaginable — "that she was very young." The apology for Eve was laughable in the extreme.

Dr M— told a laughable story of a Maid Servant who brought him something he wanted into his room, when he was sitting by a table, which was spread over with some

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127. William Burgh (1741/2-1808), politician, theological writer and York resident. See *ODNB*.

128. Joseph Priestley (1733-1804), theologian and natural philosopher, who first definitively isolated vital air (later renamed "oxygen" by Antoine Lavoisier), and other gases. See *ODNB*.

dozens of the Prince Ruperts drops.<sup>129</sup> The Girl doubtless looked at these with curiosity, when impelled by it is impossible to say what thoughts, she took up one & put it into her mouth. She severely smarted for taking this advantage of her masters kindness as it instantly shiver'd, & she found herself with two or 3 oz. of ground glass in her mouth. It might have been of serious consequence if it had gone down her throat; but it produced nothing more than a scene of laughable distress arising to the poor girl from her tears of having done something which would very much excite her Masters anger, added to the unexpected consequence to herself.

Dr Moyes remember'd the name of Ewbank, & mention'd his having known my Father, & dined at our house, when he was in York 23 years ago<sup>130</sup>; at parting he shook me heartily by the hand, & with a voice & manner of kindness said he hoped to be better acquainted with me.

For the philosophical information I picked up this afternoon, vide in miscellaneous memorandums, all those marked thus #.

I continued to the years end to attend the Lectures regularly, & I think became more & more delighted with them. The love of knowledge is an appetite that grows with being gratified. I am delighted to have gain'd so many new ideas, as I have received in attending the course, yet my desire for still more, grows stronger & stronger, & I feel more & more how ignorant I am, because I am the more aware how much there is I don't know.

(Dec. 28th — Friday). Cordelia left York for Woodlands.

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Monday Dec. 31st, Thursday or Friday Jan. 3d or 4h, Tuesday Jan. 8th & Tuesday Jan. 15th. On these four days I called with Mrs Green upon Dr Moyes, & sat with him about two hours each time, asking questions & receiving ~~conversations~~ instruction on philosophical subjects, for which, see Memorandums of Conversations. 1st — 2d — 3d — & 4th — I shall confine myself here to such other conversation as did not immediately relate to these subjects. Dr Moyes's manner was always kind & friendly in the extreme, he appear'd to have the greatest pleasure in satisfying our enquiries, & bringing his knowledge down to our comprehension, & we never left him without a pressing invitation to let him "hear of us

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129. Prince Rupert's drops are toughened glass beads created by dripping molten glass into cold water, which causes it to solidify into tadpole-shaped droplets with long, thin tails. These droplets have very high residual stresses, allowing the bulbous end to withstand blows without breaking, but explosively disintegrating if the tail is even slightly damaged. They are named after Rupert, Prince of the Rhine (1619-82) who probably brought them to England in 1660. See *ODNB*.

130. Moyes is known to have lectured on Philosophical Chemistry in York in January 1781 (*York Courant*, 2 January 1781), at the York Tavern in St Helen's Square. We owe this reference to Sylvia Hogarth.

again soon". — I think he has a most happy method of explaining & illustrating what he teaches. In our second visit he told me he had heard that I was an Astronomer. I felt curious to know, but did not learn from whence he had this; I took some pains to assure him it was a mistake & that I knew next to nothing on this subject. He however invited me to ask him any questions on this subject that I liked, & I availed myself of this kindness to get some difficulties solved which I had not before been able to manage. In respect to my grand difficulty about Jupiter's satellites he has indeed left me just where he found me.<sup>131</sup> But I must have got some wrong [~~prepossessions?~~] preconceptions on the subject which makes me thus unable to comprehend it.

Speaking of Women, he said their duties were much more complicated than those of Men; that a Woman cannot therefore give herself up with propriety in so great a degree to Philosophical pursuits, for her duties are many & various & she must fill them all; a Woman should be like Gas, which however various & irregular may be the shape of its containing Vessel, fills every corner alike. Dr Moyes once spoke in terms of high praise of Mrs Goodenough<sup>132</sup>, sister to Mr Addington, with whose friendship he said he had been honour'd for 19 years. He described the society in which she lived in a manner that made me strongly feel what a happiness it must be, to be admitted to such society; & he said that Men of Fashion had been known to study for the sole purpose of gaining admittance to these circles. A card is never seen or thought of here, but conversations of the most refined kind, & on the most interesting subjects take place.

Dr Moyes thinks that the love of Cards cannot exist along with a good disposition; for if the disposition be good to begin with, it must be spoilt by the constant practice of trying to cheat ones associates. Surely Dr Moyes used too harsh a term when he said cheat; for I hope & believe there are very many card players who would scorn such an attempt; but if we change the word to circumvent there may perhaps be some truth in the observation.

Dr Moyes always speaks of his own knowledge as a mere trifle, as nothing; he considers knowledge as necessarily productive of humility, & says "if ever you see an arrogant man, be sure that Man is not really a Man of Knowledge." The wisest man in ancient Greece, was he who said, ~~that~~ "he knew only that he knew nothing". And from this effect of real knowledge, it follows that the most profound humility, must be that possessed by the Angels, who approached so near to the fountain of all knowledge.

The course of Lectures concluded on the 17th of January my birthday; would that every year of my life could be marked by an accession of knowledge, & new ideas, equal to what I have received from Dr Moyes's visit to York, perhaps I might then in time know something. I have attended every lecture, & my gratification has been very high indeed. But it is not a gratification confined to the head alone, the heart has had its share. Dr M— never

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131. Here Ewbank is referring to the gravitational effects of Jupiter's moons upon each other's orbits. It was a frequent source of discussion in post-Newtonian astronomy. I. Bernard Cohen, 'The Newtonian Scientific Revolution and Its Intellectual Significance', *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, 41 (1987), 16–42.

132. Anne Goodenough (1747-1806), daughter of Dr Anthony Addington and Mary Addington née Hiley, sister of Henry Addington, Prime Minister 1801-4 and later Viscount Sidmouth, and wife of William Goodenough M.D.

failed to point out in a forcible, sometimes a very impressive manner the wisdom & goodness of providence, in the various provisions of nature. In the last Lecture in particular he was quite affecting, & to the full as improving to the religious, & benevolent feelings as any sermon one ever heard. Never I believe was applause more hearty, than that bestowed on him at the conclusion.

Both for his public Lectures & private instruction I do from my heart most sincerely thank him. The kindness with which he ever treated me, & his solicitude to remove my difficulties, has excited an emotion of gratitude in my heart which will ever I think remain, & happy should I be could I in any way make (I do not say an adequate return, for that is out of the question, but) such a return as should in some measure shew my sense of obligation to him. Dr M— says the cultivation of the mind is a Duty, where it does not interfere with other duties.

(Jan. 11th). The first concert.<sup>133</sup> Miss Jacobs from London was the singer. I was much pleased with the sweetness of her voice & her manner of singing; but she sung such indifferent songs, that one could not be so much pleased with her, as her merit seem'd to demand.

(Jan. 25th). The second concert. Miss Jacobs improves upon us, in "Angels ever bright & fair"<sup>134</sup>, she was really delightful, her other song was better than those of the first Friday. We had also a Master Bradbury from the Sheffield Concerts, whose voice I think exceeds in sweetness anything I ever heard, unless it was young Elliot; & it was not merely sweetness that delighted one, to me he appear'd to sing surprisingly well for a young boy, only he did not quite sufficiently articulate the words.

(Feb. 8th), Third subscription concert. More & more pleased with Miss Jacobs. She sung "O Jour Charmant"<sup>135</sup> — a little simple song in which she was delightful. On the whole much pleased with the music.

(Feb. 15th). Miss Jacob's benefit concert. She sung "Lord Remember David"<sup>136</sup> — "Jour Charmant" & an Italian Song. We had also some very pretty instrumental music. Mr White<sup>137</sup> I am sure improves on his violin; I like him better than I used to do.

(Feb 22d). Fourth subscription concert. Miss Jacob sung a pretty Italian Song, & Master

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133. In this period all subscription concerts were held in the Assembly Rooms. David Griffiths, "A Musical Place of the First Quality": A History of Institutional Music-Making in York c. 1550-1989', D.Phil, University of York, 1990, p. 177.

134. Aria from the dramatic oratorio *Theodora*, by George Frideric Handel, first performed at Covent Garden in 1750.

135. Ballad composed c.1800 by John Addison (c.1766-1804).

136. Psalm 132, possibly composed by William Crotch (1775-1847)

137 Probably John White (1779-1831). Born in York, he was an accomplished violinist and conductor.

Bradbury sung "Holy, Holy" — an English song with both which I was very well pleased; yet not so much entertain'd with the music as on some former nights.

(March 1st). Erskine's<sup>138</sup> benefit concert. Was very much pleased with the music. Master Bradbury sung two songs; the second of these was "Fair Ellen"<sup>139</sup> — in which I think he particularly shines; it really was delightful, I cannot imagine anything more sweetly plaintive. Miss Jacobs sung particularly well also, Roy's Wife<sup>140</sup> & a beautiful Italian song. A person of York sung two songs which he might as well have let alone, as he knows nothing of music & has only a tolerable voice.

(March 8th). Was at a private concert given by Mrs Fairfax.<sup>141</sup> There were four gentleman performers, & four professional ones. From whom we had some very beautiful pieces; but I think it would have been still pleasanter, if these men had not played quite so much as they did, & left the Ladies to do more. Mrs Fairfax & Miss Goodricke<sup>142</sup> played a very beautiful duett on the piano forte & harp, almost the best thing of the evening. But the wonder! the admiration of the night, was the performance of Mrs Richard Thompson<sup>143</sup> on the piano forte. She does indeed play in a manner one hardly ever hears equalled, rather as a practised, professional performer, than as a lady who cultivates music as a private accomplishment. Her execution is astonishing, her rapidity of finger, what one could hardly conceive without having both heard & seen it. In some short passages I thought I distinguished feeling & expression, but these were excellencies which the piece she played was little adapted to display, being only chosen as it should seem to shew her power of finger; therefore tho' pleased, astonished, I may even say delighted for the time, this is not the kind of thing I should covet to hear again, & again. The singers were Miss Goodricke, Miss Morritt<sup>144</sup>, Mrs J. Serjeantson, Miss H. Belcombe<sup>145</sup> & Miss Cayley.<sup>146</sup> Of poor Miss C—

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138. Probably John Erskine, principal oboist at York, at subscription concerts between 1791 and 1826. Griffiths, "A Musical Place", p. 196.

139. See note for March 21 1804.

140. 'Roy's Wife of Alvalloch', traditional Scots melody, with words by Elizabeth Grant (1745-1814), with air attributed to Niel Gow (1727-1807), Scottish piper and musician.

141. Mary Fairfax née Goodricke (d.1845), wife of Charles Gregory Fairfax (formerly Pigott) of Gilling Castle and sister to the astronomer John Goodricke (1764-86). See: C.A. Goodricke (ed.), *History of the Goodricke Family* (1885), p. 38; Gerry Webb, *Fairfax of York. The Life and History of a Noble Family* (2001), p. 225.

142. See note for 2 February 1804.

143 Probably Elizabeth Thompson, née Sugnall (d. 1840), married in 1803 to Richard John Thompson (1771-1853) of Kirby Hall, Little Ouseburn, North Yorkshire. Foster, *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*, vol. 3, 'Pedigree of Thompson, of Kirby Hall, Sheriff Hutton, etc'

144 See note for 2 February 1804.

145. See note for 27, 28 and 29 January 1804.

146. Possibly one of the four daughters of Sir Thomas Cayley of Brompton, North Yorkshire, and a sister of Sir George Cayley (1773-1857), aeronautical designer.



the diffidence is so extreme that it is quite painful to hear her; it is a pity she should even attempt to sing this in public.

(March 13th). First Assize concert. We had a beautiful overture of Handel's. Master Bradbury always pleases, yet I think I did not like him quite so well this night as some former ones. Miss Jacobs I hardly ever liked so well. She sung "Jour Charmant" & a beautiful Italian song. The room was well filled & looked very gay.

(March 22d) 5th subscription concert. We had an Overture of Handel's, I think the most beautiful I ever heard. Master Bradbury sung the song by Braham<sup>147</sup> which Miss Erskine so particularly excelled in; I think I did not like him in it quite so well, as I used to like Miss E— Miss Jacobs again sung her beautiful Italian song; & was delightful in it.

(March 24th. Sunday). At about 5 o'clock in the afternoon I called by appointment at Mrs Greens; & there had the satisfaction of a second interview with Miss Hamilton. As soon as she saw me, she came up to me, took my hand kindly, enquired after my Mother & c. We then sat down, with Mrs G—, & I staid more than an hour & half, devouring with attention every word of Miss H—. In the course of the conversation I learnt some interesting particulars of the early life of Dr Moyes. His Father was a Farmer, & kept a Mill, & from his birth & station, Henry (now Dr M—) therefore could not derive any great advantages in education; but one time his father was very ill, so ill that he could not bear even the ticking of a clock that stood in his room, yet it was a comfort & amusement to him to look at this clock, & see from his sick bed, how the time went. What was to [be] done? In this dilemma Henry thought it would be a good thing if they could have a clock that did not tick. He set his brain to work accordingly, & at the age of 12 or 13, the blind boy actually invented & produced a clock that shewed the time, but did not tick. This extraordinary effort of ingenuity became known & introduced Henry to the notice of several men of eminence in the Literary World, among whom was the celebrated Adam Smith, who thinking it both a pity & a shame that such a Boy should pass his life in obscurity, set on foot & contributed to a subscription for the purpose of educating young Henry. He was afterwards sent to Glasgow; & hence his present proficiency, & deserved eminence in the pursuits he addicted himself to. Dr Moyes had a Sister whose affection for him was so strong, that she thought nothing a sacrifice that was to contribute to his entertainment or improvement; accordingly for his sake, she learnt to read languages of which she did not understand a word; she read music without any further knowledge or taste for the science, & in thus reading to him would pass whole days. Dr Moyes was an early friend of Miss Hamilton, he was she said the first Man of any talents who had taken any notice of her, he used to recommend her books, solve her difficulties & c. so that her admiration & gratitude to him were unbounded in this manner they corresponded for about two years, & his letters were all written by his own hand.

Miss H— likewise spoke of Master Betty, she has not seen him perform, but has been in the way of hearing so much of him as to be enabled to form a pretty good judgement of his

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147. See note for 1 March 1805, and *ODNB*.

powers. She thinks him a surprising boy, in three particulars, viz. his memory, his power of imitation & his conception of character. But to compare him with the first rate actors she holds to be ridiculous. His performance of those parts, in which there are passions to delineate, which he has never felt, must necessarily be mere imitation, & accordingly he acts Achmet & Douglas<sup>148</sup> the best where the prominent feeling is filial affection. In all other things, he is a dull heavy boy, & Miss H— holds it quite out of the question that he should hereafter make a fine Actor. Miss H— had seen Miss Porter<sup>149</sup> the Authoress of *Thaddeus of Warsaw*, she is Sister to Porter the Artist, who paints the Panoramas, she is a beautiful, interesting, & superiorly gifted young woman. Of Richardson's Life & correspondence<sup>150</sup> Miss H thinks like many of hers?, viz that the life & criticisms by Mrs Barbauld are excellent, but that the correspondence in general is trifling & uninteresting. She informed me that Klopstock did not marry again after the death of that Wife, whose letters form the most interesting part of Richardson's correspondence, till towards the latter end of his life, when he married a friend, or relation of hers (I forget which) merely for the sake of leaving his fortune to her.<sup>151</sup>

Miss H— knows Mackenzie<sup>152</sup> the author of the *Man of Feeling* & spoke highly of him as well as of his family.

With this visit I was upon the whole much gratified, yet I think it is evident that Miss H— has not that easy & ready flow of conversation, which delights one in Miss Edgeworth, & which made my interview with her so interesting, beyond expectation, beyond what I should have thought possible with an entire stranger; but then my esteem, my veneration is greater for Miss H—; might I choose a friend between them, that friend should be Miss Hamilton.

(March 26th). I walk'd with Mrs Green & heard from her many particulars concerning the future plans of Miss Hamilton & her intended situation in Ld Lucan's<sup>153</sup> family. It seems that

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148. In 1803 Betty played Young Norval in *Douglas* (first performed in 1756), by John Home, in Belfast, and later in Covent Garden and elsewhere; in December 1804 he made his Covent Garden debut in the role of Achmet, in *Barbarossa: the Usurper of Algiers*, by John Brown (1715-66), first performed at Drury Lane in 1754.

149. Jane Porter (1776-1850), novelist, published *Thaddeus of Warsaw*, her first major publication, in 1803; her brother, Robert Ker Porter (1777-1842) was an artist, writer and diplomat. See both entries in *ODNB*.

150. Anna Laetitia Barbauld (ed.), *The Correspondence of Samuel Richardson*, 6 vols (1804).

151. Margareta (Meta) Klopstock née Möller (1758-1758), writer, wife of Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock (1724-1803), German poet, wrote to Richardson about her courtship and marriage. See *Correspondence of Samuel Richardson*, ed. Barbauld, vol. 3, pp. 139-158.

152. Henry Mackenzie (1745-1831), writer and author of *The Man of Feeling* (1771). See *ODNB*.

153. Richard Bingham, 2nd Earl of Lucan (1764-1839), Irish peer and Tory politician, in 1794 married Lady Elizabeth Belasyse, third daughter of the 2nd Earl Fauconberg, and former wife of Bernard Howard, 12th Duke of Norfolk; the couple had four daughters and two sons. By 1804 they had separated, and in 1805 Elizabeth Hamilton agreed to set up an educational programme for his daughters; from this experience she published *Letters to the Daughter of*

Lord L— has taken incredible pains to secure her as governess, or rather as a sort of second Mother to his children; there is no salary that he would have thought too large to secure them this inestimable advantage. But Miss H— was not to be thus tempted. He has however contriv'd to make her his friend, & to interest her for himself & his children & on this score alone, rejecting all pecuniary recompense, she has consented to undertake the charge of them, or at least to try the plan. Ld Lucan in his interviews with Miss H— has confided to her the particulars of his life which if it does not justify his conduct with respect to Lady Elizabeth Howard, at least makes it appear less atrocious. He was attached to Lady E— it seems when they were both very young, before her marriage with Mr Howard, but his friends Father not approving the match would not make him an allowance to enable him to marry; & the friends on both sides wished to break it off. At this time Mr Howard appear'd & her friends wished her exceedingly to marry him; & to accomplish this she was made to believe that Capt Bingham, in consequence of his father's opposition, had given up all thoughts of her. The deceit answer'd the desired end, & in pique she gave her hand to Mr Howard, tho' greatly disliking him. For almost 3 years after this Mr Bingham continued abroad; when he returned he thought his passion conquered, & that he might safely see her again. He did see her again, & found her in a situation most dangerous; young, beautiful, surrounded by gay young men who were admiring her, & united to her husband whom it was generally understood she did not love. By some unlucky chance they came to a mutual explanation & found out the deception that had been practised upon them. Indignation at the treachery united with other circumstances to rekindle the flame that had been smother'd. Mr Howard meanwhile made a bad morose husband. Lady E. Howard thought she could bear it no more, so eloped from him & voluntarily threw herself into the protection of Mr Bingham. Here then we see him in a situation in which what the World calls honour, was directly opposed to the commands of religion; he had not virtue enough to sacrifice the former to the latter, but they contrived a means to do what the vulgar would call "cheating the devil". That is she remain'd 3 weeks with him, under a mutual agreement not to meet, except in the presence of a third person. He then applied to Erskine to know whether her residence with him would be sufficient grounds for a divorce without any further proofs of criminality. Erskine<sup>154</sup> replied that it would. A divorce was accordingly obtain'd & the next day he married Lady E. Immediately after their marriage they retired into the Country where they lived some years & during which time their family was born. On ~~Mr~~ Lord Bingham's succeeding to the Earldom by the death of his father Ld Lucan; they returned to London, & here Lady Lucan resumed her former Levity of conduct, & relapsed into her former dissipated mode of life. This gave Ld L— the greatest pain, he sometimes hinted his displeasure sometimes remonstrated; & in return she complained that he was grown so morose & cynical by living in the country that there was no living with him. Her conduct grew worse & worse, & her complaints of his temper louder, at last he thought that in justice to his children he would no longer suffer them to remain under such a Mother, so writing to her friends to declare the reasons of his conduct, & ask their protection for her,

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*a Nobleman, on the Formation of Religious and Moral Principle, 2 vols (1806).*

154. Thomas Erskine (1750-1823), barrister and later Lord Chancellor. See *The Whole of the Trial of the Hon. Richard Bingham for Adultery with Lady Elizabeth Howard . . .* (1794).

he settled a handsome allowance on her (but conditionally on her good behaviour) & they separated. His happiness now centr'd [on] his children, & with the most painful anxiety he reflected on what might be their further fate & future characters; from her words & from public character Ld L formed his estimate of Miss Hamilton's worth, & in securing to his family such a friend, has made to them a noble recompense for the bad Mother he gave them. Miss H. has seen only the eldest girl,<sup>155</sup> whom she describes as endowed with beauty, sensibility & talents, & who luckily has taken a great fancy to Miss H. Happy children in such a preceptress, I could almost envy them for my dear Elizabeth.

(March 27th). I called for about half an hour at Mrs Green's to say farewell to Miss Hamilton. The visit was too short for interesting conversation. But speaking of Plays & the gross indelicacy of the old ones Miss H. said that she conceived the sickly sentiment of the modern ones to be more pernicious to the mind. I was not prepar'd to coincide in this opinion & wish'd exceedingly to hear her discuss the matter farther, but time would not permit. I parted from Miss H with a feeling of regret which one does not usually experience for the acquaintance of a day & which was increased by the reflection that most probably I should never meet her more. Yes I shall, I shall meet her in her works. And I may meet her in heaven. "What a great joyful thought is here" as Mr Klopstock says, that we may hereafter meet all the wise & good & then be all friends

March 28th. George Ewbank came from Londesbro'.

(March 29th). Was at the Concert. Camidges<sup>156</sup> benefit, a selection of sacred music, & the singers, Meredith<sup>157</sup>, Miss Jacobs, Master Bradbury & Unthank.<sup>158</sup> The Band was very full, the music well chosen, & the whole went off exceedingly well. Meredith sang the charming "Tears Such as Tender Fathers"<sup>159</sup> & Miss Jacobs sang "Angels Ever Bright"<sup>160</sup>—we had some very fine chorusses, upon the whole I have not been so much entertain'd with music this long time.

Frances Ewbank<sup>161</sup> was at this Concert, the first she has been at.

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155. Lady Elizabeth Bingham (1794-1838), who in 1815 married the politician George Harcourt (1785-1861)

156. Matthew Camidge (1764-1844) organist and composer, who succeeded his father John Camidge as organist to York Minster and St Michael-le-Belfrey in 1799, and performed regularly at the Assembly Rooms. See *ODNB*.

157. Possibly Edward Meredith, a bass singer in the subscription concerts in the late 1790s. Griffiths, "'A Musical Place'", p. 183.

158. Probably Thomas Unthank, who sang in York subscription concerns 1792-1796, and in other York concerts in 1806 and 1809; he was a songman in the Minster Choir 1795-1796. *Ibid.*, p. 183.

159. Aria from the opera *Deborah*, by George Frideric Handel, first performed in 1733.

160. See note for 25 January 1805.

161. See note for 27 January 1804.

(April 2d). Frances & Miss Barton came to us.

(April 3d). I went to Sylvester's<sup>162</sup> Lecture on Galvanism. Mr S— is most sadly deficient in every requisite for a public speaker; bad dialect, no readiness in expressing himself, not a good method of arrangement: but notwithstanding all this he appears well acquainted with his subject, & I am told is a remarkably intelligent, clear-headed man. His defects in speech are simply the effects of want of education, he being originally nothing more than a low mechanic, I believe a Cutler at Sheffield; this enhances his merit.

Galvanism is certainly a very curious subject, & as far as I can understand it seems to promise to produce new discoveries in chemistry, from its powerful agency in decomposing liquors. But it is impossible I should fancy for any one, as yet, to say what it will produce, because the science is as yet so much in its infancy, one may almost say in swaddling clothes. I am told that Mr Sylvester has discover'd a means of rendering zinc malleable; which may prove a valuable invention.<sup>163</sup>

The second lecture of this course (which consists only of two) I attended last Friday with Mrs Fairfax, thus taking them backwards way.

(April 5th). The last subscription Concert this season. We had some very good ~~Concert~~ music. Miss Jacobs sung extremely well; & Mr Woodham sung with her in two Duets which made a pleasant variety. Mr White played uncommonly well, I never before have been so much gratified with his performance.

(April 6th). George Ewbank return'd to Londesbro'.

(April 16th). Was at the play "To marry or not to marry" by Mrs Inchbald<sup>164</sup>, & Raymond & Agnes.<sup>165</sup> I had read this play before I went & thought little of it; yet was very well entertain'd when I came to see it represented. The faults were certainly still there but there was in it, what was interesting, & Miss Mills & Cummins performed the two principal parts well, so that one overlooked the defects in the entertainment afforded by these. Elizabeth was with us, she appear'd deeply interested, & was all attention, excepting during part of one act, perhaps a continued stretch of attention for near three hours, was more than her

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162. Charles Sylvester (1774-1828), poet, scientist and lecturer. See <http://freepages.rootsweb.com/~maureenbryson/genealogy/id46.htm> (accessed 16 February 2022) and Ian Inkster and Maureen Bryson, *Industrial Man: The Life and Works of Charles Sylvester* (1999).

163 For the cultural and scientific impact of galvanism, see Iwan Rhys Morus, *Frankenstein's Children: Electricity, Exhibition, and Experiment in Early-Nineteenth-Century London* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), especially Ch. 5.

164. Elizabeth Inchbald, *To Marry or Not to Marry* . . . As performed at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden (1805).

165. See *Airs, Glees and Chorusses in a New Grand Ballet Pantomime of Action, called Raymond and Agnes; Or, The Castle of Lindenberg* . . . Now Performing at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden (1797)

age was capable of. She was sometimes much affected. She was still more delighted with Raymond & Agnes than with the play, her anxiety seemed sometimes greater than she was well able to bear.

(April 25) Cordelia arrived here in her way from Woodlands to Londesbro', seem'd in good spirits; it was surprising to me that during her stay she never turned the conversation on Jane, the subject which I should have thought nearest her heart, is this altogether want of feeling? or is it an extraordinary degree of reserve? I know not; but it is very unlike dear Jane, who in some letters we received from her Friday, expresses her impatience to see Cordelia in the strongest terms imaginable; in terms which prove undeniably the sincerity & warmth of her heart.

(April 27th Saturday). Cordelia went to Londesbro'. This evening we were at the Play; *The Discovery*<sup>166</sup> & of age [sic] tomorrow: Miss Mills performed very well in *Lady Flutter & Maria*, & Melvin in *Sir Harry Flutter* but I think there are inconsistencies in that character.

(April 28th. Friday). Mr & Mrs Peirson came to us; Mr P— set out on his visitations the next day.

(April 30th). Went to the play — "*Guilty or Not Guilty*"<sup>167</sup> & the sailor & soldier<sup>168</sup>. Never was less amused, in the play the plot is confused; & the Farce, a production of the pen of Mr Knight, is the most wretched piece of nonsense I ever sat to hear. It was deservedly hissed.

(May 1st). Mrs Fletcher dined with us; she is upon a visit to Mrs Cappe; in the afternoon I returned there with her & I drank tea at Mrs Cappe's. The party we met there consisted of Mr & Mrs Welby, Mr Kere, Mr Simpson, & Miss Strickland<sup>169</sup> & Mrs Green. The afternoon was pleasant, & the conversation sometimes very interesting. In the course of it Mrs Fletcher related an anecdote of Burns which delighted me. When Burns first published a volume of his poems he dedicated it to the Caledonian Hunt; the members of it received it well, & asked Burns to dinner. Behold him then now appearing for the first time as an Author, & in the company of his noble & worthy Patrons. At the meeting there were several young Men who were what is called Free thinkers, & the subject of religion was discussed with levity & scepticism. Burns had never heard any thing of this sort before, he was silent for a good while, at last rising he addressed them — "Gentlemen, I dare say all this may be

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166. *The Discovery*, by Frances Sheridan, first performed in 1763 at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane.

167. *Guilty or Not Guilty* by T. J. Dibdin, first performed in 1804.

168. *The Sailor and Soldier; Or, Fashionable Amusement*, by Edward Knight (1774-1826), first performed in Hull in 1805; the *ODNB* says of the piece 'it has no merit'.

169. Probably Miss Caroline Strickland, eldest daughter of Sir William Strickland, 6th baronet and Lady [Henrietta] Strickland née Cholmley, of Boynton Hall, near Bridlington. Lady Strickland was on the committee of the York Grey Coat School for 1793-1804, with, for 1804-10, her daughters Caroline and Henrietta Strickland.

very fine, I do not dispute it, it may be very clever: but if you had seen my good old Father die, you would have thought there was some truth in Religion". The speech operated like a thunder-bolt in producing silence in the company. —What noble independence of spirit! O Burns! why was not thy whole life worthy of this debut. One of the sons of Burns is lately dead. In the course of the Day, Mrs F— spoke of Henry Edgeworth<sup>170</sup> & mention'd two defects in his character which she conceived to be consequences of his education; the one was a want of application, proceeding from his instructors having carried to too great excess the plan of making all work, play. A not unlikely effect; of their plan, I was glad to hear its-~~effects~~ thus exemplified in a living instance. The other defect Mrs Fletcher noticed was a want of vigour of mind, in thinking & reasoning for himself. She says he has much information, that is a great store of facts laid upon his memory, but not much power of original thinking. This is exactly opposite to what I should have expected in a pupil of the Edgeworth's [sic]; but it shows the force of temper & habit over principle. Mr Edgeworth is it seems the haranguer, the lecturer, the experimentalist to his family, they have nothing to do but to listen as his auditors, while he explains & reasons for them; thus does he fall into the very error, they teach others to avoid, & the effect shews the truth of their theory, & the error of their practice. Mrs F— also spoke of Ld Lucan, whom she saw at Edinburgh with Miss Hamilton; she describes him as highly interesting, he wore a look of deep dejection, & seem'd wrapt up in his little girl who was with him. His last journey to Edinburgh he had plan'd [sic] in the intention to endeavour once more to persuade Miss H— to take the charge of his children; before he set out, a letter from Miss H— signified her consent to his wishes. "Now then," said Lord L's sister to him — "you may be spared the trouble of this journey". "No", replied he "it is now more necessary than ever; I must now go to thank her". Really this man appears to deserve Miss H. by knowing how to value her. Mrs F— says that the inhabitants of Edinburgh are still so attached to the cause of Ld Melville,<sup>171</sup> because he is a Scotchman, that no master of a Printshop there, would dare to exhibit a caricature, such as those with which our Printshops abound.

(May 4th Saturday). I met Dr Moyes at Mrs Green's this morning, & spent about two hours with him; he is passing thro' York on his way to Edinburgh. He received me in the kindest manner, & seemed as well disposed as ever to talk philosophy to us, for the instructions received, this day, vide memorandums & c.— When I took leave of him, his manner was really affectionate, & I must own I feel strongly disposed to believe what Mrs Green one day told me; viz. that I was a great favourite with the Doctor. He certainly is a very great favourite with me; it would be very ungrateful in me were it otherwise.

(May 5th). My sister went to Meanwood.

(May 8th). My uncle came to York.

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170. See note for 1 June 1804.

171. Henry Dundas, Lord Melville (1742-1811), leading politician in William Pitt's government and political manager of Scotland, who in spring 1804 became First Lord of the Admiralty.

(May 10th) My uncle & Mr & Mrs Peirson left us.

In the afternoon we drank tea at the Belcombe's [sic], when a little incident confirmed the truth of an observation of Miss Hamilton's, which she made when speaking of the prevailing error in fashionable education in making too much exhibition of young Ladies' talents; viz that the fault was in the Mother's [sic], not in the girls, for girls generally speaking are backward in displaying their talents, till mothers & friends have taught them to conquer this foolish modesty. The incident I meant was of Eliza Belcombe who had composed a pretty little country dance, this was mention'd & her sister offer'd to play it, but Eliza entreated her not to do so, & even held her hands to prevent her: presently Mrs B— order'd Eliza to play it herself; this order was at first unattended to, & it was not till it had been repeated, I believe three times, that she slowly & with every mark of reluctance seated herself at the instrument. This I conceive to be genuine diffidence, but Mrs B—'s lessons will I doubt not root it out: & we shall in a few years see Miss Eliza Belcombe unblushingly exhibit her talents of every description to all who will be so good as to lend their attention to the display.

(May 21st) Was at the Play. [sic] The Honey Moon<sup>172</sup> with the Farce of Out of Place.<sup>173</sup> I think the play possesses merit in point of language & dialogue, superior to most of our new comedies but the sentiments & the tendency I detest, & think the plot highly unnatural. The Duke Aranza marries a Lady of fiery spirit & excessive pride. In order to tame & humble her he takes her immediately after their union to a mean cottage, which he tells her is henceforth to be her home, for that he has only assumed the title & appearance of a Duke in order to obtain her hand, & is in reality a poor man, & she being now a poor man's wife must submit to the drudgery & mortifications attendant on that condition. At first she storms & rages, ~~but~~ & goes to lay her complaints before a mock Duke Aranza, whom the real Duke has order'd to personate him; & who promises her that she shall be separated from her husband if at the end of the month she still wishes it. But by the end of the Honeymoon, she is not only tamed & humbled by looking[?] up, & hard work, but is become so fond of her Tyrant, that when her Father comes to take her from him, she refuses to leave him, & places her whole happiness in passing her life with him. The Duke then discovers his quality, & the piece concludes. It seems as tho' it was intended to illustrate the maxim that "Women & Walnut Trees are better for beating" — tho' it must however be acknowledged that, this Lordly husband does seem to think that it is not handsome, literally to beat a woman; & that I suppose is the only severity he stops at. All this shews a narrow illiberal opinion of the sex, & I should fear might have unfavourable effects on the lower orders of husbands. The farce was a new one called Out of Place or the Lake of Lausanne. There was not much in it; one prettyish scene, & one that I dare say would be very good at Drury Lane, but was ridiculous here; ~~for~~ a castle which was stormed, & ~~which~~ ought to have been batter'd down, & fallen one part after another; but instead of that it all sunk down at once into the Earth, &

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172. John Tobin, *The Honey Moon*, first performed Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, January 1805.

173. F. Reynolds, *Out of Place, or The Lake of Lausanne . . . composed by William Reeve and John Braham* (1805)



discover'd the Lake behind, as tho' by Magick. This might do in a Harlequin. Between the Play & Farce, Mr Woodham played a concerto on the Piano Forte; he plays exceedingly well indeed, Mr Camidge<sup>174</sup> should take lessons of him.

(May 22d Wednesday). My sister & Elizabeth went to Woodlands.

(May 23d). Mr & Mrs J. Sheppard<sup>175</sup> who are upon a visit to the Forbes's drank tea with us. She looks very well; & save a little constraint, which it is natural enough she should feel at the first meeting with us after her untoward marriage, I thought she was more like the Jane Peirson we used to know than she ever has been since the connection begun. As to the Man there is nothing particular about him, I think he is not quite so plain, as some represent him, tho' very far from handsome. Vulgar in his speech, & somewhat awkward in his manner; as his education & connection lead me to expect, & in short nothing appears about him that can justify her choice.

(May 24th) My mother & I went with Mrs Curtoys in Mrs Johnson's carriage to the Race. Not much company on the stand.

(June 8th) Just received the afflicting news, that my dear dear Jane is so much worse, that it is not likely she should last much longer.

(June 13th). My sister quitted her house in Micklegate & came to us.

(June 15<sup>th</sup> Saturday). George returned from Londesbro' today; he found Jane much changed since he had seen her; there is no hope! He has conversed with her a good deal on religious topics; at one time she was very uneasy; for pure as is her heart & life; even she finds "it is an awful thing to die" —& little errors which to us & perhaps to herself in health, were imperceptible, now assumed an ~~more~~ appearance of greater magnitude; but George had further conversation with her yesterday evening; she spoke of her own state with composure, for she is now fully aware of the extent of her own danger; & George thinks he left her in a more comfortable state of mind than he had seen her in yet. She says she did not suspect she was in danger till about Easter. One day before this, she put the question to her Mother, if she was in danger; my Aunt not thinking it right, entirely to deceive her; replied that "in complaints of long continuance like hers, there was always a certain danger; but that God was sufficient for all, & if he saw fit, would certainly restore her". "O!" cried the dear sufferer "I am sure that I am not in danger, for if I was you my Mother would not appear so composed".

(June 19th). This day last year I was at Healaugh & happy with Jane; my friend! my beloved Jane! What a change!

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174. See note for 29 March 1805.

175. See note for 22 September 1803 and entry for 12 July 1804.

(June 20<sup>th</sup>). Thursday. The Allens were at Londesbro' yesterday; & found Jane somewhat better & more chearful than they expected.

(June 24<sup>th</sup> Monday) My sister & I set off a little after 6 o'clock for Londesbro', where we were to spend the day; we had also Elizabeth & Frances Allen in the chaise with us. We got there about 9. The whole family received us with tears. Dear Jane came also to the door to meet us, & seem'd affected, yet supported herself pretty well. A beautiful bloom cover'd her cheek at this first meeting, & a degree of animation lighted up her countenance; but oh! how thin! how fallen away! how mournfully languid every motion! She is wasted to a shadow; & her weakness is extreme, & shews itself in every, the slightest action. She soon drew me apart, & I sat with her on the sofa in the drawing-room which she now has to herself. The same affection beam'd from her eyes, that I have been wont to see there; & I think the seeing me has given her a feeling of pleasure. Our discourse soon became interesting, but not on the topics we used to converse on, only one subject now occupies her thoughts, the world she is going to; & her past life & actions in this she is about to quit. What subjects more proper? What subjects could anyone wish should take the place of these in her mind at this awful? time. The only thing to be lamented, is that the extreme delicacy of her conscience had led her to examine her past words & actions with such scrupulous nicety, that she finds minutiae without end to lament, & the deplorable weakness of her spirits & her mind, consequent on her long continued illness, makes her dwell on each trifle, till it becomes a serious grievance to her; so that with a heart ~~are~~ as pure, as ever prepared to present itself before its maker, she has suffer'd what one hoped, had been only the portion of the guilty. But these sufferings will soon end my dear Jane; they have indeed been great both in Body & mind. But God sees thy tears & hears thy sighs, may it please him to smooth thy Bed of death, & take thee to his eternal mansions. She is now above all intent on making, as far as remains to her atonement for these errors, which slight as they are, press heavily on her now. Accordingly she soon began to tell me that she has offended against sincerity. When these offences came to be explain'd what were they? it was that she had sometimes expressed her pleasure in seeing friends in terms rather warmer than she actually felt. That her anxiety to gain her Brother George's good opinion had made her suffer so much from his jokes & apparent slighting of her opinions that she had sometimes almost wished for the time of his departure from Londesbro', & the same for William's, & yet, I suppose, she appear'd to wish for a continuance of their stay: & for these things she calls herself very deceitful. She then adverted to the time of her last stay at York, when she had complain'd to me of the Doctor's unkindness to her; she now bitterly deplores these complaints, as being not only more than the occasion called for, but more than she did herself think at the time; being urged on she says by the desire of seeming to coincide with me, with whom she knows the Doctor is no favourite. And have I then, been the cause of anything that afflicts her now? What a Lesson for candour & moderation! In conformity with her plan of atoning for, by action acknowledging, every little deviation from the exactest sincerity, she not only repeated all this to me, but required from me a promise to communicate this her acknowledgement to my Mother & sister. It was a painful promise for me to make; how painful! to be obliged to repeat to others, even the slightest errors of a beloved friend, in the very hour in which you love & reverence them the

most. It was impossible however to refuse her anything now, & I told her ~~that~~ I would say to them that she "thought she had said more, of the Dr's unkindness than she ought to have said".— This did not satisfy her; she required of me with all the earnestness of which she was capable, that I should say "she had said more than she herself thought at the time". — What a task this is for me, her friend! I however made the promise, for I could not help it, & I will perform it my Jane; unless you exonerate me from it.

I stayed with Jane till called to breakfast; as soon as that was over the whole family went together to the drawing-room; & my Uncle read the office for the sick; what an office for a parent! My sister & I then both sat with her a little while; & she talked on subjects more indifferent, & even appear'd chearful. I was then again left alone with her, & our conversation was renewed. Indeed I ~~do~~ cannot recollect whether it was in this or the former conversation that many of the things passed which I have related, & am going to relate. She now made an acknowledgement which has given me more pain than anything, that I thought would proceed from her. She began by telling me that she had ever loved me most tenderly, & there was a time when her love almost exceeded anything she could express; but that of late years, the consciousness of a difference in our modes of thinking on religious subjects, had thrown a restraint over her, a check to her communicating all her sentiments, which had abated somewhat of the fervour of her attachment. This I confess I did not expect to hear; yet I ought not ~~perhaps~~ to complain ~~of her~~, since even of late years I have received proofs of an attachment from her, more ardent, than perhaps I can ever hope to inspire in another. What then would it have been, but for this unfortunate difference? I could then less have borne to lose her, I must think of that. — I told her I was not conscious of any essential difference from her except in one point, & I even hoped that was not essential. She said it was not that she meant; & that that had given her no uneasiness. In short it came out at last, that she thought I was not earnest enough in the cause of religion. I was not aware that this difference was so great as to cause anything like coldness on the part of a friend. Yet it has brought about an alteration in the sentiments of my dearest friend. How is this? — Am I indeed so negligent of my best, my truest interests? or has Jane deceived herself by the overscrupulous views & sentiments she has imbibed from her Mother?

This must be examined. — She then exhorted me in the most earnest & affectionate manner, to make it my first pursuit.

"You have strong pursuits" said she, & seem'd to wish that none should have place in my mind above this. She is right there; none ought; not even the pursuit of knowledge; & I feel & confess, confessed to her, that my greatest danger is when the attainment of this, in any manner stands in the way of my religious duty. Happily these are not necessarily, & habitually opposed, on the contrary Knowledge of the right kind must raise the mind to God: & increase our powers of usefulness to Men. She then requested of me to read a Book by Robinson<sup>176</sup> on the subject of Christianity, which I also promised.

After this conversation, I walked in the Park with my sister & Cordelia; & after that C— & I walk'd a good while in the Church-yard together; that Church-yard where I have so often

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176. Possibly Thomas Robinson, *The Christian System: unfolded in a Course of Practical Essays on the Principal Doctrines and Duties of Christianity* (1805).

walked with Jane, & which we both loved so much. We talk'd of nothing but Jane. Cordelia told me she had not been aware of her sister's danger, till the Dr told her one day in a walk, it was a lost case. She was ready to drop; & it was under the first impression of this, that she wrote that afflicting letter to my Sister. Indeed Cordelia is all affliction; I have accused her of want of sentimentality towards Jane; but it was before she knew her danger, I do not accuse her now. Cordelia told me some instances of Jane's fear of deviating from truth, & her way of tormenting herself for the merest trifles, which proves that it is really a disease of the Mind. In short a part of the complaint. I saw Jane no more before dinner.

After dinner I was a good while with my Aunt, she is deeply afflicted but having been long aware of ~~her~~ Jane's danger she has not received the same sort of shock that poor Cordelia has. A little while before we were to go Jane came into the Room where we all were, she talked a little on indifferent subjects, & even appear'd chearful. She then took me again into the room by herself, when she earnestly & affectionately renew'd her exhortation to me to attend to what she had said. "You have a very good understanding" said she, "you will have the more to be answerable for". She mention'd Elizabeth & the important use it was in my power to be of to her, & entreated me to exert all my powers & faculties for her. On my part I told her that she was doing herself harm, by too much solitude & meditation; "it is not" said I "that I wish in the smallest degree, to divert your mind at this time from the important subjects which engage it, but by thinking too much you weaken ~~your main[?]~~ the powers of your mind; & would you sometimes wholly unbend, & give your attention to the passing trifles of the moment, you would find your mind invigorated, & be able to think with more effect in your hours of privacy & meditation". She had nothing to object to this advice, but seem'd unable to promise to follow it. I then talked to her of the future happy meeting with her to which I looked forward hereafter. "Aye" said she. "I sometimes think of that too". I entreated her to think more on such subjects; on the mercies of the Almighty; & the joys laid up for her in eternity; instead of harassing her mind with unnecessary doubts & scruples. "I know" she replied — "that I do not think enough on the most important things" — I told her, what I truly felt, that the hopes of meeting her hereafter in a better & happier World would be an additional motive with me for a virtuous & religious life; "so that you Jane will have a share in my future eternal happiness". "That would be happiness indeed" — exclaimed she with more animation than I had yet seen.

The hour of parting now came. Never shall I forget that parting, & the embrace, in which I held her in my arms for the last time. Dear dear Jane! How I have loved you! & how was that love returned! In every enjoyment the thoughts of communicating it to you, made a part; & what visionary schemes have floated before my brain! of our going thro' life together. And now I have only left the remembrance of that love, & those delightful sentiments. Yes, I have something better left. The hopes of a future blessed meeting. O God! Grant me grace so to do thy Will here, that this blessed hope may be realised.

She told me at parting to pray for her. I do, I make it my daily prayer that ~~her~~ peace & serenity may be restored to her mind, & make her death-bed blessed. — I dare not any longer pray for her recovery because it seems to be the will of God to take her hence. — But he sees my heart & knows with what fervent gratitude I should pay my hearty thanks, should it please him to reverse the sad prospect, & prolong her days.

~~(July 17th Wednesday). I took an early walk. [sic]~~

(June 26th Wednesday). George & I had a long conversation in the Garden on the subject of poor Jane; he agrees with me in considering her present distressed state of mind as a consequence of her complaint & a part of it; & entirely approved of the advice I had given her. I then told him of the distressing promise she had exacted from me, & asked his advice how to act; thinking he might be able to judge if she was likely to waver in her purpose, & wish the promise had not been made. He seem'd to think this possible, & advises me not to do anything about it yet a while. I feel it a relief to take this advice; but yet consider myself as bound in ~~a~~the most solemn manner to perform this promise, unless she formally releases me from it — .

Another difficulty of Jane's which we had some discourse about, is salvation by faith & by works; she seem'd when she talk'd to me to have some difficulty in considering works as no ways conducive to salvation, & yet necessary to it; She thinks we ought to rely on the atonement of Christ alone; but then so exclusively, does she rely on this that she finds herself puzzled to say where is the obligation to good works. On this point too she was uneasy for me, yet when I explained to her my creed, she could not say she was satisfied with it; because she was not satisfied herself.

My creed is, — that I never can deserve Heaven, & therefore my own spirit must be ineffectual to take me there. But by the mercy of God through Jesus Christ my Sins will be forgiven, if truly repented of & my good works accepted for his sake.

In like manner — the food we take would be ineffectual to preserve life, if ~~their~~our stomachs were not endowed with the wonderful power of digestion, but as that power resides there, it depends in a great measure upon ~~us~~ ourselves by supplying it with wholesome food to preserve health. If Christ had not died we could not be saved. But Christ has died; & it depends upon ourselves with the assistance of God's grace, to secure by a virtuous life our part in this great atonement.

(June 30th). William arrived from Cambridge.

(July 17th Wednesday). I took an early walk with Mrs Green & had a long & never to be forgotten conversation. I have told her something of what the World is thinking of her; I have told her that my Mother does not altogether approve of our intimacy. I hope I have not done wrong. When I said that things I hoped to take blame from her my mother by shewing that she was only sharing in the sentiments of others. I fear it has not produced quite the effect I intended; but my intentions were ~~I think~~ pure. I believe I have involved myself in a difficulty. I wish I only knew what it was right for me to do; & that I think I would do, whatever it cost me!

My sister & her party went to Thorparch this afternoon.

(July 18th). I saw Mrs Green again. She shewed much emotion; she said that she should much lament, should anything break off our intimacy; I believe she really loves & values me. I promised her on my part, that I would make an effort with my Mother, to persuade her to let our intercourse go on without obstruction. I think this effort is due to Mrs Green, for the

constant kindness & attachment she has evinced towards me, & besides with all her faults (& she is not without them) her friendship is a treasure, I could ill afford to part with. This promise I will perform; but I dread it. Should it not succeed! How vexatious must be the consequences! I do not like to think of it, yet find it impossible to drive it from my thoughts. It sits heavily on me at present. I must get more courage, or I shall not be equal to the task. Mrs G— took leave of me affectionately. This manner of treating me after the vexatious things I have said to her, raises her in my opinion, & will strengthen my resolution for the effort I meditate. I have made sacrifices now to sincerity; yet Mrs G— does not yet know, what it is I think of her. I cannot tell her. But I have told her no untruths. I have told her I do not consider her as perfect; yet that I highly value her friendship. This is true.— I feel my task difficult; I must pray for help from above, to teach me what I ought to do; & how much a due regard for truth requires of me.

(July 19th). George Ewbank is just returned from Londesbro'. He tells me that he found Jane in a more comfortable state of mind than he left her in before. She begins to be convinced that the things she had disturbed herself about, are trifles, unworthy of serious consideration. In consequence of the conversation we had had, he introduced the subject of the promise she had extracted from me, when she readily & voluntarily released me from it, & empower'd him to tell me so. I rejoiced at this. It was a painful thought to me & I now feel eased as from a burthen.

(July 24th). I think continually of Mrs Green & our last interview. I value her friendship highly, & feel it would be a serious grief to me to lose it, & that I owe much to her for her constant kindness, & the many, many, happy hours, she has procured me. But I owe still more to my Mother. Let me never forget this. And let me ever make it a condition of our future intercourse, that I perceive no symptoms of disrespect to her! Oh! that my heavenly Father may enable me to keep this in view! I feel easier in myself already for the very thought.

(July 25th). Mrs Withers was in York today; & I took an opportunity to tell her, how I had mentioned her name in the memorable conversation with Mrs Green. She did not express the slightest displeasure, & I rejoice that I have been this explicit. Her account of Jane makes hope revive in my bosom, in [spight?] of myself. Her sufferings are less, she has been at Church, & did not take leave of Mrs W— as if she consider'd the parting as final.

(July 30th). Was at the play. "The Will"<sup>177</sup> & Of age tomorrow<sup>178</sup> the parts of Albina & Maria by Miss De Camp<sup>179</sup>. In Albina I cannot say that I liked her so much as I have done in other

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177. Frederic Reynolds, *The Will* (1797).

178. Thomas Dibdin, *Of Age Tomorrow*, with music by Michael Kelly, first performed at Drury Lane, 1800.

179. Maria Theresa De Camp, later Kemble (1773-1838), actress. In 1806 she married Charles Kemble (1774-1854). See *ODNB* and Rosenfeld, *York Theatre*, p. 187.

characters. She did not look young enough (which by the way was not her fault) & she had not simplicity enough. Still Miss De Camp is a very good actress, & one could not fail to find much to be pleased with; but she was not Albina. In Maria she was excellent, I think the character could not have been made more of.

(July 31st). My sister & Elizabeth came from Thorparch to breakfast & spent the day with us.

(Aug. 1st Friday). Went to the play at half price & saw Miss De Camp in two acts of the Soldier's daughter<sup>180</sup>; in the interlude of Personation<sup>181</sup> & in the farce of the Spoiled Child<sup>182</sup>. In Widow Cheerly I liked her much, I do not know whether it might not have been better, but it was so much superior to the Widow Cheerly I saw before that I was exceedingly pleased. In "Personation" Miss De Camp was not merely a good actress; she was great; it was impossible it could have been better. Even the Jordan could not have out-shone her here. I never saw a more laughable thing than this little jeu d'esprit; the only actors in it were Miss De Camp & Melvin who was an excellent support to her. The house thunder'd with applause. In the farce Miss De Camp made an excellent little Pickle; I was surprised to see her look so young & childish; having looked so much too old for Albina.

(Aug. 3d). My dear Jane's birthday. I little thought some time ago, that I should ever drink her health on her birthday again. But now she lives she is something better & I will hope that she may see many more birthdays; & may they all be happy.

In the evening I went to the play, which was the Marriage Promise<sup>183</sup>. Emma Miss De Camp; a very trifling character, which it was impossible for her to make much of, & accordingly I was not so much entertained with her acting, as in some former parts. After the play "Personation" was repeated, with Miss De Camp's inimitable Lady Julia; I cannot say more in praise of this, than that I was very much entertained, tho' I had seen it only the preceding night. The Farce was the "Devil to Pay"<sup>184</sup> — I do not like this Farce it is vulgar, & I have seen it often enough to be tired of it. Miss De Camp made a good Nell, but not so good as Mrs Jordan, whom I saw in it in London.

(August 16th). Went to the play to see the far-famed & loudly extolled Master Betty in Douglas.<sup>185</sup> My expectations had been a good deal lower'd both by the accounts the Greens gave of him, & by many other persons having been disappointed in him; the consequence of

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180. *The Soldier's Daughter*, by Andrew Cherry, first performed at Drury Lane in February 1804. This play includes the character of the Widow Cheerly.

181. See Rosenfeld, *York Theatre*, p. 187.

182. [Isaac Bickerstaff], *The Spoil'd Child*, performed in York in 1791 with Dorothy Jordan (see note for 13 July 1804), who specialised in breeches roles, as the boy character Little Pickle, a role written for her in 1790. See Rosenfeld, *York Theatre*, p. 145.

183. John Till Allingham, *The Marriage Promise* (1803).

184. Charles Coffey, *The Devil to Pay; or the Wives Metamorphosed* (1731)

185. John Home, *Douglas: A Tragedy* (1756). For Master Betty, see notes for March 24 and August 29 1804.

which was, that I was not disappointed, I found him what I expected, a fine Boy — a surprising Boy. But I saw nothing to justify the extravagant encomiums that have been bestow'd; & the almost frenzy of applause with which the London audiences have received him. To descend to particulars, I think that his greatest excellence consists in his action, which is always graceful, & where called for remarkably expressive; his greatest defect is his countenance; which has just as much expression, as that of a Wax Doll. He is rather pretty, very fair, with very light eyes & hair, & this is unfavourable to expression, but with all allowances on this score, his face must still be ranked amongst those every day faces that can express nothing interesting. His speaking I thought unequal, sometimes very good, sometimes very indifferent.

I liked him the least in the first scene; the speech beginning "My Name is Norval" — he made little of; but as the play advanced he rose wonderfully; in the scenes in which his Mother discovers herself, he was very great. Also in that with ~~of~~ Glenalvon, & I particularly admired his agitation when they are interrupted by the entrance of Randolph. On this & similar occasions, his expressive action, makes up surprisingly for his inexpressive countenance. I think the best part of the whole was the dying scene. In this his gradually increasing faintness & the faltering of his voice were excellent. After having lain some time he seems to make an effort, raises himself with difficulty to receive a last embrace from his Mother, then falls from her arms & dies. This I think was an admirable thought, whether his own or no, I know not, as I never saw the part acted before.

His general conception of the character, I think was surprisingly good, (this was an excellence. Miss Hamilton remarked in him) his fire, his youthful ardour, whenever arms or war was mentioned, was strongly marked, as was also the "crested pride of Douglas" ill concealed by the humble state of Norval.

(August 17th Saturday). Saw Master Betty again in the part of Frederick in Lover's Vows.<sup>186</sup> My admiration is not lessen'd by this night's performance; in ~~some~~ one respect raised; as I think he shewed more powers of countenance, than I gave him credit for the preceding night. Yet I still think his countenance his greatest defect. In other things, I think the same of him as I did before; his action is still excellent, his speaking still defective; he sometimes concluded his sentences with something of a tone, which I did not like, but this was chiefly the case in the unimpassion'd parts; when passion was called for; then his utmost powers of action, of countenance, & speaking were called forth; & in some parts he was truly great, particularly when he discovers that it is his father he has robbed; & in the subsequent scene with that father. Upon the whole I have been highly satisfied in seeing him and think him a most surprising boy, tho' to compare him with the first rate actors is somewhat too much. As I have not seen him in the more arduous characters he attempts, I cannot judge of his performance of ~~them~~; but in truth I cannot well fancy him in Hamlet, or Richard; perhaps he has found out, that he is more successful in younger parts, as both those played were particularly suited to his years. Some for whose opinion I have respect, hold it as scarce

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186. *Lovers' Vows* (1798) by Elizabeth Inchbald, is one of several adaptations of August von Kotzebue, *Das Kind der Liebe* (1780), and was first performed in Covent Garden in 1798. It is best known today for its significance in Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park* (1814).



possible that he should make a fine actor as a Man; I know not how this is; but I am convinced that he is wonderful as a Boy; yet I look on him with pity & regret, for I think, a situation more unfavourable for the formation of moral character, can hardly be conceived, than that in which he is placed. Taken from all boyish studies; overwhelmed with applause, & rapidly acquiring an immense fortune, while he will probably remain too uneducated to know how to use it with credit to himself. I saw him in the street this morning. He is very pretty; all his features good, only too fair, & eyes too light to have much theatric expression. He darted along the street like a little Mercury, seeming anxious only to escape the gazing crowd, that beset him.

(August 19th). My Mother & I returned with my Sister to Thorparch.

(August 22d). I received the important & long expected letter from Mrs Green, the next day, Friday I had a long consultation with my Sister on what I ought to do in this unpleasant affair; she seems to recommend that I should have a serious conversation with my Mother, in order to persuade her, not to throw vexatious obstacles in the way of my intercourse with Mrs Green; & I think I am now fully determined to pursue that plan. I have time enough to think of it, before it need be put in execution, so must summon all my firmness, & my arguments to go thro' it with effect. I will also do something that I think is due to my Mother. Mrs Green has assumed a manner of speaking of her foibles & failings, with a kind of freedom, which she ought not to do with her daughter. It is my purpose to give a check to this, for while this continues, I do not feel myself free from self-reproach.

(August 25th. Sunday.) We went to Newton Church; & afterwards dined at Mr Brewin's.

(August 30th). My sister & I, with Elizabeth & Miss Booth called upon Mrs Brewin, & we all took a walk thro' the fields, & frequently in view of the River which was near us, till we came close to Wetherby. Here the river, the Wood, the Rocks & Wetherby bridge formed together a delightful scene, which I should have been very glad to explore more thoroughly. Indeed the greatest part of our walk was immensely beautiful, but the heat was so excessive, that it very much took from our enjoyment; indeed I do not remember ever to have had my enjoyment of fine scenery so much disturbed in this way. The Walk was very long, I think 7 miles at least, so that towards the latter end we could think of nothing but the heat & our fatigue, & were the rest of the day in recovering it.

(Sept 2d). Mrs Brudenell & Miss Dawson from Tadcaster came to drink tea with us.<sup>187</sup> Mrs B— seems in good spirits on the death of her husband, & consequent acquisition of fortune. I wish she may now have the health to enjoy it, & shew that she can make a better use of it than he did.

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187. For Mrs Brudenell, see note to 29 August 1804; Miss Dawson was probably either the sister or the niece of Miles Dawson of Oxton, near Tadcaster, father of Eliza Fletcher. See note for 29 August 1804, and Richardson (ed.) *Autobiography of Eliza Fletcher*, pp. 7-8.

(Sept 8th. Sunday). Mr & Mrs Brewin dined with us. In the evening we set them part of the way home, & by that means enjoyed one of the most beautiful moonlight scenes I ever beheld.

~~(Sept. 7th). We took the beautiful walk by the Flint Mills.~~ Leaning over the parapet of the bridge we had the reflection of the Moon in the River as an even round thing as I have seen it in the Ouse, but more like what it appears in the Sea.

(Sept. 9th). We took the beautiful walk in the Flint Mills the same as that of last year, see pag. 72.<sup>188</sup> —After we returned were surprised [sic] by the appearance of my uncle; he brings us sad accounts of poor Jane, she grows daily thinner & within these few days her head? is worse & the favourable symptoms seem to be disappearing. This is a sad damp on the chearful hopes we have of late been entertaining; yet she still takes riding exercise, & is upon the whole better than when I saw her. This account made a melancholy termination of our stay at Thorparch. In the evening we took a walk thro' those fields of Mr Brewin's close by the Water which appear so beautiful from the opposite Banks. In one of these was almost the finest Oak I ever beheld & from under its branches we had the view of the most fiery Western sky, I have seen this year. After supper I took a walk with Miss Booth on the terrace by the light of the brightest Moon that ever shone.

(Sept. 10th. Tuesday) My mother & I left Thorparch; drank teas at Tadcaster with Miss Dawson & Mrs Brudenell, & got home quite in the dusk, the evening was warm & pleasant, but the moon unluckily did not shine upon us.

(Sept. 11th). I wrote & sent off an important letter to Mrs Green of which I have kept a copy. Oh! that it may answer the desired end. I think I have done right by the ease & satisfaction that pervades my Mind. I have prayed that I might do right; & I cannot but hope that my prayer has been heard.

This evening, it was announced that there was to be a grand display of Fireworks in Blake Street; so about 8 o'clock I walked there with my uncle, who had come this day from Thorparch. We were lucky in getting a good situation without being much incommoded by the Crowd, which really was immense. The fireworks really were beautiful, it is in vain to attempt to describe these things or I would preserve some more correct idea of them than unassisted memory can keep. One piece in particular with which the whole concluded exceeded anything I had imagined in this way. It was first a kind of Wheel but very large & brilliant, then suddenly appear'd lighted up a sort of pyramidal form; then each of the stars forming this sent forth streams of fire; then — but it is in vain; this is a sort of thing one cannot describe, suffice it, that we were as much delighted as the nature of the thing could admit; it lasted rather more than an hour.

My mother is much recover'd during our stay at Thorparch of her long & tedious illness which began before my sister & I went to Londesbro' — she is now very nearly well; it seems

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188. See note to 27 August 1804.

to have been a most violent & inveterate humour which has hung about her I think long before she became seriously ill.

[Reading List]

1804

Splendid Misery. 3 vols.<sup>189</sup>

Wife & Mistress. 4 vols.<sup>190</sup>

Considerations Sur La Grandeur des Romains & de Leur Decadence.<sup>191</sup>

Journal des Enfants.<sup>192</sup>

Blackstone's Commentaries. 4 vols.<sup>193</sup>

Cowley's Poetical Works.<sup>194</sup>

Wilson's hist. of the British Expedition to Egypt.<sup>195</sup>

Macauley on the Immutability of Moral Truth.<sup>196</sup>

Cotes's Hydrostatics.<sup>197</sup>

Thaddeus of Warsaw. 4 vols.<sup>198</sup>

Mrs Green's Scotch Tour.<sup>199</sup>

Village Curate.<sup>200</sup>

Percival's Dissertations.<sup>201</sup>

Life of Col. Gardiner.<sup>202</sup>

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189. Thomas Skinner Surr, *Splendid Misery* 3 vols. (1801).

190. Mary Charlton, *The Wife and the Mistress: A Novel* (1802).

191. Charles de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu, *Considérations sur les causes de la Grandeur des Romains, et de leur décadence* (1734).

192. Not identified. Possibly Mme de Sillery Brulart (Comtesse de Genlis), *Leçons d'un gouvernante à ses élèves; ou Fragmens d'un journal, qui a été fait pour l'éducation des enfants de Monsieur d'Orléans* (1791).

193. William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, 4 vols (1765-70).

194. *The Poetical Works of Abraham Cowley*, 4 vols (1778).

195. Sir Robert Thomas Wilson, *History of the British Expedition to Egypt* (1802).

196. Catharine Macaulay Graham, *A Treatise on the Immutability of Moral Truth* (1783)

197. Roger Cotes, *Hydrostatical and Pneumatical Lectures . . . with notes by his successor, Robert Smith* (1738 and later editions).

198. Jane Porter, *Thaddeus of Warsaw*, 4 vols (1803).

199 No publication of this title has been identified. Jane Ewbank's friend Harriet Green took a tour of Scotland at some point in the winter or spring of 1802-3; it is possible this reference may be to a manuscript diary by Green. See Green, *Memoir of Amos Green*, p. 230.

200. James Hurdis, *The Village Curate: A Poem* (1788).

201. Thomas Percival, *Moral and Literary Dissertations* (1784).

202. Philip Doddridge, *Some Remarkable Passages in the Life of the Honourable Col. James Gardiner, who was slain at the Battle of Preston-Pans . . .* (1747)

Maria Edgeworth's *Popular Tales*. 3 vols.<sup>203</sup>  
 Caroline Symmons. *Her Poems & Life*.<sup>204</sup>  
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