

ENDNOTES

The following abbreviations are used in the Notes:

PEOPLE

Family

- EM Emily, Hon Emily Lamb, later Lady Cowper, then Lady Palmerston
- AB Adine, Lady Beauvale
- AC Anne, Lady Cowper
- AS Anthony, Lord Ashley, later 7th Earl of Shaftesbury
- CLG Caro, Caro G, Caroline Lamb (nee St Jules)
- ELM Elizabeth, 'Lady M', Viscountess Melbourne
- FC Fanny, Lady Frances Cowper, later Lady Jocelyn
- FL Fred, Hon. Sir Frederick Lamb, later Lord Beauvale
- FOR 'For', George, Lord Fordwich, later 6th Earl Cowper
- GC Georgina Cowper (nee Tollemache)
- GE George Wyndham, 3rd Earl of Egremont
- GL Hon. George Lamb
- HP Harry, Henry Temple, Lord P, 3rd Viscount Palmerston
- LCL Lady Caroline Lamb (nee Ponsonby)
- MC Minny, Lady Emily Cowper, Lady Ashley, later Countess of Shaftesbury
- PC Peter Clavering Cowper, 'Lord C', 5th Earl Cowper
- PL Pen, Hon Peniston Lamb
- PM Peniston Lamb, 1st Viscount Melbourne
- RJ Robert, Lord Jocelyn, Viscount Jocelyn
- SC Hon Spencer Cowper
- WC Billy, Hon. William Cowper, later Cowper-Temple, 1st baron Mount Temple
- WL Hon. William Lamb, Lord M, 2nd Viscount Melbourne

Non-Family

- AW Arthur Wellesley, 1st Duke of Wellington

BD Benjamin Disraeli
 CG Charles, Lord Grey, 2nd Earl Grey
 CN Caroline Norton
 DL Dorothea, Princess Lieven or Madame Lieven
 ED Edward, Lord Stanley, 15th Earl of Derby
 EH Elizabeth, Lady Holland, Baroness Holland
 EMH Emily, Mrs. Huskisson (nee Milbanke)
 GB George, Lord Byron
 GC 'G', Georgiana, Lady Morpeth, later Countess of Carlise
 GD Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire
 GG Granville Leveson Gower, Earl Granville
 GG2 Granville Leveson Gower, 2nd Earl Granville
 HB Henry Brougham, Lord Brougham and Vaux
 HBE Harriet, Countess of Bessborough
 HG Harryo, Lady Harriet Cavendish, later Countess Granville
 HH Henry, Lord Holland, 3rd Baron Holland
 HHG Henry, Lord Howick, later 3rd Earl Grey
 HL Sir Henry Petty, 3rd Marquess of Lansdowne
 JR Johnny, Lord John Russell, later Earl Russell
 PA Prince Albert, later the Prince Consort
 PR Prince Regent, later George IV
 QV Queen Victoria
 SJ Sarah, Countess of Jersey (nee Fane)
 WD "Hart", William Marquess of Hartington, 6th Duke of Devonshire
 WG William Gladstone

ARCHIVES/PRIMARY SOURCES

AB Aberdeen Papers, British Library
 AW Wellington Papers, Stratfield Saye, Berkshire

BL British Library, London

BOD Oxford, Bodleian Libraries

BOU Papers of Kenneth Bourne, LSE, London

BR Broughton Papers, British Library

CHP Castle Howard Papers, Yorks.

CL Clarendon Papers, Oxford, Bodleian Libraries.

COW Records of the Earls Cowper (Panshanger), HALS, Hertford

DEV Papers of 6th D of Devonshire, Chatsworth, Derbyshire

EG Earl Grey Family Papers, Durham University Archives, Durham

ER Earl Russell Papers, TNA, Kew

GP Papers of 1st Earl Granville, British Library

HAL Halifax Papers, Borthwick Institute, York

HALS Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, Hertford

HAT Papers of the Marquess of Salisbury at Hatfield House

HATH Papers of 1st Baron Hatherton, Stafford History Centre, Stafford

HHP Papers of Holland House, British Library

HOB Papers of John Hobhouse, Lord Broughton, British Library

HOP History of Parliament: www.historyofparliament.online.org

HUS Huskisson Papers, British Library

JP Jersey Papers, The London Archives, [TLA]

LAM Papers of the Lamb family, Viscounts Melbourne, British Library

LI Lieven Papers, British Library

MEL Papers of the Lamb family, Viscounts Melbourne, of Brocket Hall, HALS

NBL Archive of the Noel, Byron and Lovelace Families, Bodleian Library, Oxford

TLA The London Archives, formerly London Metropolitan Archives, London

TNA The National Archives, Kew, London

PET Petworth House Papers, West Sussex Record Office, Chichester

PP Palmerston (Broadlands) Papers, Special Collections, Hartley Library, University of Southampton

QVJ Queen Victoria's Journal: online at <http://queenvictoriasjournals.org>

RA Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Berkshire

REFERMCE NOTES

PROLOGUE (pages 1 to 4)

p.1 'like a brothel': DL to her husband, 26 Jan 1822, DL, Letters ed Robinson 35

'hot as hell': EM to FL, nd. 1822, LAM Add MSS 45550 f.105 referring to Percy Shelley, *'England in 1819'*

CHAPTER ONE: pages 7 to 17

p.7 'everybody high and low': Wraxall 5:371; Letters of Sarah Lennox i:261

p.9 'all eyes': EM to FL 26 Oct 1820, BL Add MSS 45550 f.65

'the most sagacious': HOP iv:354; Foreman 48-9; Hayward, Sketches i:356; Ziegler, Melbourne, 15

'the paragon of debauchery': Airlie, LP, i:2; Cecil, Young Melbourne 22; Ziegler 14

'dearest love': GD to ELM nd. BL Add MSS 45911 f1, f8, and nd. HAT

p.10 'There was hardly a young married lady': GE to HH 12 April 1835, BL Add MSS 51725 f.181

p.11 '*desperately* in love': ; Ly S Napier to Ly S O'Brien 25 Mar 1783, Sarah Lennox ii:34, 36

p.12 'a man who did not look': Duke of Sutherland to QV, 1 January 1838, QVJ

'Dearest beloved Mama': EM to ELM, nd HAT

'I am a Whig': EM to AW, nd 1831, AW MSS; Finlayson 92

p.13 'By some fatality': EM to FL nd, LAM 45550 f.82; HBE to EH, 23 June (1803), BL Add MSS 51723 f.166, Cecil 34; EM to Ld Leconfield, 1 & 13 Nov 1867, PET 704

p.15 'damned adulterous bastard': Byron to Murray, L&J p.1284; Moore Journal Nov 1829, iii:1265 20

'he hinted at': GL to Scrope Davis, Marchand L&J vi:138; Cecil 71;

'love for ambition's sake': EM to FL 30 May, 15 July 1823, HALS & 15 Mar nd, LAM Add MSS 45550 f.91;

'who the devil can tell': WL to Landseer, Hayward, Sketches, i:336; Mitchell 8

'the most attached family': Cecil 36

p.16 'in very deep sorrow': EM diary note, nd, HAT; Ly B to EH, 23 June (1803), BL Add MSS 51723 f.166; Airlie, L P. i:12-13; Ralph Milbanke to wife 30 April, 25 May 1803, NBL Dep Lovelace Byron 83 f.9, f.31

p.17 'however irregular one's life': ELM to LCL, nd.1812, Jenkins 47

CHAPTER TWO: (pages 18 to 30)

p.19 'The Channel is a ditch': Napoleon to Consul Cambacérès, 16 November 1803, *Oxford Essential Quotations*, ed. Susan Ratcliffe, 5th ed. (Oxford: OUP 2017) 291

'a manoeuvring business': Jane Austen, *Mansfield Park* 39

p.20 'animal spirits': <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/kinnaird-hon-charles-1780-1826>

p.21 'might she not' and 'love is a feeling': Airlie, Whig 39

p.23 *Morning Chronicle* nd. May 1804

'How I hate Irby ... a great bore': ELM to FL nd Wed cited Gross 98

p.24 'good but cultivated ... whose fate depends on C': GD to ELM, 18 Dec 1801 LAM Add MSS 45548 f. 17; Foster 174, 424

'very heavy-going' HG to G, Letters ed. Leveson Gower and Palmer, 56

p.24 'fair noble manly beauty': Campbell, 302; PC 'was a quiet, pleasant man who was far less stupid' than he seemed. Sir James Mackintosh called world', without 'mysteries and reserves': Bourne 134; Luttrell to ELM, nd. an income of £60,000 a year [= £7.7m today]

p.26 'Pray is it a dream': PC to EM, May 1805 LAM Add MSS 45549 f.4

'I own it goes': PC to ELM, nd Wed, LAM Add MSS 45549 f.5

'a lingering decline': EM to FL cited Gross 26

p.27 'the Thorn': Cecil 64

p.28 Of the two marriages, the Melbournes, as Queen Charlotte good naturedly said, 'wanted this consolation after their trying misfortunes, and they are very happy at it.' Bess, Dss of Dev to Augustus Foster 21 May 1805, Foster 222

'there she is': LCL to GC nd. 1805 CHP J18/35

'the prettiest place': EM to ELM, nd. LAM Add MSS 45549 f.10

p.29 'deliriously happy' and 'a little crazy': HG to GC, nd Dec 1805, CHP J18/29

'I am happier': EM to ELM, 20 July 1805, LAM Add MSS 45549 f.8

'hardly answering': CGL to GC, Oct 1805, CHP J18/44

'the greatest indifference': HG to GC, 10 Nov 1806, CHP J18/29

'so extravagantly': LCL to GC, 26 Nov 1805, CHP J18/35

p.30 'What stuff are people made of': EM to FL nd LAM Add MSS 45550

'Where love does not intrude': ELM to Byron, nd NBL Dep. Lovelace Byron 252

'marriage must always be a lottery': EM to FL, 12 Feb 1821, PP BR/30/2/1; Bourne 186

CHAPTER THREE: (pages 31 to 39)

p.31 'Lord Cupid': nickname used by *The Times*; Judd 3-13';
[hstoryofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/temple-henry-](http://hstoryofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/temple-henry-1784-1865) 1784-1865

- p.33 'lazy and diffident': HP to Sullivan, Letters, 101
 'Silence': Villiers 44; Child & Co Three Hundred Years at No 1 Fleet Street, *The Three Banks Review*, (June 1973) No 98; n. 41; Davey n. 43; Creevey ed. Gore, 169
- p.34 'Baskets at the ready': SJ notebook, 1830 TLA ACC 1128/204; SJ 'Almack's' notebook, 1836, TLA ACC 1128/205; Edgeworth to her brother, 12 April 1827, Hare pp. 150–51; for details of Almack's see J. Davey, 'Wearing the Breeches' UAE 2017.
 'a great deal of brass': *The World of Fashion and Continental Feuilletons*, 1 June 1827, cited Davey 'Wearing the Breeches', 11
 'one can hardly conceive': Gronow i:31
 'rules tightened *Morning Post*, 7, 15, 21, 28 March 1817;
 'people are as mad': EM to FL, 4 May 1820, cited Lever 33;
 'Pure despotism': Chancellor, *Memorials* pp. 216-217; *The Morning Chronicle* 28 April 1819
 'Oh mighty Queen': Byron on Sarah, 'Condolatory Address' 1814
- p.35 'Almack's tyranny' and Wellington: Stephen Turner 'Almack's and Society' *History Today* Vol. 26, issue 4 (1976)
 'Kings may do': *The World of Fashion and Continental Feuilletons* 1 March 1835 cited Davey 12
 'All on that magic List depends' Henry Luttrell cited Chancellor, *Memorials* 57;
- p.36 'Now we'll get him': Bourne 188.; Chambers 53-4;
 'were more or less in love with Emily': HG to GC nd. CHP J18/29
 'enjoying herself *particularly*': FL to ELM nd. Airle, 177
- p.37 'that first ardour': HP diary 23 Nov 1829 PP D/5; EM diary 13-15 June 1866, HAT; LCL to ELM April 1810 cited Douglass, *Whole Disgraceful Truth* 53
 'it was always a husband's fault': EM to FL nd 1821, PP BR30/2/3.
 'huddled on a sofa': HG to GC, Aug 1809, CHP 1/151-8

p.38 'a baby house': Hazlitt, v.4.Political Essays satirizing Perceval's government;
Bourne 90

p.39 'A bad speech': HP, Bulwer :90-95

CHAPTER FOUR: (pages 40 to 49)

p.40 'Tory or Whig': 'Hears of what was observed to have happened on the occasion of
Sir Francis Burdett being conveyed to the Tower', TNA, P.C.1/3912.; Jackson i:106;
Dinwiddie, J R 'Sir Francis Burdett and Burdettite Radicalism', *History* Vol.65 No.
213 (1980) p..18-19]

p.41 'refused to doff his hat', HG to GC, CHP J18/38

p.42 'titillating behaviour': Keppel 123

'one of the greatest blackguards': Douglass, LCL letters, 52; Cecil, *Young Melbourne*
144

p.43 'You cannot conceive how anxious': HG to GC, CHP J18/38

'was so disgraceful': ELM to LCL 13 Apr 1810, BL Add MSS 45546 f.16; Douglass,
'LCL Before Byron' in *The Wordsworth Circle* vol.36 No.3 (Summer 2005)

p.45 'like a turbot': Cecil 34

'an infectious good humour': Mitchell 55

'Ring the bell!': Lichtenstein i:157; Byron, *Journal* 28 Nov 1813, LJ iii: Keppel 195

'William Lamb is certainly': Cecil, *Young Melbourne*, 135

p.46 'she would do what she liked': LCL to Ly Hd BL Add MSS 51583 f.4

'whole disgraceful truth' and 'little ungrateful serpent': LCL to EM and ELM April-
June 1810, BL Add MSS cited Douglas, LCL letters 54-55;

'Lord Cowper's wife': LCL to WD 10 Nov 1819, DEV cited Bessborough 211

p.47 'resemblance of his son': first recounted by Adeline Countess Cardigan, cited by
many Palmerston biographers Bourne, Brown, Chambers et al.

'Nothing could be sadder': EM to FL, LAM Add MSS 45550

'the indecency' and 'it will end': 12 May 1811 Calvert 177

p.48 'After dinner what occurred': LCL to ELM, 29 May 1811, LAM Add MSS 45546 f.8
Cecil, 146-7

'the hateful subject': ELM to LCL 13 Apr 1810, LAM Add MSS 45546 f.16

'complete selfishness': EM to LCL LAM Add MSS 45548

p.49 'Lady Melbourne like an angel': LCL to EH, 25 Oct 1811, HHP Add MSS 51550

CHAPTER FIVE (pages 50 to 70]

p.52 'the title of the Paragon of Debauchery': Gross 52

FL's posts: Secretary of Legation to Naples 1811-13 and to Vienna 1813-15

'graciously declined': WL to PL, 25 Feb 1812, RA GEO/MAIN/19316-19317

p.53 'violence of his words': HH, *Further Memoirs* 123

'a copy in family's hands': LCL to GB 9 Mar 1812, Dep. Lovelace Byron 155 f.73.
See also *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, quarto, was published on Tuesday, March 10, 1812, Moore (*Life*, p.157) implies that the date of issue was Saturday, February 29; and Dallas (*Recollections*, p.220) says that he obtained a copy on Tuesday, March 3; but see advertisements in the *Times* and *Morning Chronicle* of Thursday, March 5, announcing future publication, and in the *Courier* and *Morning Chronicle* of Tuesday, March 10, announcing first appearance

'I awoke one morning': Tuite, Byron Celebrity 1; Tuite, ed Byron 297; the term 'Byromania' was first used by Annabella Milbanke in 1812, see Wilson 3.

'a circle of star-gazers': Moore ed. *Letters and Journals of Lord Byron*, ii:356

'courted, visited, flattered': Bess, Duchess of Devonshire to Augustus Foster, Vere Foster 376

'its first run': *The Works of Lord Byron* ed. Coleridge and Prothero, Poetry, vol.2
Childe Harold's Pilgrimage (1899)

'few earthly things': Byron, *Childe Harold* 35, 36

'practised at the glass': Mole 78-97

- 'I cannot refrain from': LCL to GB, 9 Mar 1912, NBL Dep. Lovelace Byron 155 f.73
- p.54 'mad, bad and dangerous to know': Lady Morgan, *Memoirs* ii:200
- 'that beautiful pale face': Marchand, *Portrait* 118; Torrens i:103
- 'filthy and hot': LCL, C. Brown 197
- 'from that moment': LCL *ibid* 198
- 'all the regular beauties': GB to Dallas, Byron LJ vi:170
- 'absolutely besieged': Rogers cited Larman 96
- p.55 'talking to Byron': Byron LJ vi:171
- 'How could she behave': EM to EH, nd May 1812, HOL Add MSS 51600;
- AMB journal: 14 Apr 1812, NBL, Dep. Lovelace Byron 117
- p.57 'This delirium': GB to LCL May 1812, Byron LJ ii:177; Fraser, 64
- p.58 'most strange disguise': Hobhouse diary, Marchand i:355
- 'do not you do': LCL to GB, 9 August 1812, *Letters*, ed Douglass 84
- p.59 'almost by force': LCL to ELM, 12 Aug 1812, Add MSS 45546; GB to LCL, LJ ii:185; Gleeson 341;
- 'my terrific projects': GB to ELM, cited Quennell, *Years of Fame* 157
- p.60 'If she had been': GB to ELM, cited Stickland 108; ELM's surviving letters to GB were in EM's possession, she wrote on the envelope of one dated 23/4/1813 'to be kept/my Mother to Ld Byron', LAM Add MSS 45547 f.6; or passed through AMB into the NBL collection
- 'For heaven's sake': HBE to ELM, Strickland 108
- 'Lord Byron had bewitched': PR to PM, Airlie, *Whig*, 147
- 'a remarkable woman': WL to SC, cited Ziegler 15; Torrens i:135; EH once wrote ELM reminded her of Madame de Merteuil in *Les Liaisons Dangereuses* (Journal of EH i:98)

- p.61 'I am no longer yr lover': GB to LCL, Byron LJ ii: 258-9; Douglass 135-6
 'Too bad she cannot': EM to ELM nd LAM Add MSS 45549 f.46
- p. 62 'I tried to commit suicide': *The Satirist*, 6 July 1813; EM to GB 7 July 1813, LAM Add MSS 45547; Creevey ed Gore 144
 'No tradesman can': Frampton 321; Bryant, Elegance 121
 'such a love': EM to FL, Monday 11 Sept nd, Tues 10 Set 1822, LAM Add MSS 45550 f.47, f.119
- p.63 'half London': Davey, Almack's; Chancellor, Annals 210
 'hooves clattering': Ibid
 'Give my compliments': SJ message for D of W, Ticknor diary i:245
- p.64 'I must tell you': EM to PC, HALS cited Strickland 117
 'to pull' LCL, Marchand, 180
 'How wonderful of that sensible': HG to GC, 12 Oct 1814 cited Surtees 65
 'It's war': AMB to Ly Noel, NBL, Dep, Lovelace Noel 117
 'a damned fool': Kinnaird to Hobhouse, 9 Feb 1816 Hobhouse Journal TSS, NBL Dep 416
 'to break with her': Ly Noel to AMB, nd Mar 1816, NBL, Dep. Lovelace Noel 211
- p.65 'I can truly say': ELM to AMB, 20 Mar 1815 NBL Dep 92
 'I never have': LCL, Douglass 175
 'make Byron tremble': LCL to AMB, nd 1816, NBL Dep. Lovelace Byron.78 ff.157-61
 'unnatural relations' and 'his delight was': AMB minutes 27 Mar 1816 NBL Dep. Lovelace Byron 129 ff.86-87
 'dreadfully agitated' and 'Even to have': Hobhouse i:315; Byron LJ ii:619
- p.66 AMB memo op cit; LCL to AMB 27-28 Mar 1816, NBL Dep. Lovelace Byron 129 ff.171-2
 'too horrid to mention' HB to Hobhouse, Hobhouse i:316
- p.67 'fuck and publish', GB to Hobhouse, GB L & J v:85
 'Disgusting, immoral' *British Lady's Magazine*, Forster Collection cited Douglass 198
 'fantastical loves', Joanna Baillie to Walter Scott 2 Jul 1816, *Collected Letters Joanna Baillie* i:354-55

p.68 'put away' LCL to ELM nd 1816, LAM Add MSS 45546 f.89-90, 45548 f.141;
Eden letters 3

'He is such a coward', EM to FL nd 1816, MEL HALS D/Elb F.75

'Lady Caroline Wolf', Hobhouse i:338; Smiles, i:380

'I want to die', EM to LCL, nd. 1816, LAM Add MSS 45548 f.148

CGL to AMB 17 May 1816, NBL Dep. Lovelace Byron 78 f.24

p.69 'his cursed marriage', EM to ELM, Colin Brown 238

'embarrassments' WL to Ld H HHP Add MS 51558 f.35

'War or peace' LCL to EM post 9 May 1816, LAM Add MSS 45548 f. CHECK;
LCL to WD nd. COW HALS d/EP G427/14

p.70 'Dearest Emily', LCL to EM nd LAM Add MS 45548 f.149

CHAPTER SIX (pages.71 to 8?)

p.71 'Catullus George': Lamb, George, *The Poems of Caius Valerius Catullus translated, with a Preface and Notes*, 2 vols (London 1821)

'red hair'd bard': Bess Devonshire's journal, 6 April 1812, cited Stuart 188, 189

p. 72 'While seeming': CGL journal, Chapman & Dormer 210-11

'insensible to joy': Bess Devonshire journal, *ibid* 211

p.73 'an unnatural being': *ibid* 211

'The mother which is certainly odd': CGL to GC, CHP J18/44

p.74 'that peculiar sort of': HG to GC, cited FLG ed Letters 170

'confessed her love': CGL to ELM, 29 July, 1 Aug 1816, LAM Add MSS 45547 f.22, f.23; ELM to CGL nd f.31, f.32; CGL to ELM, 14 Aug 1816, f.27, 3 Apr 1817 f.29

p.75 'leaving newborn Spencer ... qualmish': EM to ELM 26 Aug 1816, LAM BL 45549 f. 68; ELM to AMB, 14 Aug 1816 NBL Dep 92 f.101; EM to HD, nd [1816] DEV cited Lever 13

'Who the deuce says': CLG to ELM, 14 Aug 1817 op cit

- p.76 'where love does not intrude': ELM to GB, nd. LAM Add MSS 45547 ff.43-5
- p.77 'as it makes one so independent': EM to ELM, 10 Oct 1816 LAM Add MSS 45549 f.97
 'I do assure you': EM to ELM *ibid*
 'I fear it will end ill': Ly Malmesbury Ly Frances Lowry Cole, 1 Sept, 12 Oct 1816, LC 107; Ly Malmesbury to Mrs Robinson 20 Oct 1816, LC 4, TNA, Kew
 'quite masterpieces': HP to Sullivan, Sullivan 135-6. HP Journal 1816 PP MS 62 cited Bourne 189
- p.78 'what is done by me': Bess Devonshire FIND; LCL to AMB, nd. NBL Dep 78 f.49
 'cease from ennui': EM to ELM, FIND; CLG to ELM 3 Apr 1817, LAM BL 45547
 'nothing could be': EM to FL 29 Nov 1817, LAM BL 45548; *Observer* 1817
 'not better than any other German', EM to ELM 20 May 1817 LAM BL 45549 f.190
- p.80 'certainly the most amiable': EM to ELM, 9 Jan 1817 LAM BL 45549 f.136; GC to HD 13 Sept 1817, DEV FIND; HP diaries MS 62, PP D3 1818, PP D4 1819
 'guerra' and 'pace': HP diaries throughout 1818, especially 18, 21, 23 Feb, 4, 6 Mar, PP MS 62/ D3
 'too kind to refuse anybody': Airle, Whig, 196
 'the most notorious': Creevey ii:199
 'Lady M can't disguise': CGL to GC 9 Aug, 1 Oct 1818, CHP 1/125
- p.81 'greatest anxiety': EM to FL, 17 Feb, 27 Mar 19 Mar 1818 HALS F82/23/1-2, /25/1-3, /29/1-4
 'The calamity': WL to GC 4 Apr 1818 CHP J18/44/145
 'such a mind': EM to FL 3 Apr 1819, LAM BL Add Mss 45550 f.15, f.16
 'Emily has been indefatigable': PC to FL 3 Apr 1819, LAM BL Add Mss 45550 f.16, f.17
- p.82 'perfectly easy': CG to AMB 8 Apr 1819, NBL Dep.78 f.37
 'a day which even now': EM diary 6 Apr 1840, 6 Apr 1842, HAT

'the best and kindest': Byron to J Murray, 23 Apr 1819 Letters vi:34;
'not merely clever': Torrens i:135

CHAPTER SEVEN (pages.85 to 98)

- p.85 'Emily heard': EM to FL 22 Jan 1820 LAM BL 45550 f.17, 18
'mad, blind, despised King': Percy Bysshe Shelley, *England in 1819*
'among the best', Wordsworth to Ld Lonsdale, 2 Feb 1820, *Poetical Works* ed Knight
iv:396
- p.86 'No George': Erickson, p 146
'*Figlio morto*': P's diary 18 May 1818 MS 62 D/3
'a horrid state': PC to FL 7 Mar 1820, LAM BL Add MSS 45550 f. 20a
- p.86/7 'opium addiction': EM to FL 22 Jan, 17 Feb, 7, 14 Mar 1820, LAM BL Add MSS
45550 f.18, f.20, ff. 22-24
- p.87 'very low': 7, 28 Mar 1820, LAM BL 45550 f.22, 26
'pulled her off course': EM to FL, 3 April 1820, LAM BL Add MSS 45550 f.27
'the reckoning day': EM to FL, 26 Oct 1820 LAM BL Add MSS 45550 f.64
'not touched Calomel': *ibid* 3 Dec f.74, 15 Dec f.79, f.80;
'she must adopt': WL to FL, Dec 8 1820, F85/8 LAM, HALS
'no more children': EM to FL 'with decent care I have no doubt I shall get as
strong as ever as I trust to having no more Children', 26 Oct 1820 LAM Add
MSS 45550 f.65
'puts no other object': EM to FL 23 Nov.1820, PP MS 62/BR/29/5/7
- p.88 'fine day' or 'fine night', Arran to E Ashley 13 April 1892, PP cited Bourne 202-03;
HP's diary 1819, PP MS 62 D/4
'the cleverest diplomat going', GIV to EM reported EM to FL
- p.89 'such a plume': Ly Charlotte WW to Henry WW, 18 Apr 1820,
Correspondence, 242; EM to FL 4 May 1820 LAM HALS F82/100/1
- p.90 'we are all in expectation': EM to FL 21 May 1820 LAM HALS F83/102/1

- p.91 'Pig of Pall-mall': Prothero 133;
'England does not want': EM to FL EM to FL 21 May 1820 op cit.
'God bless her': Charlotte WW Correspondence, 2 June 1820, 248; *The Times* 6 June 1820
'The exultation of the people': William Cobbett letters
'The effect was rather spoilt': EM to FL 9 June 1820 LAM Add MSS 45550 f.33
- p.92 'No Queen, No King': Prothero 34
'Delicate Investigation' and 'was very fond': Airle, Whig, 17-18; Hibbert GIV
'a licentious, disgraceful': Hay 200; Smith 39-40
- p.93 'There never was such an Apple of Discord': EM to FL, 26, 27 June 1820, PP cited Lever 68
'pure *in no sense*': DL to Metternich, Letters cited Montgomery Hyde 121
- p.95 'nothing could appear stronger': Harriet Arbuthnot, HAJ i:35
'credible ones - ten Englishmen': EM to FL 18 Aug 1820, LAM Add MSS 45550 f.43
'the evidence of yesterday alone': EM to FL, 20 Aug 1820, LAM Add MSS 45550 f.46
'to embroil us': HG to GC, 18 Aug 1820, FLG Letters 157
'An army of women': Fulford, Cobbett 163; Clark, *Representations* 62; *The Times* 11, 14 Sept 1820
- p.96 'Poor woman, I shall': Jane Austen to Martha Lloyd, 16 Feb 1813, Letters ed. Chapman; Lacquer 447
'dearest daughter-in-law': GIII to QC, 1804 and 'the rest of our lives,' GIII to QC, 1796, see 'Maev Kennedy, Justice is my claim' in *The Art Newspaper*, 5 May 2023 for new Queen Caroline letters in Massy-Beresford archive at Cambridge University
- p.97 'she now felt in private': EM Volume of Thoughts, ff.1-4, HAT; EM to FL 11, 13 passim Oct 1820, Lever 51

'what folly': EM to FL 8-9 Nov 1820, LAM Add MSS 45550 ff.70-1

p.98 'quite courtiers': EM to FL, 15 Dec 1820, LAM Add MSS 45550 f.77

'offensively indecent': HG to GC 22 Dec 1820 FLG letters 201; EM to FL 8 Jan 1821 LAM Add MSS 45550 f.88; Creevey 15 Jan 1821, 344

'appear guiltless in public': ELM to LCL, op cit.

CHAPTER EIGHT (pages 99 to 108)

p.99 'There was no instance': J Whishaw to Ly Hd, 30 May 1821, Ilchester 61-2; EM to FL 22 May 1821 LAM Add MSS 45550 f.105

p.100 'Twenty years ago': EM to FL 15, 22 June 1821, LAM Add MSS 45550 f.108-110

p.101 'Sarah performed': EM to FL 26 June, 10 July 1821, LAM Add MSS ff.110-113

'He looked more like the Victim': EM to FL 20, 22 July 1821, Lever 86-7, 88; HAJ i:106-09

p.103 'Here lies Caroline', EM, Volume of Thoughts ff.5, 6, HAT

'Peterloo', Poole 2-3; EM was pro an enquiry, 18 Oct 1819, Lever 21, but WL was against it, Ziegler 73; Shelley, *The Masque of Anarchy* v.ii (1819)

'His wife casually informed Emily,' EM to Ly Hd, 21 Nov 1821, HHP 51600 f.3

p.104 'all the gold', EM to FL 26 Apr 1822, PP MS 62/BR/ 29

'Devil take me', D of Wellington to DL and reported to Metternich, 26 Jan 1822, Letters 15

p.105 'Emily enlisted Dorothea', DL to Metternich 26 Jan 1822, Letters 149; HAJ i:147-8

'You pass all morning', Francis Conyngham reported by DL ibid

'Don't think of giving up', EM to FL 2 Aug 1822 LAM HALS F82/10/1

'Londonderry cut his throat', WL to FL 15, 16 Aug 1822, LAM HALS F85/11/1

p.106 'The King hates him', HP to Sullivan, Sullivan Letters 153

'the greatest sacrifice', EM to FL, 16 Aug 1822, op.cit.11/2; DL to Metternich, 9 Sept 1822, Letters 205; GIV to Liverpool, 8 Sept 1822, Yonge iii:199; Arbuthnot to Bathurst 12 Sept 1822, HMC Bathurst 532

'*Admit the rogue*', EM to FL 16 Sept 1822 cited Lever 110; DL to Metternich, 13 Sept 1822, Letters 20

'he could never accept', EM to Ly Hd 12 Nov 1822 HHP 51600 f.3

'He asked Emily', EM to FL, 18 Nov 1822, Lever 113

p.107 'It is astonishing how bold', EM to FL 26 Nov, 12 Dec 1822, PP MS 62/BR cited Lever 115-116

p.108 'Cunningham', Creevey 402

'She took heart', EM to FL 30 Dec 1822, 15 Jan 1823, LAM Add MSS 45550 ff.131-3, f.3

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p.110 'You may judge', LCL to John Murray, Fraser LCL 157-8, 160; LCL Letters 205; EM to FL 30 Dec 1822, 15 Jan 1823, LAM Add MSS 45550 ff.131-3, f.3

'William has not courage', EM to FL 7 Nov 1822, LAM Add MSS 45550 f.129

p.111 'a great ass', EM to FL 7 Oct, 2 July 1822, LAM BL Add MSS 45550 f.121, 115

William wrote to Caroline', WL to LCL, 10 Apr 1825, Douglass 264; LCL to HD nd COW HALS D/ D/EP G427/14;

'disgusted, offended and estranged', HG to to GC and WD, cited Normington 233; FL to Cookney, Lothian Papers cited Normington 235, ; GL to HD, 15 Apr 1825, DEV f.1131-2

'it was always wiser', Cockney Legal draft, COW HALS D/EP f427/16; EM to FL 7 June 1825, MEL HALS D/ELB F85/16; Airlie i:166

p.112 'I bullied the bully.' EM to FL nd June 1825, LAM Add MSS 45550 f.165

'*I hate giving up*', EM to FL ,21 Feb 1826 LAM Add MSS 45551 f.16; WL to FL 23 Jul 1825, MEL HALS F85/17; EM to FL, 3-7 Sept 1825, PP MS62/BR/30/5/15, 22 Nov 1825 LAM Add MSS 45550, f.202

- p.113 'looks like a footman', Moore Jnl i:174; Guedalla, Palmerston, 100-2
- p.114 'Georgiana were handsomer', HAJ i:405-6; Chambers 93-4
 'Yet Emily believed', EM to FL 23 Jan, 3 Mar 1826 LAM Add MSS 45551 f.5a, 2
 'a regular saturnalia' DL to Metternich, Letters, PAGE NO; EM to FL 21 Apr 1826 LAM Add MSS 45551 f.32
- p.115 'as he always does to a friend', Bourne 242-6; Gash, Liverpool 239-40
 'who had acquired property', Hay FIND
- p.116 'This and other jobs', HAJ 24 Apr 1826, ii:24, 26
 'as if such an honour', 38; EM to FL20 Mar 1826 LAM Add MSS 45551 f.29; HAJ ii:31
 'the Lambs were friends of Wellington's', FL to EM and EM to FL 21, 24 Sept 1826 LAM Add MSS 45551 f.54, 57
- p.117 'politically if not literally dead' *The Times* 19 Feb 1827; Gash 248-9;
 'grinding and pounding', Brock, Liverpool 284
 'a charlatan *parvenu*', DL diary 107, 116-17; Canning's Ministry 192,231; Gaunt, *History* lxxxviii (2003)568-86; DL diary 123; Alison, iii:250n
- p.118 'What a pity', EM to FL, 24 Apr 1827, PP BR 30/7/1; Lever 164; see Aspinall, Ministry, for EM's full report of this crisis.
 'Only conceive, William has gone off', EM to SJ, 15Apr1827, TLA JP Acc/1128/271a, b; EM to FL 16 Apr 1827, LAM BL Add MSS 45551 f.94
 'as *the* cleverest person', Auckland to SJ nd [24 April 1827] TLA JP acc/510/413; EM to FL I May 1827, PP MS 62/BR 30/7/1; WD to Ld Lansdowne 23 April 1827, Lansdowne MSS, cited Aspinall
 'the Whigs have always', WL to FL FIND; Hibbert, GIV FIND
- p.119 'William Lamb - put him anywhere', GIV
 'William is going', EM to FL 1, 8 May 1827, PP MS 62 BR 30/7/1, BR/29/13/9
 'In short, her husband', EM to FL op cit 24 April 1827; DL to FIND

'You may appoint,' D of Bedford to HH, 5 May 1827 HHP BL Add MSS 50 FIND

- p.120 'his enthusiasm to make', = Chambers, 108-111; HOP p
'her efforts and machinations', HAJ ii:109; EM to FL 8 op,cit. 15 May 1827 LAM
Add MSS 4555 ff.96-41
'cautioned against Canning's', EM to FL 3,7 Aug 1827 LAM Add MSS 45551
ff.1-2, ff.1-4; Guizot, An Embassy, 153

CHAPTER TEN (pages 121 - 128)

- p.121 'Arthur, the Cabinet is defunct!', Longford, State 147
'driveller Lord Goderic', HA to Ly Shelley 28 Aug 1827, Diary Lady Shelley 167;
Creevey, 23 Sept 1827, 471
'Wellington had proclaimed', D of W to H of Lords, 2 May 1827, Aspinall, B and
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- p.122 'After months of wrangling', Wellington's Despatches iv:184-5; Jupp 243; HP to EM
14 Jan 1828, PP BR23AA/5/1
'that air, which he always has', EM to FL, 21 May 1828, MEL HALS D/ELb
F82/80; Chambers 120; WL to FL, 12 Jan 1828, MEL D/ELb F78; WL also
thought he and Peel had 'such a damned character for intolerance' in Ireland
- p.123 'Lady Branden', EM thought Ly Brandon 'very like, in her ways to poor Caroline', nd
MEL HALS D/ELb F.82/92; Ziegler FIND
'Pray come this evening', Ly Brandon to WL MEL HALS D/ELb F.40
'what is necessary', WL to Ly Branden, 1830 ibid, F.35
- p.124 'order her a brisk application', WL to 'a friend', 30 Aug.1830, MEL HALS D/ELb
F.40; WL to Ly Brandon 1830, MEL HALS D/ELB F.42
'Mrs Teresa Berkley', Ashbee Index :xlili– xliv
'peculiar and sexual degradation', De Quincy, 'On Suicide' in *London Magazine* 8
(1823) 499; Gibson, *The English Vice*, n.49 p.143; he mentions Etonian flagellants
including Gladstone and Swinburne but not WL
'never have been so cruel' EM to FL 24 May 1825 LAM BL Add MSS 45550 f.165

p.125 'I never met with', Torrens ii:297; EM to FL 26 Jan 18278 LAM BL Add MSS 45551 f.110

'By Heavens I's sick' LCL to Ld Hd, 1811, HHP BL Add MSS 51550 f.140

'one could not help but love her', EM to QV, QVJ 3 March 1838

p.126 'overlook the offence', Creevey 502; HAJ ii:311; EM to FL 11,12 June 1828 MEL HALS D/ELb F82/73/3, F82/92/2

'Crim con suits', Malcolmson, Anthony 'A Woman Scorned? Theodosia, Countess of Clanwilliam (1743-1817)' in *Ulster Genealogical Review* (1999) 9-10

'1826 election', EM to FL 27/28 May, 3 June 1828, MEL HALS D/ELb F82/78-79, /74-75; as did P, see HP to EM 17 Jun 1828, PP BR23AA/5/3

p.127 'I am determined to defend myself', WL to Ly Brandon, 5 Nov 1828, MEL HALS D/ELb F43

'The case collapsed', EM to FL 12 Jun 1828, MEL HALS D/ELb F82/92; HAJ ii:311;

'The verdict of *Not Guilty*', Campbell FIND;

'The noble and reverend cuckold', Michael Bruce to WL 12 Nov 1829 cited Ziegler 108, Mitchell 216

'respectable annuity', Mitchell 217

p.128 'he stands higher', EM to FL, 27/28 May 1828, MEL HALS D/ELb F82/78/3; HP too saw him as a leader of liberal interests, HP to EM 25 Nov 1829, PP MS 62BR23AA/5

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p.129 'very nervous but very brave', Broughton iv:33

'he wished particularly', Ziegler FIND

p.130 'Queen Adelaide', Frampton 343; Buckingham i:39; Creevey ii:217; Wake 243

'Catholics' and 'Schoolboys stuck pins', Norman 19, 21; Wake 199-200

p.131 'Captain Swing', Hobsbawn and Rude 15; Hawes 207; Mitford iv: PAGE NO

'professional police force', Lyman 141, 152

p.132 'rotten boroughs' Gatton and Old Sarum, HOP volume/1820-1832/constituencies /gatton; volume 1820-1832/constituencies/old-sarum
'Like a cat on hot brick's', EM to Ly Hd late July 1830, HHP Add MSS 515600 f.
'I am told he used', EM to Ld Hd Thurs [29 July], 31 July 1830 HHP Add MSS 51600; HOP volume/1820-1832/constituencies/canterbury; For's election expenses 1830, COW HALS D/EP 40

p. 133 The Times 30 July 1830

'made love twice', HP's diary, PP MS62/D/5; HP to EM 25 Nov 1829 F; HP memo end June 1830, PP GMC/33
'EM opening negotiations', EM to Greville, 16 Dec 1830, Greville ed Reeve ii:94; Agar Ellis diary 18 July 1830, Agar Ellis Mss X1384
'I do not happen to think', HP's diary 22 May 1828, PP/v/ D/2 f.54
'I see the dear man', EM to FL 21 May 1828, MEL HALS D/ELb F82/80
'authorised by Whig', EM was playing a double game, secretly plotting with HB to sign a treaty with Huskisson and attack Wellington while telling Greville to state the Huskissonites were ready to join Wellington's government. See =HB to EM, 3 Sept 1830, EM to HP [12-13] Sept 1830, PP, Greville ii:47, EM to HB 9 Sept 1830, Brougham Papers all cited Bourne 316

p.134 'It's all over', HAJ ii:385-7

HP refused to join' Ziegler 116; HB to WD, 18, 21, 30 Sept 1830, DEV, and for 'evil things' that 'Countess Emily's' leaked to Greville; HP to Littleton 25 Sept 1830, Aspinall, Brougham, 180-2; DL to EM 4, 10 Oct 1830, L/P Letters 19, 20; HP to Littleton 12 Oct 1830, Aspinall, Brougham 182-3
'formally unite with the Whigs', Agar Ellis to EH 20 Sept 1830, HHP Add MSS 51590; Agar Ellis diary 6 Nov 1830, Mss X1384; Howick, diary 7 Nov 1830 cited Ziegler 118

p.135 'general air of good manners' Fraser, Perilous Question 22-3, 39; Smith, Grey 16

'all the caution' and "by reforming Parliament', Hansard, 2 Nov 1830, address in answer to the Speech f.37; Fraser, Perilous Question 40
'I will at once declare', Hansard

<https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/lords/1830/nov/02/address-is-answer-to-the-speech> f.53; Butler 97; Croker ii:50-1; Jupp 429-430; Greville 8 Nov 1830, ii:52

'a greater change', Jupp 431; *The Times* 9 Nov 1830; Georgiana Agar Ellis to Caroline Lascelles 3 Nov 1830, Howard Sisters 155p.136

'Stuff and nonsense', EM to FL nd Nov 1830, LAM BL Add MSS 45550; Frampton 360; George ii:239; Jupp 430; Georgiana to Caroline 11 Nov 1830, Howard Sisters 160; *The Times* 9, 10 Nov 1830

'Lady Cowper has just been here', HG to GC & WD, 8, 9 Nov 1830, HG Letters ii:64, 65

'Together, mother and son', EM to FL nd. [12 Nov 1830] MEL HALS D/ELb F82/86

'Wellington was out', Greville 16 Nov 1830, ii:54; Le Marchant, 1-2; Croker ii:75; CG to DL, 15 Nov 1830, Letters ii:119; EM at Lansdowne house when Agar Ellis burst in 'tipsy with joy' to deliver the result, Ly Carlisle to Caroline, 16 Nov 1830, Howard Sisters 164-5

'Sarah Jersey burst into tears', Le Marchant 32; Perilous Question 48

p.137 'sent for Lord Grey', Georgiana to Caroline Lascelles 18 Nov 1830, Howard Sisters 166; GC to Caroline 29 Nov 1830, *ibid* 170

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p.141 'stem the fury', CG to ELM 20 Dec 1791, GD to ELM, nd, Melbourne letters, HAT

p.142 'she accepted invitations' EM at Ly Lansdowne's party, *Morning Post* 6 Nov 1830; DL to EM 25 Dec 1830, L/P 21

'I am plagued to death', GG to DL 20 Nov 1830, Grey/Lieven 121

'a very satisfactory', CG to HH, HHP MSS 51506; CG to WD, 17 Nov 1830, DEV 2092; EM to EH nd 1830, HHP 51500; HL to CG 18 Nov 1830, Trevelyan, appendix D, 379; DL, typically, claimed the credit for HP's offer, see Lieven diary 165-7; but EM carefully lobbied HL and HH whose opinion carried more political weight than DL's; Bourne 330-3

- p.143 'he was back in government', EM to EH, nd Nov 1830, HHP 51600A; Ziegler 119-120
 'William sat up all night', Ly Lansdowne to Ly Harriet Frampton , 20 Nov 1830, Frampton 127; GL to WD, 20 Nov 1830, DEV 2098; Greville ii:87
 'He sanctioned harsh sentences', Trevelyan, British history 234-5
- p.144 'In reading rooms', Martineau ii:409
 'Emily was hosting', DL to EM, 25 Dec 1830, L/P 21
 'the secret document', Ziegler 128-9; Trevelyan, Grey, 263
- p.145 'Grey, Durham and Russell', CG to Ly Grey 1, 2 Jan 1831, Grey Mss, Durham, cited Trevelyan 263; Cannon 218; JR notes, nd Jan 1831, TNA, ER30/22/1B-C465342
 'The drafts were copied out', Trevelyan 275-6
 'Whigs would abolish', Brock 22; HOP 1820-1832 constituencies/Dunwich
- p.146 'Reform the people will have', Trevelyan, Grey 282; Smith, Reform, 46
 'The public now', Grey to Wellesley, 4 Mar 1831, Trevelyan 285
 'Nothing talked of', Greville 7 Mar 1831, ii:126
 'if the bill is a good bill' EM to EH Thurs [1831], HHP Add MSS 51601
- p.147 'the question is not' EM to EH nd. [Mar 1831] HHP Add MSS 51600A
 'You must have the King's carriage ready', Trevelyan 294-5; Albemarle ii:291-2
- p.148 'What was all the hubbub?' Brougham iv:107; Broughton iv:138
 'Tea, Bread, Meat & Beer', EM to EHd nd [May 1831] HHP Add MSS 51601
 One Tory candidate, *Liverpool Chronicle* 7 May 1831
 'a terrible bore', HP to EH 8 May 1831, HHP Add MS 51600 ff.7-8
- p.149 'the Chief is devoted to the Sister', Greville 20 July 1833, ii:399 ; Webster i:68, 224
 'they ambushed their old friend', Brougham iv:108
- p.150 'a huge victory', Harriet Stafford, Howard Sisters 209; Hansard, 5 Oct 1831 PD7: 1038; Ellenborough diary 6 Oct 1831, Aspinall 142 f3;

the peeresses' enthusiastic ardour', *The Times* 6 Oct 1831

'serious rioting ensued', Fraser, *Perilous*, 150; Butler 285, 292, 197

'to *resist* the radicals', HP to EM 8 Oct 1831 PP BR23AA/5/9; EM had lobbied HB and JR to modify the franchise, which CG called 'hollow friendship', CG to HH 26 May 1831, HHP Add MS 51560; DL to CG, G/L Letters ii:218, 220-22; Greville misrepresented Em as 'a furious anti-Reformer' - she was a moderate Reformer; EM reiterated to CG, Sat [?7 Mar] 1831, Grey MSS, she had 'always been a very good & true Whig' and would support his Govt' over Reform, cited Bourne 509

p.151 'arriving half an hour late', Greville ii:232

'What has poor Min', FL to EM 22 [nd]1829 cited Airlie Ly P i:146-7

'Surely those great Tories,' WL to QV cited Esher, *Girlhood* i:242-3; EM to AW nd 1831, AW MSS; Finlayson 9

p.152 'a pair of loaded pistols', Frampton 300-04

'Emily as chief', Greville 6 Jan 1832 ii:235

p.153 'these contemptible people', Butler 358

'I have at times been angry' CG to DL, Sept 1833, G/L Letters ii:221

'foresaw the end of the world', DL to EM 27 Feb 1832 L/P letters 35; EM to FL 15 May 1832, PP MS 62/BR 30/8/1; Fraser. *Perilous* 226; Butler 40

p.154 'The events of', EM to FL 16, 17 May 1832 PP MS 62 BR/30/8/2, 3/1-2

'People were tired of signing' EM to FL *ibid*

To Stop the Duke, go for Gold!' TNA HO 40/30; Le Marchant diary May 1832, Littleton's diary 9 May 1832, Aspinall 253; EH to Henry Fox, 18 May 1832, 137

p.155 'Oh it is a sad business,' EM to FL 17 May 1832, PP MS62 BR/30/8/3/2; Creevey ii:247

'a civic revolution', Fraser, *Perilous*, 249, 260, 263; EM to FL, 21 Jun 1830 MS62 BR/30/8/6/5]

'Emily could not help', EM to FL 19 Jun 1832 PP MS 62/ BR/30/8/6

- p.156 'the ablest of all British diplomatists': Bourne 461
- p.157 'Conference of the Great Powers': We have used the name 'Belgium' for simplicity, though it did not exist as an independent country until 1830; Bourne 333-348 for a detailed exposition; Webster i:104
- p.158 Cowper always did what Emily wanted: CGL to GC nd CHP J18/120; McLeod 70
'I adore Panshanger', DL to CG, 15 Sept 1832, L/G ii:395
- p.159 'a person of a less sanguine': EM to EH, 4/11 Oct 1832, HUS Add MSS 37048 f.139; Greville 7 Nov 1832 ii:328-9; Ziegler, Dino 196
'Society is not fashionable': DL to EM 24, 26, 27 Sept, 10 Oct 1832, L/P 39-40,45; DL to Alexander Benckendorff, 9 Jan 1816, Letters 22
- p.160 'a fine young woman': DL to CG, 18 Sept 1833, L/G ii:465; EM to FL 20-22 Jun 1832, MS 62 BR30/8/6;
'the twenty-fifth anniversary': HP diary 27 Sept, 7 Oct 1833, PP v/D6
'to the warmer climates': EM's diary 14-17 April 1833, HAT; EM to FL, 18 May, PP MS 62 BR/30/8/4; DL to CG, 2 Oct 1833 L/G ii:473; HP diary 10 Oct 1833, PP MS 62/D6
- p.161 'Have you heard': DL to CG 23 Oct 1833, L/G ii:473, 484; CG to DL 27 Oct 1833, L/G ii:486
'putting his colleagues': GG to HH, 30 Nov, 18, 22 Nov 1833, HHP 51605 ff.45, 37-8
'very active and ridiculous': Greville 21 Nov 1833 ii:422; CG to DL, L/G ii:492; P to SJ, Mon 16 nd, Acc/1128/289-300 TLA; Creevey 610; HAJ i:406,424
'turned her brain': DL to CG, L/G ii:490; Ellice to Durham, 16 Nov, Lambton Papers cited Bourne 216; Sefton to Creevey 26 Nov 1833, Creevey 610-11
'she abandoned Jersey': GG to HH 25 Nov 1833 HHP Add MSS 51605 f.40; HP's diary 15 Oct-Nov 1833 is silent about any 'Fine Days' with SJ, PP/v/D6
- p.162 'Lady Jersey is leaving': EM's diary 13-15 Nov 1833, HAT; DL to EM, 18 Nov 1833, L/P 50

'the constant practice': EM's diary 3 Dec 1833; EM to FL, 27 Jan 1834, HALS, D/ELb F82/5

'Sarah was amiable': EM to FL 27 Jan 1834 *ibid*

p.163 'The mere thought': CG to DL, 1 Jan 1834, DL to CG, L/G ii:495, 496; CGL to FL, 20 Jan 1833 MEL D/ELb F88/1; EM to FL, 10, 17, 27 Jan 1834, MEL D/ELb F82/2, 3, 5

'a very lovely girl': EH to Henry Fox 14 July 1829, 145

'very rich and very stupid': Eden 28

'admiration is a very pleasant thing': *ibid*

'he exhibits his conquest': Greville iii;11-12; =Dino, *Memoirs* i:34

p.164 'Brougham rushing through': Creevey ii:107; Hawes 89-90; HH to GG 5 July 1834, GP Add MSS 89317/5/44; Bourne 219-220

p.165 'Trouble had been brewing': EM to FL 6 Dec 1832, PP MS 62 BR 30/8/12; DL to CG, 6 Nov 1832, L/G ii:412; Greville ii:358

'Remember my Lord': EM to FL, 27 Oct 1 Nov 1832, PP MS 62 BR 30/9/6, 30/8/9, 14 Jan 1833, BR 30/9/1; DL to HP, 26 Jan 1833 cited Bourne 363; Ziegler, Dino 228

'Emily, blaming Palmerston': DL to EM, 7 Oct 1834, L/P 55; EM to FL 26 Feb 1833, PP MS 62 BR 30/9/ 2; DL to her brother, 29 April 1834, *Letters* 376; Dino *Memoirs*, 21, 24 May 1834, i:61-2

'I assure you that Lord Palmerston': Dino 1 Jun, 1 Aug 1834 i:70,146

'Poor Lady Cowper': DL to Dino, 19 Jun 1834, Dino i:94

p.166 'I am beginning': DL to EM, 9/31 Mar, 17 Apr 1835, L/P 80, 81

'I shall visit England': DL to EM 8-20 Feb, 22 Apr, 11 May 1835, L/P 78, 81, 83

p.167 'so subtle': DL to Dino, *Memoirs* i:95

'petticoat influence in state affairs': D of Bedford to EH 15 Oct 1834 HHP Add MSS 51601; Bourne 220

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p.168 'All the mothers': DL to Metternich, 2 Jul 1824, L/M 262

'I am sure before long': EM to FL 14 June 1832, PP MS 63 BR 30/8/5

p.169 'Shots were fired': Cecil, 78; Greville iii:40

'I rise my lords': Hansard, HL Deb 09 July 1834 vol 24 cc1305-35; Creevey 625; CG to DL 10 Jul 1834, G/L letters ii:506

p.170 'Almack's that evening': Greville iii:53; *The Times*, Money Market and City Intelligence 9 July 1834; Wharncliffe ii:197; Dino i:118

'King had asked William': Aspinall 198; Creevey 624; EM to WC, 13 nd 1834, PP MS 62 BR 33/2/1; Ziegler 169

p.171 'William to form': EM to EH Thurs. [1834] HHP Add MSS 51560; FL to WL 19 Jul 1834 cited Ziegler

'with less danger': Custance 149

'Melbourne is the only man': Lytton ii:203n;

'I think it a damned bore': Greville iii:76

p.172 'extended on an ottoman': Ly Lilford to Caroline Fox, [17 Jul 1834] Ilchester, *Chronicles* 170;

p.173 'Emily devoted herself': Eden, 243; EM to WC, nd 1834, PP MS 62 BR 33/2/4 ; Cecil 327

'a revolution was coming': Ziegler 179-81

p.174 'be acting *fairly*': EM to WC, 13 Nov 1835, BR 33/2/1; Esher, *Girlhood*, ii:149; Ziegler 182

'Emily was flabbergasted': EM to DL 18 Nov 1834, L/P Letters 61

'The Queen had done it': *The Times* 15 Nov 1834

'It all happened so quickly': Greville 14 Nov 1834, iii:147; Aspinall 203; EM to DL, 18, 20 Nov 1834, L/P 62, 65

'Emily was bewildered': EM to DL 20 Nov, 4 Dec 1834, L/P Letters 65, 66-7

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p.175 'Englishmen must be up': Mitchell 147; Creevey 641

'horror of his natural father': GE to HH 3 Dec 1835, HHP Add MSS 51725 f.175

'I do not like': Eden 247, 248; EM to DL 18 Nov, 4 Dec 1835 L/P Letters 62, 67;
CGL to GC 28 Nov 1835 CHP J18/44

p.176 'King even more pompous': EM to DL, 4 Dec 1834, L/P Letters 66

'like a horse': HP to W Temple 9 Jan 1835, cited Bourne 539

'finding himself a nobody': HP diary 8-17 Jan 1835, PP v/D7; Sullivan 259-261

'half a mind to turn the King down': HH diary 12 Apr 1835, Kriegel 286; WL to JR,
12 Apr 1835, PP MEL/RU 148; Wharnccliffe ii:248

His sister despaired': HP diary 8-10 Apr 1835, PP v/D7

p.177 'Urging Melbourne to accept': HP diary 10-13 Apr 1835, PP v/D7; HP to WL 12 Apr
1835, RA MP 11/13 cited Ziegler 199

'Am I mad?': Ziegler 198

'Emily discovered her brother': HG to WD 12, 13 Apr 1835, Letters 185, 186;

Ellice to WL, 26 Mar 1835; for the intrigue see Webster i:147-8, Dino i:209-10, GG
to HH, 23 Oct 1834, HHP Add MSS 51605 ff.146-148; Greville iii:86

'she berated Fred': FL to EM 14 Jun, 29 Nov 1834 LAM Add MSS 45551 ff.
143,146

'advised pushing William': HG to WD, 15 Apr 1835, Letters 187; CG to WL 14 Apr
1835 PP GC/ME/26 enc.1; Sanders 208

p.178 'distinctly, unequivocally': Bourne 548-9

'I trust that I am not': WL and HP 15 Apr; PP GC/ME 27 and enc.3; Webster ii:84

'Starry Night': Bradford, Disraeli, 61

p.179 'strange girls [who] swear': EM to FL, 27 Jul 1827, LAM Add MSS 45551f.141;
Fraser, Married Woman 33-4

'so ably and wickedly': Ly Eastlake, cited Acland 208-09;

p.180 'Baron Norton': Ziegler 229; *The London Gazette* 24 Jun 1831, 7; Acland 65

'like a separate people': Atkinson, 82, 84; CN to EM 1865, Airrie, Ly P ii:181

"Mrs Norton is *so* nice, it is a pity': HG cited Caroline Lascelles to Georgiana Agar Ellis, 1828, Howard Sisters 192

p.181 'shocked assembled diplomats': Malmesbury i:66; EM to DL, 5 Jun 1835 L/P Letters 86

'walked out on her husband': CN to WC, nd 1835 Berg Collection, Maggs 11.23.60, Atkinson 131; EM diary May 1835, HAT

'anything less like a Prime Minister': Wharncliffe ii:272

'Lord Melbourne *do, do*': Haydon, Diary 287

p.182 'He has taken all my children': CN to WL, 2 Apr 1836, MEL D/ELb F47/ 46

'I hope the report': EM to EH, 4, 8 Apr 1836, HHP Add MSS 51601ff.110, 115

'Since I first heard': WL to CN 9 Jun 1836, Torrens ii:190; HP to FL 10 May 1836, LAM Add MSS 60465 f.56; Greville iii:291; Creevey 654

p.183 'My Mother always used to say': WL to Emily Eden 24 Sept 1835, Eden 258

'The fact is He is a stupid Brute': WL to HH 6 Apr 1836, HHP Add MSS 51558 f.101

'God forgive you': CN to WL nd Apr 1836, MEL D/ELb/F47/27

'protested her actual innocence': Fraser, Married Woman, 74

p.184 '*Forse era ver, ma non pero credibile*': HH's diary, Kreigal 345; GG to HH 27 Jul 1836, Ziegler 234

'Emily's worldly brazenness': EM to EH 9/10 Jun 1836, HHP Add MSS 51601; CN to Ellice, 11 May 1836 NLS Ms 15037 f.171

'You cannot look back on our intimacy': CN to WL 19 Jun 1836 MEL D/ELb F47/62

'Make way for the gentlemen': Greville iii:351; Hatherton's diary 22 Jun 1836, HM D260/M/F/5/26/12; Fraser 79--83, 85; Ilchester *Chronicles* 219

'There is no attempt at proof': WC to HH, nd Jun 1836, HHP Add MSS 51559 f.85

p.185 'a triumphant acquittal': Greville iii:293

'Don't let William think': ; FL to EM 28 June 1836 Airlie, Ly P, i:190

'the very last that we would hold': *The Times* 24 Jun 1836

'What an abomination it is': FL to EM 28 June 1836, Airlie, Ly P, i:191
 'the feeling and the beauty': Ziegler 232
 'play false and use them': EM to EH 9/10 Jun 1836, HHP Add MSS 51601
 'as William will give more': FL to EM 1 Apr 1837, LAM Add MSS 45551f.6

p.186 'Only Caroline was left': Creevey 654; EM to EH, 9/10 June 1836 HHP Add MSS 51601; CN to WC nd (Mar 1839) PP MS62 BR 43/40; FL to EM, 1 Apr 1837, LAM Add MSS 45551 f.7

'Malignity must fasten upon something': Greville iii:293;
 'save her husband's life': EM to For, Brussels, 8 Aug 1836, COW F494/17/1; EM to EH 26 Aug , 15 Sept 1836, HHP Add MSS 51601
 'Four people are sitting': Ly Chatterton's account, ed. Heneage 41

p.187 'for it seldom happens': ed. Heneage 42
 'I was almost out of mind with anxiety': EM's diary for 1837 is missing but cited Airlie i:193
 'Don't come to see me': EM to EH, Tues, Wed nd, HHP Add MSS 51601 f.146
 'At a quarter to nine at night': EM's diary 1837, cited Airlie i:193

p.188 'Cowper to friends and family': FL to EM 1 Jul 1837, LAM, Add MSS 4555; EM to EH Tues Jul 1837, HHP 51601 f.148; EM to SJ, Tues 1837 TLA Acc/1128/273a
 'How difficult it is to know': EM diary 1839 cited Airlie ii:194
 'I think a widow's situation': Foster 353
 'You will never like Panshanger again': FL to EM 15/16 Jul, 4 Dec 1837 LAM Add MSS 45551f.176

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p.190 Victoria describes the early days of her reign in her Journal, QVJ 20 -28 Jun 1837; see also her edited letters, diaries and many biographies, including Longford, Woodham Smith, Baird, Charlot, Williams, Worsley; also Webster, The Accession of QV, *History New Series*, Vol. 22, No. 85 (June 1937), pp. 14-33

p. 191 'She brings total inexperience': HP to G. Shee, 1 Jun 1837, Shee Papers, BL Add MS 60341 ff. 78-9; Brown 196

'She not merely filled': AW to Ly Burghersh, 23 Jun 1837, Burghersh 98-9;
Woodham Smith 140

p.192 'I like him very much': ; QVJ 20 Jun 1837; Benson, *Girlhood* i:197

'He has *such* stores': QVJ Jun, 30 Jul 1 Nov 1837 *passim*; QVJ, 4 Sept 1838

'Nothing could be': WL to Lansdowne, 20 Jun 1837, cited Ziegler 257

'an imbecile, a profligate': Thompson 23

'Poor little Queen!': Carlyle iii:47

p.193 'so parental and anxious': Lorne V.R.I 71

'passionately fond of her': Greville iv:92-3

'like a Father': EM to FL 6 Jul 1837, PP MS 62 BR 28/1-5

p.194 'I am like Lord M': EM to FL 6 Jul 1837, *ibid*

'Sometimes when she wakes': St Aubuyn 87

'The beauties there were': QVJ 20 Apr, 24 May 1837

p.195 'think of her in some ways': EM to EH, nd 1838, HHP Add MSS 55601

'to appoint only [Whig] Ladies': EM to EH 25 Jul 1837, HHP Add MSS 55601

p.196 'Mr Cowper ...is clever': QVJ 18 Aug 1837

'it's a vast mistake to live to 86': EM to EH 15 Nov 1837 HHP Add MSS 55601;
Greville 14 Nov 1837 iii:399

'looking well I think': QVJ 7 Oct 1837

'She thought Mama': FC to WC 8 Oct 1837, PP MS 62 BR 22 (i)/1/123; QVJ 30
Oct, 3 Nov, 29 Nov 1837

p.197 'Ashley was a very good man': QVJ 8 Dec 1837

'Palmerston had visited them': EM to EH 9 Jan 1838, HHP Add MSS 51601 f.177;
EM diary 6 - 9 Jan 1838, HAT

'always near me': QVJ 28 June 1838

p.198 'a beautiful impressive moment': WC diary 28 Jun 1838 PP MS 62 BR 51/5

'the proudest of my life': QVJ 28 Jun 1838

'a sad want of rehearsal': BD to sister, St Aubyn 94
 'very jerkily and badly': Wilhelmina Stanhope, cited Lorne 82
 'old hags with their dyed': Martineau ii:123
 'When my good Lord Melbourne' and 'You did it beautifully': QVJ 28 Jun 1828

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p.201 'It is the monster': QVJ 2 Feb 1839

'nothing but a medical': Hughes 28-9, 31; Flora Hastings 4-5; Jerrold 260-1

p.202 'exposed her person': *The Lancet*, 8 Jun 1839; Hughes 41

'dreadful mortification': Hughes 42

'The Hastings affair': *Morning Post* 8, 16 April 1839; Rumour 46; Spall 19-39; Greville iv:132-2; FL to EM, 5 Apr, 12 May 1839, LAM Add MSS 45551

'that a Conservative cat': Jerrold 191; QVJ 22 Mar 1839 in Esher ii:137

p.203 'I couldn't bear the Tories': QVJ 30 Mar 1839; QVL 31 Mar 1839 ii:139

'Division alas! - only 5 Majority': EM diary 5 May 1839, Airlie ii:5; Hansard 3 xlvii (6 May 1839) cols.954, 966-7

'agony, grief and despair': EM diary 6 May 1839, Airlie ii:11; Charlot 141; QVJ 7 May 1839; EM diary 8 May 1839, Airlie ii:13

p.204 'cold, unfeeling, disagreeable': QVJ 10 Apr 1839

'make out what he means': QVLI i:159

Peel is a man': *ibid*

'the trivialities of a Court': Battiscombe 114

'so connected with the religious': Shaftesbury diary i:200-01; Parker ii:393

'full-blown Bedchamber Crisis': EM diary 9 May 1839, Airlie ii:13; Shaftesbury diary i:202

'At Ascot two grand ladies': EM to SJ, 21 Jun 1839, JP Acc/1128/275a.b; EM diary 9, 10 May 1839, Airlie ii:13; QVJ 12, 21 June 1839

p.205 'Emily had warned': EM to FL 6 Jul 1837, PP MS 62 BR 28/1-5

'Lord M has been dining': EM diary 14 May 1839 Airlie ii:14

'This unfortunate lady is': *Bradford Observer* cited Hughes 3, 61; Marshall 145

'I feel *no* remorse': QVJ 6 ,7 July 1839

'hunting her to death': Hughes 65, 68

'If the Holy Ghost': FL to EM 12 May, 20 Jun 1839 LAM MSS 45551 ff.60 -62

p.206 'enjoyed every comfort and a happy home': FL to EM 23 Jun 1839, LAM Add MSS 54441

'once more a very brilliant creature': DL to EM, op cit L/P Letters

'there is not another person': EM to HP, 11 Oct 1837 PP, MS 62 BR22 (i)/11

p.207 'bearing titles like Faithful': Flanders, Rites 179

'William advised Emily to wait': FL to EM, 17 Oct 1839 LAM Add MSS 45551 f.7

p.208 'My sister's fault is indecision': QVJ 4 Oct 1839

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p.212 'had been *most* unjustly': EM to WL, related to QV, QVJ 8 Oct 1839

'If he *does* settle down': ibid

'It suits Mama's character': WL to QV, QVJ 12, 11, 13 Nov 1839

p.213 'Palmerston was so very different': WC to WL, QVJ 14 Jan 1840

'*If* it can make you happy': WL to QV, QVJ 10 Nov 1839

'couldn't bear to see P': QVJ 11 Nov 1839; FC to WC 13 Nov 1839 PP MS 62 BR/43/39/3

'Mama seems to think it wrong': FC to WC ibid

'if I was her': QV to WL, QVJ 8 Oct 1839

p.214 'excessive niceness of': FL to EM 17 Oct 1839 LAM Add MSS 45551 f.79

'You would never believe': FC to WC 13 Nov 1839 PP MS 62 BR/43/39/3

p.215 'I *did* think it': QVJ 4 Nov 1839 and WL to QV, QVJ 6, 7 Dec 1839

'of whom everybody speaks so well': FL to EM 2 Aug 1839, LAM Add MSS 45551 ff.71-2

p.216 'It was with some emotion': QVJ 10 Oct 1839

'A woman cannot stand alone': QVJ 14 Oct 1839; QV Girlhood 268; Lorne 102

'Albert was at a disadvantage': Worsley 156

'quite unworthy of him': QVJ 15 Oct 1839

'very well-mannered and handsome': EM to DL 18 Nov 1839 L/P Letters 175

p.217 'if Victoria didn't marry': FC to WC nd 28 Oct 1839 PP MS 62 BR/39/2

'The *Second*, as you always': QV to PA 8 Dec 1839, QVL I i:255

'Lord Palmerston is to become': **KATIE**

p.218 'a sad, and dangerous': Shaftesbury diary 16 Dec 1839 i:260

'How did the wedding to off?': QV & WL, QVJ 16 Dec 1839

'the only person who could': HP to WT 11 Sep 1839 PP GC/TE/275

'Was alone all day and packing': EM diary 15 Dec 1839, Airlie ii:32

p.219 'A beautiful day': EM diary 16 Dec 1839, Airlie ii:32

'the marriage was disgusting': a sister to Blanche Burlington, nd Jan 1840, DEV

'I wonder she can encounter': HG to GC, 7 Dec 1839, Surtees 224

'I do entirely depend upon': EM to WC 17 Dec 1839, PP MS 62 BR 33/1/9

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p.221 'My mother-in-law installed': AS diary 25 Dec 1839 PP SHA/PC/145

'I want you to know': P to Sullivan, 22 Dec 1839, no. 289, P/S letters 271

p.222 'I wish you would buy a map': FL to EM 12 May 1839, LAM Add MSS 45552
ff.52-3

'Lord Palmerston's incivilities': HG to GC, nd 1840, Surtees 142

p.223 'Christmas Day was passed': Webster, P ii:66; Ridley 229

'the Eastern crisis bubbled away': FL to EM, 3 Jan 1840 LAM Add MSS 54452;
Chambers 188

'to saunter over the destinies': Disraeli, *Runnymede* Letter no.1 cited Mitchell 157

p.224 'to the foreigner Prince': Sykes, 'Colonel Sibthorp *History Today* 5 May 1951 vol.1
issue 5

- 'vile, confounded, infernal Tories': Wellington, Friends 131; Worsley 160
- 'we must not allow the public money': QV to WL, QVJ 27 Jan 1840
- p.225 'it was too odious': QVJ, 31 Jan 1840
- 'Monsters!': QVJ 1,2 Feb 1840
- 'By God! I am moving noon': Greville iv:244, 250
- p.226 'There weren't twelve young ladies': .[= QVJ 8 Jan 1840; Worsley 168-171
- p.227 'kicking each other's heels': Lorne 112
- 'cheeks ... quite pale': Diary of Ly Clarendon, 10 Feb 1840, CL BOD MS. Eng. e. 2074
- 'village girls': Lyttleton 297
- 'very imposing, and fine': EM diary 10 Feb 1840, HAT
- 'Nothing could have gone off': WL to QV, QVJ 11 Feb 1840;
- 'the happiest happiest being': QV to Leopold, 11 Feb 1840, cited Hubbard 42
- 'You forget my dearest Love': Greville iv:240-1; QV to PA, 31 Jan 1840 QVL i:213
- p.228 'very very happy days': QVJ 13-16 Feb 1840; Worsley 179
- p.229 'always was an eager politician': WL to QV QVJ 4 Nov 1838
- 'My parties are very popular': EM to Emily Huskisson, 19 Mar 1840, HUS Add MSS 39949 f.17
- 'Everyone tells me that your salon': DL to EM 8 Mar 1840, L/P Letters 183
- 'You are right; she ...sees everything': Guizot to DL, 29 Feb 1840, G/L no.318 EMAN-archives.org
- p.230 'restrict her own entertaining days': Guizot to DL, 5 April 1840, G/L no. 185
- 'The China debate has enabled me': Guizot to DL 12 Apr 1840, G/L no.337; FL to EM 25 Apr 1840, LAM Add MSS 45551
- p.231 'truth of Palmerston's suspicions': EM to P 29, 30 Nov, 4 Dec 1840, LAM Add MSS 45546 ff.7, 18, 37-9, 105-07; the literature for plots against Palmerston by

France and by his Cabinet colleagues over the Eastern crisis is large; see especially letters of Clarendon, Holland, Guizot, DL, with Webster vol.1 and Brown

'I believe it is a good thing': EM to P, 6 Dec 1840, LAM Add MSS 45553 f.41

'Everyone tells me how young and fresh': DL to EM 19 Jan 1840, L/P 182

'see what it is to be happy': EM to P 24 Mar 1841, LAM Add MSS 45553 f.53

'What is the use of being married': HP to EM, note, nd 1841, LAM Add MSS 45553; Airlie ii:52

p.232 'Fred marrying Adine': FL to EM 2/4 Dec 1840, LAM Add MSS 45553 f.109; EM to DL 1 Mar 1841 L/P 205; HG to GC nd Mar 1841, Letters ii:318

'He is a very good-looking young man': QVJ 21 Mar 1838; Disraeli, Letters i:243 cited HOP entry Charles Norton 1807-1835

p.233 'bad thing for a young woman': WL to QV, QVJ 16 Nov 1838

'That part of the country is delightful': EM to DL 9 Mar 1841 L/P 207; HG to WD 12 Mar 1841, Letters ii:317; DL to EM. 9 May 1841 L/P 212, EM to DL 14 May 1841 L/P 214

'make the poor Queen wait for dinner': 29 July 184, Lyttleton 316

'Poor little Queen': EM to HP nd Wed (May 1841) LAM Add MSS 45553 f.67

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p.234 'Our career ended yesterday': EM to Emily Huskisson, 28 Aug 1841, HUS Add MSS 39949 ff196-7;

'start up like a Giant': DL to EM 17 Sep 1841 L/P letters 221; EM to P nd Aug 1841 LAM Add MSS 45546-7 f.67

'to acquire boundless': Hubbard 70-1; WL to Anson, RA VIC/ MAIN/ Y/54/11

p.235 'You will understand': PA to his brother Ernest 17 July 1840, ed. Bolitho, *Albert* 51,

'a Queen's Speech advised': CG to DL ,19 Aug 1841 L/G Letters iii:340-1

p.236 'We began': JR 28 Aug 1841, Walpole 382-3;

'as if she had signed': QV to WL, QVJ 28 Aug 1841

'What possesses that man?': Greville iv:413; AS diary 12 July 1841 PP SHA/PD/2

- p.237 'had she tried she might': QVJ 26 Sep 1841; Battiscombe 131
 'I live quite as much with Tories': EM to Emily Huskisson, 12 Sept nd, HUS Add MSS 39949 ff198-9
 'a most excellent and sedate': QV to Leopold 8 Feb 1842, QVL i:477
 'The accounts we hear': EM to EH, nd, HHP Add MSS 51600
- p.238 'most famous Blue Book': Battiscombe 146-9; Hodder citing AS diary 7 May 1842, i:418
 'so attentively that you might': AS diary 7 Jun 1842, cited Hodder i:422-7
- p.239 'her devotion to Fred': EM diary 8 Aug 1842, HAT
 'it is easy to see': Greville iv:401-2
 'Melbourne paralytic attack': FL & AL to EM 23 Oct 1842, LAM Add MSS 45552 f;157; 'EM diary 23 Oct 1842, HAT
 'I cannot describe the effect': CGL to GC nd 1842, CHP J18/44/142; EM Diary 27 Oct- 5 Nov 1842 HAT
- p.240 'now really getting strong': FL to EM 8 Nov 1842 LAM Add MSS 45552; EM diary 14, 15 Dec 1842, HAT; CG to GC nd 1842, CHP J18/44/142
- p.241 'When *The Times* leaked': *The Times* 5 Dec 1845
 'a rather melancholy spectacle': Ziegler 355, 357; Greville v:166
 'vengeful Protectionists ...joined Whigs and Radicals': AW called this alliance 'the blackguard combination', Blake 67

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE (pages 243 -252)

- p.243 'We're back!': EM diary 29 -30 Jun 1846, HAT
 'we have nothing *to give*': EM diary 1, 6 July 1846, HAT
 'It is obvious': Greville ed Reeve ii:323
- p.244 'his management over everything': Worsley 204
 'beat his sons': Ridley, Bertie, 203
 'spoke as 'I' but 'We': Pemberton 138

'relationship with Palmerston': Bell, P i:320; Ward 139, 163; WL told Greville that PA wanted the title of King, Greville 29 Dec 1843 v:152;

p.245 'Portuguese civil war': Pemberton 137

'Revolution' was the single word': EM diary 24- 28 Feb 1848, HAT; Ward 164

'after a dangerous escape': Henry Greville diary 22 Feb 1848 i:224, and for Guizot, 4 , 5 Mar 1848 i:235

p.246 'It is a narrow policy': Hansard, 3rd ser xcvi, 1 Mar 1848; P diary 1 Mar 1848, PP D/104

'She persuaded dilatory peers': Connell 78; QV to JR 18 Jun 1848, Connell 80; Bulwer leak EM to P 30 Apr 1848, LAM Add MSS 45553 ff;186-9

'seriously anxious and uneasy': QV memo 19 Sept 1848, QVL ii:231-3

'I am angry with the Queen': EM to P 19 Oct 1848 LAM Add MSS 45553 ff.198- 201

p.247 'I should treat what she says': EM to P 19 Oct 1848 *ibid*

'went out like a candle': Em to P 18, 25 Oct 1848, LAM Add MSS 45553 ff 192, 211; EM diary 11, 13,24 Nov 1848 HAT

'Our poor old friend': QV to Leopold 27 Nov 1848, RA/VIC/MAIN/Y/94/5

'an indolent man of easy virtue': *The Times* 25 Nov 1848; Mitchell 271-2

p.248 'estates pass to Emily': CG to GC 1828, CHP J18/44/139; estate entailed to Emily and her children; COW Mss D/ELb E15; G Anson Memo 2 Jan 1841 RA/VIC/MAIN/ Y/54 f.12; QVJ 2 Dec 1848\

'What a sad pillage!': Brougham to Ellice, Ellice MSS E 28 f.131 cited Ziegler 360

'I was not his mistress': CN to WC nd cited Ziegler 361

p.249 'The Queen must say': QV to JR cited Walpole, 382

'What business have we': Pemberton 161-2, 164-5

p.250 'Emily's presence watching': Greville 8 Aug 1849 vi:183

'hardly worth the interposition': P to WT 15 Feb 1850 PP Gc/TE/333; Pemberton 167

p.251 'indignation, bitterness and humiliation': PA to Clarendon 22 Feb 1850, Whitworth 365-7

'England was universally detested': PA to JR 2 Apr 1850, cited Southgate 265; Greville vi:218

'The Lords easily carried': Hansard 3rd ser. cxi:1293-403 17 Jun 1850; EM diary 16, 17 May 1850 HAT; Aberdeen to DL 17 May 11, 26 Jun 1850, Letters ii:468

'Political Discussions and worries': EM diary 18,19, Jun 1850 HAT

'no flippancy, no bluster': EM diary entries 24, 25 Jun 1850 HAT; EM canvass in H of L 24 Jun 1850 Greville vi:230

p.252 'whether the principles ...against injustice and wrong': Hansard 3rd ser. cxii:443-4 (24 June 1850)

'A brilliant speech': EM diary 25 Jun 1850, HAT

'His speech is a masterpiece': PA to Stockmar, Brown 323

'He has triumphed over': Diary of Ly Clarendon 30 Jun 1850, Maxwell i:312

'the most popular man': 3rd Lord Grey to Clarendon, Maxwell ibid

'large crowds had already': *Illustrated London News*, 29 Jun 1850

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO (pages 253-259)

p.253 'After all Harry's trials': Lever 342

'more exasperated and annoyed': Greville vi:247; Brown 323

p.254 'The memo by Anson': 13 Dec 1841, RA/VIC/MAIN/Y/54/99 left unused by most historians and biographers of QV and HP, despite its evidence of powerful men using bribery to cover up a rape and save the government. Somerset 114 has used Anson's memo describing HP as 'an old monster' who 'attempted a rape' on Susan Brand

p.255 'a brutal attack': Memo by PA of interview with JR, 11 Jul 1850, RA/ VIC/ MAIN/ A79/34. The preferred account - more colourful but also treating the attempt as an alleged seduction, even unexceptional, and cited by most HP biographer incl. O'Connell 122; Southgate 279-80; Brown 288. Chambers 179 and Baird 235 subscribe to HP mistaking rooms for his assignation with another lady.

p.256 'would have consummated': Memo by PA ibid.

'There is some reason to suppose': Anson Memo 13 Dec 1841 op.cit

p.257 'he knew another lady': PA Memo 11 July 1850;

'not to enter into arguments': EM to HP, Thursday, LAM Add MSS 45546 op.cit

p.258 'very much agitated, shook': PA Memo of interview with HP, 14 Aug 1850, cited O'Connell 123

'an imputation on his honour': *ibid* O'Connell 123

'I bolt my door': EM to HP,

p.259 'Lord Palmerston!': Wilson, Albert, 24

'I wish you may be minister':

'odious and detestable assassins': Judd 119-120. Somerset 115; Lever 311

'did not invite Emily': Malmesbury i:84

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p.260 'Important news from Paris!': EM diary 2 Dec 1851, HAT

p.261 'were too frequent': JR to P 17 Dec 1851 PP GC/RU/449, GC/RU/450/1-2

'John has behaved shamefully': EM to Fred [8 Jan 1852], Lever 323 & 23 Dec [1851] Lever 317; EM diary 14, 15, 17, 18 Dec 1851, HAT , FL to EM, 26 Dec 1851 cited Airlie, Ly P, ii:141

'This is clearly the result of': AS diary cited Battiscombe, 237; EM diary 19 Dec 1851 HAT; EM to JR 25 Dec 1851, Walpole ii:14; JR to EM 28 Dec 1851 cited Southgate; William 10

'great and unexpected mercy': 20 Dec 1851 QVJ

'Palmerston is Out!': Greville vi:315-16, 320

'national humiliation': Brown 331

'I am still vexed': EM to FL 3 Jan 1852, Lever 320

p.262 'There *was* a Palmerston': Disraeli to Bulwer, nd [1851] Ashley ii: FIND

'I have had my tit-for-tat': HP to WT 24 Feb 1852 PP GC/TE/341; HP diary 20 Feb 1852 PP D/13

'One would think': AS diary, Hodder ii:378; H. Greville i:414; Broughton vi:299]

- p.263 'agreeable to me': Ld Derby to HP 22 Feb 1852 PP GMC/129; HP diary 22 Feb 1852 PP D/13;
 'putting the word out around Westminster': EM to Ld Stanley 21, 28 Jul 1852, ed.Vincent; Monypenny & Buckle i:1196; Malmesbury i:305; Wood political journal 22 Dec 1852, HAL A8/1/2; EM praised HP's summer election speech, writing 'What a happiness it is to have such a husband'. 8 July 1852, Airlie Ly P i i:142
 'Incompetent - an antiquated imbecile': Argyll i:378-9; Airlie ii:153
 'the Foreign Office 'that treadmill': EM to FC early Nov 1852, Airlie ii:147]
- p.264 'I am anxious too': EM to HL, nd. Dec 1852 cited McLeod 83; HP to WT nd. Nov 1850 cited Brown 341; Ashley ii:2-3
 'After many negotiations': EM to Emily Huskisson, 22 Dec [1852], HUS Add MSS 39939 f.83

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR (pages 267-280)

- p.267 'pressed for naval intervention': P to Aberdeen 4 Jul 1853, AB, Add MS 43069; Brown 364; for P's position, see P memo 12 Jul 1853, PP/GC/AB/304; P to Clarendon, 14 Oct 1853, PP GC/CL/1371/1
- p.268 'not to be in such a hurry': EM diary 14 Dec 1853 HAT; and that he resigned over JR's Reform Bill proposals; Argyll i;459; P to Wood 8 Dec 1853, HAL BIY A4/63/16; P to Lansdowne 8 Dec 1853, QVL ii:567; Brown 359-360; Maxwell ii;36; Chambers 367
 'The Palmerston stocks have gone up': PA to Aberdeen 9 Dec 1853, QVL ii:568-9
 'lobbied his Cabinet colleagues': EM diary 22, 23 Dec 1852, HAT; EM to Wood, 19-20 Dec 1853 political journal, Journals &c 1846-67, HAL A8/12; Argyll i;473; Emily said, 'this *must* be arranged and settled', 'working herself into a great state of excitement, to get him back again into Government' PA Memo 25 Dec 1853, QVL ii:575
- p.269 'the name of Palmerston': *Morning Chronicle* 26 Dec 1853, *Standard* 26 Dec 1853; P to Aberdeen 23 Dec 1853, AB Add MSS 43068; Henry Greville ii:77; Pope Henessy 72

'Scurrilous attacks': Eyck 225; Williams 99-100; Henry Greville ii:79
'a touching and beautiful sight': EM diary 10 Feb 1854, HAT; QVJ 12 Feb 1854;
Malmesbury i:425; EM diary 13 Feb 1854 HAT

- p.270 'Lady Palmerston is much aged': Malmesbury i:419
'sent us down with such a whack': Argyll i:525
'much put out': QVJ 3 Feb 1853
'to exhaust everything before': AS diary 2 Feb 1855, PP SHA/PD/6
- p.271 'his fair turn': CL to QV, QVJ 3 Feb 1853
a popular *storm*': Argyll i:528
'very objectionable in many respects': QV memo 3 Feb 1855, QVL iii; 118-19; QV
to King Leopold QVL iii:128
'I am an effervescing woman': EM diary 4 Feb 1855, HAT
'Palmerston commissioned to form a Govt': EM diary ibid
'our joint duties': HP diary 6 Feb 1855, PP D/16
'The *premiere* was as happy': Pope Henessy 72; Reid i:505
'a tall, finely formed woman': Wikoff 88
'she looked in her fifties': Pope Henessy 32
'perfectly off-hand and unaffected': Wikoff 87
- p.272 'lay concealed that vast intellect': Wikoff 87
'The country had needed a man': *The Times* cited Brown 235; Wood political
journal, 6 Feb 1855, HAL BIY A8/1/4
'Now for it!': *Punch* 28 Jan/Feb 1855, 65
'an imposter, utterly exhausted': Disraeli to Ly Londonderry, Monypenny &
Buckle i:1383
- p.273 'Frederick is gone,': EM diary 29 Jan 1853, HAT
'There is something very painful': EM to Emily Huskisson, 28 Mar [1853], HUS
39949 ff.275 -6
'Oh Poor Poor dear Fanny!': EM diary 12 -19 Aug 1854, HAT
- p.274 'For dying alone without any of his family': EM diary 16 April 1856, HAT

- p.275 'When I first saw my husband': Chedzoy 233-35
 'Lady Palmerston paid an annuity': Acland 198
- p/276 'most English minister': Ridley, Brown, Connel 215
 "We never see the Morning Herald': EM to HP, Thurs [19 Apr 1849] PP MS62/BR 30/19/1; see David Brown, 'Compelling but not Controlling? Palmerston and the Press, 1846–1855' in *History* 86 (University of Southampton 2001); Reynolds 176-8;
- p.277 'the once stern guardians': Koss i:293; 'devil worship' was how Brougham described it 25 Aug 1855, *History of the Times* ii:265
 'Lady Palmerston is sorry': EM to Herbert Fry, 1 April 1857, album 39, National Portrait Gallery, London; Taylor 183
 'Fanny took her own': EM diary 10 Dec 1858 passim, HAT; 1 November 1859, Viscountess Jocelyn was elected a member of the Photographic Society of London
- p.278 '1861 census ...Fanny put photographer': see Crombie, 'The Work and Life of Viscountess Frances Jocelyn: Private Lives' *History of Photography* vol.22 issue 1 (1998); <https://www.photohistory-sussex.co.uk/HastingsJocelyn.htm>
 'fewer, greyer and more straggling': [*Illustrated London News* 4 87 (1857) Taylor 180;
 'should Palmerston be Prime Minister': Taylor 38
- p.279 'Emily and Billy managed': Brown 522; Hansard HC Deb 31 July 1853 vol.147 cc825-95
 a violation of the cardinal': Hansard ibid
- p.280 'let the Commons stay seated': Hansard HC Deb 21 Aug vol 147 cc1974-99
 the Divorce Bill entered the statute book': Hansard HC Deb 28 Aug 1853 vol 147 c209

- p.281 'Pray, pray make': Duchess of Argyll to EM, 18 May, EM to HP 19 May 1856, cited Airlie ii:166p.282
'to be had up for fraud': Greville 2 Mar 1858 vii:347 n.1; Judd 170; 'There is nothing like female friendship – the only thing worth having,' sighed Disraeli, BD to Ly Londonderry 7 Jan 1858, Letters 172; Monypenny & Buckle i:1511
'the most unpopular act': GG2 to Canning 24 Jan 1858, GP Add MSS 89317/7/1; Greville 28 Jan 1858 vii:334-5; *The Times* 26 Jan 1858
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- p.283 'merely a sham reason': EM to HP 21 Feb 1858, cited Airlie ii:170
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Lady Palmerston on the contrary': PA Memo, 4 Sept 1858, QVL iii:381-2
'the great services': *History of The Times* ii:327
- p.284 'Come what may': WEG, (anon) 'The Past and Present Administration, *Quarterly Review* 208 (Oct 1858) 528
'nothing but excuses': EM diary 6 Mar 1858, 17 Mar 1858 HAT, HP to Wood 31 Mar 1858, HAL BIY A4/63/91-2; Brown 426;
'Deadly Nightshade': McLeod 105
'some *safe* man': Broughton diary 7 Mar 1857, Broughton Mss 43760 f.76;
'regular hardened lady politicians': McLeod 106
- p.285 'Many meets and discussions': HP diary 31 Mar 1858, PP D/18; EM diary 25 April 1858; Greville vii:366; EM diary 15 May 1858 HAT; Em tried hard to persuade JR to join HP to turn out Derby govt, Malmesbury ii:112
'the most brilliant stroke': Aberdeen to Graham, Aberdeen Correspondence 109'; EM diary 28 April 1859; *The Times*, 28 Apr 1859
'Lady Palmerston is quite sure': Malmesbury 8 May 1859, ii:179
- p.286 'the most simple and primitive': EM diary 28 May 1859; McLeod105; HP diary 29 May, 1859 PP D/19; P>Granville 29 May 1859, TNA 30/29/18/15 ff.9-10; Prest 385

'all the arrangements': HP diary 2 Jun 1859 PP D/19

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- p.287 'the creation of the Liberal party': *The Times* 7 Jun 1859; Lewis diary 6 Jun 1859, Brown 429; Southgate 455-6; afterwards HP declared the 'result of meeting highly satisfactory', HP's diary 6 Jun 1859 PP D/19, as did Greville, diary 7 Jun 1859 viii:250; *The Times* 7 Jun 1859
- 'Palmerston wrote tactically': QVJ 12 June 1859; Prest 384-5; Brown 435

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- p.288 'Emily gave copies Uncle Tom's Cabin': EM diary Dec 1853, HAT; Betty Fladeland, *Men and Brothers* (Champaigne Ill 1972) 351 cited Foeman 26
- 'Women of the United States': Finlayson, 344-345; Livingstone 330-3; Foreman 27-8
- p.289 'Palmerston abhorred enslavement': Chambers 199; Anstey 33; Bulwer ii:374-5; Brown 237-8
- 'We could not well mix ourselves up': HP to Ellice, 5 May 1861, Ashley ii:209; Ridley 549; see also Palmerston and the American Civil War' in Brown and Taylor. *Palmerston Studies II* (Southampton 2007) 168-71
- p.290 'sympathetic to the Union': Foreman 102
- 'On 1 June, chosen guests': Argyll ii:58
- 'RMS Trent' crisis': Lewis diary 27, 29 Nov 1861 Ms 3575; Ridley 553; Campbell 61-95
- p.291 'Commodore Wilkes fired his shot': Jones 86-7
- 'Prince Albert working on it': Somerset 190; Campbell 87; Baird 312
- 'Palmerston went one step further':
- p.292 'both ended up weeping': Moran 27 Jan 1762, 946
- 'Palmerston pressed the Queen': Somerset 191
- 'I told her you were very ill': Rappaport 69; Henry Greville iii:420
- 'The Prince alarmingly ill': EM diary 13 Dec 1861 HAT

- p.293 'a hundred people called': EM diary 29 Dec 1861 HAT
 'It is impossible to think of the Queen alone': EM to Milnes, Pope Henessy 168
- p.294 'would hardly have given Lord P': QVJ 19 Jan 1862; Somerset 197
 'he was like a sea giant': Clarendon diary, Maxwell ii:
- p.295 'What has Spencer been doing?': FC to EM nd PP MS 62/ BR 28/11
 'Lady P does all the same things': Clarendon to Dss of Manchester 25 Dec 1862, *Letters* ed Kennedy, 208
 'his latest sexual exploit': O'Kane scandal WEG to wife 10, 11 Nov 1863, ed Bassett 158; 4 Nov 1864 Moran 1232
- p.296 'In town and country': Clarendon to Cowley 4 Nov 1863, Paris Embassy 253-5; Ridley 531
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 'Painful developments': 16, 17, 18 Dec 1863 HAT
 'judge dismissed the case': HP diary 4 Feb 1865, PP D/24
- p.297 'Disraeli wondered aloud': Ridley 531
 'Was Palmerston Abel?' = Ridley 531-2
 'Palmerston, 'E earns 'is wages': Barrington Charles, 'Political Recollections', *History Today* vol.11 no.3 (Mar 1961)
 'You must write that down': McLeod 87
- p.298 'An interesting scene': Disraeli, Monypenny, Life of Benjamin Disraeli 405
 'our joint duties': HP to CFA, Ashley ii;473
- p.299 'I never saw such quantities': Helen Ly Dufferin to Ly Emily Peel, 21 Feb 1865, Airlie Papers, BL Add MSS 53419 A f.84/2
 'he had to lean on Billy': Southgate 528
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- p.300 'When a man's time comes': Southgate 541
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'Please pray for Palmerston': EM to AS, diary 20 oct 1865, PP SHA/PD/8
'I can write no more': EM diary 15 oct 1865, Airlie ii:175
'That's Article 98': Battiscombe, 285-6; Dr. Watson to Henry Reeve, May [1866], Letters ii:120;
- p.301 'died *in flagrante*' Winter and Kochman, 24
'she was essential to him': Drummond Wolff, i:195-6; Brown 478
'It has been so dreary': EM to FC nd 1865, Airlie ii:278
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'in readiness of tact': *The Times* 19 Oct 1865
- p.302 'Strange & solemn': QVJ 18 Oct 1865
'in many ways he is a great loss': QV to King Leopold, 18 Oct 1865, QVL i:279
'the defining political personality': Clarendon to GG 21 Oct 1865, Maxwell ii:298
'just after the triumph': Clarendon to GG 21 Oct 1865, Granville ed Fitzmaurice i:487
'Death has indeed laid low': WEG to Panizzi, 18 Oct 1865, Morley ii:152
'Tho' he made a joke': Florence Nightingale to Dr. Walker 19 Oct 1865, Ridley 584
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- p.303 'he is *never* out of my thoughts': EM to WC, nd PP MS62 BR 33/4 f.3
'a peerage offered in her own right': WEG to his wife, Jan 1866, ed Bassett 170
'as if I was dead myself': EM diary 13 June 1866 HAT
- p.304 'while we *are* spinning': EM to Lucas, Lucas Memoirs, 'Continuation of the Enquiries of Artist, Clericus, Scalpel and Baggs' by R C Lucas Sculptor (May-Day 1878) printed article PP MS62/BR/28/20

'Sinking, no hope': EM to Lucas, ibid PP MS 62/BR 28/10

'Poor dear, kind Mum': AS diary 22 Sept 1869, PP Shaftesbury MSS SHA/PD/9; Hodder iii:231

'Mabell recalled': Airlie ii:183

'I shall remember her perpetual sunshine': AS diary 22 Sept 1869, PP Shaftesbury,
MSS SHA/PD/9

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'in the truest sense': *The Daily News* 17 Sept 1869

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