

**THE DIARY OF CHARLES BLAGDEN:
INFORMATION MANAGEMENT AND THE
GENTLEMAN OF SCIENCE IN
EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BRITAIN**

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DECLARATION

I, Hannah Wills, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis provides a transcription and examination of the diary of Charles Blagden (1748-1820), physician and secretary of the Royal Society between 1784 and 1797. The diary is here understood as a ‘paper tool’ for managing information, that assisted Blagden’s efforts in fashioning his identity as a gentleman. Informed by a variety of manuscript genres, the diary operated as an *aide-memoire*, in accordance with eighteenth-century understandings of associationism. Blagden used the diary to advance through patronage and emulation, by cultivating relationships with eminent male scholars—the chemist Henry Cavendish and president of the Royal Society Joseph Banks. The eighteenth century saw the emergence of alternative cultures of advancement that favoured meritocracy and scientific publication over displays of patronage. This thesis reassesses key events in Blagden’s career, in the priority dispute known as the ‘water controversy’ and the Royal Society ‘dissensions’ of the 1780s, as examples where such cultures of advancement conflicted. In building his career, Blagden undertook natural philosophical investigations with his patrons, supported by his diary. This thesis exposes Blagden’s scientific agenda, and his approach to record keeping, as examples of eighteenth-century ‘oeconomy’. Though Blagden had sought the patronage of Banks and Cavendish, this strategy did not furnish him with the gentlemanly status he desired. Dissatisfied by the rate of advancement and reward, Blagden increasingly attached himself to a community of socially elevated women in London in the 1790s, whose lifestyle he emulated in order to pursue his social ambitions, as seen in his diary for the year 1795. Exploring the development of Blagden’s diary reveals the role of a material object in assisting the self-fashioning of the identity of the gentleman of science in Britain, at the end of the eighteenth century.

IMPACT STATEMENT

This thesis provides new insights into Georgian science in Britain, which will benefit the discipline and future scholarship. In examining Blagden's diary, this thesis contributes a new source for understanding British science and its communities at the end of the eighteenth century. The diary has received little attention in the current scholarship, in part owing to its difficult handwriting and cryptic prose. One of the key impacts of this research is the annotated transcription it provides of a section of the diary, as a deciphered sample of Blagden's difficult handwriting, making this source more accessible to historians.

In exploring the development of Blagden's career and processes of self-fashioning, the argument presented here draws attention to an overlooked community within the history of science, comprised of a network of influential women in London, who participated in natural philosophy. This research contributes to new scholarship on these neglected historical actors and will help to diversify the history of science and its representation in curricula, by broadening academic understandings of the communities engaged in scientific practice. This impact will be achieved by publishing in scholarly journals, which I have begun to do, and will feed into teaching by influencing the development of projects aimed at liberating the curriculum.

Outside academia, this research may have a cultural impact in changing understandings of the kinds of communities engaged in science throughout history. This impact will be achieved through engagement activities, in the form of workshops, exhibitions, and talks, several of which I have already undertaken in the UCL museums. The insights into information management on paper presented in this thesis may contribute to contemporary discussions of memory and information overload. This impact could be achieved by making transcription of Blagden's diary available to broader audiences by publishing online, in conjunction with other projects that explore manuscript notes and paper tools.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of figures	9
PART ONE	
PREFACE	
I. A brief biography of Charles Blagden	11
II. A history of the diary and its provenance	15
III. Genres of clientage and patronage in the eighteenth century	17
INTRODUCTION	
I. Natural philosophical diaries and Georgian science	25
II. Methodology: information management and ‘paper tools’	32
III. Outline of the thesis	37
CHAPTER ONE: INFORMATION MANAGEMENT AND GENRE IN BLAGDEN’S DIARY	
I. Introduction	40
II. Blagden’s interest in memory and the ‘association of ideas’	41
III. Medical practice and the art of notetaking	49
IV. Commonplace books as information storage devices	55
V. Voyage narratives, travel writing, and Blagden’s early diary	61
VI. Conclusion	66
CHAPTER TWO: PATRONAGE AND CULTURES OF ADVANCEMENT IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY	
I. Introduction	67
II. Blagden’s ambitions for status and fortune	69
III. Gifts, information, and the role of the diary in securing patronage	73
IV. Conflicting cultures of advancement and the water controversy	80
V. Professional cultures and gentlemanly patronage during the Royal Society ‘dissensions’	89
VI. Conclusion	94

CHAPTER THREE: BLAGDEN'S 'OECONOMIC' NATURAL PHILOSOPHY	
I. Introduction	96
II. Defining 'oeconomy'	98
III. The 'bookkeeping approach' in recordkeeping and oeconomy	102
IV. Temperature, the body, and climate in Blagden's early investigations	107
V. Agriculture, industry, and 'improvement' in Blagden and Banks's oeconomic agenda	112
VI. Conclusion	119
CHAPTER FOUR: THE COLLAPSE OF BLAGDEN'S PATRONAGE RELATIONSHIPS	
I. Introduction	121
II. Expectations for work and reward in Blagden and Banks's relationship	123
III. Closeness and distance in the emotional role of Blagden's writing	129
IV. The absence of writing as an aid to forgetting	135
V. Physical distance and Blagden's solution to his 'rupture' with Banks	138
VI. Conclusion	141
CHAPTER FIVE: 'THE ELEVATED RANKS OF SOCIETY': BLAGDEN BETWEEN FEMALE NETWORKS AND THE ROYAL SOCIETY	
I. Introduction	143
II. 'Gay Circles' and 'Elevated ranks'	145
III. Elegant life in 'the town'	151
IV. Blagden as a go-between among female networks	156
V. Blagden's rewards and paying 'attention'	165
VI. Conclusion	169
CONCLUSION	171
PART TWO	
1795: A YEAR TRANSCRIBED FROM BLAGDEN'S DIARY	
I. Note on the transcription	177
II. Note on annotations	178
III. Transcription	179
BIBLIOGRAPHY	297

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Page from Blagden's diary for the year 1795. Royal Society, CB/3/3, f. 73r. (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 27 Oct. 1795).

Figure 2. Page from Blagden's case notes recording the case of Mary Hay. The date is given in the left-hand margin. Alongside is a brief record of changes in symptoms and remedies. Wellcome Library, MS/1235, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, case notes vol. 1, 1767-1769).

Figure 3. Case summary written by Blagden on the illness of his servant Robert Watts, dated December 1782. The astrological symbol for the day of the week is given in the left-hand margin. Royal Society, CB/4/5, folder BLA.5.2 (Charles Blagden, notes on patients and symptoms, case of Robert Watts, Dec. 1782).

Figure 4. Blagden's commonplace book entry concerning Grenville's arithmetic table, featuring a diagram of the table. Wellcome Library, MS/1245, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, commonplace book entry, 23 Sep. 1771).

Figure 5. Blagden's diary entry for 3 April 1802, featuring a diagram of Robert Livingston's steam engine. Royal Society, CB/3/4, f. 10r. (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 3 Apr. 1802).

Figure 6. Page from Blagden's experimental notes on the cooling of water. Beinecke Library, Osborn fc16, box 2 folder 19 (Charles Blagden, experimental notes, 2 Jan. 1786).

Figure 7. Lavinia Spencer's receipt for a bread experiment performed by the Duke of Bedford. British Library, Add MS 75599 (letter from Lavinia Spencer to Georgiana Spencer, 16 Jul. 1795).

Figure 8. Map of Blagden's homes in London, and those of his friends, patrons, and the Royal Society. Locations are overlaid on *Bowles's Reduced New Pocket Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, with the Borough of Southwark, exhibiting the New Buildings to 1795* (London: Bowles and Carver, 1795).

Figure 9. Illustration of Vesuvius by Georgiana Cavendish. Royal Society, CB/1/3/278 (letter from Georgiana Cavendish to Charles Blagden, 13/14 Jan. 1794).

Figure 10. Engraving of portrait of Sir Charles Blagden by Mary Dawson Turner (née Palgrave), after original oil painting by Thomas Phillips (1816). National Portrait Gallery, NPG D14478 (etching, 245 x 203 mm paper size, bequeathed by Frederick Leverton Harris, 1927).

[All images removed]

PREFACE

I. A brief biography of Charles Blagden

Charles Blagden was born in 1748 at Wotton-under-Edge in Gloucestershire, to parents John Blagden (1715-1750) and Elizabeth Phelps (1716-1784).¹ The Blagdens were a mercantile family, with connections to the local textile industry, Charles's uncle, Thomas, being a successful cloth merchant in nearby Bristol.² Charles Blagden was one of five children, with two older brothers, an older sister, and a younger brother.³ Though the family had land in Kingswood, a small village in the district of Stroud in Gloucestershire, all of these estates were inherited by Blagden's oldest brother John. During his early life, Blagden complained bitterly of having little in the way of personal fortune, 'My father dying when I was but 2 years old, & having lived profusely, left the younger children but small fortunes'.⁴

Blagden's oldest brother John was an upwardly mobile landowner, and a key figure in Gloucestershire life. Having inherited the Blagden family's land in Kingswood, John trained as a lawyer, and practiced at Gray's Inn in London during the 1770s.⁵ In the mid 1780s, he quit the capital and the legal profession to return to Gloucestershire. In 1784, John married Anne Hale, daughter and heiress of Matthew Hale of Alderley.⁶ Upon his marriage, he took the surname 'Blagden Hale', and inherited the estates of his wife, augmenting his own inheritance of the Kingswood estates. He purchased the manor house at Kingswood in 1792 as the new Blagden family seat, and took a key role in local affairs as Sherriff of Gloucestershire, having been appointed in 1790.⁷

¹ David P. Miller, "Blagden, Sir Charles (Bap. 1748, D. 1820)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

² Thomas Blagden's business ledger can be found in Gloucestershire Archives, D1086/F159 (Thomas Blagden, ledger, 1740-1794).

³ "The family of John Blagden born c. 1667," accessed 6 Feb. 2019, <http://www.hale-genealogy.com/enghales/blagden.htm#john02>

⁴ Royal Society, CB/4/7/20 (draft of a letter from Charles Blagden to William Cullen, undated).

⁵ Royal Society, CB/1/2/54 (letter from John Blagden to Charles Blagden, 7 Jun. 1782).

⁶ Christa Jungnickel and Russell McCormach, *Cavendish: The Experimental Life*, Rev. ed. (Lewisburg: Bucknell, 1999), 293.

⁷ "Hale family of Alderley," The National Archives, accessed 6 Feb. 2019, <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/2f5a4204-b341-493d-b531-bb7b70a33dec>

Blagden's sister, Mary, was similarly able to augment her own meagre fortune by marriage. Mary was married to William Lewis, a relation of Thomas Lewis, of the Dowlais Ironworks in Merthyr Tydfil in Wales.⁸ Of Blagden's two further siblings, his older brother Thomas, and his younger brother Richard, relatively little is known. Thomas worked as a physician in Bristol during the 1770s, as attested by the correspondence he shared with Charles during his fledgling medical career in Gloucester.⁹ It is likely that Richard worked in the textile industry, with Blagden enlisting his help to perform tests on Spanish merino wool during the British crisis in the wool industry in the 1780s.¹⁰

In the context of his older siblings' successful attempts to acquire fortune and standing, it is perhaps unsurprising that Blagden sought to further his own social and financial position from the outset of his career. His early life and education is unknown, but in the late 1760s Blagden attended the University of Edinburgh, where he graduated MD in 1768. After graduating, he was able to secure a medical practice in Gloucester, with the aid of his family's local connections, and was afterwards able to find work and a residence in Bristol.¹¹ Intent on securing his entry into the London scientific scene from the very beginning of his medical career, Blagden was elected a fellow of the Royal Society in 1772. His election certificate was signed by Joseph Banks, one of his new acquaintances among London's gentlemanly scientific community who would later play a key role in furthering his career and social ambitions.¹²

In 1775, Blagden secured employment as surgeon to the British army, a position he took in order to build his medical reputation.¹³ Blagden sailed for America in February of the following year, where he served on board the

⁸ Ibid. "Thomas Lewis," Grace's Guide to British Industrial History, accessed 26 Sep. 2018, https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Thomas_Lewis

⁹ See for example, Royal Society, CB/1/2/128 (letter from Thomas Blagden to Charles Blagden, 30 Jan. 1770).

¹⁰ Richard's involvement in the textile industry is hinted at in Beinecke Library, OSB MSS 51, box 5 folder 60, unpaginated, (letter from Charles Blagden to John Blagden Hale, 11 Oct. 1785).

¹¹ Royal Society, CB/1/5/93 (letter from Elizabeth Nelmes to Charles Blagden, 10 Mar. 1770). A letter from Blagden to Cullen indicates that he resided for a time at Bristol, presumably working as a physician, Royal Society, CB/4/7/20 (draft of a letter from Charles Blagden to William Cullen, undated).

¹² Royal Society, EC/1772/20 (Charles Blagden, election certificate, 1772).

¹³ Royal Society, CB/1/5/113 (draft of a letter from Charles Blagden to Mrs Nelmes, 1775).

hospital ship *Pigot* during the American War of Independence. Having found the experience of war and confinement aboard ship ill-suited to his personality and training, he requested leave of absence from the army in 1779, and returned to Plymouth the following year where he found work in the military hospital at Plymouth Dock.¹⁴ For short periods during his time spent working in Plymouth, Blagden was able to secure temporary lodgings in London, by residing with his elder brother John at Gray's Inn.¹⁵ When John left the profession of law and the capital in the summer of 1782, Blagden was forced to find other means to secure a residence and employment in London.¹⁶

Around this time, Blagden began working as an experimental assistant to the chemist Henry Cavendish.¹⁷ The two men formed a close friendship, with Cavendish giving Blagden the gift of a house opposite his own residence, at 19 Gower Street, in the spring of 1785.¹⁸ At the same time, Blagden began working closely with Banks, and in 1784 he was elected secretary of the Royal Society. During the 1780s, Blagden published a number of natural philosophical researches, including his *History of the congelation of quicksilver* and his *Experiments on the effect of various substances in lowering the point of congelation in water*.¹⁹ With these publications, and his employment as Royal Society secretary and experimental assistant, Blagden began to distance himself from the practice of medicine, in favour of the natural philosophical patronage offered by Banks and Cavendish.

For the rest of his life, Blagden divided his time between London and the continent, frequently travelling to Paris and residing in the city for sustained periods of time. During these visits, he operated as a conduit of news for his British connections, forging strong friendships among the Parisian savants, including the mathematician Peirre-Simon Laplace and the chemist Claude

¹⁴ Beinecke Library, Osborn fc16, box 2 folder 15, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 2 Sep. 1779). Gloucestershire Archives, D1086/F113 (letter from Charles Blagden to John Blagden Hale, 28 Oct. 1777). Miller, "Blagden, Sir Charles."

¹⁵ Jungnickel and McCormmach, *Cavendish*, 293.

¹⁶ Royal Society, CB/1/1/81 (draft of a letter from Charles Blagden to Joseph Banks, 19 Jul. 1782).

¹⁷ Jungnickel and McCormmach, *Cavendish*, 293.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 297.

¹⁹ Charles Blagden, "History of the Congelation of Quicksilver," *Philosophical Transactions* 73 (1783): 329-97, "Experiments on the Effect of Various Substances in Lowering the Point of Congelation in Water." *Philosophical Transactions* 78 (1788): 277-312.

Louis Berthollet. It was during one such visit, in 1783, that Blagden became embroiled in the 'water controversy', a priority dispute between Cavendish, the British chemist James Watt, and the French chemist Antoine Lavoisier, concerning the discovery of the composition of water.²⁰

At the end of the 1780s, Blagden experienced a breakdown in his relationships with Banks and Cavendish, owing in large part to a period of hostility towards Banks. Blagden felt unsettled by his social and financial position as a client dependent on the goodwill and rewards bestowed by gentlemanly patrons. Despite a significant rupture in his relationship with Banks, Blagden continued to work as secretary of the Royal Society until 1797, possible owing to a period of détente caused by the knighthood he received in 1792, though tensions continued to bubble under the surface.²¹

After his formal break with Banks in 1797, Blagden continued to move in the scientific circles of London in which Banks still played a prominent role. By this date Blagden had cultivated a number of aristocratic and influential connections, including Georgiana Cavendish, the Duchess of Devonshire, George John Spencer, second Earl Spencer, and his wife Lady Lavinia Spencer. Blagden spent increasingly more time with these aristocratic connections, in London and on the continent, up until his death on 26 March 1820 at the home of his friend Berthollet in Arcueil.²² The image of Blagden that is familiar to historians is one of a comfortable gentleman and bachelor, at ease among the highest ranks of society both in London and abroad. Yet, as this thesis reveals, such a position was one that Blagden had to cultivate for himself, moving from provincial obscurity, to a prominent place among the highest social and scientific circles. In aid of these ambitions, Blagden's diary played an important role in managing his social and career manoeuvres.

²⁰ Danielle M. E. Fauque, "An Englishman Abroad: Charles Blagden's Visit to Paris in 1783," *Notes Rec. R. Soc.* 62, no. 4 (2008): 373-90.

²¹ The first indication of a break in Blagden and Banks's relationship came in 1788. Royal Society, CB/1/1/112 (draft of letter from Charles Blagden to Joseph Banks, 2 Feb. 1788). Miller, "Blagden, Sir Charles."

²² Miller, "Blagden, Sir Charles."

II. A history of the diary and its provenance

This thesis examines Blagden's diary, a vast document that covers over forty years of his life. The diary is composed of loose sheets folded in half, the majority of which are octavo-sized. Some sections have been sewn together into small quires, but most of the manuscript is made up of small folded booklets, stored loose from one another. The arrival of some sections of the diary into archival collections in small paper packets suggests that the diary may have been stored this way, in gatherings of a few booklets covering several months of Blagden's life, stored together in packets.²³

Blagden's diary and personal papers have come to be distributed across a number of archives in Britain and America, a situation likely caused by the nature of both his diary and personal manuscripts as unbound documents. Sections of Blagden's diary can be found in two archival collections, the Royal Society in London, and the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University, Connecticut. Further collections of Blagden's papers, including financial and medical records, have been deposited at the Wellcome Library in London and at Gloucestershire Archives.

Having died unmarried and without children, a significant portion of Blagden's wealth and possessions was left to the children of his older brother John Blagden Hale, with Blagden's nephew Robert Hale Blagden Hale named as the executor of his will.²⁴ Though the will does not mention Blagden's diary and personal papers specifically, it appears that the Blagden Hale family took possession of the manuscripts, and at some stage chose to sell certain portions, and to hand down others through subsequent generations. The main collection of Blagden's papers held at the Royal Society was purchased in 1947, including sections of diary intermittently covering the early 1770s up until 1820, alongside portions of Blagden's correspondence, financial records, and scientific papers.²⁵ Additional material, including further sections of diary for

²³ See for example the paper packets used to store sections of diary in Royal Society, MS/821 (Charles Blagden, additional papers).

²⁴ Gloucestershire Archives, D1086/F59 (Prob. will of Sir Charles Blagden, kt., of 45 Brompton Row, Knightsbridge, London, 1820).

²⁵ Clara Anderson, "Blagden Papers at the Royal Society," *Notes Rec. R. Soc.* 61 (2007): 237-38.

the period 1792 to 1794, assembled by James Fairhurst, a descendent of Blagden, was presented to the Society in 2000.²⁶

Further Blagden manuscripts, including portions of his family correspondence and will, were deposited at Gloucestershire Archives by the trustees of R. G. Sherwood, a descendent of the Blagden Hale family, in two parts in 1954 and 1965.²⁷ Papers relating to Blagden's medical training and practice accessioned by Gloucestershire Archives in 1954 were shortly afterwards transferred to the Wellcome Library, where they remain today.²⁸

Sections of diary and further personal papers can also be found in the James Marshall and Marie-Louise Osborn Collection, a large collection of English literary and historical manuscripts now housed in the Beinecke Library at Yale University.²⁹ Much of this collection was purchased by the early twentieth-century literary historian James Marshall Osborn. A student at the University of Oxford during the 1930s, Osborn collected a range of English manuscripts, with a particular focus on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Archivists have suggested that Blagden's papers formed part of this original collection, amassed by Osborn. The Osborn collection was moved from the Osborn home to the Sterling Memorial Library at Yale in the 1950s, before being transferred to the Beinecke Library when it opened in 1963.³⁰

²⁶ Ibid. Royal Society, MS/821 (Charles Blagden, additional papers).

²⁷ "Hale family of Alderley," The National Archives, accessed 6 Feb. 2019, <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/2f5a4204-b341-493d-b531-bb7b70a33dec>

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ For Blagden's papers, see Beinecke Library, OSB MSS 51 (Charles Blagden, papers, 1770-1800), Osborn c114 (letters from Charles Blagden to Henry Temple, second Viscount Palmerston, and Mary (Mee) Temple, Viscountess Palmerston, 1788-1804), Osborn fc15 (Charles Blagden, letterbook, 1783-1787), Osborn fc16 (Charles Blagden, diaries, 1776-1788).

³⁰ "The Osborn Collection," Stephen Parks, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, accessed 8 Feb. 2018, <https://beinecke.library.yale.edu/collections/curatorial-areas/osborn-collection>

III. Genres of clientage and patronage in the eighteenth century

Exploring the development of Blagden's career and persona, from a younger son of a provincial mercantile family in Gloucester, to secretary of the Royal Society in London, this thesis will explore Blagden's strategy for social advancement through patronage. Blagden was socially ambitious, and throughout his career sought to raise his standing and fortune. As this thesis will show, the relationships that Blagden forged in his early life, alongside the career decisions he made, supported by his manuscript diary, were oriented towards securing a residence and social connections in the capital. This thesis argues that Blagden aspired to be a gentleman, and compared his own status to that of Banks and Cavendish. Yet such aspirations were difficult to fulfil. Unlike Banks and Cavendish, Blagden was not a landed gentleman, and did not come from great family wealth. Throughout his life, Blagden required new and varied sources of income in order to sustain his lifestyle. It was in the pursuit of a gentlemanly lifestyle that Blagden sought the patronage of eminent male scholars.

Historians of early modern science have discussed several genres of patronage, and their differing characters. In one of the first studies of the importance of patronage for the development of early modern natural philosophy, Bruce Moran et. al. drew attention to the role of royal patronage exercised in the European courts between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.³¹ Mario Biagioli has similarly discussed the importance of royal patronage at court as part of Galileo's strategy to self-fashion his career and natural philosophical persona in seventeenth-century Italy.³² Such scholarship, that has tended to focus on the discoveries and lives of learned humanists such as Galileo, has formed the majority of studies of scientific

³¹ *Patronage and Institutions: Science, Technology, and Medicine at the European Court 1500-1750*, ed. Bruce T. Moran (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1991).

³² Mario Biagioli, "Scientific Revolution, Social Bricolage, and Etiquette," in *The Scientific Revolution in National Context*, ed. Roy Porter and Mikulas Teich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), and *Galileo, Courtier the Practice of Science in the Culture of Absolutism* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

patronage, with few studies exploring the way patronage operated in the eighteenth century.³³

Augmenting the existing literature, Caroline Gillan has recently exposed three distinct kinds of eighteenth-century patronage dispensed and enjoyed by the British patron of science, John Stuart, third earl of Bute.³⁴ Gillan has described Bute's clientage as that of a 'royal client', who received benefits in the form of offices at court, and exerted influence over the patronage dispensed by George III and Princess Augusta.³⁵ In terms of Bute's own patronage, Gillan has exposed his role as a 'political patron', who dispensed 'annual pensions and government positions' to his own clients.³⁶ As a third category, Gillan has noted the 'personal patronage' dispensed by Bute, as a somewhat unstable and voluntary form of attachment where the terms of the relationship could be either explicit or informal.³⁷

In this thesis, Blagden's relationships with Banks and Cavendish will be discussed in terms of personal patronage. Though Blagden received institutional positions, notably the role of secretary of the Royal Society, in part owing to his work as a client of eminent male scholars, it will be revealed that Blagden's patronage relationships, as voluntary attachments, were not wholly stable. As a personal client to Banks, Blagden was often unclear as to the rewards he could expect to enjoy. This uncertainty came to a head during Blagden's rupture with Banks in the late 1780s, and informed a change in Blagden's strategy for advancement, that relied on a more dispersed network of connections among the aristocracy, from whom Blagden derived status and esteem in a system that differed from personal patronage. Exploring the role and limitations of personal patronage in building a career as an eighteenth-century gentleman of science, this thesis contributes to discussions of eighteenth century patronage at a time when, as Gillan has argued, 'men of science were largely dependent upon patronage for advancement, social mobility, and financial security'.³⁸

³³ Caroline Gillan, "Lord Bute and Eighteenth-Century Science and Patronage," (PhD Thesis, NUI Galway, 2018), 12.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 20.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 10.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

INTRODUCTION

On 1 January 1795 Charles Blagden wrote in his diary

B[reakfaste]d at Sir J[oseph]. B[ank]s'. talked about Translation that doubted whether worth publishing. Gave Major Rennel character of Mr Wilberforce, harsh as he deserved. Called on Ld Lucon; began really to think something: shewed drawings of Sir W[illiam]. H[amilton]'s paper on Vesuvius: agreed about Ly Spencer; Ld Bulkely there, frondeur; Ld Cambden poor weak character: executed very ill his speech. Then called on Montagus; very civil asked & offered about correcting arguments. Mr & Mrs Paradise called. Dined at the club; having first called on Mr Cavendish, & gave him translation of Fr[iar]. Breislak on Vesuvian Eruption to look over. Cold day: froze hard in night, had been on Soho Square 19°, at Clapham 11°, wind N S varying. fog at times & partially, not so much close to river, or N. part of town but between: froze about as much as at Bedford Square.³⁹

This is a typical entry in the diary of Charles Blagden, British physician and secretary of the Royal Society between 1784 and 1797. Blagden's diary is extensive, covering over forty years of his life, from the early 1770s up until his death in 1820. Though trained as a physician, Blagden is best known for his role as assistant and secretary to various men of science, including the chemist Henry Cavendish, and the naturalist, patron, and president of the Royal Society, Joseph Banks. Through his connections to Banks and Cavendish, Blagden is frequently described by historians as a comfortable member of London's gentlemanly scientific community. As Iain Watts has noted, 'Bustling and clubbable, conversational and cultivated, devoted to science but no professional, Blagden was in many ways late Georgian England's quintessential leisured scientific man-about-town'.⁴⁰ Such a description is certainly appropriate to the image that Blagden had cultivated by the end of his life.

Blagden's diary is a vast collection of manuscripts. It comprises eight volumes held at the Royal Society archives acquired in 1947, and a further 45 leaves covering the years 1792 to 1794 presented to the Society in 2000.⁴¹

³⁹ Royal Society, CB/3/3, f. 40v. (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 1 Jan. 1795).

⁴⁰ Iain Watts, "Philosophical Intelligence: Letters, Print, and Experiment During Napoleon's Continental Blockade," *Isis* 106, no. 4 (2015): 749-70, 754.

⁴¹ Anderson, "Blagden Papers," 237-38. Royal Society, MS/821 (Charles Blagden, additional papers).

Further sections covering 1776 to 1788 are held in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University.⁴² The majority of the diary consists of octavo-sized bifoliated sheets, sometimes sewn together, in quires of varying lengths. Most sections feature small cursive handwriting on both the recto and verso sides, usually in ink and often with crossings out and insertions (see fig. 1). Much of the diary features terse prose, in daily itineraries and records of conversations.

This thesis offers a transcription of part of the diary, and examines the relationship between Blagden and the manuscript, alongside the role of notetaking in assisting the construction of a natural philosophical career during the late eighteenth century.⁴³

Steven Shapin has argued that 'at neither end of the eighteenth century did the role of the "man of science" exist as a coherent and distinctive social kind'.⁴⁴ Individuals with interests in natural knowledge pursued their activities in a range of roles, as professors, physicians, gentlemen, courtiers, or clerics, each possessing their own 'characters, conventions, and expectations'.⁴⁵ Blagden's identity as the quintessential Georgian gentleman of science cannot be taken for granted. This was an identity that he self-fashioned in various ways over the course of his career, in an effort to pursue his social ambitions.

This thesis argues that Blagden's notes and diary played an important role in these processes of self-fashioning and culminated in a persona well observed in the diary he produced for the year 1795, transcribed in the second half of this thesis. The diary formed an aid to memory that assisted Blagden in cultivating and transforming his relationships with a variety of individuals whose patronage and attachment he believed would provide him with the status of a gentleman.

⁴² Beinecke Library, Osborn fc16 (Charles Blagden, diaries, 1776-1788) and OSB MSS 51 (Charles Blagden, papers).

⁴³ Some of the ideas in this thesis have featured in early form in two articles. Hannah Wills, "Charles Blagden's Diary: Information Management and British Science in the Eighteenth Century." *Notes Rec.* 73, no. 1 (2019): 61-81, and "Joseph Banks and Charles Blagden: Cultures of Advancement in the Scientific Worlds of Late Eighteenth-Century London and Paris," *Notes Rec.* Published online ahead of print (2019): 1-21.

⁴⁴ Steven Shapin, "The Image of the Man of Science," in *The Cambridge History of Science: Eighteenth-Century Science* ed. Roy Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 160.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 161.

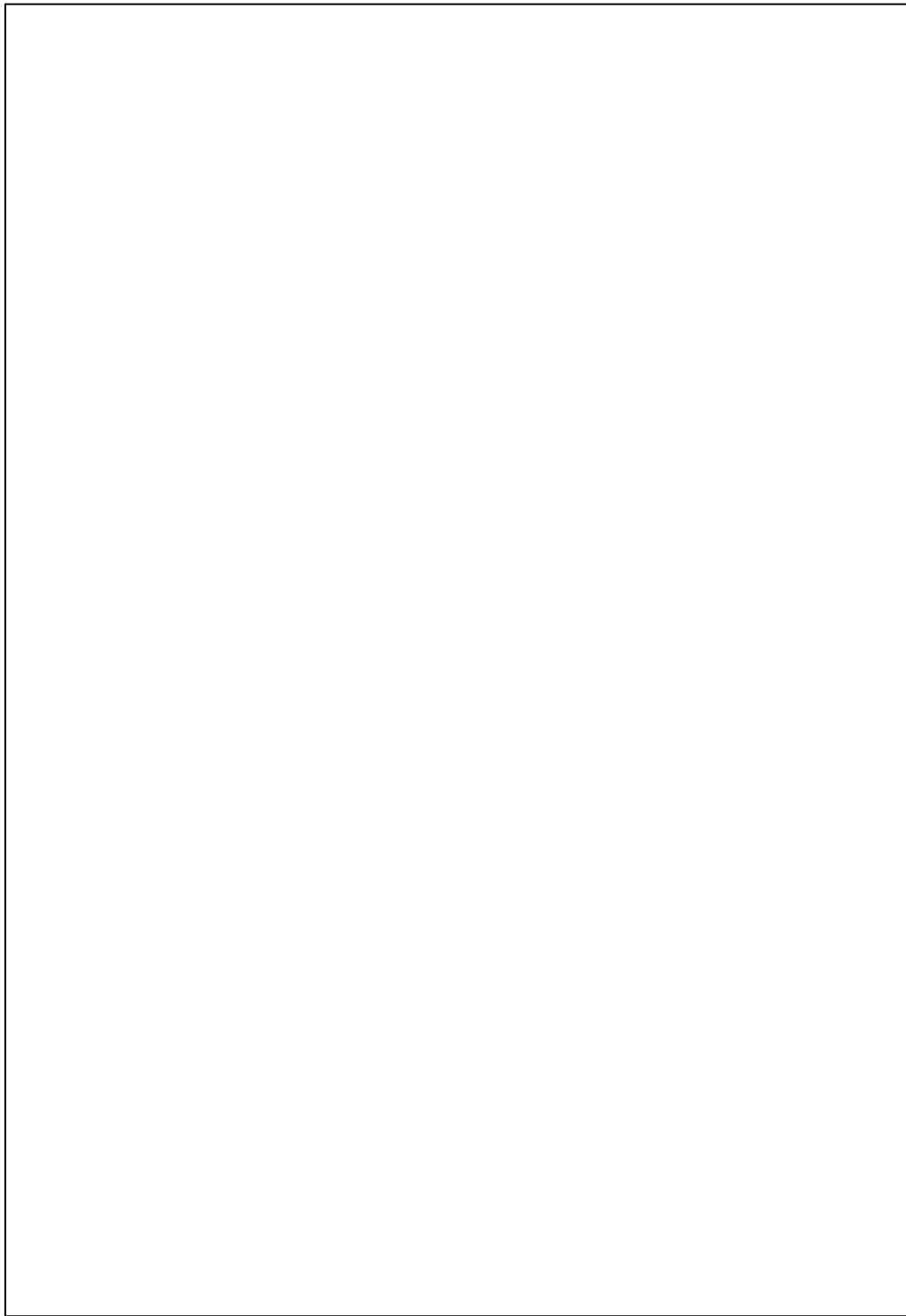


Fig. 1. Page from Blagden's diary for the year 1795. Royal Society, CB/3/3, f. 73r. (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 27 Oct. 1795). [image removed]

The improvement of status has been discussed by historians in relation to social ambition and rank in the eighteenth century. As the social historian of

communication Faramerz Dabhoiwala has noted, honour and reputation were integral to how individuals 'conceived of the relationship between the personal and the public, and between the projection and the perception of one's character'.⁴⁶ Social ambition and the improvement of status was openly discussed by some in the eighteenth century, including the natural philosopher Benjamin Franklin, who in his autobiography wrote of the 'pattern of the successful life'.⁴⁷ As Judith Saunders has noted, Franklin offered an account of the methods he had successfully employed in his own life to improve his 'Affluence' and 'Reputation', centred on the careful management of his persona.⁴⁸

Historians have drawn attention to the role of emulation in such processes of crafting a persona. The historical archaeologist Alison Bell has defined emulation as 'the attempt, with varying levels of consciousness, to replicate the behaviours and to adopt the material culture of others, especially those with perceived higher socioeconomic standing'.⁴⁹ An individual's 'reputation' was signalled by particular 'attributes of status', including dress, friends and connections, and employment, and it was attributes such as these, among others, that could be emulated.⁵⁰

This thesis argues that Blagden used emulation as a strategy to improve his status, and that natural philosophy played a key role in this. Shapin has identified several 'types' of early modern men of science, the 'Godly naturalist', the 'moral philosopher', the 'polite philosopher of nature', and the 'civic expert', yet such types have all been described in relation to the notion of science as a 'calling'.⁵¹ An examination of Blagden's career and diary

⁴⁶ Faramerz Dabhoiwala, "The Construction of Honour, Reputation and Status in Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6 (1996): 201-13, 201.

⁴⁷ Judith P. Saunders, "The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin: The Story of a Successful Social Animal," in *American Classics: Evolutionary Perspectives* (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2018), 1.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁴⁹ Alison Bell, "Emulation and Empowerment: Material, Social and Economic Dynamics in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Virginia," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 6, no. 4 (2002): 253-98, 253.

⁵⁰ Dabhoiwala, "The Construction of Honour," 203.

⁵¹ Steven Shapin, *The Scientific Life: A Moral History of a Late Modern Vocation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 21-46. On science as a calling see Mordechai Feingold, "Science as a Calling? The Early Modern Dilemma," *Science in Context* 15, no. 1 (2002): 79-119.

reveals that for some, natural philosophy could also serve as a means to improve status. As Roy Porter has shown, natural philosophy was seen by many as a core feature of refined metropolitan culture, associated with high society.⁵² Driven by social ambition, Blagden used natural philosophy to bolster his standing throughout his developing career. This is not to downplay Blagden's significance to the history of science by suggesting he merely imitated the behaviours of others. As Matthew Jones has revealed, emulation was understood in the Enlightenment as an 'emotive and moral state' of 'honest competition', in which individuals admired the merit of another's actions, and sought not only to imitate them, but to improve upon and develop them.⁵³ For Blagden, natural philosophy served as a means of self-improvement, and it was through emulation, as a physician, a client and assistant, and a go-between, that he contributed to Enlightenment science.

Key to Blagden's emulation was the building of patronage relationships and attachments to individuals of higher status. The pursuit of patronage in fostering a natural philosophical career is perhaps more familiar to historians of science in the context of the early seventeenth century. The historian Mario Biagioli was among the first to study scientific patronage in his examination of the early modern natural philosopher Galileo. Biagioli described how Galileo achieved social advancement through 'self-fashioning', a process of managing one's personal behaviour and its representation to patrons, and 'social bricolage', the construction of a persona from a variety of existing tropes and types.⁵⁴ Since Biagioli's influential study, historians have examined patronage in other periods and places.⁵⁵ In the British context, James Delbourgo and Alice Marples have highlighted the networks of patronage which surrounded the collector and Royal Society president Hans Sloane, through which

⁵² Roy Porter, "Science, Provincial Culture and Public Opinion in Enlightenment England," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 3 (1980): 20-46.

⁵³ Matthew L. Jones, *Reckoning with Matter: Calculating Machines, Innovation, and Thinking About Thinking from Pascal to Babbage* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 127.

⁵⁴ Biagioli, "Scientific Revolution, Social Bricolage, and Etiquette," and *Galileo, Courtier*. Biagioli's notion of self-fashioning derived from Stephen Greenblatt in his *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

⁵⁵ *Patronage and Institutions*, ed. Bruce T. Moran. Roger L. Emerson, *Academic Patronage in the Scottish Enlightenment: Glasgow, Edinburgh and St Andrews Universities* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008).

ambitious naturalists fashioned their own careers, by fostering attachments through gifts of knowledge and objects.⁵⁶

In the late eighteenth century, social order and strategies for advancement were in flux, and intersected with Blagden's efforts to self-fashion his career. As John Gascoigne has noted, Enlightenment values in Britain were increasingly challenged at home and abroad, in the wake of the American and French Revolutions.⁵⁷ As Gordon Wood has argued, the American Revolution questioned the model of social relations in Britain, forging a new kind of 'popular politics' and democracy that disrupted accepted social hierarchies, including elite patronage.⁵⁸ Ken Alder suggests that the French Revolution in part facilitated opportunities for a new 'career open to talent', whereby advancement was to be achieved on the basis of merit, as a 'natural social order', rather than simply through the patronage of great figures.⁵⁹ In Britain, the Industrial Revolution and the emerging 'manufacturing class' throughout the nineteenth century increasingly challenged the primacy of the landed classes, again disrupting conventions governing advancement and status.⁶⁰ David Knight has proposed that consequently it was increasingly becoming possible to achieve social mobility through natural philosophy.⁶¹

These emerging cultures, which centred on advancement through 'merit', were set in contrast to older systems ruled by patronage. Blagden's career took place during this time of transformation and a study of his diary reveals how he deployed a variety of strategies for securing advancement in these changing contexts. Where individuals crossed the boundaries of

⁵⁶ James Delbourgo, "Collecting Hans Sloane," in *From Books to Bezoars: Sir Hans Sloane and His Collections*, ed. Alison Walker, Arthur MacGregor, and Michael Hunter (London: The British Library, 2012). Alice Marples, "Collecting and Correspondence in the Papers of Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753)," (PhD Thesis, King's College London, 2016), and "Scientific Administration in the Early Eighteenth Century: Reinterpreting the Royal Society's Repository," *Historical Research* 92 (2019): 183-204. I am grateful to Alice Marples for our conversations about Banks and Sloane.

⁵⁷ John Gascoigne, *Joseph Banks and the English Enlightenment: Useful Knowledge and Polite Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 237.

⁵⁸ Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf 1993), 4-8.

⁵⁹ Ken Alder, "French Engineers Became Professionals, or, How Meritocracy Made Knowledge Objective," in *The Sciences in Enlightened Europe*, ed. William Clark, Jan Golinski, and Simon Schaffer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 94-95.

⁶⁰ Gascoigne, *Banks and the English Enlightenment*, 231.

⁶¹ David Knight, "Establishing the Royal Institution: Rumford, Banks and Davy," in *'The Common Purposes of Life': Science and Society at the Royal Institution of Great Britain*, ed. Frank A. J. L. James (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 98.

institutions and countries, these cultures came into conflict. Appeals to patronage could raise but also pose problems for an individual's status. As a client to male scholarly patrons, Blagden found it difficult to secure gentlemanly status, and when this happened, it was the diary that assisted his efforts to pursue an alternative strategy, by attaching himself to a community of influential women beyond the Royal Society.

Blagden's solution to the organisation of a scientific life and career centred on the management of information on paper. This thesis foregrounds the year 1795, transcribed in part two, as an example of the solution Blagden pursued in his attempts to fulfil his ambitions for status, in transitioning from a client to male scholars, to an individual attached to a network of influential women. The argument focuses primarily on his life in London, but where he engaged in travel and information exchange abroad, differing European natural philosophical cultures are explored. The diary is examined partly in terms of its functions, and partly in terms of what it reveals about Blagden.

I. Natural philosophical diaries and Georgian science

This thesis extends the current historiography on Blagden, the significance of diaries in managing natural philosophical projects, and reveals new facets of Georgian science and the scientific agenda of Blagden and his patrons.

In the discipline of history, diaries have been described as a marginal genre.⁶² As historians of literature Dan Doll and Jessica Munns have argued, diaries have not been granted the analysis afforded to other genres of writing, and are often treated as 'merely a writer's notebook or a historian's hunting ground'.⁶³ Doll and Munns have argued that some diaries, particularly those which offer little detail beyond the mere recording of events and observations,

⁶² *Marginal Voices, Marginal Forms: Diaries in European Literature and History*, ed. Rachael Langford and Russell West (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999).

⁶³ Dan Doll and Jessica Munns, "Introduction," in *Recording and Reordering: Essays on the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Diary and Journal*, ed. Dan Doll and Jessica Munns (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2006), 9.

have been overlooked for their lack of material with which to read into the character of their author.⁶⁴

In his introduction to a published transcription of sections from the diary of the nineteenth-century chemist Herbert McLeod, Frank James has noted that few scientists kept diaries, in the sense of daily records.⁶⁵ Though attention has been drawn to the diaries of scientists such as Charles Darwin and Michael Faraday, James has shown that these documents did not contain day to day activities—they are not diaries in the current sense. As James has noted, Faraday's diary operated as a laboratory record, and 'powerful instrument of research', while Darwin's was an account of his voyage on the *Beagle*, kept only at this important period in his life.⁶⁶

Nevertheless, some seventeenth and eighteenth-century diaries have received attention in recent years, for the ways they supported a variety of natural philosophical endeavours. Richard Yeo, in his examination of the notetaking practices of the English virtuosi of the seventeenth century, has considered the role of the diary as an information storage device closely associated with the Baconian ideal of collating empirical evidence from the natural world via multiple observers.⁶⁷ Michael Hunter and Charles Littleton have examined what they refer to as the 'work-diaries' of Robert Boyle, manuscripts which contained notes on experiments, observations, measurements, travellers' testimonies, and extracts from published texts.⁶⁸ They argue that these work-diaries illuminate Boyle's 'intellectual personality', 'agenda for experimentation', and the methods by which he conducted his investigations.⁶⁹

Historians have shown the value of studying diaries to examine individuals' working practices and their efforts to manage careers. Felicity

⁶⁴ Ibid., 13.

⁶⁵ Frank A. J. L. James, *Chemistry and Theology in Mid-Victorian London: The Diary of Herbert McLeod, 1860-1870* (London: Mansell, 1987), 8.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Richard Yeo, *Notebooks, English Virtuosi, and Early Modern Science* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 195-201.

⁶⁸ Michael Hunter and Charles Littleton, "The Work-Diaries of Robert Boyle: A Newly Discovered Source and Its Internet Publication," *Notes Rec. R. Soc.* 55, no. 3 (2001): 373-90. Transcription of Boyle's work-diaries has been published online, as part of the Robert Boyle Project at Birkbeck College, University of London. "Workdiaries of Robert Boyle," accessed 7 Aug. 2018, <http://www.livesandletters.ac.uk/wd/>

⁶⁹ Hunter and Littleton, "The Work-Diaries of Robert Boyle," 373-90.

Henderson has taken such an approach in her exploration of the use and composition of Robert Hooke's memoranda, referred to as his diary. She notes that Hooke recorded his 'work, money, books, natural philosophy, news, health and household affairs', for future reference as a support to his memory.⁷⁰ Anna Marie Roos has examined the rediscovered diary of the naturalist James Petiver, accompanied by an online annotated transcription, which she has argued represents 'a nascent early modern form of scientific peregrination', as a method of developing expertise of the natural world through travel, recorded in the form of a diary.⁷¹

In tracing the development of Blagden's identity and diary, it is necessary to situate this thesis within the current literature on eighteenth-century natural philosophy in Britain. To understand the literature on Blagden, one first needs to examine the historiography on Joseph Banks. Of particular relevance is Gascoigne's work on Banks's role, as president of the Royal Society for much of the latter half of the eighteenth century, in shaping Georgian science.⁷² As Gascoigne has noted, Banks has not received the same attention afforded to other presidents of the Society, despite his vast personal archives and expansive projects and influence, touching government, the monarchy, and the projects of empire.⁷³ Gascoigne has argued for a view of Banks's broad-ranging activities as centred on an Enlightenment creed of 'improvement', defined as 'the rational use of the study of Nature'.⁷⁴ In managing his involvement with a range of improving projects, David Philip Miller has described the source of Banks's 'power' in terms of the systems he developed, alongside his positions of authority and personal

⁷⁰ Felicity Henderson, "Unpublished Material from the Memorandum Book of Robert Hooke, Guildhall Library Ms 1758," *Notes Rec. R. Soc.* 61, no. 2 (2007): 129-75. On Hooke's manuscript notes in relation to memory, see Lotte Mulligan, "Robert Hooke's 'Memoranda': Memory and Natural History," *Annals of Science* 49, no. 1 (1992): 47-61.

⁷¹ Anna Marie Roos, "'Only Meer Love to Learning': A Rediscovered Travel Diary of Naturalist and Collector James Petiver (C. 1665-1718)," *Journal of the History of Collections* 29, no. 3 (2017): 381-94, 381.

⁷² Gascoigne, *Banks and the English Enlightenment, and Science in the Service of Empire: Joseph Banks, the British State and the Uses of Science in the Age of Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

⁷³ *Banks and the English Enlightenment*, 1.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 3. On Banks and the improvement of empire, see Richard Harry Drayton, *Nature's Government: Science, Imperial Britain, and the 'Improvement' of the World* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 85-128.

contacts.⁷⁵ Miller has argued that Banks operated as a centre, a hub for knowledge, specimens, and natural philosophers, using Bruno Latour's idea of 'centres of calculation' applied to the operations of eighteenth-century exploration as a process of amassing information at a central location.⁷⁶

Where Banks has been described as a natural philosophical centre, Blagden has appeared on the periphery, as an assistant and conduit of information. Gascoigne refers to Blagden as Banks's 'scientific lieutenant'.⁷⁷ One of the ways Blagden is seen to have served this function is as a broker of news from Paris, owing to his continued visits and extensive personal connections.⁷⁸ Historians have drawn attention to the importance of such communicators of knowledge and the significance of correspondence between Britain and France, particularly in light of often-fraught political relations during the late eighteenth century. In such scholarship, Banks is often described as a champion for maintaining contact with French savants, despite recurrent conflict, as described by the twentieth-century biologist and historian Gavin de Beer in his influential argument that 'the sciences were never at war'.⁷⁹ As Gascoigne has argued, Banks retained a strong personal conviction that scientific projects 'should be kept free from the trammels of national conflict'.⁸⁰ Within this cross-channel co-operation, Blagden has emerged as a key player. Elise Lipkowitz has referred to Blagden's correspondence in the context of what she describes as the reinvention of transnational scientific relations as 'international science', in her more nuanced reassessment of de Beer's argument concerning information exchange between men of learning.⁸¹

Such scholarship has typically stressed Blagden's importance within the history of science as Banks's right-hand man and intelligencer. This thesis

⁷⁵ David P. Miller, "Joseph Banks, Empire and 'Centres of Calculation' in Late Hanoverian London," in *Visions of Empire: Voyages, Botany, and Representations of Nature*, ed. David P. Miller and Peter Hanns Reill (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 21-37.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁷⁷ Gascoigne, *Science in the Service of Empire*, 41.

⁷⁸ Danielle Fauque has noted that Blagden visited Paris in 1783, 1787, 1788, 1792, 1802, 1815, and 1820. Fauque, "An Englishman Abroad," 374.

⁷⁹ Gavin de Beer, "The Relations between Fellows of the Royal Society and French Men of Science When France and Britain Were at War," *Notes Rec. R. Soc.* 9, no. 2 (1952): 244-99, and *The Sciences Were Never at War* (London: Nelson, 1960).

⁸⁰ Gascoigne, *Banks and the English Enlightenment*, 238.

⁸¹ Elise Lipkowitz, "'The Sciences Are Never at War?': The Scientific Republic of Letters in the Era of the French Revolution, 1789-1815" (PhD Thesis, Northwestern University, 2009).

proposes a reassessment, taking Blagden and his strategies of self-fashioning as its starting point. Where literature on Banks and Georgian science has typically described Blagden as Banks's subordinate, this thesis traces the development of their relationship, foregrounding Blagden.

Blagden has also been examined in studies of another of his patrons, Henry Cavendish. In the nineteenth century, Blagden was mentioned in several published accounts of the 'water controversy', a priority dispute between Cavendish, the Scottish-born, midland engineer and chemist James Watt, and the French chemist Antoine Lavoisier, concerning who had first discovered the composition of water. Blagden was implicated in the controversy in connection with his role as Cavendish's assistant, having communicated news of British experiments on the composition of water to Lavoisier while visiting Paris in 1783.

In publications which described the events of the controversy, several historians offered biographical sketches of Blagden's life and career, in either flattering or condemnatory tones. It is accounts of this nature which form the bulk of existing scholarship on Blagden, exploring isolated episodes in his career. In the 1840s, the British statesman Henry Brougham and the Scottish biographer James Patrick Muirhead, both of whom firmly supported Watt's priority, described Blagden as a mercenary and greedy individual, who had unfairly pressed for Cavendish's priority because of a monetary attachment that existed between them, in the form of an alleged annuity settled by Cavendish on Blagden.⁸² The Edinburgh chemist and professor George Wilson, in his biography of Cavendish published in 1851, offered a sketch of Blagden's conduct in a more flattering light, stressing Cavendish's identity as the true discoverer of the nature of water. A distinguishing feature of Wilson's study was that it featured testimonies from Blagden's living friends and relations, rather than reports from his antagonists in the controversy, including Robert Brown of the British Museum, the chemist Thomas Thomson, and Blagden's nephew and executor Robert Hale Blagden Hale. The 'judgement

⁸² Henry Lord Brougham, *Lives of Men of Letters and Science Who Flourished in the Time of George III*, vol. 1 (London: Charles Knight and Co., 1845), 445-46. James Watt, *Correspondence of the Late James Watt on His Discovery of the Theory of the Composition of Water with a Letter from His Son*, ed. James Patrick Muirhead (London: J. Murray, 1846), 68.

of his relations' was that Blagden was a 'strictly conscientious man', free from avarice.⁸³

In the early twentieth century, the American historian Frederick Getman published a short biography of Blagden in the journal *Osiris*, in which he described Blagden's role in the water controversy and presented an overview of his scientific work. Getman identified Blagden as an early pioneer of modern chemistry, offering a sketch of his published researches into the freezing of mercury and the supercooling of water, from which is derived 'Blagden's Law'.⁸⁴ Such an approach fits within a 'contributionist' model of the history of science, which celebrates individuals for the contributions they made in terms of scientific discoveries, often judged by modern standards. As such, Getman's account drew particular attention to Blagden's role as assistant to Cavendish, neglecting much of the research and administrative work he conducted with Banks, in his career as secretary of the Royal Society.

While early biographical sketches of Blagden relied on the testimony of friends and colleagues, alongside published sources, the acquisition of portions of Blagden's diary and papers by the Royal Society in 1947 furnished historians with additional material. Shortly after the acquisition, Gavin de Beer published a number of transcriptions, highlighting the potential use of these sources as windows onto eighteenth-century British science.⁸⁵ In the more recent historiography, Blagden's papers continue to be used as evidence for the life and career of Cavendish. The most recent and extensive biographical sketch of Blagden's life can be found in Christa Jungnickel and Russell McCormmach's biography of Cavendish, published in 1999.⁸⁶ In contrast to earlier accounts, Jungnickel and McCormmach made extensive use of

⁸³ George Wilson, *The Life of the Honourable Henry Cavendish* (London: the Cavendish Society, 1851), 134-35.

⁸⁴ 'Blagden's law' was the discovery that salt dissolved in water lowers its freezing point in an inverse ratio of the proportion of salt to water in the solution. Frederick H. Getman, "Sir Charles Blagden, F. R. S.," *Osiris* 3 (1937): 69-87, 79-85.

⁸⁵ Gavin de Beer, "The Diary of Sir Charles Blagden," *Notes Rec. R. Soc.* 8, no. 1 (1950): 65-89, and "Some Letters of Sir Charles Blagden," *Notes Rec. R. Soc.* 8, no. 2 (1951): 253-60. See also Reginald Heber Howe, Junior, "Sir Charles Blagden, Earliest of Rhode Island Ornithologists," *The American Naturalist* 39, no. 462 (1905): 397-404.

⁸⁶ Jungnickel and McCormmach, *Cavendish*. For the intimate relationship between Blagden and Cavendish, see Russell McCormmach, *The Personality of Henry Cavendish - a Great Scientist with Extraordinary Peculiarities* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2014), 97-100.

Blagden's manuscripts and offered a re-appraisal of his involvement in the water controversy.⁸⁷ Though they made use of portions of Blagden's diary, Jungnickel and McCormmach referred to it primarily as a source of evidence for Cavendish's life and behaviour in isolated episodes. Examining extant financial records, they disproved the assertions of Muirhead and Brougham that Cavendish had settled an annuity on Blagden, suggesting that Cavendish had not bought Blagden's aid during the controversy.⁸⁸ What distinguishes Jungnickel and McCormmach's biographical sketch is the attention they give to the mutual benefits of Blagden's association with Cavendish, hinting at Blagden's position as an ambitious client who furthered his career through connections to eminent male scholars, an argument which this thesis develops.

The most recent historiography has centred on Blagden's role as a 'go-between' liaising in France, using his manuscripts as evidence of particular historical moments. Danielle Fauque has reassessed Blagden's visit to Paris in 1783, during which the initial events of the water controversy unfolded. In her use of Blagden's correspondence and diary, Fauque has provided a nuanced account of his activities, including his meetings with Parisian savants, and the nature of his information exchanges.⁸⁹ Iain Watts has referred to Blagden's letters and diary as evidence of how manuscript correspondence and print 'cross-fertilised' during information exchange concerning chemistry across the channel during Napoleon's Continental Blockade.⁹⁰ Though more focussed on Blagden's identity as a communicator of knowledge, the recent literature continues to approach him from isolated incidents mainly of relevance to other men of science.

This thesis contributes a new and distinctive reading of Blagden and his manuscripts. Rather than exploring fragmentary episodes, as the existing literature has done, this thesis offers a broader picture of the development of his career, connecting Blagden's various employments and relationships in terms of his overall strategies for achieving his social ambitions. Where

⁸⁷ Jungnickel and McCormmach, *Cavendish*, 377-80.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 295-96.

⁸⁹ Fauque, "An Englishman Abroad."

⁹⁰ Watts, "Philosophical Intelligence."

existing literature has described Blagden as a subordinate to the likes of Banks and Cavendish, this argument foregrounds him as a significant individual for the history of science. Rather than using the diary as a mine for historical evidence of other people, the diary is here examined as a document worthy of study in its own right, as a sophisticated paper tool inextricably linked to its author.

II. Methodology: information management and ‘paper tools’

Taking the diary seriously, the approach outlined above is informed by the recent literature on early modern information management, and manuscript notes conceptualised as ‘paper tools’. These areas have received increased attention in the historiography, as scholars have suggested the ways in which a variety of forms of paper supported and shaped early modern knowledge production. This thesis describes Blagden’s diary as a paper tool connected to his career, persona, and ambitions.

In a recent survey of historical studies of paper tools, Boris Jardine has charted the development of this idea as originating in the history of the book.⁹¹ Adrian Johns’s *The Nature of the Book*, 1998, was highly influential for its investigation of the use of printing in early modern Europe in creating knowledge about the natural world.⁹² Responding to Elizabeth Eisenstein’s examination of the implications of the spread of printing, in which she argued that print culture brought ‘standardisation, dissemination, and fixity’ to the knowledge contained within early printed texts, Johns argued that such traits emerged over time, via a ‘complex set of social and technological processes’.⁹³ As such, Johns drew attention to the nature of the book not as a neutral or unproblematic entity, but as one embroiled within shifting social contexts, an analysis that has since been applied to the study of unpublished manuscripts and ways of recording on paper.

⁹¹ Boris Jardine, "State of the Field: Paper Tools," *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science* 64 (2017): 53-63, 55.

⁹² Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 1-57.

Jardine next notes the importance of literature concerning the study of inscription practices, and in particular the work of Ursula Klein.⁹⁴ In her examination of the inscriptions of the Swedish chemist Jacob Berzelius, a pioneer of the modern system for using formulae to describe chemical reactions, Klein described Berzelian formulae as ‘paper tools’—notes and symbols that worked alongside laboratory tools in constructing models of reactions.⁹⁵ From Klein’s original use of the term, ‘paper tools’ refers to the ‘creative possibilities of notations’.⁹⁶

As an alternative, Jardine has highlighted the historiography that makes use of the term ‘paper technologies’, notably in the work of Volker Hess and J. Andrew Mendelsohn.⁹⁷ This term denotes both the technical and social aspects of taking notes, making inscriptions, reading, and the materiality of the book—materiality being notably absent from Klein’s use of ‘paper tools’.⁹⁸ Though such a term is perhaps better descriptive of the historiography that examines early modern notetaking, Jardine has advocated the continued use of ‘paper tools’ for its connotations of ‘manual empowerment’.⁹⁹ In this thesis, the material and social aspects of Blagden’s diary are explored, as they contributed to his efforts to self-fashion his persona.

Further scholarship has explored manuscripts and printed works as information management strategies, informed by the history of the book and historiography of paper tools. This literature has drawn attention to a range of genres. In her study of early modern reference books, Ann Blair has explored ‘information overload’ as a state arising not from an ‘objective’ sense of too much information, but as a culmination of the development of new management strategies, personal expectations for retention and memory, and

⁹⁴ Ursula Klein, *Paper Tools in Experimental Cultures—the Case of Berzelian Formulas* (Berlin: Max-Planck-Institut für Wissenschaftsgeschichte, 1999).

⁹⁵ Ursula Klein, "Paper Tools in Experimental Culture," *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part A* 32, no. 2 (2001): 265-302, 265.

⁹⁶ Jardine, "Paper Tools," 55.

⁹⁷ Ibid. Volker Hess and J. Andrew Mendelsohn, "Case and Series: Medical Knowledge and Paper Technology, 1600–1900," *History of Science* 48, no. 3-4 (2010): 287-314.

⁹⁸ Jardine, "Paper Tools," 55. For practices of reading in the history of science, see Ann Blair, "An Early Modernist’s Perspective," *Isis* 95, no. 3 (2004): 420-30. Jonathan R. Topham, "A View from the Industrial Age," *Isis* 95, no. 3 (2004): 431-42. and Lorraine Daston, "Taking Note(s)," *Isis* 95, no. 3 (2004): 443-48.

⁹⁹ Jardine, "Paper Tools," 56.

the kinds of information to be managed.¹⁰⁰ Blair has argued that although authors since ancient times lamented the ‘overabundance’ of texts and the difficulties of mastering them, the Renaissance was characterised by a new ‘info-lust that sought to gather and manage as much information as possible’.¹⁰¹ Tracing the development of information management into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Jacob Soll has argued that while notetaking had formed a key part of archival projects since writing began, strategies were transformed in the early modern period.¹⁰²

In managing information, historians have revealed how notetaking was central to the development of practices of inquiry in a range of fields. Soll reveals how Francis Bacon, Robert Boyle, and Samuel Pepys mixed scholarly and mercantile writing traditions, applying them to the management of government, industry, and natural philosophical inquiry.¹⁰³ Yeo has similarly argued that early modern English virtuosi made notetaking a key part ‘of the modern scientific ethos’.¹⁰⁴ In early modern medicine, Isabelle Charmantier and Staffan Müller-Wille have argued that varied ‘paper-and-ink-based techniques’, in conjunction with print, not only supported the preservation and transmission of knowledge, but also enabled the generation of new research.¹⁰⁵ In constructing antiquarian and topographical knowledge of Britain, Elizabeth Yale has shown the importance of the intersections between print culture, manuscript culture, and ‘scribal exchange’ in creating natural philosophical and antiquarian knowledge.¹⁰⁶

Scholarship on information management has also considered the relationship between written notes and memory, of particular importance for

¹⁰⁰ Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), 3. On information overload in the early modern period, see Daniel Rosenberg ed. “Early Modern Information Overload,” Special issue, *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64, no. 1 (2003): 1-147.

¹⁰¹ Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 6.

¹⁰² Jacob Soll, “From Note-Taking to Data Banks: Personal and Institutional Information Management in Early Modern Europe,” *Intellectual History Review* 20, no. 3 (2010): 355-75.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 356.

¹⁰⁴ Yeo, *Notebooks*, xiii.

¹⁰⁵ Isabelle Charmantier and Staffan Müller-Wille, “Worlds of Paper: An Introduction,” *Early Science and Medicine* 19 (2014): 379-97, 381.

¹⁰⁶ Elizabeth Yale, “Marginalia, Commonplaces, and Correspondence: Scribal Exchange in Early Modern Science,” *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 42 (2011): 193-202, and *Sociable Knowledge Natural History and the Nation in Early Modern Britain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

this thesis in describing the function of Blagden's notetaking.¹⁰⁷ Alberto Cevolini's edited volume *Forgetting Machines* charts the evolution of changing attitudes to managing knowledge and memory in early modern Europe. Cevolini traces the transition from a perception of notes as an aid but not replacement for memory in the Middle Ages, to the idea of notes as a means of relieving the memory in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁰⁸

While much scholarship has examined prescriptive literature on techniques for managing information, historians have begun to explore the practice and manuscripts of individual notetakers. As Michael Stolberg has argued, many of the techniques adapted by individuals served very practical ends only made apparent through study of unpublished manuscripts.¹⁰⁹ In his work on the notebooks of sixteenth and seventeenth-century physicians, Stolberg has highlighted how notes that recorded observations, diagnoses, and patient payment of bills 'served very concrete, practical and professional purposes', enabling physicians to secure economic success in a competitive market.¹¹⁰

Particular modes of writing served unique information management needs. Writing on the distinct genres of paper tools within the English East India Company during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Miles Ogborn has revealed how the production, circulation, and consumption of Royal charters, correspondence, and accounts of stock prices served the company's aims in exercising power over trade and empire in different locations.¹¹¹ In the context of education, Matthew Eddy has investigated the notebooks of Scottish children during the Enlightenment, revealing the material and scribal techniques that students put into practice as part of their learning.¹¹² In relation to the notebooks of Scottish university students, Eddy

¹⁰⁷ For the intersection of reading practices and memory, see Daston, "Taking Note(s)."

¹⁰⁸ *Forgetting Machines: Knowledge Management and Evolution in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Alberto Cevolini, Library of the Written Word (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016).

¹⁰⁹ Michael Stolberg, "Medical Note-Taking in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Forgetting Machines: Knowledge Management and Evolution in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Alberto Cevolini, Library of the Written Word (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016), 244.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 262.

¹¹¹ Miles Ogborn, *Indian Ink* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

¹¹² Matthew D. Eddy, "The Child Writer: Graphic Literacy and the Scottish Education System, 1700-1820," *History of Education* 45, no. 6 (2016): 695-718. "The Nature of Notebooks: How Enlightenment Schoolchildren Transformed the *Tabula Rasa*," *Journal of British Studies* 57 (2018): 275-307.

argues that students developed a range of techniques dependent on the kinds of information they wished to manage and learn.¹¹³ Such a description of the personal utility of notetaking is reminiscent of Elaine Leong's consideration of early modern recipe books, which, Leong proposes, served as 'testaments of the interests and needs of particular families'.¹¹⁴

Such a view of paper tools as objects tied to the unique needs of their users suggests their role as 'socio-material' objects.¹¹⁵ As Jardine has argued of recent work concerning paper tools,

attending to the specific qualities of paper is only possible... if it is understood that paper can be both transparent and opaque depending on the social world it inhabits and helps to constitute. Paper flickers into and out of view, and it is precisely this quality that constitutes its sociomateriality.¹¹⁶

Here, Blagden's diary is examined as a paper tool that interacted with his efforts to craft his persona. The diary developed in relation to other manuscript genres and his needs, and as such constitutes a 'socio-material' object, as a manuscript tied to Blagden, wherein his own identity, and the identity of the diary, were co-constituted over time. It should be made clear that the argument is not that the diary was essential to Blagden's self-fashioning, but that it was certainly an important element within it. While a key portion of the literature on information management has considered its development up to the early eighteenth century, this thesis extends the historiography by considering a late eighteenth century example. The diary is revealed as a tool of patronage, of natural philosophical investigations, and of furnishing solutions to Blagden's social ambitions.

¹¹³ Matthew D. Eddy, "The Interactive Notebook: How Students Learned to Keep Notes During the Scottish Enlightenment," *Book History* 19 (2016): 87-131, 86.

¹¹⁴ Elaine Leong, "Collecting Knowledge for the Family: Recipes, Gender and Practical Knowledge in the Early Modern English Household," *Centaurus* 55 (2013): 81-103, 81.

¹¹⁵ On the concept of sociomateriality, see Lissa Roberts and Simon Werrett, "Introduction: A More Intimate Acquaintance," in *Compound Histories: Materials, Governance, and Production, 1760-1840*, ed. Lissa Roberts and Simon Werrett (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 1-33.

¹¹⁶ Jardine, "Paper Tools," 53.

III. Outline of the thesis

This thesis is arranged in two parts, which together reveal the diary as a tool for managing information. The first half of the thesis examines the diary and its role in assisting the development of Blagden's career and persona through emulation, in five chronological chapters, culminating in the year 1795. The second half is an annotated transcription of the diary for that year. Where possible, individuals and events referred to in particular entries have been cross-referenced and annotated, using other manuscripts and secondary sources, providing a more accessible version of the diary referred to throughout part one of the thesis.

Chapter one begins with an examination of the nature of Blagden's diary, as a paper tool developed in relation to his experience with other forms of notetaking. Where existing scholarship has used the diary as a source of historical anecdotes, this chapter explores the nature of the manuscript itself, arguing that the diary is best understood as an assemblage of genres that Blagden encountered during his medical training in the 1760s and after. Blagden's diary was borne out of earlier information management traditions, manipulated in ways that were both typical and unusual among eighteenth-century notetakers. Underlying the composition of the diary was its role as an *aide-memoire* and external memory, which operated in accordance with Blagden's conception of the association of ideas, as a productive mechanism for triggering recollection.

Chapter two links the diary's role as an *aide-memoire* to Blagden's ambitions to build his identity as a gentleman through emulation. Information management was important to Blagden's efforts to win the patronage of Banks and Cavendish, whose favour he pursued and behaviour he sought to emulate, during his early career as a surgeon in North America in the late 1770s, and upon his return to Britain in the 1780s. The diary supported Blagden's efforts, assisting him when sharing news and objects used to foster his patrons' favour. While Blagden pursued patronage in Britain, on visits to Paris he encountered alternative systems of merit centred on the prestige of publication over gentlemanly status. This chapter argues that these alternative

systems of advancement provide an important context for understanding the 1783 'water controversy', and the events of the Royal Society 'dissensions', which took place immediately after. Though existing scholarship has explored these events in isolation from the rest of his career, this chapter situates them within the context of Blagden's efforts to self-fashion his identity.

Blagden's relationships with Cavendish and Banks were built in part around natural philosophical investigations. Chapter three considers his diverse scientific agenda in relation to the eighteenth-century notion of 'oeconomy', revealing the broader trends within Blagden's projects usually described in isolation in the current historiography. This chapter explores 'oeconomy' as an approach to the natural and social worlds, predicated on good order, balance, and management, and argues that Blagden's diary was itself 'oeconomic', in its similarity with forms of mercantile-inspired notetaking prevalent in the eighteenth century. Where historians have emphasised the role of his patrons within his scientific projects, this chapter foregrounds Blagden's involvement, and the connections between his interests in temperature, chemistry, and import substitution, as he sought to emulate the scientific interests of his patrons.

Blagden pursued the patronage of male scholars in an attempt to secure his place as a gentleman of science, but this strategy was not successful in giving him the standing he sought. Chapter four examines a tumultuous period in Blagden's life, which saw the gradual dissolution of his patronage relationships with Banks and Cavendish, from the late 1780s, up until his resignation as Royal Society secretary in 1797. Diary entries for this period do not exist in archival collections. Instead, this chapter explores the alternative manuscript genre of correspondence to make sense of Blagden's crisis. Where previous chapters reveal the role of the diary in assisting remembering, this chapter explores the absence of diary entries as a possible indication of Blagden not writing in order to forget intense emotions.

When Blagden's patronage strategy failed, the diary assisted him in pursuing an alternative solution to his ambitions for social standing. Chapter five explores the network of individuals Blagden turned to in the 1790s, composed of a number of elite women in London society. Using natural philosophical knowledge as the currency of his engagements, in conversations

and correspondence, Blagden fostered a position among a network of women among the 'elevated ranks', emulating their cultural preferences. Going between the all-male community of the Royal Society and these female networks, Blagden's efforts succeeded, establishing a set of relationships that would endure for the rest of his life.

Transcription of the diary for the year 1795, which follows chapter five, provides a window onto this little-explored community within the history of science, and an example of Blagden's information management strategy. The diary lists Blagden's daily visits to his friends, including Banks and Cavendish, the physician and diplomatist George Staunton, freshly returned from an embassy to China, and female members of elegant society, including the fashionable hostess Lady Lavinia Spencer, the bluestocking Elizabeth Montagu, and celebrated member of the 'beau monde' Georgiana Cavendish, the Duchess of Devonshire. With his friends, Blagden discussed everything from wheat cultivation to editions of Shakespeare's plays. Blagden visited the opera, theatre, and other fashionable London attractions. During the summer and autumn months, he visited friends at their country seats, and travelled to the newly fashionable British resort of Bognor. This transcription shows one solution to the management of a natural philosophical life and career at the end of the eighteenth century.

CHAPTER ONE: INFORMATION MANAGEMENT AND GENRE IN BLAGDEN'S DIARY

I. Introduction

Blagden's diary has typically been considered a puzzle, obscure in its difficult handwriting, use of abbreviations, initials, and brief prose. This chapter locates the diary within other genres of writing that Blagden engaged in, to show that it fulfilled a particular role within his written output. Prior to keeping a diary, Blagden produced medical notes as part of his training as a physician, compiled a commonplace book, and was an avid consumer of further genres of writing, including travel narratives. This chapter argues that the diary drew on these diverse genres and served as a sophisticated paper tool and *aide-memoire*, aimed at recording information in a manner adapted from a range of notetaking methods.

An important perspective on the diary is provided by examining it as a tool of information. 'Information' is a term that Blagden used frequently. Letters from his friends were often described as containing 'information', while in notes of conversations, Blagden referred to his oral relaying of 'information' to others.¹ Contemporaries defined information as 'Intelligence given; instruction'.² For Blagden, a whole range of topics fell under the purview of 'information', including news concerning the position of the French army, observations on the price of British corn, and the health of friends.³ It is in relation to Blagden's broad use of this term that the form and content of the diary will be explored within this chapter, as a device for storing 'information'.

The nature and content of Blagden's diary was influenced by the written outputs he produced earlier in his life, while studying for a medical degree at

¹ Royal Society, CB/3/3, ff. 45v, 57r, 69r. (Charles Blagden, diary entries, 15 Jan., 4 May, 7 Oct. 1795).

² Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language: In Which the Words Are Deduced from Their Originals, Explained in Their Different Meanings, and Authorised by the Names of the Writers in Whose Works They Are Found* (Dublin: W. G. Jones, 1768), 400.

³ Royal Society, CB/3/3, ff. 42v, 67v, 77r. (Charles Blagden, diary entries, 17 Jan., 1 Sep., 14 Nov. 1795).

Edinburgh University, and after he graduated, during his service as surgeon to the army in North America. As Matthew Eddy has revealed in relation to the education of children in Scotland in the eighteenth century, individuals learned to write in a variety of modes, each of which required different techniques.⁴ This chapter exposes the variety of genres that Blagden experimented with prior to compiling his diary, and the uses and conventions of each. It also explores his understanding of the workings of memory, as this related to his efforts to manage information on a page, in connection with the philosopher David Hume's conception of the 'association of ideas', encountered during Blagden's time at Edinburgh. Aspects of various manuscript genres, and a particular attitude towards memory, featured throughout the diary as a hybrid document. Attention to these differing genres, and the ways in which writing and memory work in tandem, illuminates some of the more puzzling aspects of the diary.

This chapter begins by considering Blagden's understanding of the workings of memory, and how this underpinned his writing strategies. The remainder examines the chronological development of his notetaking practices, as embodied in his student lecture notes and casebooks, developed during his medical training at Edinburgh University. Blagden's commonplace book, begun shortly after his time at university, is considered as a notebook with strong similarities to the form of his later diary. In the last section, Blagden's interest in travel literature is examined, for the influence it exerted on the diary he began writing while serving as a surgeon in North America.

II. Blagden's interest in memory and the 'association of ideas'

Blagden's diary derived its features from a range of manuscript genres. Key to understanding its form and content is the practical function it served as an *aide-memoire*. Blagden was interested in the workings of mind and memory, as informed by eighteenth-century conceptions of the 'association of ideas', connected to the concept of recollection via an appropriate trigger. If Blagden's diary is to be understood as an assemblage of manuscript genres,

⁴ Eddy, "The Child Writer," 695.

then what united these was the way he employed notetaking as an aid to recollection.

Notetaking possessed an ambiguous relationship with memory during the early modern period, and was seen by scholars as both a support and threat to memory.⁵ The early seventeenth-century Jesuit pedagogues Francesco Sacchini and Jeremias Drexel asserted that the practice of writing enabled scholars to retain information with greater ease.⁶ However, Sacchini also warned that it was essential for students to fill their minds as well as their notebooks—for some, notetaking was seen as detrimental to the exercise and maintenance of a good memory.⁷

Eighteenth-century manuals on notetaking highlighted this ambiguity. Although memory was a virtue to be cultivated in itself, it could be supported by writing. An eighteenth-century edition of the philosopher John Locke's advice on how to keep notes from reading in a commonplace book asserted that 'In all Sorts of Learning... the Memory is the Treasury or Store-house... But lest the Memory should be Oppressed... Order and Method are to be called into its Assistance'.⁸ Towards the end of the century, in another edition of Locke's advice on commonplacing, the publisher John Bell argued that as human knowledge had increased, it had become impossible to retain all information in memory alone,

The multiplicity of objects within the extensive range of human knowledge, is become so great and various that the most comprehensive mind can hardly receive, or the most tenacious memory retain, a competency of ideas.⁹

Bell acknowledged the critique that notetaking could 'debilitate the memory by diminishing its exercise', and that 'a man's knowledge should lie in his head and not in his common-place book'.¹⁰ However, he argued that while such a

⁵ Alberto Cevolini, "Knowledge Management Evolution in Early Modern Europe: An Introduction," in *Forgetting Machines: Knowledge Management and Evolution in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Alberto Cevolini (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016), 1-4.

⁶ Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 77.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ John Locke, Jean Le Clerc, and John Wallis, *A New Method of Making Common-Place Books* (London: J. Greenwood, 1706), i-ii.

⁹ John Bell, *Bell's Common Place Book, Form'd Generally Upon the Principles Recommended and Practised by Mr. Locke* (London: John Bell, 1770), 1.

¹⁰ Ibid.

solution might suffice for those dealing with only a small amount of information, those involved 'in a more extensive sphere' ought to make use of the kinds of methods described by Locke.¹¹ Bell's metaphor for this situation was one that saw information as a burden grown heavy, unless disciplined by order and method, 'A Pedlar may carry his whole stock about him without inconvenience; but a Merchant, who trades to many and various parts of the world, must have a proper repository'.¹²

Many scholars of the eighteenth century turned to notes and diaries as *aides-memoires*. Lotte Mulligan has argued that Robert Hooke compiled his memoranda in accordance with his understanding of the memory as a store for impressions that could be cultivated by the daily or act of writing.¹³ In his work on the notetaking methods of Robert Boyle and John Locke, Richard Yeo has pointed to the function of their manuscript notes in prompting recollection.¹⁴ Yeo has argued that the notes that Boyle and Locke made assisted them in recollecting more than was contained in the note, suggesting the function of their notes as 'external memory'.¹⁵ 'External memory' is defined by Yeo as 'the situation in which various objects and spatial settings outside the biological organism are involved in acts of remembering'.¹⁶ Such memory, which prompts an individual's 'natural memory', contained within the mind, is set in opposition to the act reading of explicit notes which do not require or enable the individual to recall using their natural memory.¹⁷

Though some early modern diarists, notably Hooke, turned to notetaking in an effort to improve poor memory, neither Blagden nor his contemporaries appear to have suggested that this was the motivation for him.¹⁸ The biographer James Boswell remarked upon Blagden's 'copiousness and precision', suggesting he possessed a good memory.¹⁹ In partial

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Mulligan, "Robert Hooke's 'Memoranda': Memory and Natural History," 47-61.

¹⁴ Yeo, *Notebooks*, 152-73.

¹⁵ Richard Yeo, "Notebooks, Recollection, and External Memory: Some Early Modern English Ideas and Practices," in *Forgetting Machines: Knowledge Management and Evolution in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Alberto Cevolini (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016), 151.

¹⁶ Ibid., 129.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ For Hooke's poor memory see Mulligan, "Robert Hooke's 'Memoranda': Memory and Natural History."

¹⁹ Jungnickel and McCormmach, *Cavendish*, 294.

explanation of Blagden's memory abilities, it is necessary to explore the mechanisms by which he may have cultivated them, using his manuscript notes.

Memory was a topic of great interest for Blagden, and several of his notebooks reveal his fascination with the association of ideas. Blagden interpreted the association of ideas as a mechanism for connecting specific thoughts in the mind, that could be re-prompted in sequence. The concept of 'triggering mnemonic movements in sequence' is one that dates back to Aristotle's *De Memoria et Reminiscentia*, in which he codified the distinction between recognition memory, where external stimuli cause one to recognise or remember previous experiences, and recollection, the ability to search consciously through one's memory for a particular thing.²⁰ Recollection was described by Aristotle as a process of deliberately hunting for something in memory, by pursuing traces 'either similar, or contrary... or else... contiguous' until the desired memory is located.²¹ Eighteenth-century conceptions of the association of ideas owed much to Aristotle's explanation. In *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, Hume asserted that the mind contained ideas, images derived from sensory impressions, that could be connected to one another by 'Resemblance', 'Contiguity in time or place', or 'Cause or Effect'.²²

Blagden came into contact with Hume's formulation of the association of ideas during his time at Edinburgh, as evidenced by a number of pages in one of his student notebooks, dedicated to the topic of memory. Blagden wrote 'M[emor]y. is faithful to the order of Ideas; hence train of think[in]g', and recorded the ways in which ideas could be associated,

²⁰ Hugh W. Buckingham and Stanley Finger, "David Hartley's Psychobiological Associationism and the Legacy of Aristotle," *Journal of the History of the Neurosciences* 6, no. 1 (1997): 21-37, 23. Yeo, "Notebooks, Recollection, and External Memory," 133.

²¹ Aristotle, quoted in Buckingham and Finger, "Hartley's Psychobiological Associationism," 23-24.

²² David Hume, *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding, Reprinted from the Edition of 1777* (Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co 1900), 21-22. Buckingham and Finger, "Hartley's Psychobiological Associationism," 26.

1. According to situation in time & place 2. resemblance in other qualities in wh[ic]h. are diff[erent]. degrees. 3 cause & Effect 4. Of qualities to their subject 5. Of other bodies to ourselves.²³

Blagden explicitly linked these ways of relating ideas to associationism, noting 'The power by w[hic]h sens[atio]ns are received to the mind when we call them Ideas, is Memory: this depends on The Association of Ideas w[hic]h is strictly connected w[i]th relation'.²⁴ Though Blagden did not cite his sources, three of the relations he described correspond with those of Hume, namely 'contiguity', 'resemblance', and 'cause or effect'. Since Hume was based in Edinburgh, Blagden may well have met him during his time at the university.²⁵

Blagden's thoughts on the association of ideas were also set out in his commonplace book, in which he linked the concept to trains of thought and recollection via a trigger. On the first page of his commonplace book, Blagden mused,

Association of Ideas is the foundation of our ordinary train of thinking. If by any means the original idea is excited, the ideas connected by association present themselves in the order in which they were associated, to the mind.²⁶

This entry continued with an anecdote from his childhood, in which he recounted how the appearance of two chandeliers in St James's church in Bristol, hung from the ceiling by iron rods, set him thinking while 'listless at church' as a child about how to shear them from the ceiling. Upon a visit to the church in adulthood, Blagden observed how the sight of the chandeliers prompted him to recollect his childhood thoughts, 'on seeing these rods at the same church I fell into the same train of thoughts'.²⁷ Though Hume's

²³ Wellcome Library, MS/1250, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, notebook on memory, undated).

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ The diary of the politician and physician Benjamin Rush, a contemporary of Blagden's at Edinburgh, reveals that Rush met Hume at a dinner hosted by the Scottish physician Sir Alexander Dick. See Benjamin Rush, *The Autobiography of Benjamin Rush: His "Travels through Life" Together with His Commonplace Book for 1789-1813* ed. George W. Corner (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society 1948), 49.

²⁶ Wellcome Library, MS/1245, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, commonplace book, undated entry).

²⁷ Ibid.

associationism did not explicitly refer to trains of thought, this statement suggests that the concepts were closely linked in Blagden's understanding.

Though Blagden's conception of associationism centred on its use as a productive force for recollection, such a view was not typical of contemporary understandings. As Roger Lund has argued, associations between ideas based on similarity were considered by some as an impediment to judgement and moral thinking.²⁸ The philosopher Thomas Hobbes was concerned that those who sought similitudes in the world, associated with 'wit', were apt to dissemble by making 'things appear other than they are'.²⁹ Locke also feared that the 'aptness to jumble things together wherein can be found any likeness' impaired accurate perception.³⁰ Hume expressed similar concerns, noting that when 'In our more serious thinking' a connection is suddenly introduced from another, interrupting the 'regular tract or chain of ideas', it is 'remarked and rejected'.³¹ Blagden does not appear to have shared these negative views. Though he commented that when individuals failed to follow a 'proper train' this suggested 'madness and delirium', his discussion of the association of ideas more generally described it as beneficial to memory in triggering recollection.³²

Blagden's thoughts on associationism in his commonplace book were written on the first page, suggesting he was thinking specifically about memory when he began writing. In the anecdote he recounted, he mused on the power of objects in re-prompting trains of thought, but the same principle could also apply to the reading of words on a page. In his discussion of associative links forged by 'contiguity', Hume noted the way that 'the mention of one apartment in a building naturally introduces an enquiry or discourse concerning the others', suggesting the mention of the first idea in a sequence as a powerful way of aiding recollection of the ideas that follow.³³ In his writing, particularly in his diary, Blagden's prose was brief. This brevity may have been calculated

²⁸ Roger D. Lund, "Wit, Judgement, and the Misprisions of Similitude," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 65, no. 1 (2004): 53-75.

²⁹ Thomas Hobbes, quoted in *ibid.*, 57.

³⁰ John Locke, quoted in *ibid.*, 61.

³¹ Hume, *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, 21.

³² Wellcome Library, MS/1250, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, notebook on memory, undated).

³³ Hume, *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, 22.

to be all that was required to prompt recollection of the context surrounding events and ideas committed to paper.

In its brevity, Blagden's diary likely served as a prompt to recollection. There is evidence that Blagden re-read his diary, perhaps with a view to triggering recollection of past events. This can be found in the form of annotations, added after the original writing of entries, as in one example of a note appended to an entry dated 26 October 1794, 'See [Wednesday] 29'. The later entry provides further information on the events of 26 October, in the form of a conversation between Blagden and Lord George Macartney, recently returned from his embassy to China.³⁴

If Blagden used his diary as a trigger for prompting recollection, then this may have served a practical function when he sought to relay information to others. Many of Blagden's letters, when compared with diary entries composed around the same date, reveal striking similarities in the information they include, the wording they use, and the order in which events are described. Comparing diary entries from Blagden's visit to Paris in 1802 with letters he sent to Banks around the same date reveals one instance of this. On 27 March, Blagden attended a meeting of the of the Scientific Class of the Institut National in Paris, and recorded the papers he had listened to in his diary,

there was first read an account of petrified palm wood found near Soissons in sand under limestone of [with] shells in it. Some remarks by the author not well founded but the petrified stone was really palm wood, then a memoire by Seguin on Hungary leather, that made with alum.³⁵

On 1 April 1802, Blagden wrote to Banks to provide him with news of the papers,

At the meeting of last Saturday the first paper read was on the subject of fossil petrified palm wood found near Soissons; it was really palm wood, & had the genuine structure of that tribe of vegetables very evidently, tho' the whole was stone, I believe impure siliceous stone; but we have seen the like from a great many places. This was found in

³⁴ Royal Society, CB/3/3, f. 26v. (Charles Blagden, diary entries, 26 and 29 Oct. 1794).

³⁵ Royal Society, CB/3/4, f. 5v. (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 27 Mar. 1802).

sand, under limestone. [illegible word] memoires then read by Mr. Seguin, on the method of tanning with alum.³⁶

In the letter, Blagden elaborated slightly on the detail contained in the diary, but in places used identical wording, including 'was really palm wood'. That Blagden recounted the palm wood's structure in the letter, but did not refer to it in the diary, suggests this detail may have been a recollection prompted by re-reading. Operating in this manner, Blagden's diary appears as an example of 'external memory'—a trigger that enabled him to recall more than was committed to paper.

The terse prose characteristic of Blagden's diary entries might also be linked to connections between writing style and ideas concerning the train of thinking. The Edinburgh rhetorician Hugh Blair, in his lectures on 'Precision and Style', advocated concise writing as more conducive to promoting the mind's attention.³⁷ When an idea was put into writing, Blair asserted, 'I would desire all its trappings to be taken off [and] require it to be brought before me by itself, and to stand alone, that there might be nothing to distract my attention'.³⁸ As Eddy has argued, Blair's conception of the link between 'words and space preserved on a page' and 'the linear nature of human thought', as informed by Scottish conceptions of the train of thinking, played a central role in his cultural typology of language and mind.³⁹ It is clear that Blagden came into contact with Blair during his time at Edinburgh, since his notebooks contain extracts from Blair's lectures.⁴⁰ In writing brief prose in his diary, it may have been that Blagden sought to focus his attention, as an aid to recollection.

³⁶ British Library, Add MS 33272, f. 172r. (letter from Charles Blagden to Joseph Banks, 1 Apr. 1802).

³⁷ Natalie Phillips, "The Art of Attention: Navigating Distraction and Rhythms of Focus in Eighteenth-Century Poetry," in *Eighteenth-Century Poetry and the Rise of the Novel Reconsidered*, ed. Kate Parker and Courtney Weiss Smith (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2014), 195.

³⁸ Hugh Blair, quoted in Phillips, "The Art of Attention," 195.

³⁹ Matthew D. Eddy, "The Line of Reason: Hugh Blair, Spatiality and the Progressive Structure of Language," *Notes Rec. R. Soc.* 65, no. 1 (2011): 9-24, 9-10.

⁴⁰ See Blagden's notes on Blair's lectures on ancient and modern rhetoric, in Wellcome Library, MS/1250, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, miscellany, undated).

III. Medical practice and the art of notetaking

Blagden's time at Edinburgh was important in forming his attitudes towards notetaking and memory. Blagden was a student of medicine at the University of Edinburgh in the 1760s, and graduated MD in 1768.⁴¹ Although trained in medicine, he practised as a physician for only a short time. A year after graduating, he took over a practice in Gloucester, but ardently wished to move to London, where a friend informed him that prominent physicians could earn between £2000 and £4000 a year.⁴² A few years later, Blagden secured a position as surgeon to the army, sailing for North America in 1776 to serve on board the hospital ship *Pigot* during the War of Independence. When Blagden returned to Britain, he abandoned medicine and began to foster a career using his connections to eminent gentlemen, as will be discussed in chapter two. Nevertheless, the information management strategies he encountered during his medical training influenced his notetaking and diary in a number of ways.

Medical training had since its early history involved extensive notetaking.⁴³ Eddy, in his examination of the notebooks of eighteenth-century students at Scottish universities, has argued that many were 'shaped profoundly' by their experiences, with courses establishing 'scribal abilities and values' that endured throughout life.⁴⁴ Thomas Ismay, a student of medicine at Edinburgh during the 1770s, wrote to his family of the strenuous schedule of listening, reading, and writing that students adhered to,

[rise] about 7, read till 9, then go to Dr. Cullen's Class, come back at 10, then breakfast and transcribe the Notes which I have taken at his Lecture. From 12 to 1 walk in Infirmary, from 1 to 3 attend Dr Monro. Then come and dine... From 4 to 5 attend Dr Young, from 5 to 6 transcribe the notes I have taken... from 6 to 7 attend Dr Innis [sic]

⁴¹ Miller, "Blagden, Sir Charles."

⁴² Royal Society, CB/1/6/102 (letter from Rev. J Smart to Charles Blagden, 22 Sep. 1769). Royal Society, CB/1/3/113 (letter from Thomas Curtis to Charles Blagden, 7 Jan. 1770).

⁴³ Richard J. Durling, "Girolamo Mercuriale's *De Modo Studendi*," *Osiris* 6 (1990): 181-95, 195. On sixteenth and seventeenth-century medical notetaking, see Stolberg, "Medical Note-Taking."

⁴⁴ Eddy, "The Interactive Notebook," 86, 121.

Private Demonstrations, from 7 to 9 transcribe the Lectures I have borrowed and at 9 get Supper; from 10-12 write Lectures.⁴⁵

Within Blagden's student papers at the Wellcome Library are a number of his lecture notebooks, which attest his similar experience. While the production of lecture notes was not a formal requirement for a degree, students produced them to prepare for examinations.⁴⁶ Eddy has revealed that the whole process of compiling notes involved five stages, including preliminary work, rough note-taking conducted in situ, copying notes, editing and annotating, and circulating polished versions among students and professors.⁴⁷ Blagden's lecture notes, compiled and revised on a daily basis, may have instilled in him the necessary discipline for maintaining a diary. Though Blagden's diary was begun in the 1770s, several years after he graduated, two of his contemporaries at Edinburgh, the physicians Syllas Neville and Benjamin Rush, kept diaries as students, suggesting a possible connection between medical training and the desire to keep a diary as part of one's daily writing schedule.⁴⁸

Medical students also prepared case notes and histories from their observation of patients, a genre of writing with clear similarities to the diary. Michael Stolberg has described the form of the 'practice journal' composed by sixteenth and seventeenth-century physicians, which recorded patients seen and treated on a daily basis, with notes entered in chronological order.⁴⁹ As Julia Epstein has shown, case notes became part of medical training in the eighteenth century, and in their form possessed a temporal narrative as a

⁴⁵ Thomas Ismay, quoted in Lisa Rosner, *Medical Education in the Age of Improvement: Edinburgh Students and Apprentices, 1760-1826* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991), 60.

⁴⁶ Eddy, "The Interactive Notebook," 88.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 90-91.

⁴⁸ Syllas Neville, *The Diary of Syllas Neville 1767-1788*, ed. Basil Cozens-Hardy (London: Oxford University Press, 1950). For mention of Rush's journal kept while at Edinburgh, see Catherine Jones, "Benjamin Rush, Edinburgh Medicine and the Rise of Physician Autobiography," in *Scottish Medicine and Literary Culture, 1726-1832*, ed. Megan J. Coyer and David E. Shuttleton (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2014), 101. I am thankful to John Christie for bringing these diaries to my attention.

⁴⁹ Stolberg, "Medical Note-Taking," 257-60.

'chronology of bodily events', recorded by the physician and reported by the patient.⁵⁰

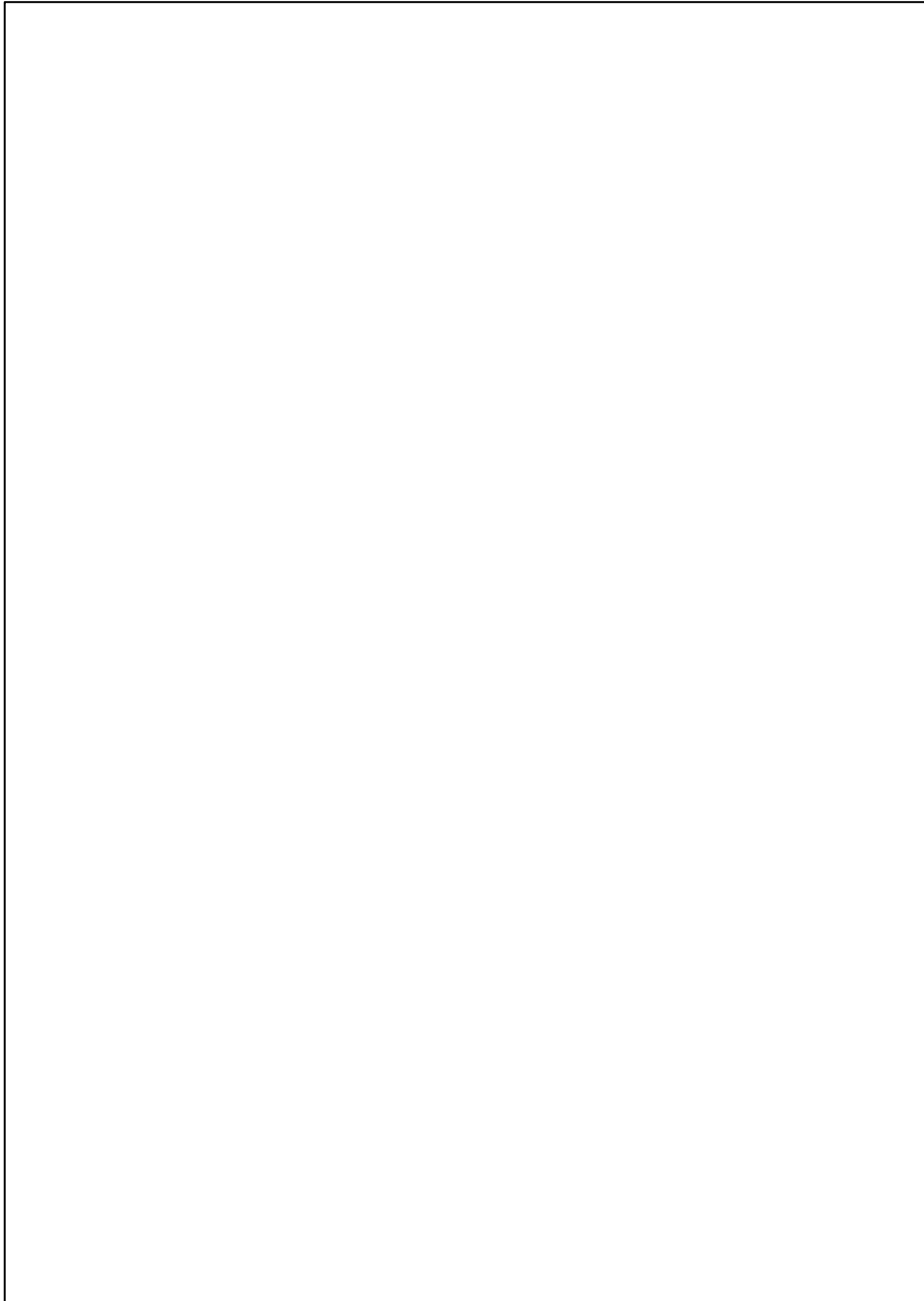


Fig. 2. Page from Blagden's case notes recording the case of Mary Hay. The date is given in the left-hand margin. Alongside is a brief record of changes in symptoms and remedies. Wellcome Library, MS/1235, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, case notes vol. 1, 1767-1769). [image removed]

⁵⁰ Julia Epstein, *Altered Conditions: Disease, Medicine, and Storytelling* (New York: Routledge 1995), 25, 36-40.

Blagden's case notes, made from the patients he saw at Edinburgh hospital, began with the date of the patient's admission and proceeded with initial details and symptoms. An example from the first volume of his case notebooks is that of Mary Hay, a fifteen-year-old girl suffering from abdominal pain. The entry (see fig. 2) began 'Admitted Oct. 2d 1767', before proceeding with the patient's name and symptoms, 'Mary Hay, aged 15, complains of Pains Shoot[in]g. from her navel to the small of her back & stomach'.⁵¹ In the space that followed, Blagden recorded changes in symptoms and remedies prescribed as they occurred by date, including '26 Novr Milk diet'.⁵²

In his later diary, Blagden continued to record information concerning health, symptoms, and remedies with respect to time. A recurring medical discussion was that of Joseph Banks's gout. On 10 March 1795, Blagden recorded 'called on Sir Jos. Banks: Saw him: much affected in head with gout', a diagnosis followed up two days later on 12 March, when Blagden wrote 'B[reakfaste]^d at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s. conversation with him on gout, papers. Analysis of meal, &c'.⁵³ The 'Analysis of meal', cryptic in its brevity, may have referred to a discussion of regimen in relation to alleviating Banks's symptoms.

Several features of this entry suggest similarities with Blagden's case notes. The date of the illness was noted, and in reference to Banks's gout, the entry was followed up, with remedies and changes to symptoms recorded. One might argue that Blagden's first training in the diurnal literary form of the diary came through the task of making dated case notes. Though Blagden's formal medical career ended in the early 1780s, for the rest of his life he continued to record changes in his own health and that of others with respect to time.

⁵¹ Wellcome Library, MS/1235, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, case notes vol. 1, 1767-1769).

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ Royal Society, CB/3/3, ff. 49v-50r. (Charles Blagden, diary entries, 10-12 Mar. 1795).



Fig. 3. Case summary written by Blagden on the illness of his servant Robert Watts, dated December 1782. The astrological symbol for the day of the week is given in the left-hand margin. Royal Society, CB/4/5, folder BLA.5.2 (Charles Blagden, notes on patients and symptoms, case of Robert Watts, Dec. 1782). [image removed]

Blagden also produced larger case summaries, which more closely resemble the form of his later diary. Some of these summaries date from his time in America, and were composed as part of his medical employment, but it is striking that he continued to compile such summaries even after he ceased practice as a physician.⁵⁴ One example is Blagden's 'Case of My Servant Robert Watts. Dec^r. 1782' (see fig. 3).⁵⁵ This summary bears formal

⁵⁴ Royal Society, CB/4/5, folder BLA.5.4 (Charles Blagden, notes on patients and symptoms).

⁵⁵ Royal Society, CB/4/5, folder BLA.5.2 (Charles Blagden, notes on patients and symptoms, case of Robert Watts, Dec. 1782).

resemblance to the diary, and possesses a number of differences with Blagden's earlier case notes, suggesting that after his student days, he adapted his medical notes to suit his changing needs.⁵⁶ Watts's case summary features the date in its left-hand margin, with the day of the week denoted by an astrological symbol. This convention does not appear in any of Blagden's student notes but was one he adopted when he began his diary (see left-hand margin of fig. 1 and fig. 3), suggesting diary-keeping may have influenced some of the structural conventions used in his later medical notes. Rather than providing brief notes of changing symptoms and remedies as seen in his description of Mary Hay, Blagden provided fuller prose in his description of Watts's illness.

Though Blagden's medical notes shared some aspects of their form and content with his diary, key differences can be found in their structure. While Blagden's diary was arranged chronologically, with entries produced each day in sequence, his case notes were arranged according to the individual described. The layout of Blagden's case notebooks, in their format of one page per person, can be compared with other forms of eighteenth-century medical information management, which saw the individual as akin to a single page within a volume. Volker Hess and J. Andrew Mendelsohn have highlighted the form developed in late eighteenth-century hospital administration, in which hospitals recorded the entry and departure of patients, with each patient receiving one register entry for their entire hospital stay. Hess and Mendelsohn have argued that this 'physical formatting on paper went hand in hand with psychological formatting on duty'.⁵⁷

Each patient Blagden saw had their own entry in his case notebook. Space was often left after an entry, with a view to continuing the description of the patient's symptoms and recovery on the same page. Later notebooks featured contents pages, enabling faster retrieval of cases.⁵⁸ In this layout, while each case progressed chronologically, the time spanned on a page could be a number of months. It is to another of Blagden's notebooks, his

⁵⁶ Michael Stolberg has argued that physicians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries adapted their notetaking depending on their needs and career stage. Stolberg, "Medical Note-Taking," 260.

⁵⁷ Hess and Mendelsohn, "Case and Series," 292.

⁵⁸ Wellcome Library, MS/1241 (Charles Blagden, case notes vol. 7, 1767-1769).

commonplace book, that one must turn to trace his experimentation with notes in an entire volume entered in sequence with the passage of time.

IV. Commonplace books as information storage devices

Blagden kept a number of other notebooks, beyond those produced as part of his medical training. One of these was his commonplace book, a notebook he kept between 1769 and 1773, during the short time he spent working as a physician in Gloucester. Early modern commonplace books were blank notebooks into which readers transcribed favourite passages, phrases, arguments, or information, often grouped together under subject headings, collated for 'later retrieval and use'.⁵⁹ The genre of the commonplace book possessed roots in Aristotle and Cicero's use of the term in relation to the extraction of arguments to be applied to multiple cases.⁶⁰ Though Ann Moss has suggested that the commonplace book was in decline by the eighteenth century, David Allan has argued that the tradition continued, and came to include notebooks that were seen as 'little more than convenient *aides-memoires*' used to store information from personal experience, alongside reading notes.⁶¹

Early modern attitudes to notetaking were complex. Faced with what seemed an overabundance of information, Blair has revealed that the philosopher René Descartes responded by suggesting that scholars ignore the knowledge found in texts in favour of creating 'a new philosophy from experience'.⁶² Francis Bacon castigated all things philological, including the reading and collating of information from books, a central feature of the use of the commonplace book.⁶³ At the same time, Bacon and the early fellows of the Royal Society embraced the idea that natural history was a practice that required extensive notetaking and extended library study; Yeo has revealed

⁵⁹ Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 72.

⁶⁰ David Allan, *Commonplace Books and Reading in Georgian England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 35-6.

⁶¹ Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Oxford Scholarship Online, 2011), 279. Allan, *Commonplace Books*, 34.

⁶² Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 57.

⁶³ Yeo, *Notebooks*, xii.

that in the seventeenth century, the idea that knowledge ‘could be reliably stored and manipulated in memory’ was replaced by the notion that improving natural knowledge required a re-assessment of ‘the balance between memory and other ways of storing information’.⁶⁴

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw a proliferation of manuals devoted to organising notetaking. Among the most influential was Locke’s *A New Method of Making Common-Place Books*, first published in English in 1706.⁶⁵ Locke’s principal innovation was advising readers to design their own subject headings, rather than using the standard conventional headings adopted during the Renaissance.⁶⁶ Mark Towsey has argued that this innovation encouraged the development of ‘independent critical and orderly thinking’ rather than merely circulating ‘a stable body of established knowledge’.⁶⁷ This shift from using prescribed headings to those chosen by the individual note taker, Yeo has suggested, was tied to the changing function of the notebook itself. By the end of the seventeenth century, and into the eighteenth century, notebooks had changed from being repositories for items to be memorised, to devices for storing and retrieving information.⁶⁸

Blagden’s commonplace book showcases the varied uses that such notebooks had. His contained notes from personal reading, in the form of short statements accompanied by references, a practice endorsed in the preface to Le Clerc’s edition of Locke’s advice, which stated that a commonplace book’s purpose was to store information ‘So that when we extract any Thing out of an Author which is like to be of future Use, we may be able to find it without any Trouble’.⁶⁹ Blagden’s commonplace book contained many snippets extracted from texts, including *Letters on the English Nation by Batista Angeloni, a Jesuit resident in London*, a satire written by the Tory author John Shebbeare first published in 1756, and Pierre Bayle’s biographical work, the *Historical and Critical Dictionary*, first published in English in 1709.⁷⁰

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, xii-xiii.

⁶⁵ Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 70.

⁶⁶ Allan, *Commonplace Books*, 39-40.

⁶⁷ Mark Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment: Books and Their Readers in Provincial Scotland, 1750-1820* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 183.

⁶⁸ Yeo, *Notebooks*, 68.

⁶⁹ Locke, Le Clerc, and Wallis, *A New Method of Making Common-Place Books*, ii.

⁷⁰ Wellcome Library, MS/1245, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, commonplace book, undated entries).

Notetaking from reading was a practice that Blagden continued throughout his life, as evidenced by a series of notes on journals produced nearly two decades after the commonplace book, concurrently with the diary. These notes contained dated entries in a similar format, with snippets from antiquarian and natural philosophical journals, including *Researches of the Asiatic Society*, the French *Annales de Chimie*, the *Oriental Repertory*, and the German *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*.⁷¹

It is a point of difference between Blagden's commonplace book and later diary that notes from reading were not contained in the latter, but featured heavily in the former. Where Blagden referred to his reading in the diary, this came in the form of a record of activities, as in comments such as 'Dined & spent evening at home, reading Zoonomia', on 25 October 1794.⁷² Blagden did not consider his diary as the proper place for lengthy extracts of information. On one occasion, Blagden made notes from a series of lectures given by the provincial lecturer Henry Moyes in his diary for the year 1782.⁷³ Having begun his notes from the first two lectures in the diary, on 16 and 18 July, Blagden continued to record notes from subsequent lectures on separate sheets of paper, writing in his entry for the date of Moyes's third lecture, 'Wrote remarks on Moyes's lecture separate'.⁷⁴ Blagden's notes on Moyes's lectures required a level of detail impractical for inclusion within a diary intended to contain other information.

While information from texts and lectures was not typically recorded in the diary, information obtained in conversation was routinely entered in both Blagden's commonplace book and diary, alongside the date. Recording the date in commonplace entries was not a feature of Locke's method, but such practice was not anathema to eighteenth-century notetaking. Yeo has highlighted the example of another of Locke's notebooks, the 'Adversaria Physica', in which he recorded notes from observation, experiment, and

⁷¹ Royal Society, CB/4/4, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, notes on journals, 5 Dec. 1793).

⁷² Royal Society, CB/3/3, f. 26r. (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 25 Oct. 1794).

⁷³ Blagden described Moyes in unfavorable terms as an extremely inaccurate 'itinerant Philosopher' in a letter to Banks. Royal Society, CB/1/1/81 (letter from Charles Blagden to Joseph Banks, 19 Jul. 1782).

⁷⁴ Royal Society, CB/3/1, ff. 35r-38v. (Charles Blagden, diary entries, 16-20 Jul. 1782). Blagden's separate notes on Moyes's lectures can be found in his 'Remarks on Dr Moyes's Lectures begun July 1782' in Royal Society, MS/821, unpaginated (Blagden collection).

testimony, in dated entries.⁷⁵ Yeo has argued that if the source of the note was not a book, Locke routinely recorded the information as if it were a 'specific event' in a manner reminiscent of a diary entry.⁷⁶ Blagden's contemporary Benjamin Rush followed the same practice in entering anecdotes and conversations alongside the date in his commonplace book.⁷⁷ By the eighteenth century, inclusion of information beyond notes extracted from reading, accompanied by the date, had become a feature of the diversifying commonplace genre.

Several dated anecdotes can be found in Blagden's commonplace book. One excerpt, dated 24 June 1769, recorded 'The Veronica chamaedrys after its flowers are fallen, is subject to a disease... This pointed out to me by Mr Lateoll'.⁷⁸ Blagden's later diary contains numerous comparable examples. On 16 November 1794, Blagden recorded having had breakfast with Henry Cavendish and Dr Hugh Gillan, physician appointed to Macartney's embassy to China. Blagden recorded in detail his conversation with Gillan, which began

Dr G[illan]. said that tea considered by natives are not different in green & bohea, but that differences not in the petals [sic]. All Mandarins affect to dispise [sic] Nat. History, therefore little information of that sort in the power of those capable of communicating it.⁷⁹

In the recording of anecdotes and conversations, Blagden's diary fulfilled the same function as his commonplace book, offering a convenient repository for information for later use.

Blagden's commonplace book and diary both contained sketches alongside passages of information. In an entry in his commonplace book dated 23 September 1771, Blagden recorded a visit he made to a Mr Grenville, a

⁷⁵ Yeo, *Notebooks*, 187.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ Benjamin Rush's commonplace books are published in Rush, *The Autobiography of Benjamin Rush: His "Travels through Life" Together with His Commonplace Book for 1789-1813* 171. Matthew Eddy has noted that it was not unusual for commonplace books to feature dated entries, Eddy, "The Child Writer," 716.

⁷⁸ Wellcome Library, MS/1245, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, commonplace book entry, 24 Jun. 1769).

⁷⁹ Royal Society, CB/3/3, f. 30r. (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 16 Nov. 1794).

blind organist from Herefordshire, famed for his invention of a machine for teaching arithmetic to the blind.⁸⁰ Blagden wrote,

I saw Mr Grenville the Organist of Ross, who being blind has learnt to repair that defect in a considerable degree, by the help of several instruments... He has also a table for arithmetic made in this form. Into the holes marked thus (o) he puts the pegs which stand for the 10 cyphers; the holes marked thus (•) are for fixing brass rods, with a hook at each end.⁸¹

Alongside this entry, Blagden drew a diagram of Grenville's table (see fig. 4) possibly to affect better recollection. Resemblance was one of Hume's principles on which ideas could become associated, since 'A picture naturally leads our thoughts to the original'.⁸²



Fig. 4. Blagden's commonplace book entry concerning Grenville's arithmetic table, featuring a diagram of the table. Wellcome Library, MS/1245, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, commonplace book entry, 23 Sep. 1771). [image removed]

In Blagden's diary for the year 1802, one entry, dated 3 April, featured similar use of a visual aid, in reference to the design of a steam engine produced by Robert R. Livingston, the American minister to France. The entry recorded the following,

⁸⁰ *Transactions of the Society, Instituted at London, for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce* (London: R. Wilks, 1808), 47.

⁸¹ Wellcome Library, MS/1245, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, commonplace book entry, 23 Sep. 1771).

⁸² Hume, *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, 22.

[Saturday] 3. Called on Mr Livingston who shewed me his plans for a steam engine, more commodious, of less weight & expense... the principle is, that a piston of iron shall work in a cylinder of iron a little large[r] than itself, the intermediate space being filled with quicksilver.⁸³

Alongside this description was a small diagram (see fig. 5). In its positioning alongside the text, and its function as a visual representation of a device described in the entry, this example reveals a continuation of one of the practices that Blagden developed in his commonplace book.

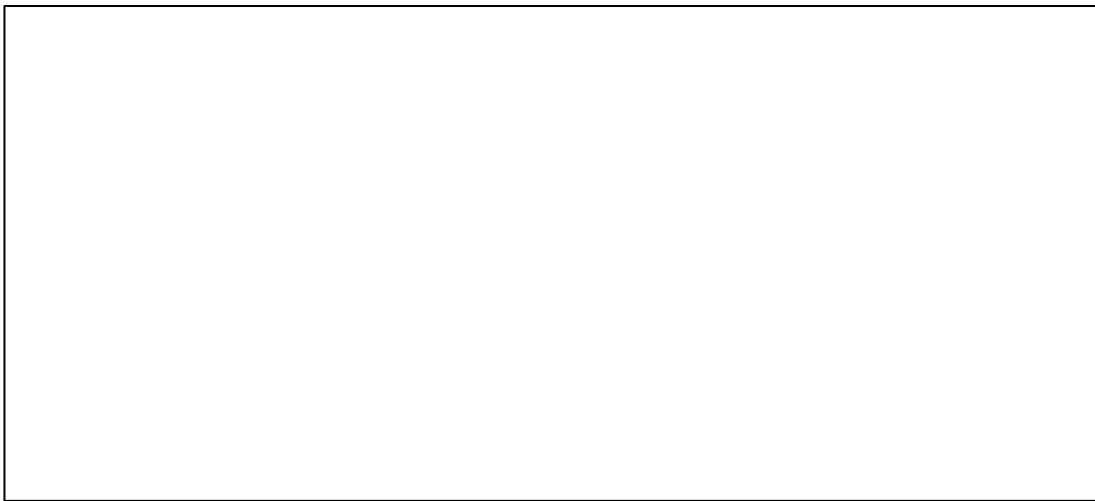


Fig. 5. Blagden's diary entry for 3 April 1802, featuring a diagram of Robert Livingston's steam engine. Royal Society, CB/3/4, f. 10r. (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 3 Apr. 1802). [image removed]

Though Blagden's 'commonplace book' has been labelled as such by archive collections, the similarities between this notebook and his later diary suggest that it was perhaps his first experimentation with keeping a diary. One of the key features of commonplace books was inclusion of an index or subject headings that organised content and aided information retrieval.⁸⁴ However, Blagden's commonplace book was different, in that it featured no index or content headings above individual entries. The only method of dividing entries, applied intermittently, was the insertion of the date, as was typical for the layout of a diary.

⁸³ Royal Society, CB/3/4, f. 10r. (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 3 Apr. 1802).

⁸⁴ Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment*, 182.

On the other hand, Yeo has argued that it was not unusual for commonplace books to contain dates and autobiographical details, meaning that the form of the commonplace book often resembled that of a diary.⁸⁵ Blagden's commonplace book attests the relative conceptual flexibility of the genre, and the ways in which individual notetakers blurred the divisions between manuscript genres. Yet, in the mid 1770s, Blagden chose to begin a diary rather than continuing his commonplace book. While the commonplace book was a large vellum-bound volume, the diary consisted of small quires, far more portable than a bound book. Blagden's diary was influenced by a further genre of writing, in connection with his early experiences of travel. Moreover, it was arguably travel that made loose sheets more practical for storing useful information, than a large bound commonplace book.

V. Voyage narratives, travel writing, and Blagden's early diary

Blagden's decision to begin a diary in 1776 coincided with his service as surgeon to the army between 1776 and 1780, a period during which he spent considerable time travelling.⁸⁶ Contemporary travel narratives provide another context for understanding the development of his diary, as literary genres with which he was very familiar. During the mid 1780s, Blagden travelled through Britain, with his friend and patron Henry Cavendish. The form of his diary was influenced by various approaches to travel writing, and notetaking as a natural philosophical activity.

Blagden was an avid reader of travel narratives. During his early career, he compiled a series of notes entitled 'Travel Records and Observations'. Among this set of papers are a number of undated notes extracted from various texts, including William Borlase's *Natural History of Cornwall*, 1758,

⁸⁵ Yeo, *Notebooks*, 22.

⁸⁶ Though the Royal Society's catalogue suggests that Blagden's diary began in 1771, entries for this year more closely resemble his scientific notes (see fig. 6, a page from Blagden's experimental notes on the cooling of water). Furthermore, the entries made in 1771 are contained within a single paper-backed notebook that differs from the rest of the diary, which is made up of loose sheets. I therefore suggest that the 1771 entries are not the beginning of the diary, and that the first entries are in fact those that begin in 1776, held in the Beinecke Library.

Thomas Pennant's *Tour in Scotland 1769, 1771*, and Andrew Burnaby's *Travels Through the Middle Settlements in North America, 1775*.⁸⁷

Examining Blagden's notes taken from his reading reveals several topics that in turn feature heavily in his later diary. From his reading of Pennant, Blagden made notes relating to landscape, flora, and fauna, alongside local activities. From *Tour in Scotland*, Blagden noted the description of a particular journey, 'From Glen Tilt. Ascend a Steep hill, & find ourselves on an Arrie, or tract of mountain which the families of one or two hamlets retire to with their flocks for pasture in summer'.⁸⁸ The earliest portion of Blagden's diary, composed on the voyage to North America, contains numerous descriptions of landscape merged with local activities that mirror extracted text from his reading of travel narratives. On 23 January 1776, Blagden wrote 'Saw to day a dark cave running in toward the bottom of this bay the separation about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile: called barly cave.... land forming the S. part of Crook haven is almost 2 islands'.⁸⁹ In the same entry, Blagden recorded the local businesses in Crookhaven, a southern-Irish coastal town that he passed through on the voyage to America, 'Mr Malony's public house at crookhaven a most notorious bawdy house 5 girls of all prices'.⁹⁰

Blagden's early diary also recalls the content of travels narratives in the structure of individual entries. Connections can be drawn between the style of diary entries and eighteenth-century narratives that replicated the appearance of a ship's log. James Kelly has discussed the increasing popularity of such narratives, revealing how authors gave details of direction, speed, and weather, alongside a host of other conditions.⁹¹ One factor behind this impulse was a new fashion for precision within travel narratives, tied to increasing reader expectations for reliability. Michael Bravo has explored the ways in which precision was understood in relation to travel narratives, consisting in

⁸⁷ Beinecke Library, OSB MSS 51, box 1 folders 12 and 14, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, misc. geographical notes, undated).

⁸⁸ Beinecke Library, OSB MSS 51, box 1 folder 12, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, extract from Pennant in misc. geographical notes, undated).

⁸⁹ Beinecke Library, Osborn fc16, box 1 folder 1, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 23 Jan. 1776).

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ James Kelly, "Bordering on Fact in Eighteenth-Century Sea Journals," in *Recording and Reordering: Essays on the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth- Century Diary and Journal*, ed. Dan Doll and Jessica Munns (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2006), 161.

certain 'habits of observation', 'care and trustworthiness', and the insertion of measurements alongside descriptive detail.⁹²

Entries in Blagden's diary for the years he spent on board the *Pigot* contain several features found in a ship's log. These include notes on temperature, weather conditions, and astronomical observations, as seen in Blagden's entry for 19 February 1777,

At 8 ½ a. m. Ther[mometer]. 18 Bar[omete]r 29.77. Wind northerly, blows very sharp... By altitudes reflected horizon found that at ½ after 9 in morning watch, which had been just wound up, was 0^h 35'. 11" too slow for apparent time... Then observed Transit of Bear's Tail at 5.^h 39. 8" by Watch.⁹³

Such measurements are perhaps unsurprising in a diary kept while its author spent long periods at sea. However, it is striking that such observations exist throughout the rest of the diary. Entries made during the 1790s, when Blagden lived in London, invariably begin or end with the weather. Blagden often recorded precise detail, as in his entry for 25 January 1795,

At 10 a.m this morning ther[mometer] home 8°. Sir Jos[eph]. Banks's in night 4: Mr Cav[endish]'s on lawn at Clapham -6° on house -1°. Sir Geo[rge] Shuckburgh's at 1. am +4°... Day foggy, smoky: wind variable; cloudy with breeze.⁹⁴

Weather recording in early modern diaries was also conducted with a view to exploring the links between health and climate. Hooke, Boyle, and Locke all recorded weather observations in connection with such interests.⁹⁵ As Jan Golinski has argued, connections between weather and health had been explored since antiquity.⁹⁶ In the eighteenth century, weather diarists often recorded instances of disease in particular locations alongside their

⁹² Michael T. Bravo, "Precision and Curiosity in Scientific Travel: James Rennell and the Orientalist Geography of the New Imperial Age (1760-1830)," in *Voyages and Visions Towards a Cultural History of Travel*, ed. Jaś Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiés (London: Reaktion Books, 1999), 163-64.

⁹³ Beinecke Library, Osborn fc16, box 1 folder 5, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 19 Feb. 1777).

⁹⁴ Royal Society, CB/3/3, f. 43r. (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 25 Jan. 1795).

⁹⁵ Yeo, *Notebooks*, 190-95, 228.

⁹⁶ Jan Golinski, *British Weather and the Climate of Enlightenment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 137-38.

notes on climate.⁹⁷ Similar notes can be found in Blagden's diary, where he connected local landscapes and climate with his interests in health, as seen in an entry made during a visit to the Glastonbury in the summer of 1780, 'almost surrounded with clay, & people there look by no means healthy... I was told of many agues'.⁹⁸

When Blagden spent time travelling in Britain and on the continent, his diary bore the marks of precision recording with respect to time in other ways. In the summers of 1785, 1786, and 1787, when Blagden was working as an assistant to Cavendish, he and Cavendish engaged in a series of natural philosophical tours, visiting south-east England, South Wales, and Yorkshire, composing a series of diaries.⁹⁹ The purpose of these tours was to observe local geology, industry, and climate. In his diary for the tour through south Wales and the north of England in 1786, Blagden included lists of locations at which they had stopped to take measurements of temperatures, and the times at which they had done so, alongside his prose entries. Blagden's list for 26 August began 'Top of Garbary Hill at 4p.m. Bar[ometer]. 29, 341... At York at 8^h p.m. Bar. 30, 083'.¹⁰⁰

This style of recording is also seen in Blagden's later diary. In 1792, when Blagden spent the latter part of the year visiting Italy, he used his diary to record locations at specific times, charting the changing landscape with respect to time. In his entry for 25 December 1792, Blagden recorded a visit to Vesuvius. In this entry, he listed events and sights down to the minute they occurred,

At 12, the XLII m[ile]. st[one]. almost abreast of Trajetto on left, & promontory with tower on right, both near 2 miles off.... At 1.35 abreast of the aqueduct: a stream running seems to lead exactly toward Trajetto XLI milestone there... At 1.40 had another ruin on right.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Beinecke Library, Osborn fc16, box 2 folder 15, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 10 Jun. 1780).

⁹⁹ McCormack, *The Personality of Henry Cavendish*, 169-74.

¹⁰⁰ Beinecke Library, Osborn fc16, box 2 folder 20, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, itinerary with temperatures, 26 Aug. 1786).

¹⁰¹ Royal Society, CB/3/1, f. 436r. (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 25 Dec. 1792).

This type of content appears in a number of Blagden's subsequent diaries composed during visits to the continent. The Royal Society archives contain a number of diary fragments composed in pencil, described as 'duplicates' of entries contained within the main volumes of diary for the 1790s.¹⁰² Rather than being duplicates, these entries are instead dedicated to the description of journeys between towns and cities, and were probably made en route. The handwriting in these sections often appears as though jogged by the motion of a carriage. Within the main volume of the diary, entries that cover the same dates, written in pen rather than pencil, give accounts of what Blagden saw and did when he reached his destinations, more likely composed at the end of the day.

The practice of compiling several entries for the same day, containing different information, was something that Blagden had encountered in Cavendish's travel notes and diary. Russel McCormmach has revealed that Cavendish followed a method used by the English agricultural improver Arthur Young.¹⁰³ In his travel writing, Young distinguished between a diary-style register of journeys, composed in an autobiographical style, and summarised results of the journey, including quantitative detail such as the price of local crops, providing both in his published accounts.¹⁰⁴ Comparing multiple entries made for the same day in Blagden's diary reveals this practice in his writing. While travelling in Yorkshire in 1786, Blagden recorded the picturesque landscape in his diary entry for 27 August, 'Country about Richmond very bold. Sir Yorke's walk fine round the Castle... A pretty water fall of the Swale under the ruins of the Castle... a most beautiful spot'.¹⁰⁵ In a second account of the same day, Blagden recorded purely geological details, in a diary entry stripped of picturesque description and more reminiscent of Young's summarised results, 'Soon after leaving Easingwold we came upon the yellow limestone...

¹⁰² See 'Duplicate pencil notes made by Charles Blagden on his travels', Royal Society, CB/4/3, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, diary entries, 10 Mar.-5 Oct. 1793). These entries cover the journeys made between destinations recorded in Royal Society, CB/3/2 (Charles Blagden, diary entries, 10 Mar.-5 Oct. 1793).

¹⁰³ McCormmach, *The Personality of Henry Cavendish*, 170-72.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 172.

¹⁰⁵ Beinecke Library, Osborn fc16, box 2 folder 20, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 27 Aug. 1786).

It continued to near Thirsk, but we saw nothing but pebble on the road... From Thirsk the soil continued red loam & sandy to Leeming Lane, 10 miles'.¹⁰⁶

VI. Conclusion

Blagden's diary bore the influence of multiple information management strategies, and a particular attitude towards mind and memory that offers a possible explanation of a number of its features. Though the diary shares commonalities with other forms of writing, in case notes, commonplace books, and travel writing, it was not a homogenous document. When Blagden travelled in Britain and on the continent, he often composed multiple entries for the same date, containing different information. Though Blagden recorded some of the same kinds of information when resident in London, including health and weather, these sections of diary do not feature detail of Blagden's journeys. Nevertheless, the diary is best understood as a hybrid manuscript that developed in relation to his other notetaking practices.

Jungnickel and McCormmach have argued that it was Blagden's 'excellent memory for facts' that recommended him to others, including his patrons.¹⁰⁷ The diary was important to this memory function in Blagden's career. This chapter has outlined some of the ways in which the diary may have operated as an *aide-memoire*, designed to trigger recollection and to support his efforts in conveying information to others.

As Eddy has observed in relation to the notebooks of Scottish students during the Enlightenment, many individuals understood notetaking 'as a key to their future success in business or a profession'.¹⁰⁸ As will be explored in the rest of this thesis, Blagden's notetaking, in the forms adopted throughout the development of his career, assisted his efforts to self-fashion and emulate an identity as a gentleman of science.

¹⁰⁶ Beinecke Library, OSB MSS 51, box 1 folder 2, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 27 Aug. 1786).

¹⁰⁷ Jungnickel and McCormmach, *Cavendish*, 294.

¹⁰⁸ Eddy, "The Interactive Notebook," 91.

CHAPTER TWO: PATRONAGE AND CULTURES OF ADVANCEMENT IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

I. Introduction

If Blagden's diary was a tool of information management, then its use was as a means of furthering his career by assisting his efforts at emulating behaviour in the pursuit of social ambition. Having originally trained as a physician, Blagden later sought the patronage of eminent male scholars, Joseph Banks and Henry Cavendish, operating as a client and purveyor of natural philosophical knowledge to foster his identity as a gentleman of science. Blagden first cultivated the friendship of Banks and Cavendish in the 1770s. He worked as an assistant to Cavendish during the 1780s, and between 1784 and 1797 served as secretary of the Royal Society, a position that formalised his client relationship with Banks. Historians focusing on the middle part of Blagden's career have described him as a comfortable London gentleman of science, but fail to explain how or why he achieved this status.¹ This chapter explains how Blagden cultivated this position.

Early in his life, Blagden's aims centred on obtaining social status and prestige. He frequently spoke of such ambitions as the motivation for pursuing a career in medicine. Yet Blagden found medical employment slow to provide the rewards he sought, and he turned instead to the patronage of natural philosophers. Scientific patronage is best known among historians in the work of Mario Biagioli on the sixteenth century, and more recently in the work of scholars on the seventeenth-century patronage networks of Hans Sloane.² In these examples, the exchange of gifts and correspondence played an important role in forging and maintaining relationships.³

¹ See the Introduction for further discussion.

² Biagioli, "Scientific Revolution, Social Bricolage, and Etiquette." On Sloane's patronage networks, see Delbourgo, "Collecting Hans Sloane." Marples, "Collecting and Correspondence." and "Scientific Administration."

³ On gift exchange in patronage relationships in the early modern period, see Paula Findlen, "The Economy of Scientific Exchange in Early Modern Italy," in *Patronage and Institutions: Science, Technology, and Medicine at the European Court 1500-1750*, ed. Bruce T. Moran (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1991), and Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, *The Culture of Giving:*

There is some continuity between these Renaissance strategies and the style of patronage pursued by Blagden at the end of the eighteenth century. James Crowther has described Blagden as a 'courtier', who in his relationships with Banks and Cavendish considered himself as belonging to a section of the ruling class, with 'Banks as leader and patron, Cavendish as employer and Blagden as employee'.⁴ This chapter argues that Blagden ingratiated himself among London's gentlemanly circles, with the aid of his manuscript notes. In his attempts at emulation, Blagden effortlessly turned from medicine to natural history, providing Banks with zoological specimens as gifts, and from natural history to the physical sciences, assisting Cavendish with his researches into temperature.

Blagden's appeal to patrons brought him into conflict with growing alternatives for advancement, both in Britain and abroad. As Ken Alder has shown in his study of French engineers at the end of the eighteenth century, one alternative to traditional patronage at the *École Militaire* in Paris was the culture of meritocracy, that ranked individuals using processes applied to their object of study, particularly mathematics.⁵ At the Royal Society during the 1780s, a growing number of industrial and professional scientific circles, beyond the capital, opposed Banks's reign over the society as patron and 'autocrat of the philosophers' during the Society's 'dissensions', in favour of a more meritocratic solution.⁶ At key moments in Blagden's career, different cultures of advancement clashed against one another. This chapter re-evaluates two such moments, the 1783 'water controversy', and the Royal Society 'dissensions', and proposes that they reveal much about the character of the gentlemanly community in London into which Blagden sought entry.

The chapter begins by examining the ways in which Blagden's diary and notetaking supported his efforts to achieve social and scientific standing. Blagden first pursued a career in medicine, followed by attempts to secure the

Informal Support and Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

⁴ J. G. Crowther, *Scientists of the Industrial Revolution* (London: The Cresset Press, 1962), 334.

⁵ Alder, "French Engineers Became Professionals," 94-125.

⁶ Crowther, *Scientists of the Industrial Revolution*, 334-35. Hector Charles Cameron, *Sir Joseph Banks K.B., P.R.S. The Autocrat of the Philosophers* (London: The Batchworth Press, 1952).

patronage of Banks and Cavendish, with the support of his diary and correspondence. The chapter then considers the conflicts he experienced between alternative cultures of advancement in the 1780s, during his exchanges with French savants, and in Britain at the Royal Society. Blagden's decision to pursue patronage posed significant challenges in terms of social status, reward, and exclusivity, with consequences that will be examined in chapter four.

II. Blagden's ambitions for status and fortune

From the outset of his career, Blagden's ambitions centred on the pursuit of social status and financial reward. It was towards these aims that his notetaking efforts in his student notes, commonplace book, and diary, were oriented. In the first instance, Blagden turned to a career in medicine, in order to achieve standing. As his career progressed, he turned to the patronage of wealthy male scholars, whose connection bolstered his own standing within privileged metropolitan circles. As Blagden sought to create a role for himself that bolstered his standing, the form and content of his diary evolved, assisting his use of particular strategies to win patronage and status.

Social standing and the notion of the 'gentleman' was much discussed in the eighteenth century, as an identity defined by birth, manners, and metropolitan cultural identity. In his *Dictionary of the English Language*, the lexicographer Samuel Johnson defined a 'gentleman' as 'A man of birth', 'a man of extraction', or a man 'raised above the vulgar by his character or post'.⁷ As Lord Chesterfield, the noted eighteenth-century commentator on gentlemanly manners, wrote in his letters to his son, a gentleman was easily identified by his 'good-breeding'.⁸ 'Good-breeding' was defined as 'the result of good-sense and good nature', attributes that were apparent at birth, but that also required training and practice, and an acquaintance with good manners.⁹

⁷ Johnson, *Dictionary of the English Language*, 324.

⁸ Philip Dormer Chesterfield, *The Accomplish'd Gentleman: Or, Principles of Politeness, and of Knowing the World* (Dublin: Wogan, Bean, and Pike, 1782), 6.

⁹ *Ibid.*

Key to the possession of gentlemanly manners was a familiarity with metropolitan culture. Gentlemanly identity implicitly mapped onto geographic location, with connections drawn between the polite and elegant manners of London, in opposition to less sophisticated provincial life. As Roy Porter has shown, natural philosophy was an important feature of fashionable metropolitan culture that those in the provinces sought to emulate in their own cultural identities.¹⁰ In Chesterfield's letters, provincial identities typically connoted a lack of manners and social unease, 'An aukward [sic] country fellow, when he comes into company better than himself, is exceedingly disconcerted'.¹¹ Chesterfield set such a 'country' identity in contrast to that of a 'gentleman who is acquainted with life', by implication a more cosmopolitan individual.¹²

Blagden came from a modest provincial family and was painfully aware of his lack of standing at the beginning of his career. His family had roots in the Gloucestershire textile industry, and were by no means of the metropolitan gentlemanly identity that characterises historians' descriptions of him by the middle of his life.¹³ In a letter written to his mentor while at Edinburgh, the physician William Cullen, Blagden alluded to the meagre fortune of his family,

My father dying when I was but 2 years old, & having lived profusely, left the younger children but small fortunes... My Aunt however kindly provides me a subsistence; but it is that of a very private Gent[leman], & in a way which renders my living at Bristol necessary.¹⁴

Though Blagden did not possess the funds or familial heritage of a gentleman, it was through a career in medicine that he initially sought to improve his social standing. Blagden's primary aim was to relocate from Bristol to London. After graduating MD in 1768, Blagden secured employment in Gloucester, but longed for a practice in London, as complaints raised against him by local patients indicated, '[Blagden] without ceremony says he had rather have a thousand [pounds] a year at London than sit down with two

¹⁰ Porter, "Science, Provincial Culture and Public Opinion."

¹¹ Chesterfield, *The Accomplished Gentleman*, 2.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Miller, "Blagden, Sir Charles."

¹⁴ Royal Society, CB/4/7/20 (draft of a letter from Charles Blagden to William Cullen, undated).

thousand a year at Gl[oucester]'.¹⁵ Writing to his aunt of his unhappiness at being stationed in Gloucester, Blagden declared himself 'dulled by lying torpid in an obscure hole buried from the world'.¹⁶ For Blagden, London represented the heart of gentlemanly society. In his later life, he recorded near-daily visits to museums, galleries, theatres, and the homes of fashionable gentlemen and ladies, all features of what Porter has described as eighteenth-century London's 'new world of leisure'.¹⁷ As will be explored in chapter five, participation within fashionable culture was Blagden's driving ambition.

Moving to the capital as a physician was not simple. Though Blagden had been told by his friend Thomas Curtis that a physician might earn between £2000 and £4000 a year in London, it was essential for any young doctor to build a strong reputation.¹⁸ To build his reputation, Blagden applied for a position in the army, and in 1775 secured employment as a surgeon on board the hospital ship *Pigot*. He wrote to his aunt of the benefits, stating that it promised '20 S[hillings] a day as long as I am employed, 10S a day, half pay, for life', in addition to 'the most effectual & honourable introduction to Practice in London that any young Physician can procure'.¹⁹

Though Blagden sought a place as surgeon to build his reputation, it was during and immediately after his time in America that he began to cultivate the patronage of Banks and Cavendish. Blagden's reasons for doing so may have centred on his understanding of a gentleman as a leisured individual, with sufficient funds to give him independence from having to work. As Steven Shapin has noted, the identity of the early modern gentleman was predicated on the notion of 'free action', alongside 'independence and integrity relative to individuals in other social categories'.²⁰ Chesterfield's *Accomplished Gentleman* significantly made no mention of formal employment in the advice

¹⁵ Royal Society, CB/1/5/93 (letter from Elizabeth Nelmes to Charles Blagden, 10 Mar. 1770).

¹⁶ Royal Society, CB/1/5/117 (draft of a letter from Charles Blagden to Thomas Blagden and Mrs Nelmes, early 1770s).

¹⁷ Roy Porter, *London: A Social History* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1994), 178. For an example of Blagden's lifestyle as recorded in the diary, see part two of this thesis.

¹⁸ Royal Society, CB/1/5/117 (draft of a letter from Charles Blagden to Thomas Blagden and Mrs Nelmes, early 1770s), and CB/1/3/113 (letter from Thomas Curtis to Charles Blagden, 7 Jan. 1770).

¹⁹ Royal Society, CB/1/5/113 (draft of a letter from Charles Blagden to Mrs Nelmes, 1775).

²⁰ Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), xxvi, 49.

it offered to young men, stressing instead the amount of leisure time it should be expected for such 'gentlemen' to have.²¹

During his time in Gloucester, Blagden expressed his shame at being obliged to work professionally to support his lifestyle. In a letter to a friend, Blagden wrote of his desire to save up money to travel to the continent, and asked 'what income would be necessary for living decently in Geneva as a private Gent[leman], for I sho[ul]d never think of appearing in the character of a Physician'.²² For Blagden, working as a physician was at odds with his attempts to emulate the behaviour of a gentleman.

The patronage of male scholars may have offered a preferable alternative to work as a professional doctor, in securing Blagden's entry into London society. Having met him several years prior to his departure for America, Banks had signed Blagden's election certificate for fellowship of the Royal Society in 1772.²³ The two men had corresponded, with Blagden undertaking favours for Banks, as in 1773, when he arranged an itinerary for two of Banks's international contacts, who wished to visit local sites of industry on a visit to the Midlands.²⁴ Banks was a wealthy landed gentleman, having inherited his father's fortune and estates in 1761, and rose to international celebrity in the wake of his participation in Captain James Cook's *Endeavour* voyage between 1768 and 1771.²⁵ This celebrity made Banks an obvious choice for someone seeking to raise their standing in the social and scientific worlds. Banks was known for his role as a patron, and his other clients included individuals such as Daniel Solander, who had met Banks in 1767 and had accompanied him on the *Endeavour*. Upon his return to Britain, Solander enjoyed a prominent position in London's scientific community as Banks's secretary and librarian.²⁶

²¹ Chesterfield, *The Accomplished Gentleman*, 40.

²² Royal Society, CB/4/7/10 (draft of a letter from Charles Blagden to unidentified recipient, undated).

²³ Royal Society, EC/1772/20 (Charles Blagden, election certificate, 1772).

²⁴ Royal Society, CB/1/1/75 (letter from Joseph Banks to Charles Blagden, 21 Aug. 1773).

²⁵ John Gascoigne, "Banks, Sir Joseph, Baronet (1743–1820), Naturalist and Patron of Science," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

²⁶ Elizabeth Baigent, "Solander, Daniel (1733–1782)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

At the start of his relationship with Banks, Blagden received reward in the form of useful contacts, several of whom also patronised him. Letters between Blagden and Constantine Phipps, later Lord Mulgrave, whom Blagden met through Banks, suggest that it was with Phipps's aid that he obtained his position in the army.²⁷ Another of Blagden's contacts was Henry Cavendish, whom Blagden met in 1775.²⁸ The eldest child of Lord Charles Cavendish, third son of the second duke of Devonshire, Cavendish was a wealthy member of a titled family. At the age of 22, Cavendish's father had granted him an annuity of five hundred pounds, and he moved to the capital, becoming 'a principal member of London's philosophical clubland'.²⁹ Blagden and Cavendish enjoyed a close relationship, particularly unique in light of Cavendish's typically solitary habits.³⁰ Though Banks is perhaps best known as Blagden's principal patron, it was to both Banks and Cavendish that he turned in order to self-fashion a career that would support his image as a gentleman.

III. Gifts, information, and the role of the diary in securing patronage

During his time as surgeon to the army, Blagden cultivated relationships with Banks and Cavendish with the aid of his manuscript notetaking. Having obtained his position in the army in late 1775, Blagden sailed for North America in February 1776. Though he probably did not begin his diary as a tool of patronage, it certainly supported his efforts. His first regular diary began early in 1776, as he started his service as a surgeon. The inception of the diary also coincided with a marked increase in his correspondence with Banks.³¹ During

²⁷ Royal Society, CB/1/5/209 (letter from Constantine Phipps to Charles Blagden, undated, 1774?). Letter from Joseph Banks to Charles Blagden, 7 Apr. 1790, published as letter 985 in *The Scientific Correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks, 1765-1820*, ed. Neil Chambers, 6 vols., vol. 3 (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2007), 549.

²⁸ Jungnickel and McCormach, *Cavendish*, 292.

²⁹ Simon Schaffer, "Cavendish, Henry (1731-1810)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

³⁰ Jungnickel and McCormach, *Cavendish*, 291.

³¹ Warren Dawson's calendar of Banks's manuscript correspondence in Britain reveals that although Blagden and Banks were in correspondence from 1773, their rate of letter exchange dramatically increased as Blagden sailed for America. Warren R. Dawson, *The*

his time on board the *Pigot*, Blagden's diary recorded notes on temperature and climate, descriptions of local flora and fauna, and the events of the war. While in America, Cavendish had requested that Blagden take measurements of the temperature at sea and on land, in order to support his own researches into a method for determining the mean temperature of different climates.³² Banks had requested that Blagden send specimens of flora and fauna, alongside news of the war.³³ That Blagden transitioned from medicine to natural history and observing the natural world is perhaps evidence of the extent to which the interests of his patrons dictated the direction of his natural philosophical activities, as will be discussed in chapter three. It was through the provision of news, information, and objects, recorded in the diary and communicated in correspondence, that Blagden cultivated his patrons.

Blagden's provision of news, information, and objects in exchange for reward was not unusual. Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos has drawn attention to the 'transfer of resources' and the presentation of gifts in exchanges where individuals of inferior status hoped to obtain 'status acknowledgement' from superiors.³⁴ In relation to collecting, smaller collectors could earn prestige by offering such items to a 'great collector', thereby depositing their specimens in a 'bank of status' that elevated their social position.³⁵ As James Delbourgo has noted in relation to Sloane's collecting networks, individuals in search of reward offered gifts in an attempt to 'collect the collector', thereby raising their own standing and prestige.³⁶

Banks was the recipient of numerous gifts of knowledge and objects. In the mid 1770s, he received specimens and information from several of his contacts, including the naturalist John Lightfoot, and the Cambridge professor Thomas Green. In March 1776, Lightfoot wrote to Banks to present him with a

Banks Letters: A Calendar of the Manuscript Correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks, Preserved in the British Museum, the British Museum (Natural History) and Other Collections in Great Britain (London: The British Museum, 1958), 50-51.

³² Beinecke Library, OSB MSS 51, box 2 folder 26, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, draft of a paper 'Observations on the Temperature of Wells', 1788).

³³ Banks had commissioned Blagden to collect specimens in Charlestown, as revealed in a letter from Charles Blagden to Joseph Banks, 7 Jul. 1776, published as letter 88 in *The Scientific Correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks*, 1, 97.

³⁴ Ben-Amos, *The Culture of Giving*, 195.

³⁵ Biagioli, "Scientific Revolution, Social Bricolage, and Etiquette," 20.

³⁶ Delbourgo, "Collecting Hans Sloane," 16-18.

curious plant he had found on the Isle of Arran, and the following month, Banks received word from Green that the plants he had requested from Cambridge were soon to arrive.³⁷

The provision of gifts and news occurred in correspondence that followed particular conventions when a client addressed a patron. As Paula Findlen has noted, correspondence 'bridged physical and social distance through the establishment of concrete bonds between collectors and their patrons'.³⁸ When clients were geographically distanced from their patrons, correspondence gained added importance, owing to the conviction that 'to be far from sight was to be far from mind' and at risk of being neglected when rewards were handed out.³⁹ Those who sought advancement through patronage wrote their letters according to particular conventions, and the eighteenth century abounded with manuals advising one how to do so.⁴⁰ The relationship between a patron and client was often described as one of 'friendship', with individuals addressing each other in their correspondence as 'friends'. As Gordon Wood has noted, in eighteenth-century Britain, 'friendship' was used euphemistically to refer to a range of individuals bound together by networks of loyalty, obligation, and dependency, regardless of the relative status of the individuals involved.⁴¹

Letters Blagden wrote to Banks frequently asserted the 'friendship' that existed between them, and were part of his strategy to cultivate Banks as a patron during his absence abroad. Writing to Banks in 1776, Blagden addressed him as 'My dear Friend', and reported his progress in collecting, 'I got about 20 plants for you at Cape Fear; but it is next to impossible to dry them properly... these with about a dozen species of Fish, are all the objects of natural history that I have yet been able to procure'.⁴²

³⁷ Letter from John Lightfoot to Joseph Banks, 21 Mar. 1776, published as letter 81 in *The Scientific Correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks*, 1, 90-91. Letter from Thomas Green to Joseph Banks, 14 Apr. 1776, published as letter 83 *The Scientific Correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks*, 1, 93.

³⁸ Findlen, "The Economy of Scientific Exchange in Early Modern Italy," 7.

³⁹ Eve Tavor Bannet, *Empire of Letters: Letter Manuals and Transatlantic Correspondence, 1688-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 60.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁴¹ Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution*, 57-58.

⁴² Letter from Charles Blagden to Joseph Banks, 7 Jul. 1776, published as letter 88 in *The Scientific Correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks, 1765-1820*, 1, 97-98.

In his exchanges with Banks, the diary supported Blagden's efforts to manage information and objects. Though Banks had specifically requested plants from Cape Fear, the largest collection that Blagden sent to him was an unsolicited gift of over 100 specimens of mammals, birds, and fish collected in Rhode Island.⁴³ This collection was commissioned by the antiquary Daines Barrington on behalf of his friend the collector Ashton Lever. Blagden had met Barrington prior to his departure for America, and the two had exchanged news of scientific discoveries.⁴⁴ However, while in America, Blagden saw the opportunity of Barrington's commission as one in which he might appeal to Banks, his preferred patron, by sending the zoological specimens jointly to both men, and by emphasising Banks's 'superiority' as a collector with a piece of flattery,

Mr. Lever wants any thing that he happens not to have in his Museum... on the contrary nothing can be an object to you [Banks] but what will conduce to the improvement of natural History as a branch of Philosophy.⁴⁵

While amassing this collection, Blagden's diary assisted his documenting of local wildlife observed and caught on particular days. As discussed in chapter one, the recording of information concerning flora and fauna was something Blagden had encountered in his reading of travel narratives. In his diary during his time in America, the precision recording of specimens may have been of use in jogging his memory. Information on specimens recorded in the diary is also found in a manuscript catalogue that Blagden produced, where brief notes on each specimen were entered and

⁴³ Howe, "Sir Charles Blagden, Earliest of Rhode Island Ornithologists." It is unclear if this collection has survived. Banks's collections of specimens preserved in spirits were divided and distributed amongst various institutions after his death, and are difficult to trace. On the history of these collections, see P. J. K. Burton, "Two Bird Specimens Probably from Cook's Voyages," *Ibis* 111, no. 3 (1969): 388-90. and David G. Medway, "The Fate of the Bird Specimens from Cook's Voyages Possessed by Sir Joseph Banks," *Archives of Natural History* 36, no. 2 (2009): 231-43. I am grateful to Joanne Cooper, senior curator of the Avian Anatomical Collections at the Natural History Museum, for her efforts in attempting to trace some of these specimens.

⁴⁴ Royal Society, CB/1/1/200-205 (letters from Daines Barrington to Charles Blagden, 29 Aug 1774–30 Sep. 1775).

⁴⁵ Natural History Museum, MSS MCA (transcript of letter from Charles Blagden to Joseph Banks, 28 Oct. 1777).

indexed by date of capture.⁴⁶ The diary and catalogue may have been consulted in tandem when Blagden wrote to Banks in September 1778, providing him with a numerical list of the specimens.

The way this system might have operated can be traced with reference to particular specimens. A bird identified as a species of 'diver' was collected and preserved by Blagden on 18 February 1777. He recorded it in his diary on 18 February, as

a fine Colymbus, which I put into spirits with a piece of sack-thread tied to one foot, with 2 knots in it. the bird was swimming with three others near the beach: belly very thick of feathers, & a most glossy, silvery white.⁴⁷

Blagden recorded the bird in his catalogue as '2. Colymbus. Small White Belly. Shot by Mr. Scott. Feb[ruar]y 18', a note which extracted some of the key information from the diary entry.⁴⁸ He then identified the same bird in a letter to Banks on 12 September 1778, 'No 2 (A Bird) A species of Diver; the breast of a most beautiful glossy white when it was shot: swam in company with two others: no particular name here but Loon. Feb 18'.⁴⁹ It is the same specimen that Blagden refers to in all three manuscripts, its identification as specimen number two confirmed on the body of the bird by two knots in the sack-thread attached to its foot, as mentioned in the diary. One difference, the number of other birds described as swimming in company with this individual, was almost certainly a transcription error made by Blagden. That he recalled the local name of the bird as 'Loon' when writing to Banks, though no note of this was made in either the catalogue or the diary, suggests that his brief notes may have worked in prompting further trains of thought.

Blagden's service as an army surgeon was brief. In 1779 he requested leave of absence and returned to Britain.⁵⁰ When he returned, Blagden

⁴⁶ Beinecke Library, OSB MSS 51, box 2 folder 24, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, calendar of birds, fish & other wildlife).

⁴⁷ Beinecke Library, Osborn fc16, box 2 folder 15, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 18 Feb 1777).

⁴⁸ Beinecke Library, OSB MSS 51, box 2 folder 24, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, calendar of birds, fish & other wildlife).

⁴⁹ Natural History Museum, MSS MCA (transcript of letter from Charles Blagden to Joseph Banks, 12 Sep. 1778).

⁵⁰ Beinecke Library, Osborn fc16, box 2 folder 15, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 2 Sep. 1779). Blagden had found the experience of war disturbing and confessed to

distanced himself from medicine, and turned more decisively to his connections with Banks and Cavendish. Initially, Blagden appealed to Banks for help in securing a position in London, anticipating that Banks might be inclined to show him favour after his efforts in cultivating their relationship. After leaving America, Blagden had taken a post as a physician in the hospital at Plymouth dock, a role which placed him in 'miserable exile', as he described it, from the capital.⁵¹ For short periods, Blagden was able to stay in London with his brother John, who was practising law, and resided in lodgings at Gray's Inn.⁵² In the summer of 1782, John moved to the country, leaving Blagden without a London residence.⁵³ Blagden called upon Banks for assistance, requesting lodgings and employment at the Royal Society,

Would it be possible... that I could get apartments in or adjoining to those of the R. S. in Somerset Place? By a residence there, I should have the convenience of that library... I imagine I could be of very essential uses by seeing that the library was kept in proper order.⁵⁴

Banks's reply to Blagden's request was negative, albeit polite. He apologised 'I wish it was in my power to forward so good a scheme as that you propose', but that it was not possible to put the apartments 'to other uses than those to which they were originally appropriated'.⁵⁵ Later in their relationship, Blagden asserted that Banks had always been careful to avoid making specific promises concerning the rewards he could expect as a client.⁵⁶

Having been unsuccessful with Banks, Blagden turned to Cavendish for a position in the capital. In contrast to his experience with Banks, Blagden received clear rewards from Cavendish. Though several of Blagden's early biographers argued that Cavendish settled a generous annuity on him, there

his brother the depression and ill-health he suffered, 'my long confinement aboard ship in these unwholesome situations... have [sic] thrown me into repeated fits of fever which sink me very low'. Gloucestershire Archives, D1086/F113 (letter from Charles Blagden to John Blagden Hale, 28 Oct. 1777).

⁵¹ Letter from Charles Blagden to Joseph Banks, 3 Nov. 1782, printed as letter 298 in *The Scientific Correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks*, 2, 29.

⁵² Jungnickel and McCormmach, *Cavendish*, 293.

⁵³ Royal Society, CB/1/1/81 (draft of a letter from Charles Blagden to Joseph Banks, 19 Jul. 1782).

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Royal Society, CB/1/1/82 (letter from Joseph Banks to Charles Blagden, 19 Aug. 1782).

⁵⁶ Royal Society, CB/4/6, BLA.6.224 (draft of letter / essay from Charles Blagden to Henry Cavendish, undated).

does not appear to be any financial evidence to support this.⁵⁷ However, Blagden did benefit from Cavendish's generosity as a patron in receiving the gift of a house opposite Cavendish's own residence, at 19 Gower Street, in the spring of 1785.⁵⁸ Blagden had previously found lodgings on Great Ormand Street, and had later rented a house at 7 Gower Street.⁵⁹ The gift of a home in 1785 secured his position within the capital, and his proximity to Cavendish, Banks, and the Royal Society. Such a gift is suggestive of the more 'intimate' relationship Blagden enjoyed with Cavendish.⁶⁰

Blagden had begun working as Cavendish's experimental assistant in London in the autumn of 1782.⁶¹ During his time in America, Blagden had recorded the temperature of the air and sea in his diary on a daily basis, in a habit that continued for the rest of his life.⁶² Upon his return, the two men continued this research into temperature, with the aim of finding an appropriate measure to determine the mean temperature of different climates.⁶³ It was on Cavendish's advice in December 1782 that Blagden began working on a summary of experiments that investigated the freezing point of mercury, a related interest, published the following year as Blagden's 'History of the Congelation of Quicksilver'.⁶⁴ At this time, Cavendish began to communicate to Blagden his ideas on the composition of water, around which the events of the water controversy would later unfold.⁶⁵

⁵⁷ Jungnickel and McCormmach, *Cavendish*, 295.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 297.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 296.

⁶⁰ Royal Society, CB/3/5, f. 428v. (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 1 Mar. 1810).

⁶¹ Jungnickel and McCormmach, *Cavendish*, 293.

⁶² For an example of Blagden's temperature recording, see Beinecke Library, Osborn fc16, box 1 folder 5 (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 18 Feb. 1777).

⁶³ Blagden's diary records him collecting various bottles of air for Cavendish, see Royal Society, CB/3/1, ff. 46r., 49r. (Charles Blagden, diary entries, 30 Sep. and 30 Oct. 1782).

⁶⁴ Royal Society, CB/3/1, f. 54r. (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 23 Dec. 1782). Blagden, "History of the Congelation of Quicksilver."

⁶⁵ Royal Society, CB/3/1, f. 54r. (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 23 Dec. 1782).

IV. Conflicting cultures of advancement and the water controversy

Cavendish's gift of a house had given Blagden the reward he sought—a foothold in London. From this base, he continued to cultivate Banks's patronage at the Royal Society, carving out a role for himself as a trusted assistant and broker of knowledge. Central to Blagden's efforts were the many trips he made to Paris, where he forged contacts among the savants by operating as a conduit of information, supported by his diary.⁶⁶ Though Blagden pursued patronage with Banks and Cavendish, during his time in France this system came into conflict with growing alternatives among the Parisian scientific community. On his first visit to Paris in 1783, Blagden encountered an alternative culture of advancement centred on the prestige of publication, rather than the status and tacit conventions of gentlemanly patronage. This difference played a role in shaping events of the 'water controversy', a priority dispute that erupted in the wake of Blagden's visit.

At the end of the eighteenth century, British and French men of science enjoyed relatively open communication, facilitated by individuals such as Blagden. Gavin de Beer famously argued that 'the sciences were never at war', and though periods of hostility between Britain and France slowed and at times severed channels of communication, men of science never entirely ceased their exchanges.⁶⁷ Blagden's first visit to Paris was in 1783, but he continued to visit up until his death, at the home of the chemist Claude-Louis Berthollet in Arcueil, in 1820. In 1787, Blagden worked closely with the French in co-ordinating with the British side of the Anglo-French trigonometrical survey, an international project that connected the observatories of Paris and Greenwich.⁶⁸ Blagden's attitude towards French savants was one that privileged continued exchange over national politics. In later life, he and his

⁶⁶ On Blagden's role as a conduit of news from Paris, see Fauque, "An Englishman Abroad." and Watts, "Philosophical Intelligence."

⁶⁷ de Beer, *The Sciences Were Never at War*, ix. Maurice Crosland, "Relationships between the Royal Society and the Acadmie Des Sciences in the Late Eighteenth Century," *Notes Rec. R. Soc.* 59, no. 1 (2005): 25-34, 25. Lipkowitz, "'The Sciences Are Never at War?'" Watts, "Philosophical Intelligence."

⁶⁸ Jean-Pierre Martin and Anita McConnell, "Joining the Observatories of Paris and Greenwich," *Notes Rec. R. Soc.* 62, no. 4 (2008): 355-72.

friends lamented how frequent conflict interrupted their communications.⁶⁹ Yet despite these close links between British and French men of science, Blagden's visit to Paris in 1783 revealed the differences between their scientific cultures.

During his first visit to Paris, Blagden engaged in extensive travel between the homes, workplaces, and meeting locations French savants, using the diary to record information. While in France, Banks requested that Blagden seek out particular knowledge. In a letter he wrote on 4 July 1783, Banks implored Blagden to send information concerning a French scientific discovery on the production of nitrous acid, used in the manufacture of saltpetre, 'procure the secret... which lately received a prize at paris [sic] but is not yet communicated... even to their [Parisian] Chemists'.⁷⁰ Replying less than a week later, Blagden informed Banks that this information had been easy to obtain—there did not seem to be 'the least intention of keeping it a secret' in Paris, something apparent only to someone physically present in the city.⁷¹ Blagden reported that a chemist named Thouvenel had discovered a method that consisted of mixing air from putrefaction with dephlogisticated air, achieved by depositing animal blood in an exposed pot, in the presence of a calcareous base, to form nitrous acid. Having been replicated by the Académie des Sciences in Paris, Blagden reported that the discovery was soon to be printed.⁷² He continued his investigations, noting in his diary several particulars of the production of nitre he witnessed during a visit to the saltpetre works at the Paris Arsenal.⁷³

As in America, it was the diary that assisted Blagden in managing information from Paris to be forwarded to Banks. Having received Banks's letter concerning the production of nitre just a few days earlier, Blagden recorded in his diary on 9 July 1783 that he had

⁶⁹ Royal Society, CB/1/4/29 (letter from Madame Gautier to Charles Blagden, 7 Apr. 1808).

⁷⁰ Letter from Joseph Banks to Charles Blagden, 4 Jul. 1783, published as letter 355 in *The Scientific Correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks*, 2, 99.

⁷¹ Letter from Charles Blagden to Joseph Banks, 10 Jul. 1783, published as letter 357 in *The Scientific Correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks*, 2, 103.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ Beinecke Library, OSB MSS 51, box 1 folder 5, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 18 Jul. 1783).

Learned from M. de la Place that Thouvenel's secret is, that dephl.[ogisticated] air & that arising from putrefying substances, standing together in a place where there is a proper basis, as calcareous matter, unite together to form the nitrous acid. That found by experiment. That Commissaires de l'Academie, reversed a pot with calc[careous]. matter at bottom, over a tub of putrefying blood, & found nitre formed on the lower surface of the calc. matter, but none on the upper, tho' that was, I believe, exposed to the air by an opening of the pot.⁷⁴

In his letter to Banks, Blagden recounted this information in the same order in which it had been recorded in the diary, with further information inserted,

[Thouvenel's] discovery consisted in mixing the air obtained by putrefaction, with dephlogisticated air, & inclosing them together in a vessel with calcareous matter to serve as a basis: at the end of 8 or 9 months a considerable quantity of nitrous acid is found formed & united to the calcareous substance. The commissaires of the Academy repeated the experiment in a certain way, by reversing a pot with calcareous earth over a barrel of putrefying blood; & they found that the nitrous acid formed on the under side of the earth, but not upon the upper, though that, I believe, was exposed partly to the air by a hole in the bottom of the pot.⁷⁵

The note that Blagden made of the process taking eight or nine months was not recorded in the diary, and may instead have been a prompted recollection.

Blagden came into contact with members of the Académie des Sciences in the course of his efforts to obtain information for Banks. It was during these exchanges that he encountered an alternative system for bestowing credit within the scientific community. French scientific culture was increasingly governed by systems of advancement that favoured an individual's merit in terms of output, often in publications, rather than patronage. As Alder has highlighted, institutions such as the École Militaire promoted individuals according to examination performance, as a means to achieve uniformity, precision, and subordination, thus reducing 'the visible play of patronage'.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Beinecke Library, OSB MSS 51, box 1 folder 5, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 9 Jul. 1783).

⁷⁵ Letter from Charles Blagden to Joseph Banks, 10 Jul 1783, published as letter 357 in *The Scientific Correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks*, 2, 103.

⁷⁶ Alder, "French Engineers Became Professionals," 108.

Though this system did not govern admission to the Académie, advancement and influence was ostensibly bestowed upon those who contributed most to scientific outputs.⁷⁷ As Charles Gillispie has noted, the Académie was divided into ranks, with promising candidates promoted from probation to seniority, at each rank increasing their level of responsibility for the governance of the Académie.⁷⁸ At the apex of the institution's structure were the twelve *honoraire*s, selected from the nobility to act as patrons, but in practice not expected to attend the Académie's meetings. Below these were the senior savants, known as the *pensionnaires*, who received a stipend as part of their membership and who directed the activities of the Académie. Below were two further ranks, the *associés* and the *adjoints*.⁷⁹ Advancement through these positions occurred when there was a vacancy higher in the structure, and on the judgment made by 'older, secure, and outwardly satisfied' members concerning the aptitude of 'younger, insecure, and inwardly ambitious' individuals.⁸⁰ Though it has been argued that such a structure rendered the Académie more efficacious in scientific matters through its greater exclusivity, Gillispie has noted that the system still succumbed to accusations of favouritism and sycophancy during the years of the Revolution.⁸¹

By comparison, the Royal Society in the eighteenth century has been described as an 'institution in the doldrums' owing to the perceived dilution of the fellowship with 'unscientific' men.⁸² Miller has drawn attention to the problematic nature of this assumption, and the charge that during Banks's presidency, key governing positions of the Society were given with equal weighting to members of the aristocracy with the means to patronise science, and to those who engaged in scientific work.⁸³ Miller has stressed Banks's shrewdness as a manager of constituencies, in his deployment of influential

⁷⁷ Arthur L. Donovan, *Antoine Lavoisier: Science, Administration, and Revolution* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 34.

⁷⁸ Charles Coulston Gillispie, *Science and Polity in France at the End of the Old Regime* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 83.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 82.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 83.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 84.

⁸² David P. Miller, "'Into the Valley of Darkness': Reflections on the Royal Society in the Eighteenth Century," *History of Science* 27 (1989): 155-66, 155.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

aristocratic and government figures within the Society's council in order to 'identify the Society with the 'establishment'' and thereby combat associations with the radical agendas of certain strands of science around the beginnings of the Revolution.⁸⁴ Nevertheless, the Society's fellowship, an amalgam of virtuosi, aristocrats, and men of science in an informal hierarchy, offers a sharp contrast to the explicit ranks of the Académie.

Blagden was sensitive to these differences. While his approach to Banks and Cavendish had centred on correspondence, favours, and gift-giving, in Paris he brought with him several copies of a publication to impress the French savants, his 'History of the Congelation of Quicksilver'.⁸⁵ In this paper, Blagden had summarised a number of experiments on the freezing of mercury, and a method of using thermometers to determine its freezing point.⁸⁶ He evidently showed the paper to his new French acquaintances, and it appears to have been well received. Blagden wrote to Banks that he had showed Antoine Lavoisier and Pierre-Simon Laplace the paper, and that 'The subject of mercurial congelation was new to them in the detail'.⁸⁷ Clearly then, Blagden was not unaware of the notion that publications rather than patronage earned prestige within the French scientific community.

However, Blagden was also in Paris to represent Banks, whose notions of advancement were not as sensitive to locality. As Danielle Fauque has revealed, Blagden's trip was conducted with clear aims centred on Banks's ambitions for fostering a closer relationship between the Royal Society and the Académie.⁸⁸ Blagden explored the possibility of securing Banks's election as foreign associate, a position held by previous presidents of the Royal Society, but an honour that Banks was yet to possess, being only a corresponding member, a position below that of associate.⁸⁹ Such a position within the Académie required a consideration of the candidate's merits, but to this Banks objected. In his world, merit was by no means the sole basis of membership within scientific circles. In the summer of 1783, Banks wrote to

⁸⁴ Ibid., 162-63.

⁸⁵ Fauque, "An Englishman Abroad," 376.

⁸⁶ Blagden, "History of the Congelation of Quicksilver."

⁸⁷ Letter from Charles Blagden to Joseph Banks, 11 Jun 1783, published as letter 345 in *The Scientific Correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks*, 2, 86-87.

⁸⁸ "An Englishman Abroad," 377.

⁸⁹ Gascoigne, *Science in the Service of Empire*, 153-54.

the Académie to decline their offer to continue as a corresponding member, stating that since most presidents of the Royal Society had been ‘admitted foreign [associate] Members without a severe examination of their Merits’, he felt it improper to continue as a mere corresponding member.⁹⁰

When Blagden made inquiries concerning Banks’s election, doubts were raised in relation to Banks’s merit as a natural philosopher. In 1783, Blagden met with two academicians, a man named as ‘Chevalier de la Mare’ and the botanist Antoine Laurent Jussieu, with whom he discussed the possibility of Banks’s election as an associate. When Blagden broached the subject, Jussieu stated that ‘no one thought’ of admitting Banks since he was ‘not yet distinguished as an author’.⁹¹ Blagden retorted ‘we chose our Presidents, not as authors, but as patrons and encouragers of learning’.⁹² In Blagden and Banks’s view, patronage trumped authorship in scientific circles.

In further protest, de la Mare complained that Banks had recently hindered the progress of botanic knowledge production, by withholding plates of specimens requested from him for inclusion in the new *Encyclopédie*, a vast publication project intended to incorporate the world’s knowledge.⁹³ De la Mare referred to Banks’s refusal to remain a corresponding member of the Académie as evidence of his ‘breaking openly with the learned men & particularly the botanists of France’.⁹⁴ When the subject of Banks’s botanical plates arose again in 1784, Blagden speculated as to the reasons for them being requested,

Does Jussieu or De La Mare want to get hold of your plates, & throw out the Academy [fellowship] as bait? Or is it seriously intended by those who do know you to convince those who do not that they ought to vote for you?⁹⁵

⁹⁰ Letter from Joseph Banks to Charles Blagden, 4 Jul. 1783, published as letter 355 in *The Scientific Correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks*, 2, 99.

⁹¹ Beinecke Library, OSB MSS 51, box 1 folder 5, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 26 Jul. 1783).

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ Letter from Charles Blagden to Joseph Banks, 18 Jun. 1783, published as letter 346 in *The Scientific Correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks*, 2, 88.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ Letter from Charles Blagden to Joseph Banks, 1 Nov. 1784, published as letter 529 in *The Scientific Correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks*, 2, 325.

Banks's identity within the scientific community was set in contrast to that of French academicians, with Blagden caught in the middle. Though Blagden understood the value of publication for advancement in Paris, having used his paper to impress his French contacts, he needed to convince local savants on Banks's behalf that publications alone were insufficient criteria for judgement. While Blagden emphasised Banks's status as a patron and encourager of learning, Jussieu and de la Mare castigated him for his lack of publications. As Blagden speculated, the concern for obtaining Banks's plates may have been prompted by underhand motives. Alternatively, it may have been aimed at proving Banks's reputation as a man of science. In the event, Banks decided the risk concerning his plates was not worth taking.⁹⁶ When he was finally elected foreign associate in 1787, it was as a reward for his assistance in providing the French surgeon Jacques Tenon with introductions on a visit to Britain. On this occasion, the normal election procedure was circumvented, and Banks was elected to the Académie by the request of the French king, in an overt display of patronage over merit.⁹⁷

The same competing cultures of advancement also impinged on Blagden's exchanges during the 'water controversy'. The events of the controversy began in 1781, when Cavendish repeated an experiment by the lecturer John Warltire, in which inflammable and dephlogisticated airs were electrically detonated to produce a dew identified by Cavendish as water. Cavendish communicated his experiment to the chemist Joseph Priestley, who repeated it and informed the engineer James Watt. During his visit to Paris in 1783, Blagden recounted Cavendish's experiments to Lavoisier, who replicated them before the Académie. Lavoisier published an account of the experiment, in which he neglected to mention what Blagden had reported to him of Cavendish and Watt's experiments. While Cavendish had begun working on the experiment in March 1783, his account was not read before the Royal Society until January 1784. By this time, both Watt and Lavoisier had already published their accounts, despite having conducted their

⁹⁶ Letter from Joseph Banks to Charles Blagden, 4 Nov. 1784, published as letter 531 in *The Scientific Correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks*, 2, 327. Gascoigne, *Science in the Service of Empire*, 153.

⁹⁷ Crosland, "The Royal Society and the Acadmie des Sciences," 30.

investigations after Cavendish. Within the dispute, Blagden emerged as a key player, not as a discoverer, but as a broker of information.⁹⁸

Blagden's actions have been either vilified or excused, depending on whom historians have sought to champion as the discoverer of the nature of water.⁹⁹ As Jungnickel, McCormmach, and Miller have highlighted, the water controversy, though it 'simmered' during the lifetime of the protagonists, was only 'fanned to white heat' in the mid-nineteenth century, when biographers of Watt and Cavendish sought to claim priority for their celebrated scientists.¹⁰⁰ As for the cause of the controversy, Jungnickel and McCormmach have argued that it was in large part due to 'the casual way scientific information was communicated'.¹⁰¹

By viewing the controversy in light of Blagden's experience with Parisian cultures of advancement, conflicting identities emerge as an alternative explanation. Crowther has argued that Watt considered his own identity as a member of industrial provincial scientific circles as crucially important. In a letter concerning the dispute, Watt complained 'I have had the honour, like other great men, to have my ideas pirated... one [Lavoisier] is a French financier; and the other a member of the illustrious house of Cavendish... Rich men may do mean actions'.¹⁰²

Blagden's experiences during the controversy suggest the events as an instance where French emphasis on publication came into conflict with British gentlemanly codes. Blagden was constantly sharing news informally in correspondence and conversation, but in this there was nothing untoward. On 24 June, Blagden met with Lavoisier and Laplace, and informed them of Priestley and Cavendish's experiments. The next day, he wrote to Banks with news that 'the important experiment of Mr Cavendish's relative to the production of water... was repeated at Mr Lavoisier's, in consequence of the

⁹⁸ For this summary of the water controversy, I have referred to Jungnickel and McCormmach, *Cavendish*, 377-79.

⁹⁹ See Introduction for further discussion.

¹⁰⁰ Jungnickel and McCormmach, *Cavendish*, 10. David P. Miller, *Discovering Water: James Watt, Henry Cavendish and the Nineteenth-Century 'Water Controversy'* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 1-2.

¹⁰¹ Jungnickel and McCormmach, *Cavendish*, 380.

¹⁰² Crowther, *Scientists of the Industrial Revolution*, 113-14. Letter from James Watt to Mr Fry of Bristol, 15 May 1784, published in *Correspondence of the Late James Watt*, 61.

account I had given of it'.¹⁰³ Blagden continued that an account of Lavoisier's experiment 'was read today before the Academy'.¹⁰⁴ In this letter, Blagden gave no indication of disappointment at the way his information had been used, writing instead of his excitement and pride, 'it is likely to make great noise here... I beheld the operation with great pleasure'.¹⁰⁵ In his diary entry for 25 June, the day of Lavoisier's performance of the experiment, Blagden noted his own interjection during the Académie's meeting, in which he corrected an attribution error made by Lavoisier, 'M. Lavoisier explained the experiment... called it Dr Priestley's, but I set him right before the Society that it was Mr. Cavendish's'.¹⁰⁶ Even in relation to Lavoisier's omission in his oral testimony, Blagden was not particularly disgruntled.

The problem came a year later, after Lavoisier published his account of the experiment. Blagden expressed his anger at what he interpreted as Lavoisier's rush to claim credit by publishing, without acknowledging Cavendish. In a draft of a letter he wrote to Laplace, written to inform him of Cavendish's most recent investigations, Blagden promised to provide further information as soon as it was published,

I would with pleasure have done it before, had not M. Lavoisier's conduct relative to Mr Cavendish's former discovery, of which you were yourself a witness from beginning to end, suggested a degree of caution which I had been accustomed to think unnecessary among gentlemen.¹⁰⁷

It was not Lavoisier's performance of the experiment that Blagden considered inappropriate, but his rush to publish. It is possible that Blagden considered publication for personal gain as ungentlemanly, having been influenced by the views of his patron Banks. John Beaglehole, in explanation

¹⁰³ Letter from Charles Blagden to Joseph Banks, 25 Jun 1783, published as letter 351 in *The Scientific Correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks, 1765-1820*, 2, 95.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Beinecke Library, OSB MSS 51, box 1 folder 5, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 25 Jun. 1783).

¹⁰⁷ Beinecke Library, Osborn fc15, folder 3, unpaginated (draft of letter from Charles Blagden to Pierre-Simon Laplace, 5 Apr. 1785). The final portion of Blagden's statement was crossed out and redrafted to avoid mentioning Lavoisier and Laplace by name, so that it read instead 'I would with pleasure have done it before, had not such frank comm[unicatio]n been rendered improper by what happened relative to Mr C's former discovery'.

of why Banks published so little during his lifetime, has suggested that he viewed publication as unbecoming of a gentleman's status.¹⁰⁸ He infamously declared of the Royal Society's fellowship that 'we want not authors'.¹⁰⁹ Blagden later hastened to ensure Cavendish's name was associated with the discovery, by publishing an account of the controversy in the journal *Chemische Annalen*.¹¹⁰ Though publication was clearly important to Blagden and Cavendish for securing priority, Blagden had not expected that Lavoisier would rush to publish his account to further his own career. On this occasion, the prestige afforded to scientific publications in France rendered Blagden's communications problematic, leaving the composition of water, a new discovery, open to being claimed unscrupulously.

V. Professional cultures and gentlemanly patronage during the Royal Society 'dissensions'

Immediately after the water controversy, Blagden returned to London, where in the autumn of 1783, he became embroiled in the Royal Society's 'dissensions'. The 'dissensions' have been described by historians as a conflict between men of science and 'Macaronis', a clash of disciplinary cultures, and a class-motivated dispute.¹¹¹ More recently, Benjamin Wardhaugh has examined the dissensions by focussing on the removal of the professor and mathematician Charles Hutton from the position of foreign

¹⁰⁸ J. C. Beaglehole, "Introduction," in *The 'Endeavour' Journal of Sir Joseph Banks, 1768-1771*, ed. J. C. Beaglehole (Sydney and London: Public Library of New South Wales and Angus & Robertson, 1962), 121-22.

¹⁰⁹ Benjamin Sutherland Wardhaugh, "Charles Hutton and the 'Dissensions' of 1783-84: Scientific Networking and Its Failures," *Notes Rec.* 71, no. 1 (2017): 41-59, 46.

¹¹⁰ A translation of Blagden's letter to Lorenz Crell, published in his *Chemische Annalen*, was published in Muirhead's edition of Watt's correspondence, Watt, *Correspondence of the Late James Watt*, 72-73. A draft of Blagden's letter can be found in Beinecke Library, Osborn fc15, folder 3, unpgained (draft of letter from Charles Blagden to Lorenz Crell, 28 Apr. 1785).

¹¹¹ Sir Henry Lyons, *The Royal Society 1660-1940 a History of Its Administration under Its Charters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1944), 212-15. David P. Miller, "Between Hostile Camps: Sir Humphry Davy's Presidency of the Royal Society of London, 1820-1827," *British Journal for the History of Science* 16 (1983): 1-47, 10-12. John L. Heilbron, "A Mathematicians' Mutiny, with Morals," in *World Changes: Thomas Kuhn and the Nature of Science*, ed. P. Horwich (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1993), 81-129. Simon Werrett, "Disciplinary Culture: Artillery, Sound, and Science in Woolwich, 1800-1850," *19th-Century Music* 39, no. 2 (2015): 87-98, 91-93.

secretary, as an incident which ignited the dispute.¹¹² Hutton provides a contrast to Blagden in terms of his advancement strategies. While Blagden's career centred on the pursuit of gentlemanly status, Hutton forged a career through professional connections and employment. Building upon Wardhaugh's argument, the dissensions can be understood as a further example of conflicting cultures of advancement between scientific communities.

The 'dissensions' saw a section of the Royal Society's fellowship oppose and attempt to unseat Banks as president. Gascoigne has argued that the beginnings of the dispute can be traced back to Banks's election as president in 1778, and a split between proponents of the natural sciences, and those who practiced the physical sciences.¹¹³ Shortly after his election, Banks began to reshape the Society's administration, and opposed the election of particular candidates, a move which led some to complain that he judged applicants on their social standing rather than their science.¹¹⁴ In January 1782, he appointed a committee to review the duties of the foreign secretary, a position held by Hutton. Banks and the committee, of which Blagden was a part, alleged that Hutton was not carrying out his duties satisfactorily.¹¹⁵

In November the following year, the Council passed a resolution that the foreign secretary must reside in London, a motion passed in order to force Hutton, who resided at the Military Academy in Woolwich, from his position. Hutton resigned, and soon after his patron, the Astronomer Royal Nevil Maskelyne, was dropped from the Council.¹¹⁶ The mathematician and clergyman Samuel Horsley staged a public attack in which he argued that Banks neglected mathematicians in his appointments, chose unscientific men as fellows, and favoured those of noble birth. At a meeting of the Society on 18 December, a written defence of Hutton's actions was read, and Horsley mounted his attack on Banks in person. Despite this bitter and public argument, Banks was supported in a vote of confidence which passed with

¹¹² Wardhaugh, "Charles Hutton and the 'Dissensions'."

¹¹³ Gascoigne, *Banks and the English Enlightenment*, 10.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 10-11.

¹¹⁵ Wardhaugh, "Charles Hutton and the 'Dissensions'," 46. Blagden recorded in his diary having attended a 'Committee for duty of foreign Secretary', Royal Society, CB/3/1, f. 21v. (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 31 Jan. 1782).

¹¹⁶ Wardhaugh, "Charles Hutton and the 'Dissensions'," 48.

119 votes to 42 during the next meeting of the Society in January 1784.¹¹⁷ A few months later, Horsley's supporter and secretary of the Royal Society Paul Henry Maty resigned, and was replaced by Blagden who won in competition for the position against Hutton.

Wardhaugh has suggested that it was Hutton's identity, fostered through his scientific networking, that led to Banks's disapproval of him during the dissensions. Charting the development of Hutton's career, Wardhaugh has described him as a 'superb networker' who transitioned from the Tyneside coal pits to teaching at the Royal Military Academy in Woolwich, through a network of friends and patrons including Maskelyne.¹¹⁸ Though Hutton achieved employment and access to resources through his connections, in a manner similar to Blagden, Wardhaugh has argued that, during the dissensions, these connections became detrimental to furthering his position.¹¹⁹ Wardhaugh has suggested that it was the 'lingering suspicion' that Hutton was 'merely a technician, an assistant, a back-room boy... promoted far beyond his proper sphere' that cast him as a target for Banks's disapproval.¹²⁰

Such an argument might also be made of Blagden's social and employment status, in light of his role as assistant and client to Banks and Cavendish during the 1780s. While Hutton worked for Maskelyne as an assistant for the Board of Longitude, Blagden too operated as an assistant for Cavendish. Blagden's financial status, that positioned him significantly below the means of a metropolitan gentleman, was known to Banks. Both Blagden and Hutton belonged to a class of scientific practitioners without the financial and hereditary qualifications of gentlemen.

Perhaps more troubling to Banks, and to his status as a gentlemanly patron of science, was Hutton's identity as a professional who earned income and advancement from work as a teacher of mathematics, with links to the publishing industry. Hutton was an author and editor of the mathematics periodical *Ladies Journal*, in addition to his employment as a surveyor.¹²¹

¹¹⁷ Gascoigne, *Banks and the English Enlightenment*, 12. Jungnickel and McCormach, *Cavendish*, 338-43.

¹¹⁸ Wardhaugh, "Charles Hutton and the 'Dissensions'," 42.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 44.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 46, 51.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 46-50.

Wardhaugh's assessment of Hutton as 'someone with interested motives, dirty hands and inescapable links to mathematics and science as a trade' suggests another reason for Banks's disapproval of him, as an individual associated with a culture of professional work, rather than gentlemanly patronage.¹²² It was particularly Hutton's connections with 'the worlds of commercial print and mathematical practice' that hindered his attempts to become 'a front-rank natural philosopher' at the Royal Society.¹²³

In contrast, it was Blagden's astute networking, focussed on winning Banks's approval, that ultimately led to his election as the Society's secretary in the spring of 1784. Through his attachment to Banks, as a provider of information and objects, Blagden had successfully garnered Banks's favour. Writing to Blagden on 18 October 1783, before the height of the dissensions, Banks commented on the state of their relationship, 'how Easy & happy I should feel myself if I had you [Blagden] in Maty's place [as secretary]... I had frequently conceived an Idea of proposing it to you'.¹²⁴

During the dissensions, Blagden supported Banks by continuing his work as a client and assistant.¹²⁵ After Horsley's public attack during the meeting in December, Blagden reported on the grievances of the opposing faction. On 23 December he informed Banks that the physician William Heberden had discovered that for the hostile faction at the Society, 'Hutton's business was but a small matter, & that the source of opposition was a grudge of very old standing'.¹²⁶ Less than a week later, Blagden sent news of those who would oppose Banks in the motion for a vote of confidence that was to be proposed at the next meeting in January, which included the linguist John Paradise, the physician Paul Jodrell, and the surgeon William Price.¹²⁷ In this letter, Blagden stated that in the eyes of Banks's opponents, the matter

¹²² Ibid., 46, 51.

¹²³ Ibid., 53.

¹²⁴ Royal Society, CB/1/1/94 (letter from Joseph Banks to Charles Blagden, 18 Oct. 1783).

¹²⁵ Gascoigne has described Blagden as Banks's 'eyes and ears' during the dissensions. Gascoigne, *Banks and the English Enlightenment*, 11.

¹²⁶ Letter from Charles Blagden to Joseph Banks, 23 Dec. 1783, published as letter 451 in *The Scientific Correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks*, 2, 238.

¹²⁷ Letter from Charles Blagden to Joseph Banks, 27 Dec. 1783, published as letter 455 in *The Scientific Correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks*, 2, 243.

was 'a struggle of the men of Science against the Maccaroni's of the Society'.¹²⁸

Another way in which Blagden served Banks was by enrolling the support of Cavendish, whose identity bolstered Banks's position. Cavendish was a gentleman in his own right, standing in no obligation to Banks, in addition to being respected for his work in physical science rather than natural history.¹²⁹ In December 1783, Blagden investigated and reported back to Banks on Cavendish's opinion, and the progress of his attempts to win his support. Initially, Blagden found that Cavendish had no objection to Horsley's actions in attacking the president during a meeting. Cavendish felt that Horsley was only acting with the good of the Society in mind.¹³⁰ However, Blagden was able to convince Cavendish of Horsley's wrongdoing, writing to Banks on 23 December that Cavendish 'would approve a vote of confidence in Banks... if its wording gave no offense'.¹³¹ At the meeting on 8 January, Cavendish seconded the resolution approving of Banks as president of the Royal Society, in an overt display of his support.¹³²

Though Blagden described the events of the dissensions as a conflict between men of learning and merit, against amateurs and 'Maccaroni's', such a characterisation is largely unsupported by the identities of those who constituted the opposing and supporting parties. Wardhaugh has noted that Horsley, the pre-eminent figure in Banks's opposition, could hardly be described as a practising natural philosopher, while Cavendish, one of Banks's most prominent supporters, was clearly not a 'Maccaroni'.¹³³ Another way of framing the division between Banks's opponents and supporters is as a clash between professional cultures of advancement and gentlemanly identities. Wardhaugh has argued that one of the key themes in speeches that vilified Banks was a 'defence against tyranny, linked with a defence of professional skill and individual merit'.¹³⁴ In May 1784, when Blagden and Hutton stood against each other for the vacant position as secretary upon Maty's

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Jungnickel and McCormach, *Cavendish*, 348-49.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 342.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid., 343.

¹³³ Wardhaugh, "Charles Hutton and the 'Dissensions'," 49.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

resignation, it was Blagden who won, suggesting that in the end, cultures of patronage succeeded in the dispute. Blagden shared the news of his appointment immediately, writing to an aristocratic contact in France, the Comte de Catuélán, that ‘This very decisive defeat of the discontented party, seems at present to have put a stop to our debate’, a debate caused by merely ‘a few discontented men’.¹³⁵ Blagden’s letter, sent to a titled gentleman, suggested that the matter was over—Banks, with the support of Blagden’s other patron Cavendish, had won against his opponents who stressed the importance of merit over patronage.

VI. Conclusion

Blagden’s attempts to secure a career were aimed at achieving the fortune and standing that would enable him to transition from the provincial towns of Bristol and Gloucester to the capital. Though he initially pursued a career in medicine, Blagden later turned to a system of patronage to facilitate his self-fashioning as a gentleman, supported by his notetaking. When operating at a distance from his patrons, he used correspondence, information, and gifts as a way to foster patronage links, using natural philosophical knowledge as a currency. The diary served as a repository for this information, shaped in its content by Blagden’s desire to pursue Cavendish and Banks. These patrons offered different rewards, and while Banks had initially been useful in enabling Blagden to build his London contacts, it was Cavendish who offered him employment and a secure residence in London in the 1780s.

When Blagden embarked on his first visit to Paris in 1783, his diary and notetaking continued to support his efforts to maintain links with his patrons. During his exchanges in Paris, Blagden’s understanding of the rules among gentlemen of science in Britain came into conflict with an alternative culture that privileged publication over patronage. Though Blagden understood for himself that publications garnered prestige in Paris, he found himself caught

¹³⁵ Beinecke Library, Osborn fc15, folder 1, unpaginated (draft of letter from Charles Blagden to the Comte de Catuélán, 14 May 1784).

between worlds when attempting to convince French academicians of Banks's significance as a natural philosopher. During the water controversy, the prestige of publication in France rendered Blagden's communication of a new scientific discovery problematic. He did not anticipate that a French savant might rush to publish an account, since in the British system he sought to emulate, it was gentlemanly status and patronage, not publication, that primarily qualified one as a man of science. This helps to explain a situation that has previously led historians to a variety of negative or defensive characterisations of Blagden in the controversy.

This chapter also linked these affairs in Paris to Blagden's subsequent experiences in London. During the Royal Society's 'dissensions', Blagden was again embroiled in a dispute where emerging cultures of advancement challenged the rule of patronage. As a client to Banks and Cavendish, he was well-placed as a member of the faction supporting Banks and gentlemanly patronage. When he emerged from the dispute as the new secretary of the Royal Society, this cemented his place as Banks's assistant within London's scientific community. This chapter has thus re-evaluated two key moments in Blagden's career—the water controversy and the 'dissensions'—as instances where an older system of advancement through patronage was increasingly challenged by emerging professional and meritocratic cultures.

CHAPTER THREE: BLAGDEN'S OECONOMIC NATURAL PHILOSOPHY

I. Introduction

Blagden's relationships with his patrons were in part built around scientific investigations, as part of his emulative strategy to build a persona as a gentleman of science. These investigations, and the ways in which they were supported by the diary, have received little attention from historians, who more often than not have only considered Blagden as a participant in the scientific inquiries of others. This may be because the areas of Blagden's interests, ranging from medicine to import substitution, appear disparate. However, this chapter proposes that Blagden's natural philosophical projects, conducted around his patrons' interests and his own, were more homogenous than is normally recognised, and contributed to his processes of self-fashioning. This chapter provides a preliminary survey of Blagden's investigations, and argues that they centred on the eighteenth-century notion of 'oeconomy', defined as good order, management, and balance, applied to the natural and social worlds. Oeconomy intersected with Blagden's interests in notetaking. If his approach to the study of nature can be described as 'oeconomic', so too can his attitude towards the use of paper tools that supported his investigations and career development.

Historians have typically focussed on Blagden's role as an assistant and administrator, rather than as a productive natural philosopher, and have taken a similar view of Banks as president of the Royal Society.¹ As David Philip Miller has argued, 'what Banks did not produce to any significant extent were published works', a criticism that has also been applied to Blagden, particularly after he ceased work as Cavendish's assistant.² With reference to the scientific culture emerging in France at the end of the eighteenth century,

¹ Jungnickel and McCormmach, *Cavendish*, 294. Miller, "Blagden, Sir Charles." Neil Chambers, "General Introduction," in *Scientific Correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks, 1765-1820*, ed. Neil Chambers (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2007), xxxiii.

² Miller, "Joseph Banks, Empire and 'Centres of Calculation' in Late Hanoverian London," 21. Jungnickel and McCormmach, *Cavendish*, 294.

Lewis Pyenson has argued that while in England 'scientific exploration required only superficial book learning', in France it was characterised by 'qualified specialists, *savants*, from diverse institutions of higher learning', indicating a 'reign of reason' that differed vastly from the 'primitive empiricism' individuals such as Banks.³ This chapter challenges this view, by drawing attention to a wide variety of investigations that Blagden carried out during his career, which served a broad oeconomic agenda.

Eighteenth-century oecconomy has been defined by Lissa Roberts as 'the investigation of nature merged seamlessly with concerns for material and moral well-being'.⁴ Oeconomy connected science with the concept of 'improvement', as being 'simultaneously directed toward increasing the yields of agriculture, manufacturing and social responsibility'.⁵ Alongside oecconomy, many of Blagden's scientific projects reveal his interest in precision measurement and quantification, which emerged in the late eighteenth century as a core value in natural philosophy.⁶ Connected to both oecconomy and precision was the notion of 'balance', described by Matthew Norton Wise and Crosbie Smith as the 'model of analytic rationality'.⁷ In contrast to nineteenth-century models that understood natural systems through temporality, Wise and Smith have

argued that in the rationalist Enlightenment, nature was understood as fixed and atemporal, a notion predicated on the idea that natural states are stable and balanced.⁸ Such a conception is seen in Otto Sibum's characterisation of Benjamin Franklin's approach to the study of the natural world as 'the bookkeeping interpretation of reality'.⁹ Sibum argues that

³ Lewis Pyenson, "Over the Bounding Main," *Historical Studies in the Physical and Biological Sciences* 20, no. 2 (1990): 407-22, 410, 413.

⁴ Lissa Roberts, "Practicing Oeconomy During the Second Half of the Long Eighteenth Century: An Introduction," *History and Technology* 30, no. 3 (2014): 133-48, 134.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *The Values of Precision*, ed. M. Norton Wise (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995). *The Quantifying Spirit in the 18th Century*, ed. Tore Frängsmyr, J. L. Heilbron, and Robin E. Rider (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

⁷ M. Norton Wise and Crosbie Smith, "Work and Waste: Political Economy and Natural Philosophy in Nineteenth Century Britain (II)," *History of Science* 27, no. 4 (1989): 391-449, 391.

⁸ M. Norton Wise and Crosbie Smith, "Work and Waste: Political Economy and Natural Philosophy in Nineteenth-Century Britain (I)," *History of Science* 27, no. 3 (1989): 263-301, 267-68.

⁹ Heinz Otto Sibum, "The Bookkeeper of Nature: Benjamin Franklin's Electrical Research and the Development of Experimental Natural Philosophy in the Eighteenth Century," in

Franklin saw various natural phenomena as quantities to be balanced on paper, for example in his *Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain*, and in his formulation of plus and minus terms in his electrical theory.¹⁰

Balance was also important for Blagden, in his conception of oeconomy. This chapter begins by examining competing eighteenth-century definitions of 'oeconomy', and their associations with thrift, management, and balance, transferred from the domestic sphere to the natural and social worlds. It goes on to consider the role of manuscript notes as tools for oeconomic projects, and makes manifest Blagden's own 'bookkeeping' approach to the management of his life. The remainder of the chapter explores the connections between Blagden's various investigations, concerning weather, temperatures of bodies, and his interests in import substitution. Just as the diary gave coherence to Blagden's efforts at advancement, so it also makes evident the coherence of his various medical and scientific enterprises, which served his efforts at emulation.

II. Defining 'oeconomy'

'Oeconomy' was applied to a variety of contexts in eighteenth century, but as a term it derived from the notion of good management of the domestic sphere.¹¹ As Roberts has argued, throughout the century oeconomy 'retained its long-standing use as a synonym for thrift and prudent management', related to the ordering of the home.¹² In the wake of crises in subsistence, war, state debts, revolution, and global trade, the second half of the long eighteenth century saw oeconomy applied in patriotic contexts to 'domestic productivity and social responsibility'.¹³ Throughout the century, several definitions of oeconomy emerged and competed, that were all rooted in values derived from domestic management.

Reappraising Benjamin Franklin a Bicentennial Perspective, ed. J. A. Leo Lemay (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1993), 225.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 226-27.

¹¹ Roberts, "Practicing Oeconomy," 134.

¹² *Ibid.*, 136.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 135.

Central to the notion of oeconomy were the ideas of balance, order, and thrift. Simon Werrett has argued that oeconomy at home called for the prudent management of domestic material culture, ‘balancing the use of old goods with the purchase of new, and stewarding possessions through care’, resulting in ‘the saving of time and money and the good order and harmony of the household’.¹⁴ Contemporary publications concerning household management stressed these values. One such example is the Cambridge botanist Richard Bradley’s translation of Noël Chomel’s *Dictionnaire Oeconomique*, 1758, which offered advice on alphabetised topics ranging from family health to spinning cotton. Bradley stressed the need to manage resources properly, avoiding waste from all commodities. In his entry on ‘Calves Ears’, he noted that ‘To show good Oeconomy and that nothing may be thrown away... the Ears of this Animal is us’d for Food’.¹⁵

Oeconomy was applied to a range of subjects with a view to achieving harmony in different spheres. When discussing family health, Bradley referred to illness as a condition which upset the body’s normal self-management, as in his definition of a fever, ‘an extraordinary Agitation of the Mass of Blood, that disturbs the Oeconomy and Functions of human Bodies’.¹⁶ Medical publications often referred to the body as an oeconomy or self-regulating system, as in Albrecht von Haller’s *Dr. Albert Haller’s physiology; being a course of lectures upon the visceral anatomy and vital oeconomy of human bodies*, 1772. In his lectures, Haller praised animal bodies as economic works of nature,

we may admire nature no less for her wise oeconomy than simplicity, in thus forming all the variety of parts we see in an animal from one simple mass of clay or slimy matter... from whence the body is not only augmented from a single point in the ovum to its full growth and stature; but, like the timbers of a ship, is also every day repaired during life.¹⁷

¹⁴ Simon Werrett, "Household Oeconomy and Chemical Inquiry," in *Compound Histories: Materials, Governance, and Production, 1760-1840*, ed. Simon Werrett and Lissa Roberts (Brill: Leiden, 2017), 37.

¹⁵ Noël Chomel, *Dictionnaire Oeconomique: Or, the Family Dictionary*, ed. R. Bradley, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Dublin: L. Flinn, 1758), unpaginated.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Albrecht von Haller, *Dr. Albert Haller’s Physiology; Being a Course of Lectures Upon the Visceral Anatomy and Vital Oeconomy of Human Bodies*, 2nd ed., 2 vols., vol. 1 (London: G. Robinson, 1772), 9-10.

Material and social concerns were fused through the concept of oeconomy, in the suggestion that individuals should manage their personal conduct and environment according to principles of balance. In the preface to John Dabney's *An Address to farmers*, 1796, the entire management of a farmer's occupation was described in terms that stressed the virtue of balance. In his labour, Dabney noted that a farmer ought to follow a 'system of oeconomics... equally distant from indolence on the one hand, and from hurry on the other', whereby 'he who is over wrought to day, on the morrow must require supernumerary hours of rest and relaxation, to retribute the excess'.¹⁸

Oeconomy was applied on a national scale to projects that balanced nature and politics. As Roberts has argued, the second half of the eighteenth century saw the term increasingly applied to 'domestic productivity', where it prompted the consideration of both nature and the 'body politic' as ordered realms, 'with an eye toward further ordering and regulation'.¹⁹ Lisbet Rausing has described the scientific agenda of the Swedish botanist Carl Linnaeus as oeconomic, outlining his approach to the use of improved manufacturing and agriculture in creating a self-sufficient domestic economy.²⁰ Stemming from his cameralist approach to political economy, Linnaeus advocated self-sufficiency through import substitution, whereby all the produce that Sweden consumed was to be grown domestically.²¹ Such a strategy relied on 'transmutationist botany'—the assumption that nature was malleable enough to allow nations to become self-sufficient by duplicating 'in miniature the world economy'.²²

Much of the literature on Banks's scientific agenda had considered his role as an 'improver', concerned with the use of the natural world for the benefit of society.²³ Neil Chambers and John Gascoigne have highlighted

¹⁸ John Dabney, *An Address to Farmers on the Following Interesting Subjects* (Newburyport: Blunt and March, 1796), preface.

¹⁹ Roberts, "Practicing Oeconomy," 136.

²⁰ Lisbet Rausing, publishing as Lisbet Koerner, *Linnaeus: Nature and Nation* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1999), 1.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 6.

²² *Ibid.*, 108.

²³ Harold B. Carter, "Introduction: Banks and British Agriculture," in *The Sheep and Wool Correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks, 1781-1820*, ed. Harold B. Carter (London: The Library Council of New South Wales in association with the British Museum Natural History, 1979). Gascoigne, *Banks and the English Enlightenment*, and *Science in the Service of Empire*. Drayton, *Nature's Government*, 85-128.

connections between the Banksian agenda and the creed of 'improvement'.²⁴ As will be discussed later on, aspects of Banks's scientific agenda as an agricultural improver and advocate of import substitution mapped on to this conception of eighteenth-century oeconomy.

Towards the end of the century, notions of thrift and management fused with an oeconomic approach that stressed the value of quantification, efficiency, and maximised outputs. Such an approach is seen in the projects of the natural philosopher Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford, and the naval architect Samuel Bentham, who applied oeconomic principles to social and industrial reform, with the aid of precision quantification. Sandra Sherman has revealed how Rumford combined 'science and accounting to cut costs and increase output', in his natural philosophical investigations and his approach to poor relief in his 'Establishment for the Poor at Munich'.²⁵ Whether in his recipes for feeding the poor using alternative foodstuffs, or in his designs for chimneys and kitchens, Sherman has argued that Rumford sought to theorise 'the most efficient means to get the most work, whether from men or from stoves'.²⁶

As Sherman has argued, the late eighteenth century witnessed a shift from paternalistic attitudes, centred on mutual dependency of rich and poor, to one in which the poor were 'imagined... by reconstituting their reality through quantifying protocols' that 'submerged individual narrative—subjectivity—in statistics, input/output ratios, and institutional accounts'.²⁷ Such quantification reduced the poor to 'ledger entries', defining and disciplining them in terms of what they ate, as seen in paper tools such as 'soup-house reports, workhouse accounts, scales calibrating bread and work, and experiments with "cheap" foods'.²⁸

Quantified approaches to managing individuals were connected with shifting disciplinary cultures. As Wise has argued, the centralised bureaucratic states that emerged in the eighteenth century were 'controlled more by

²⁴ Chambers, "General Introduction," xlii. Gascoigne, *Science in the Service of Empire*, 14.

²⁵ Sandra Sherman, *Imagining Poverty: Quantification and the Decline of Paternalism* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2001), 139.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 141-42.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 11.

information than by might'.²⁹ Werrett has argued that this emerging disciplinary culture entailed 'a new emphasis on observation and calculation', a culture seen in Samuel Bentham's reform of dockyard administration.³⁰ As Inspector General of Naval Works, Bentham reformed administration by implementing a strategy reliant on precision and vigilance in recording labour and resources.³¹ As William Ashworth has noted, this involved challenging traditional practices such as dockyard 'perks', one of which involved leftover pieces of timber being given away to workers to take home, rather than being put to use in the dockyard.³² Challenging this custom, Bentham proposed that leftover pieces be used for making pulleys, thereby reducing the waste of materials.³³ As such, Bentham's reforms centred on oeconomic management of labour and resources, aided by accounting.³⁴

III. The 'bookkeeping approach' in recordkeeping and oeconomy

Manuscript notes were vital aids to eighteenth-century oeconomy. Paper tools such as accounts assisted in the management of a variety of spheres, and served as models for other genres, including diaries. As an *aide-memoire*, Blagden's diary facilitated his efforts to manage his life, from day-to-day conversations to natural philosophical investigations. The diary is evidence of a 'bookkeeping approach' to the management of a career, alongside the investigation of nature.

As an aid to management and order, the eighteenth-century account book was an important tool. Domestic accounts enabled the management of

²⁹ M. Norton Wise, "Precision: Agent of Unity an Product of Agreement Part I—Travelling," in *The Values of Precision*, ed. M. Norton Wise (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 92.

³⁰ Werrett, "Disciplinary Culture," 88. William J. Ashworth, "'System of Terror': Samuel Bentham, Accountability and Dockyard Reform During the Napoleonic Wars," *Social History* 23, no. 1 (1998): 63-79.

³¹ "'System of Terror'," 65.

³² *Ibid.*, 72.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ On the oeconomic management of waste, see Joppe Van Driel, "Ashes to Ashes: The Stewardship of Waste and Oeconomic Cycles of Agricultural and Industrial Improvement, 1750–1800," *History and Technology* 30, no. 3 (2014): 177-206.

material resources and people, as entities which together made up the oeconomy of the home.³⁵ As Karen Harvey has revealed in relation to the account book of the eighteenth-century Derbyshire estate owner William Parkinson, these manuscripts contained details of money spent on particular items, money given to other members of the household for weekly expenses, and even details of family history.³⁶ Harvey has argued that such manuscripts were hybrid documents that combined both 'the numerical and the personal'.³⁷

Early modern practices of accounting influenced the genre of the diary. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, scholars mixed the notetaking systems associated with both mercantile and scholarly practices, transforming them into tools 'for the management of large-scale government, industry and research'.³⁸ It was in particular the methods of using a 'waste book' that influenced some scholars' approaches to notetaking. Waste books formed a central part of the double entry bookkeeping system, a process described in the fifteenth century by the mathematician and accountant Luca Pacioli.³⁹ This process involved recording all aspects of a transaction in a portable notebook, the waste book, before systematising and transferring notes first into a journal, and then into a ledger.⁴⁰ Ann Blair has noted Francis Bacon's description of his personal notebook as akin to a 'merchant's waste book, where to enter all manner of remembrance of matter, form, business, study, touching myself, service, others; either sparsim or in schedules, without any manner of restraint'.⁴¹

Blagden was probably familiar with mercantile record keeping. Many of his relatives kept business accounts now held in Gloucestershire Archives, alongside some of Blagden's own papers. These documents include his father's 'Waste Book', and his Uncle Thomas's ledger.⁴² Blagden compiled meticulous personal financial records, keeping many of his receipts for

³⁵ Karen Harvey, "Oeconomy and the Eighteenth-Century House," *Home Cultures* 11, no. 3 (2014): 375-89, 384.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 385.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Soll, "Note-Taking to Data Banks," 356.

³⁹ Yeo, *Notebooks*, 18.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 18-20. Soll, "Note-Taking to Data Banks," 367-68.

⁴¹ Francis Bacon, quoted in Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 69.

⁴² Gloucestershire Archives, D1086/B15 (John Blagden, 'Wast Book', 1755-1756) and D1086/F159 (Thomas Blagden, ledger, 1740-1794).

purchases in sorted bundles, before collating them into yearly accounts.⁴³ These receipts included 'maids bills', 'personal goods', 'taxes', and even sums of money relating to Blagden's knighthood received in 1792.

Blagden's accounting arguably extended to his diary, as a tool which aided the management of his life. As Stuart Sherman has argued, the account book served as 'a model for efficiency and a tool for steady self-reckoning' that influenced the form of some diaries, as records of a day's activities and 'disbursements', in terms of money and events.⁴⁴ As Sibum has argued, bookkeeping informed approaches to the investigation of the natural world, and particularly that of Franklin, who used the analogy of debits and credits, taken from bookkeeping, in his formulation of plus and minus as concepts in electrical theory.⁴⁵ Sibum has suggested that in Franklin's 'bookkeeping interpretation of reality', he understood people and time as entities that yielded values 'under the delimitations of sensually experienced qualities'.⁴⁶

Throughout his life, Blagden's diary assisted his efforts to account for a range of variables. Though the content of the diary changed over time, his use of the diary to store numerical particulars and the events of his day remained constant. While serving as a surgeon in America, Blagden's use of the diary as a place to store the measurements of zoological specimens before transferring this data to a manuscript catalogue, and later to his letters to Banks, is reminiscent of the use of a merchant's waste book. Blagden also used his diary as a place to manage his inventory while on board the *Pigot*. In his entry for 15 February 1776, Blagden recorded 'put my things in order: sent most of what I had bought down in hold viz 1 large & 2 small kegs of butter 1 keg of Brandy. 1 Keg of Rum... 4 Boxes of Candles 2 Baskets of Glasses 1 Cask Groceries out of which I took one loaf of sugar'.⁴⁷

⁴³ Gloucestershire Archives, D1086/F145-F155 (Charles Blagden, 'Maids Bills', 'Vouchers for purchase of personal goods', 'Receipts for payment of taxes', 1784-1791). Royal Society, CB/4/1-2 (Charles Blagden, 'Accounts, bills, insurance' and 'Accounts and bills', 1766-1819). Gloucestershire Archives, D1086/F156 (Charles Blagden, yearly accounts of expenses, 1785-1790).

⁴⁴ Stuart Sherman, *Telling Time: Clocks, Diaries, and English Diurnal Form, 1660-1785* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 49, 62-63.

⁴⁵ Sibum, "The Bookkeeper of Nature," 227.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 225.

⁴⁷ Beinecke Library, Osborn fc16, box 1 folder 1, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 15 Feb. 1776).

Diary entries Blagden made while living in London in the 1780s and 1790s reveal the diary's function as a record of his itinerary, as seen in the example 'Jan^y 1, 1782. Returned to town. Breakfasted at Sir J. Banks's. Examined papers of Mr Nairne's relative to the accident at Heckingham. Dined at George & Vulture. Dull damp day, tho' fine morning.'⁴⁸ He also used the diary to make notes on expenditures, as in his entry for 2 November 1794, 'Spent £359. of which £57 journeys 9 weeks. add about £45 for Chariot & Chaises. To live in town wholly for £320'.⁴⁹

In its record of daily itineraries, Blagden's diary was by no means unusual. Sherman has noted that Robert Hooke's diary served a similar function as a record of his daily transactions, both social and financial.⁵⁰ Blagden's contemporary and fellow diarist, the artist and member of the Royal Academy Joseph Farington, made similar use of his diary as a comparison of its entries reveals,

July 31st. [1793] Rose at 7. A wet morning. Outlining view of High Street, Oxford, on Canvass. Called at the Shakespeare Gallery. –News of the taking Valenciennes. Dined at the Bedford Coffee House, with Messrs Berwick, D & S. Lysons, and H. Hammond. Excellent Port wine – Called in the evening with Berwick & S Lysons on G: Dance, to see the profile Heads. –Fine day. Glass rose to 71.⁵¹

As part of recording his day's activities, the diary supported Blagden's efforts to manage his natural philosophical investigations, and frequently his interests in the weather. As mentioned in chapter one, weather recording was a feature of many early modern diaries, including Farington's. Blagden's father had kept a weather diary in which he recorded the temperature at Plymouth in the morning and evening, alongside rainfall.⁵² This weather diary features additional annotations in Blagden's hand, suggesting that he participated in his father's weather recording.

⁴⁸ Royal Society, CB/3/1, f. 19r. (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 1 Jan. 1782).

⁴⁹ Royal Society, CB/3/3, f. 74v. (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 2 Nov. 1795).

⁵⁰ Sherman, *Telling Time*, 62-63.

⁵¹ Joseph Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington* ed. Kenneth Garlick and Angus Macintyre, 16 vols., vol. 1 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978), 6.

⁵² Royal Society, MS/821, unpaginated (weather diary belonging to Charles Blagden's father, c. 1764-1780).

Blagden's interest in weather was connected to oeconomy, and the scientific interests of Cavendish and Banks. As mentioned in chapter two, Cavendish had requested that Blagden take measurements of the temperature on land and at sea while in America, which he recorded in his diary.⁵³ When Blagden returned to Britain, he and Cavendish continued their researches, and investigated Cavendish's theory that the temperature of springs and wells gave the value of the local climate's mean temperature.⁵⁴ When Blagden and Cavendish travelled through Britain in the 1780s, they tested this theory, recording measurements in their diaries.⁵⁵

Weather was also a topic of interest for Banks, in its connections with estate management. As Jan Golinski has observed, many weather diarists of the eighteenth-century recorded their observations in connection with agricultural interests, making notes of the market price of crops alongside their notes on weather.⁵⁶ As such, the genre of the weather diary intersected with that of the account book, in its inclusion of financial alongside observational data. Blagden and Banks frequently discussed the weather in their correspondence. Writing to Blagden in 1784, Banks commented on the state of the local harvest in connection with his observations 'the harvest is now finished greatest part of our Barley & all the beans & Pease were out... I fancy another fair week is wanted & the Barometer gives hopes as it Continues above 30 inches'.⁵⁷

⁵³ See for example Beinecke Library, Osborn fc16, box 1 folder 5, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 18 Feb. 1777).

⁵⁴ Beinecke Library, OSB MSS 51, box 2 folder 26, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, draft of a paper 'Observations on the Temperature of Wells', 1788).

⁵⁵ McCormach, *The Personality of Henry Cavendish*, 180. See for example Beinecke Library, Osborn fc16, box 2 folder 20, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 26 Aug. 1786).

⁵⁶ Golinski, *Climate of Enlightenment*, 81.

⁵⁷ Royal Society, CB/1/1/103 (letter from Joseph Banks to Charles Blagden, 12 Oct. 1784).

IV. Temperature, the body, and climate in Blagden's early investigations

Weather recording was a constant activity of Blagden's, and a ubiquitous feature of his diary, but his natural philosophical interests extended to temperature and climate in other realms, including the body and natural materials. In this strand of his oeconomy agenda, Blagden was supported by his diary and manuscript notes. Among Blagden's most prominent researches into the oeconomy of temperature were his 'Experiments and Observations in an Heated Room', 1775, his 'History of the Congelation of Quicksilver', 1783, and his 'Experiments on the cooling of Water below its freezing Point', 1788. These investigations featured the involvement of Blagden's patrons, as participants and advisers.

Blagden's first scientific paper, 'Experiments and Observations in an Heated Room' was an investigation into the oeconomy of the body and its ability to regulate temperature. This paper described several experiments, in which Blagden, newly elected as a fellow of the Royal Society, engaged in a series of self-experiments with a group of the Society's fellows, including the physician George Fordyce, Constantine Phipps, Joseph Banks and Daniel Solander. Blagden and his fellow investigators entered a room heated to temperatures well above boiling point, and noted the effects on their pulses, body temperature, and appearance. Having conducted a number of experiments, where members of the group entered the room at 150 degrees, 198 degrees, and 211 degrees, Blagden reported the physical sensations experienced, a 'sense of scorching on the face and legs', and a quickening of the pulse to '100 pulsations in a minute'.⁵⁸ He concluded that 'the most striking effects proceeded from our power of preserving our natural temperature' causing him to suggest that 'the body has a power of destroying heat'.⁵⁹ In a follow-up paper, entitled 'Further Experiments and Observations in an Heated Room', Blagden noted that the heat 'felt most intense when we were in motion', conjecturing that 'when the same air remained for any time in contact with our

⁵⁸ Charles Blagden, "Experiments and Observations in an Heated Room," *Philosophical Transactions* 65 (1775): 111-23, 117-18.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 118-119.

bodies, part of its heat was destroyed, and... we came to be surrounded with a cooler medium'.⁶⁰

The idea of investigating temperature in terms of bodily oeconomy was suggested to Blagden while at Edinburgh, by his mentor William Cullen.⁶¹ In his paper on the heated room experiments, he noted that 'Dr Cullen long ago suggested many arguments to shew [sic], that life itself had a power of generating heat, independent of any common chemical or mechanical means'.⁶² In his commonplace book, Blagden made a note of an idea for an experiment, 'To be tried on Frogs whether the thermometer stands at the same degree of heat in them whether be cold or warm atmosphere'.⁶³ He carried out this experiment, as revealed in a footnote in his paper,

during my stay in Edinburgh... the idea of a power in animals of *generating cold* (that was the expression) where the heat of the atmosphere exceeded the proper temperature of their bodies, was pretty generally received among the students of physic, from Dr. Cullen's arguments; in consequence of which I applied a thermometer, in a hot summer day, to the belly of a frog, and found the quicksilver sank several degrees... serving to confirm the general fact, that the living body possesses a power of resisting the communication of heat.⁶⁴

Theories concerning the ability of animals to generate cold or heat were predicated on the notion of the animal oeconomy as a balanced system. As the preface to an edition of Cullen's *First Lines of the Practice of Physic* noted, 'the animal oeconomy has in itself a power or condition, by which, in many instances, it resists the injuries which threaten it; and by which it also... corrects or removes the disorders induced, or arising in it'.⁶⁵ Cullen's statements concerning the power of living bodies to maintain optimum temperature were connected to the notion of the body as an oeconomy with

⁶⁰ Charles Blagden, "Further Experiments and Observations in an Heated Room," *Philosophical Transactions* 65 (1775): 484-94, 486.

⁶¹ Medical/Historical Library Yale, Manuscript 18th cent, (Charles Blagden, notebook containing physiological observations, c. 1800).

⁶² Blagden, "Experiments and Observations in an Heated Room," 112.

⁶³ Wellcome Library, MS/1245, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, commonplace book, undated entry).

⁶⁴ Blagden, "Experiments and Observations in an Heated Room," 112.

⁶⁵ William Cullen, *First Lines of the Practice of Physic* 4 vols., vol. 1 (Edinburgh and London: C. Elliot and T. Cadell, 1784), xii.

the power of restoring equilibrium, a theory which Blagden sought to test, in his heated room experiments.

A number of Blagden's subsequent researches considered the effects of extreme temperatures on different substances. These researches were conducted during the period of his association with Cavendish in the 1780s, referred to by Miller as the 'most active phase' of his scientific career.⁶⁶ One such paper was Blagden's 'On the Heat of Water in the Gulf-Stream', published in 1781, in which he communicated his investigations into the temperature of the sea conducted in the spring of 1776.⁶⁷ These investigations had required daily measurements of the temperature of the sea and air while Blagden was on board the *Pigot*, recorded in his diary for the year 1776.⁶⁸ Blagden concluded that the temperature of the Gulf-stream was continually higher than that of the surrounding sea. He envisaged that such knowledge might be of use in navigation, enabling sailors to mark the exact moment at which they entered the Gulf-stream.⁶⁹

Upon his return to Britain, Blagden continued his experiments on temperature with Cavendish's assistance, and recorded experimental data in his diary. In 1783, he summarised the history of experiments into the freezing of mercury, in his 'History of the Congelation of Quicksilver', including the results of recent investigations into cold temperatures at Hudson's Bay conducted by the Governor Hutchins.⁷⁰ Blagden recorded that his investigations had been suggested by Cavendish, with whom he noted having 'looked over Mr Hutchins's very curious experiments' in his diary entry for 17 November 1782.⁷¹

Blagden and Cavendish performed a number experiments on the freezing of mercury, with results also recorded in the diary. On 25 February 1783, he noted 'Tried exp[erimen]ts with freezing mixture. Brought

⁶⁶ Miller, "Blagden, Sir Charles."

⁶⁷ Charles Blagden, "On the Heat of the Water in the Gulf-Stream," *Philosophical Transactions* 71 (1781): 334-44.

⁶⁸ See for example Beinecke Library, Osborn fc16, box 1 folder 1, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, diary entries, Jan.–Apr. 1776).

⁶⁹ Blagden, "On the Heat of the Water in the Gulf-Stream."

⁷⁰ Blagden, "History of the Congelation of Quicksilver."

⁷¹ Royal Society, CB/3/1, ff. 53r.-54r. (Charles Blagden, diary entries, 17 Nov. and 23 Dec. 1782).

ther[mometer] to -28... cooling with salt, & snow brought to 37 or 38... Finger froze white several times felt like burning; & afterwards sore as if scalded'.⁷² A couple of days later, Blagden recorded an experiment reported to him by Cavendish, 'M. Cavendish told me he had frozen [mercury] the day before sunk ther[mometer]. to -110'.⁷³

Beyond his experiments with mercury, Blagden produced two further papers concerning extreme temperatures, in his 'Experiments on the cooling of Water below its freezing Point' and his 'Experiments on the Effect of various Substances in lowering the Point of Congelation in Water', both published in 1788.⁷⁴ Frederick Getman has argued that it was Blagden's investigations into the freezing of mercury that led him to produce the first of these papers, described as 'the first scientific study of the phenomenon of supercooling'.⁷⁵ In the second paper, Blagden investigated the effects of dissolving a substance in water upon its freezing point, and concluded that a salt, when dissolved in water, lowers the freezing point in the inverse ratio of the proportion of the salt to the water, a relationship now known as 'Blagden's Law'.⁷⁶

These investigations into the cooling of water had begun several years earlier, and were recorded in manuscript notes which resembled the form of a diary. Though these pages are described in the Beinecke Library as sections of Blagden's diary, they contain no information beyond observations on the temperature of water.⁷⁷ As such, they are perhaps closer to experimental notes, than to the rest of the diary. Nonetheless, these notes are similar in terms of their layout, in Blagden's recording of the date down the left-hand side, accompanied by observations (see fig. 6).⁷⁸

⁷² Royal Society, CB/3/1, f. 59r. (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 25 Feb. 1783).

⁷³ Royal Society, CB/3/1, f. 59v. (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 27 Feb. 1783).

⁷⁴ Charles Blagden, "Experiments on the Cooling of Water Below Its Freezing Point," *Philosophical Transactions* 78 (1788): 125-46, and "Experiments on the Effect of Various Substances in Lowering the Point of Congelation in Water."

⁷⁵ Getman, "Sir Charles Blagden, F. R. S," 80.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 85. 'Blagden's law' had in fact been anticipated several years earlier by the chemist Richard Watson in 1771. Miller, "Blagden, Sir Charles."

⁷⁷ Beinecke Library, Osborn fc16, box 2 folder 19, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, experimental notes, 2 Jan. 1786).

⁷⁸ Boyle's 'work-diaries' also contained dated notes on investigations. Yeo, *Notebooks*, 157.

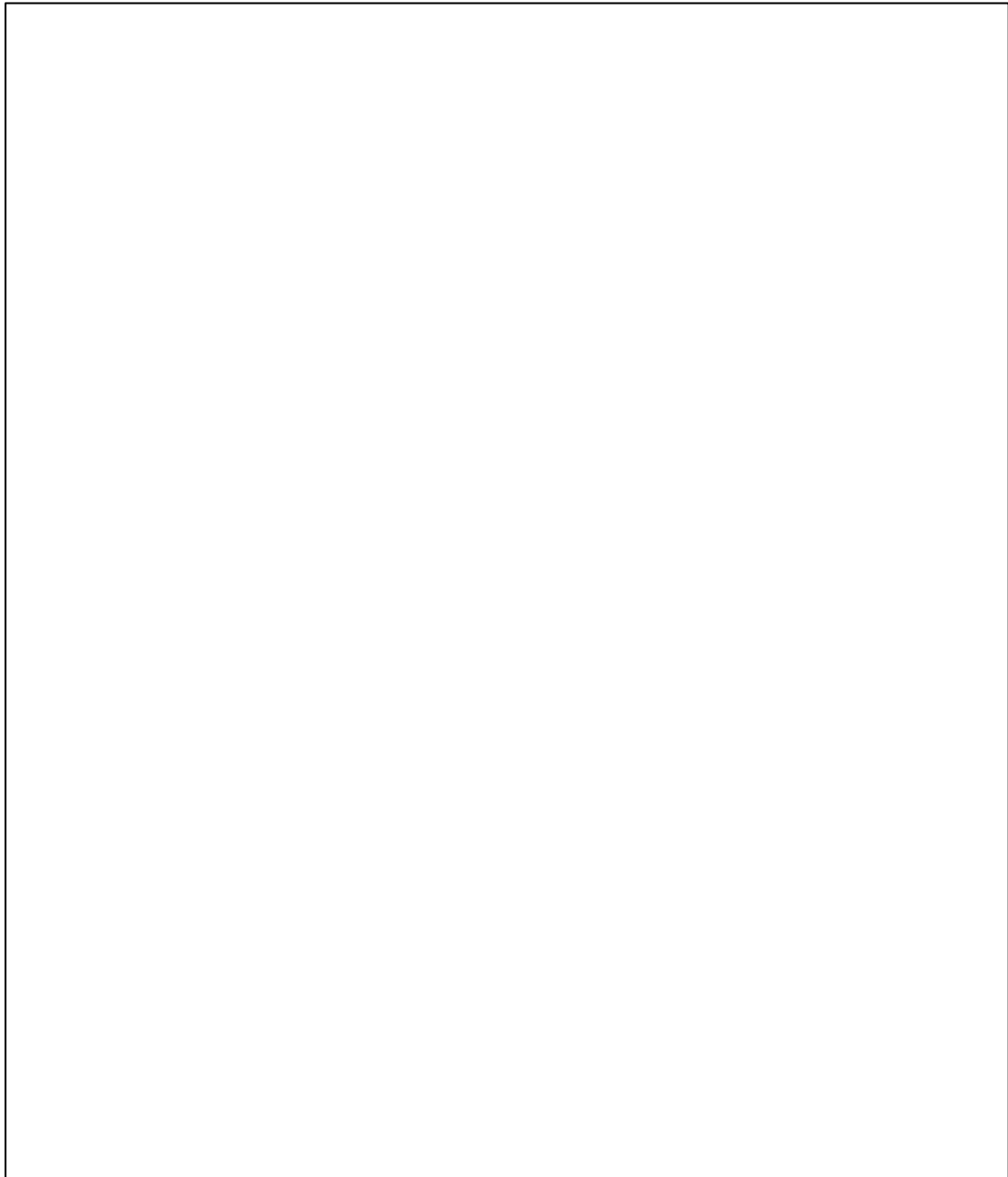


Fig. 6. Page from Blagden's experimental notes on the cooling of water. Beinecke Library, Osborn fc16, box 2 folder 19 (Charles Blagden, experimental notes, 2 Jan. 1786). [image removed]

V. Agriculture, industry, and ‘improvement’ in Blagden and Banks’s oeconomic agenda

Getman has argued that when Blagden completed his work on the freezing of solutions in 1788, his work as a natural philosophical investigator ended.⁷⁹ This statement is contradicted by evidence that Blagden pursued oeconomic investigations into agricultural and industrial improvement during the period of his association with Banks. To several of Banks’s well-known projects in import substitution, Blagden offered practical assistance, in sourcing labour for his trials of livestock and produce, and helping with experiments. That Blagden was able to turn his scientific interests to the Banksian regime so readily may have contributed to his advancement within the Royal Society. As David Knight has argued, the chemist Humphry Davy owed much of his success at the Society to the fact that his investigations into the chemistry of agriculture and tanning were closely aligned with Banks’s improving interests.⁸⁰ In managing his investigations with Banks, Blagden used his notes and diary, balancing inputs versus outputs, in an oeconomic approach centred on efficiency.

Banks has not typically been described by historians as a natural philosophical experimenter, yet historians often fail to consider the researches he published in relation to agriculture, including nine tracts in the *Transactions of the Horticultural Society*.⁸¹ In a paper read before the Society in 1805, entitled ‘An Attempt to ascertain the Time when the Potatoe [sic] (*Solanum tuberosum*) was first introduced into the United Kingdom’, Banks argued that ‘could we trace the origin of any one of our cultivated plants, it may, and probably will, lead to the discovery of others’.⁸² This comment exemplifies what Miller has identified as the unifying thread for much of Banks’s scientific

⁷⁹ Getman, "Sir Charles Blagden, F. R. S," 85.

⁸⁰ Knight, "Establishing the Royal Institution," 108-16.

⁸¹ *Sir Joseph Banks and the Royal Society: A Popular Biography, with an Historical Introduction and Sequel*, (London: J.W. Parker, 1844), 88.

⁸² Royal Society, MM/6/45 (Joseph Banks, draft of ‘An Attempt to ascertain when the Potatoe was first introduced into the United Kingdom, with some account of the Hill Wheat of India’, 7 May 1805).

activities, namely his 'life-long practical devotion to the land and all its products of potential use to man'.⁸³

Conceptions of utility in investigations of the natural world recall the oeconomic approach of Linnaeus, of whom Banks was an 'assiduous disciple'.⁸⁴ Linnaeus's attempts to combat Sweden's dependence on imported produce, by growing popular commodities at home, were similar to Banks's efforts to find import substitutions for particular goods.⁸⁵ These projects included his organisation of Captain William Bligh's mission to transplant breadfruit from the Pacific to the West Indies, and his role in interbreeding merino sheep in Britain following the economic crises faced by British wool growers after the American War.⁸⁶

Blagden's diary and correspondence reveals his involvement in several of Banks's import substitution projects. During the crisis in the wool industry in the 1780s, Blagden appealed to his familial connections in the Gloucestershire textile industry, including his brother Richard, to assist with Banks's trials.⁸⁷ In October 1785, six years before the royal flock of merinos arrived at Kew, Blagden wrote to his brother John informing him that 'Sir Joseph Banks has received a Spanish Ram, and proposes to make some experiments with wools, for which he would give my Brother [Richard] the preference'.⁸⁸ The next year, Blagden requested that Richard draw up an account 'of the trials he made with the Spanish Wool'.⁸⁹

In the same year, Blagden assisted Banks in performing trials on brussels sprouts, aimed at cultivating a crop in Britain to rival the produce imported from the Low Countries. Blagden again served as Banks's go-between, enlisting the help of his brother John, owner of a large estate in

⁸³ David P. Miller, "Sir Joseph Banks: An Historical Perspective " *History of Science* 19, no. 4 (1981): 284-92, 285.

⁸⁴ Patricia Fara, *Sex, Botany and Empire: The Story of Carl Linnaeus and Joseph Banks* (Cambridge: Icon Books, 2003), 16.

⁸⁵ Lisbet Rausing, "Underwriting the Oeconomy: Linnaeus on Nature and Mind," *History of Political Economy* 35, no. 5 (2003): 173-203, 174-77.

⁸⁶ Chambers, "General Introduction," xxi. Miller, "Sir Joseph Banks: An Historical Perspective " 286. Carter, "Introduction: Banks and British Agriculture."

⁸⁷ Gascoigne, *Science in the Service of Empire*, 71-74.

⁸⁸ Beinecke Library, OSB MSS 51, box 5 folder 60, unpaginated, (letter from Charles Blagden to John Blagden Hale, 11 Oct. 1785).

⁸⁹ Beinecke Library, OSB MSS 51, box 5 folder 60, unpaginated, (letter from Charles Blagden to John Blagden Hale, 11 Nov. 1786).

Gloucestershire. Blagden forwarded John some of Banks's seeds, instructing him that

Sir Joseph Banks desires that you will make a fair trial of the [English] Brussels Sprouts seeds raised by yourself, and on that condition promises to furnish you with fresh seeds from the continent, for you to compare the one with the other.⁹⁰

Blagden also worked with Banks as an experimenter, investigating the economy of exports of raw materials. At the outbreak of war between Britain and France in 1793, the Committee for Trade requested Banks's advice on the supply saltpetre in France, used for making gunpowder. In 1794, Lord Hawkesbury consulted Banks regarding British exports of potash to France, another ingredient in the manufacture of saltpetre, which Banks confirmed had enabled French production of explosives by a new chemical process.⁹¹ The following year, Hawkesbury consulted Banks on the same matter, this time regarding exports of nitric acid, known as aqua fortis.⁹² In March 1795, Blagden assisted Banks in consulting with the Committee. Blagden was already acquainted with saltpetre manufacture in France, having studied the methods used at the Paris Arsenal on his visit in 1783. As had been the case in relation to merino sheep and brussels sprouts, it was Blagden's contacts that often made him useful to Banks's projects.

Blagden and Banks performed a number of experiments on the economic production of saltpetre, recorded in Blagden's diary. On 14 February 1795, he recorded a visit to Banks 'with whom made experiment on q[uan]ty^b of alkali required to saturate aqua fortis', and just a few days later, on 17 February, 'Went to Sir Jos. Banks's, & made exp[erimen]t with double aq[ua]. fort[is]. of which 22^c oz required 50 dwt [denarius weight] of the pearl ashes to saturate it'.⁹³ Though Banks's natural philosophical agenda has typically been described as qualitative natural history, the diary reveals that he also engaged in precision measurement.⁹⁴ Weighing was an entertaining

⁹⁰ Beinecke Library, OSB MSS 51, box 5 folder 60, unpaginated, (letter from Charles Blagden to John Blagden Hale, 10 Feb. 1787).

⁹¹ Gascoigne, *Science in the Service of Empire*, 117.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 188.

⁹³ Royal Society, CB/3/3, ff. 46v.-47r. (Charles Blagden, diary entries, 14-17 Feb. 1795).

⁹⁴ Werrett, "Disciplinary Culture," 91-92.

pastime for Banks, who kept a diary of weights of his visitors at Soho Square between 1778 and 1814.⁹⁵

Later in 1795, Blagden wrote to Hawkesbury to notify him of their findings. He provided an account of the experiments accompanied by costings, balancing the value of ingredients input, versus the saltpetre output,

To obtain as much Aqua fortis as will make a pound of Salt petre, it will be necessary to distil more than a pound of this salt... For the process such a quantity of vitriolic acid must be used as is necessary for expelling the acid from the Nitre... Lastly a quantity of Alkali must be added sufficient to saturate the aqua fortis obtained... Therefore testing the prices...

The Saltpetre at 1^s p lb 1 1/6 lb – 0. 1. 2
The Vitriolic acid, say – 0. 0. 2
Potash near 1 lb at 6^d. –0. 0. 6
0. 1. 10

Hence it appears that the price of the Materials alone will be 1^s. 10^d; to which the expence [sic] of fuel & labour in the various operations will add very much.⁹⁶

Blagden concluded that the process was not commercially viable, and that there was no need to stop the export of aqua fortis to France, since it was unlikely that the French would be using such a costly method to produce gunpowder.⁹⁷

1795 was an important year for Blagden's oeconomic investigations with Banks. Owing to crop failures, population surges, and the prevention of grain imports due to war with France, food costs rose by 70 percent between 1788 and 1802, with the price of wheat more than doubling between 1790 and 1801.⁹⁸ To alleviate social unrest, many natural philosophers investigated the viability of alternative foodstuffs, to replace dwindling supplies of wheat bread, a staple of the British diet.

Blagden and Banks were two investigators who turned their attentions to the oeconomic production of bread, and the viability of alternatives. On 14

⁹⁵ Natural History Museum, MSS BANKS COLL BAN (Joseph Banks, manuscript book of weights of friends and acquaintances, 1778-1814).

⁹⁶ British Library, Add MS 33980, ff. 5r-6r. (letter from Charles Blagden to Charles Jenkinson, 20 Mar. 1795).

⁹⁷ Gascoigne, *Science in the Service of Empire*, 118.

⁹⁸ Sherman, *Imagining Poverty*, 41-42.

November 1795, Blagden recorded his experiments with Banks in producing flour that made use of pollard, usually a by-product in the milling of flour, 'saw Sir Jos. Banks. above 51lb of flour for 60 of wheat: about 1/7 in former experiments. this by getting more pollard good bread with $\frac{3}{4}$ or 45lb to basket of 60lbs'.⁹⁹ The diary reveals that Blagden also investigated alternatives to wheat. In November, he recorded a visit to the home of his friend Matthew Montagu, during which he 'Tasted bread made of wheat & maize, & wheat & rice. the latter more like cake; the former more doughey, but sweeter'.¹⁰⁰ As in his experiments on bodily temperature regulation and the freezing of mercury, Blagden used his own senses as part of the experiment.¹⁰¹

Though historians have examined the communities of men engaged in investigating substitutions, it was also the case that women, particularly among the aristocracy, participated in experiments.¹⁰² As will be examined in chapter five, these women were part of a community engaged in natural philosophical discourse beyond the all-male circles of the Royal Society. In his diary for the year 1795, Blagden recorded his discussions with Lady Margaret Bingham, countess of Lucan, concerning the shortages of wheat and bread.¹⁰³ Lady Lucan's daughter, Lavinia, Countess Spencer, was an avid investigator of food substitutions. In letters to her mother in law, Lady Georgiana Spencer, Lavinia wrote

I send you down a Brown loaf as you desire my dearest Madam... I also enclose you an experiment made of the produce of a sack of Wheat when made into excellent palatable bread... there are people however that say that the same quantity of Wheat ground & made use of without the Pollard will make more bread in weight than when made with it. – Make a trial of it my dearest Madam'.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ Royal Society, CB/3/3, ff. 76v.-77r. (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 14 Nov. 1795).

¹⁰⁰ Royal Society, CB/3/3, f. 76v. (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 13 Nov. 1795). Blagden's diary features other examples of tasting as research, see for example Royal Society, CB/3/3, f. 70v. (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 17 Oct. 1795).

¹⁰¹ The ways in which attitudes towards using the body as an instrument were changing at the end of the eighteenth century has been discussed by Simon Schaffer and Lissa Roberts, in Simon Schaffer, "Self-Evidence," *Critical Enquiry* 18 (1992): 327-61, and Lissa Roberts, "The Death of the Sensuous Chemist," *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science* 26, no. 4 (1995): 503-29.

¹⁰² Sandra Sherman has particularly focussed on communities of men engaged in poor relief and substitution experiments, Sherman, *Imagining Poverty*.

¹⁰³ Royal Society, CB/3/3, f. 45v. (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 15 Jan. 1795).

¹⁰⁴ British Library, Add MS 75599, unpaginated (letter from Lavinia Spencer to Georgiana Spencer, 16 Jul. 1795).

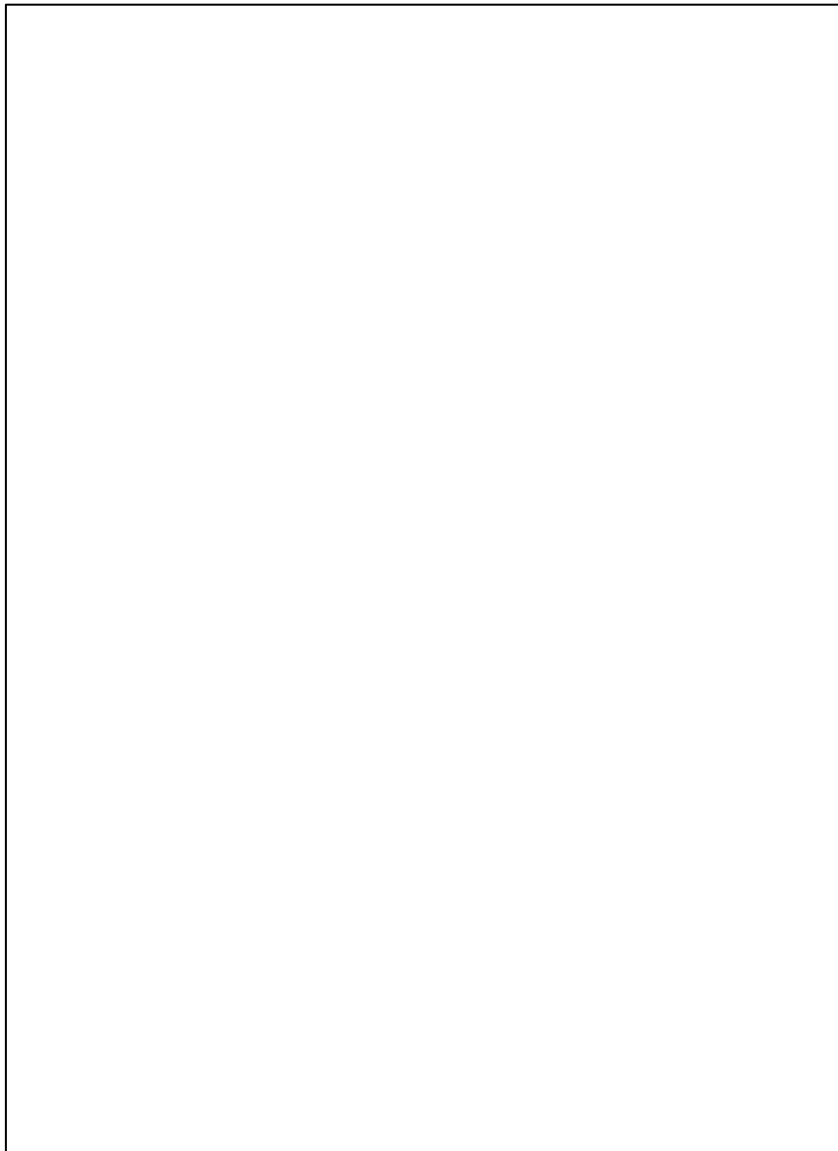


Fig. 7. Lavinia Spencer's receipt for a bread experiment performed by the Duke of Bedford. British Library, Add MS 75599 (letter from Lavinia Spencer to Georgiana Spencer, 16 Jul. 1795). [image removed]

Along with the letter, Lavinia sent details of an experiment made by the Duke of Bedford, which recorded the weight of raw material input versus the weight of the finished product (see fig. 7). Such balancing recalls the experiments conducted by Blagden and Banks on the production of saltpetre. Lavinia also commissioned Samuel Bentham to devise 'a number of most excellent dishes for the poor, composed... of ingredients now thrown away'.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

Though Lavinia did not mention the content of these dishes in her letters to Georgiana, they may have included Bentham's 'black-puddings', made from blood usually thrown away, introduced to London in 1795.¹⁰⁶

Though predicated on the notion of societal benefit, oeconomy was not celebrated by all in the eighteenth century. In 1788, the satirist John Wolcot published an infamous lampoon aimed at Banks and other fellows of the Royal Society, under the pseudonym Peter Pindar.¹⁰⁷ In the poem, aspects of oeconomic activities attracted ridicule. Wolcot wrote of the seemingly absurd nature of Blagden's experiments in the heated room,

Lo! to improve of man the soaring mind,
For sacred science, to his skin unkind,
Did Doctor Blagden in an oven bake,
Brown as burnt coffee or a barley cake,
Whilst down his nose projecting, sweat in rills
Unsav'ry flow'd like hartshorn streams from stills.¹⁰⁸

Advocates of import substitution also attracted derision. In a passage delivered by Banks's voice in the poem, Wolcot wrote of the recent experiments of John Coakley Lettsom, a physician and philanthropist who had introduced the root vegetable mangel-wurzel to Britain as a cheap alternative foodstuff.¹⁰⁹ In the poem, Banks lavished praise on 'Doctor Lettsome [sic] with his rare horse beets!', exclaiming

Beets, that with shame our parsnips shall o'erwhelm,
And fairly drive potatoes from the realm!
Beets! in whose just applauses we are hoarse all;
Such are the wondrous pow'rs of Mangel Warsal.¹¹⁰

To this statement of praise, Pindar mockingly responded,

¹⁰⁶ *The Gardeners' Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette for 1845*, (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1845), 753.

¹⁰⁷ Noah Heringman, "'Peter Pindar,' Joseph Banks, and the Case against Nature History," *The Wordsworth Circle* 35, no. 1 (2004): 21-30, 22-23.

¹⁰⁸ Peter Pindar, *Peter's Prophecy; or, the President and Poet. Or, an Important Epistle to Sir J. Banks, on the Approaching Election of a President of the Royal Society* (London: G. Kearsley, 1788), 36.

¹⁰⁹ J. F. Payne, "Lettsom, John Coakley (1744-1815)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

¹¹⁰ Pindar, *Peter's Prophecy*, 36-37.

Beets that shall keep gaunt FAMINE to his East,
And make him on Gentoos, as usual, feast;
Whilst ev'ry lucky BRITON that one meets,
Shall strut a FALSTAFF, such the pow'r of Beets!¹¹¹

The comedic assertion that consumption of a root vegetable would lead citizens to become as fat as Shakespeare's fictional Sir John Falstaff highlighted the hypocrisy of some oeconomic endeavours. Wolcot's allusions to Banks's gluttony later in the poem, which extended to the assertion that he ate his own specimens 'In troth, I've seen you many a reptile eat', set this excessive praise of beets in absurd contrast.¹¹² Blagden noted in his diary that Banks happily proclaimed that he would always 'eat the best bread & not be duped'.¹¹³ In its provision of one solution for the poor, and another for the wealthy, oeconomic food substitution was by no means straightforwardly altruistic.

VI. Conclusion

Blagden's relationships with Cavendish and Banks were formed in part around natural philosophical investigations. This chapter has sought to highlight a degree of unity in Blagden's scientific work throughout his changing careers, as a physician, as assistant to Cavendish, and as Banks's client and secretary of the Royal Society. Many of his pursuits served eighteenth-century oecconomy, centred on notions of order, management, and balance.

The scientific investigations Blagden recorded in his diary resonated with oecconomy in various ways. Weather was a continual interest expressed in the diary, with connections to Blagden's other projects. In his work on heat and freezing in relation to the body, mercury, and water, Blagden examined the oecconomy of temperature, in connection with his work as Cavendish's assistant. As Banks's client, he followed an oeconomic strand of investigation that centred on the efficient production of food and manufactured goods, supported by precision measurement and balancing inputs against outputs.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 37.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 50.

¹¹³ Royal Society, CB/3/3, f. 82v. (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 19 Dec. 1795).

Though oeconomy was pursued by many in the eighteenth-century, not all saw it as a productive endeavour. As Wolcot's lampooning of Blagden and Banks's investigations suggests, such projects were seen by some as the trivial self-indulgences of amateur macaronis, despite the links that many contemporaries made between oeconomy and social good.

In the assistance it provided him in the management of his career, Blagden's diary was perhaps his ultimate oeconomic project. Influenced by forms of mercantile record keeping, the diary suggests an attitude towards the natural and social worlds similar to Sibum's characterisation of a 'bookkeeping interpretation of reality'. As Blagden's career developed and changed, so too did the diary's content, which assisted his efforts at emulation in forging his persona as a gentleman of science. This did not always go smoothly, as the next chapter will make apparent.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE COLLAPSE OF BLAGDEN'S PATRONAGE RELATIONSHIPS

I. Introduction

While Blagden's writing supported his efforts to pursue his social ambitions, it also served him as a resource when things went wrong. The patronage relationships he forged with eminent male scholars were not successful in achieving his ambitions. This chapter explores a breakdown in the relationship between Blagden and Banks, and the tensions their failed patronage relations entailed. The dissolution of their relationship was gradual, beginning in 1788 and continuing into the 1790s. Though in the first instance the break was between Blagden and Banks, tensions with Banks also had consequences for Blagden's relationship with Cavendish. By 1790, Blagden had ceased working on experiments with Cavendish, and in 1797, he resigned as secretary of the Royal Society, ending his formal working relationship with Banks. This chapter considers the factors behind Blagden's decision to alter his strategy for advancement, abandoning his position as a client to male scholars.

Frictions centred on tensions between the image Blagden sought to cultivate as a gentleman, and the realities of his attempts to achieve this through patronage. As Steven Shapin has argued, in the eighteenth century there was no such profession or 'social kind' as the 'gentleman of science'.¹ Few natural philosophers earned money from their pursuits, and many investigators were those who already possessed substantial financial means, including gentlemen such as Banks and Cavendish.² For those lacking independent means, natural philosophy had to be combined with paid employment.³ For Blagden, this solution proved problematic. As was revealed during his dispute with Banks, being a paid client undermined Blagden's efforts to emulate gentlemanly behaviour.

¹ Shapin, "The Image of the Man of Science," 160.

² Shapin, *The Scientific Life*, 34.

³ Shapin, "The Image of the Man of Science," 166-67.

While previous chapters have focused on the diary, this chapter examines Blagden's correspondence. Letters constitute a different genre within his manuscript output, governed by conventions set out in manuals that taught the etiquette of reading and writing correspondence.⁴ Blagden's letters were far more personal than his diary, which contained few intimate or emotional remarks.⁵ By reading his letters in light of eighteenth-century conventions, it is possible to identify the ways in which Blagden conformed to and subverted etiquette. This is apparent in the way he distanced himself from Banks in his letters, using a language that denied the two men's longstanding friendship.

Blagden also distanced himself from the diary. Few portions of the diary cover the most intense period of the dissolution of his relationship with Banks, between 1788 and 1790, and of these sections, none mention their disagreements. Ann Blair has drawn attention to the role of discarding notes, and of choosing not to record certain things, to facilitate the act of forgetting, as a counterpoint to writing to remember.⁶ This chapter argues that these sections of diary may have been lost or destroyed, or perhaps never written at all. By these processes, Blagden may have tried to forget this unhappy period in his life. As an immediate reaction to the breakdown of his relationship with Banks, Blagden travelled abroad, physically distancing himself from his patrons, and complementing the emotional distance he expressed in letters. In the longer term, Blagden cultivated a network of friends beyond Banks, Cavendish, and the Royal Society, among elite social circles whose behaviour he emulated with greater success, as discussed in chapter five.

This chapter begins by examining Blagden and Banks's expectations in their patronage relationship, and explores the ways in which writing enabled Blagden to manage his anxieties in a failing relationship. The absence of writing, as a means of distancing painful memories and aiding the process of forgetting, is explored in relation to the absence of diary fragments that

⁴ On letter reading and writing see Bannet, *Empire of Letters*, and Clare Brant, *Eighteenth-Century Letters and British Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

⁵ Blagden rarely recorded his emotions in the diary, though he did sometimes comment on the feelings of others, and particularly his patron Henry Cavendish. Jungnickel and McCormmach, *Cavendish*, 303-04.

⁶ Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 65-66.

mention Blagden's anguish. The final section explores Blagden's solution in the physical distance he put between himself and his patrons, before pursuing an alternative solution to the crafting of his persona.

II. Expectations for work and reward in Blagden and Banks's relationship

In February 1788, Blagden wrote to Banks stating that he wished to resign as secretary of the Royal Society, declaring that the role had not conformed to his expectations

D[ea]r Sir, In cons[e]q[uen]ce. of our conversation this morning, join[ed] to sev[eral]' other circumst[an]ces. that have occurred not conformable to the ideas which induced me to be a candidate for the office of Sec[retary] to the R[oyal]. S[ociety]. I am now come to the resolution of resigning that office.⁷

This letter marked the beginning of a break in Blagden and Banks's relationship that had resulted from a growing difference between the expectations of both parties for work and reward. While Blagden complained that Banks did not dispense the kinds of rewards he anticipated, Banks expressed his disbelief at Blagden's expectations, suggesting a gulf between their relative understandings of patronage relationships. Despite Blagden's complaints, he continued to work for Banks as secretary until 1797, with the two men continuing to collaborate for the rest of their lives. Nevertheless, the letter Blagden sent to Banks in 1788 marked a change in their relationship, with Blagden increasingly expressing his discontent at his standing as a client and assistant to a gentleman.

As Noah Heringman has noted, cultural histories have tended to highlight the role of patrons in producing knowledge, to the detriment of their paid clients.⁸ Though they are often described as 'clients', Heringman argues

⁷ Royal Society, CB/1/1/112 (draft of letter from Charles Blagden to Joseph Banks, 2 Feb. 1788).

⁸ Noah Heringman, *Sciences of Antiquity: Romantic Antiquarianism, Natural History, and Knowledge Work* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 3-4. I am grateful to Emily Smith, Collections Coordinator at Randolph College, who recommended this analysis as a framework for examining Banks's patron-client relationships.

that these individuals, including 'fieldworkers, guides, illustrators, and other, often self-trained, practical scholars', are better described as collaborators and 'knowledge workers' who provided 'research-for-hire' for their patrons.⁹

Banks was a patron to many clients and expected certain work in exchange for his favour. One of the rewards he dispensed was money, a reward that had implications for the status of a client's work, and Banks's control over their output. As Shapin has revealed in relation to the 'invisible technician', the social and epistemological status of secretaries and assistants was problematic. Where one individual was in the paid employ of another, the employee was subordinated to the employer, in a relationship where authority and autonomy were exchanged for financial reward.¹⁰ Such a relationship was complicated when one sought credibility as a natural philosopher. As Shapin notes, it was vital for producers of natural philosophical knowledge to be seen as possessing 'free action' and 'virtue', attributes synonymous with being an independent gentleman.¹¹

Banks's relationship with one of his early clients, the artist Sydney Parkinson, draughtsman on the *Endeavour* voyage, illustrates the complex relationship between a paid employee and their patron. On the voyage, Parkinson's status was ostensibly that of a salaried client, paid by Banks to produce botanical and other images.¹² In addition to producing drawings for Banks, Parkinson assembled collections of ethnographic and zoological material, and produced his own diary of the voyage, outputs that had not specifically been requested by Banks.¹³ Parkinson died during the voyage, and upon the *Endeavour's* return, Banks became embroiled in a dispute with Sydney's brother, Stanfield Parkinson, who accused him of embezzling Sydney's personal papers and collections. As Heringman has argued, this dispute was a debate over whether Banks's status as a patron entitled him to all of Parkinson's intellectual output, or if, as a 'legal employer', his only right was to the work produced under the terms of the contract.¹⁴

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Steven Shapin, "The Invisible Technician," *American Scientist* 77, no. 6 (1989): 554-63, 560.

¹¹ Shapin, *Social History of Truth*, 49.

¹² Heringman, *Sciences of Antiquity*, 25-31.

¹³ Ibid., 25-41.

¹⁴ Ibid., 41.

In first instance, Blagden's relationship with Banks was not that of a paid client. In the 1770s, Banks enjoyed his assistance in the form of favours. As mentioned in chapter two, Banks relied on Blagden as an informal source of knowledge. In August 1773, he wrote to Blagden to introduce him to two Swedish gentlemen, a Mr Rappe and a Mr Jacobson, whom Banks asserted 'will be much obliged to you for your assistance in pointing out what you think Curious or worthy their notice particularly in Husbandry or any Iron manufactures' on their tour through the Midlands and Wales.¹⁵ During Blagden's time in North America, Banks received news and specimens, provided as gifts.

In these initial stages, it was unclear what Blagden could expect to receive as a reward. Though gift exchange was predicated on reciprocity, Banks never formally stated what he would or could offer to Blagden in return for gifts and favours.¹⁶ Later in their relationship, Blagden stated that Banks 'had always the address to avoid specific promises'.¹⁷ Though Blagden sometimes requested rewards, such as a residence and employment at the Royal Society, Banks could refuse.

When Blagden began working as secretary to the Society, his relationship with Banks changed. As secretary, Blagden received an income in the form of an honorarium, paid to all the Society's secretaries.¹⁸ In contrast to the Académie in France, where all members of *pensionnaire* standing received a stipend, the receipt of an income pointedly set Blagden apart from Banks and other fellows. The tasks of the secretary, as codified in the Society's statutes, included 'care of [the Society's] books, documents and correspondence', attendance at all meetings, the production of notes and minutes, and the drawing up of all letters 'written in the name of the Society'.¹⁹

Letters Blagden sent to Banks while serving as secretary reveal the kinds of tasks he performed. On 22 October 1786, Blagden wrote to Banks to

¹⁵ Royal Society, CB/1/1/75 (letter from Joseph Banks to Charles Blagden, 21 Aug. 1773).

¹⁶ For the conventions of gift exchange, see Ben-Amos, *The Culture of Giving*, and Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. Ian Cunnison (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966).

¹⁷ Royal Society, CB/4/6, BLA.6.224 (draft of letter / essay from Charles Blagden to Henry Cavendish, undated).

¹⁸ Lyons, *The Royal Society 1660-1940*, 46.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 50.

update him on the progress of his duties ahead of the next meeting, mentioning his management of correspondence and his reading of submitted papers,

The inclosed [sic] letter, directed to the Secretary of the R[oyal]. S[ociety]. I opened on the idea that it might perhaps contain a paper for us; it proves to be merely a request to lay some machines before the Society for approbation... Abbé Mann's paper on *Hygrometrie* brought by Mr. Planta, I have now read; it is perfectly foolish, but still with a certain degree of obscurity & pomp which will make it pass... It will fully occupy one meeting.²⁰

Though such work was ostensibly for the Society, rather than for Banks, Blagden's correspondence with him regarding these duties suggests that in his eyes, Banks was the one who dictated his tasks.

In addition, Banks expected further work from Blagden, suggestive of his view of him as a personal client. Blagden expressed anger at having to complete further tasks not formally required of the Society's secretary. In March 1789, he complained about having to draw up an address on Banks's behalf,

Before I received your letters, desiring me to draw up the address to the King and [Lord] Lucan, I had intended not to undertake any new business for yourself or the Royal Society except such as should be required by the duties of my office.²¹

A year later, Blagden was still performing additional work for Banks. In March 1790, he produced a report detailing investigations into a method of determining duties applied to spirituous liquors. As Blagden wrote at the beginning of the report, this work had been done

In consequence of an application from Government to Sir Joseph Banks... for the best means of ascertaining the just proportion of duty to be paid by any kind of spirituous liquor that should come before the Officers of Excise... I was requested by that Gentleman [Banks] to

²⁰ British Library, Add MS 33272, ff. 23r.-24r. (letter from Charles Blagden to Joseph Banks, 22 Oct. 1786).

²¹ British Library, Add MS 33272, f. 56r. (letter from Charles Blagden to Joseph Banks, 27 Mar. 1789)

assist in planning the proper experiments for this purpose, and to draw up the Report.²²

In requesting he undertake this work, Blagden felt that Banks had abused the nature of their relationship. Furthermore, he argued that Banks had failed to reward him appropriately. Blagden explicitly stated the rewards he had expected to receive, rewards that had not been forthcoming,

The slight literary reputation, if any, to be acquired by a work of this kind, is not, to me, a sufficient object; human life affords others of greater importance, namely the improvement of one's fortune, and the advancement of one's situation in society... I could not help suspecting your motive... to have been, that I was in the habit of working for nothing, whereas any one else you had employed must have been paid.²³

Blagden's expectation that Banks would provide him with 'fortune' and 'situation in society' was paradoxical, particularly in light of sentiments he had previously expressed in relation to financial reward. As explored in chapter two, Blagden's ambition to become a gentleman posed problems when receiving financial reward, since it was ungentlemanly to be seen to earn an income.²⁴ At the beginning of his dispute with Banks, Blagden had written of his desire to return all of his income derived from Banks and the Society when he first threatened to resign,

After my resignation, I shall be happy to assist & promote, as far as lies in my power, and as my situation will permit, the pursuits and interests of the Royal Society in the same manner as I used to do before I was Sec.[retary]; but I perceive it must be a voluntary act, & not cons[idere]^d as a duty... It was & is my wish, that the Society would accept the different sums I have rec[eive]^d by way of Salary, as the commencement of a fund for the purchase of books... amounting to about £250.²⁵

²² Charles Blagden, "Report on the Best Method of Proportioning the Excise Upon Spirituous Liquors," *Philosophical Transactions* 80 (1790): 321-45, 321.

²³ British Library, Add MS 33272, ff. 78r-79r. (letter from Charles Blagden to Joseph Banks, 3 Apr. 1790).

²⁴ On the ambiguity of financial reward, see Shapin, *Social History of Truth*, xxvi, 49.

²⁵ Royal Society, CB/1/1/112 (draft of letter from Charles Blagden to Joseph Banks, 2 Feb. 1788), published as letter 818 in *The Scientific Correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks*, 3, 369-70.

In proposing to return his salary, Blagden noted that it would be more conducive to his status to complete his work voluntarily, rather than as a paid obligation.

Throughout the break in his relationship with Banks, Blagden expressed his anxieties concerning the receipt of an income. Banks found this baffling, and complained that Blagden's 'sentiments in regard to money were different from & more delicate than those of mankind in general'.²⁶ The two men were worlds apart in terms of their finances. In 1807, it was reputed that Banks earned fourteen thousand pounds a year, derived from his estates. By his death in 1820, this had risen to 30 thousand pounds.²⁷ Banks's income far exceeded Blagden's, who in his early career had lived off a stipend of a few hundred pounds provided by his aunt, his half pay from the army, and his salary from the Royal Society, calculated by Banks as roughly 70 pounds per year.²⁸ In his diary for the year 1795, Blagden noted that the 'salary [of the Secretary] ought to be increased', suggesting that in his view, such a sum was not adequate.²⁹

While Blagden had to work to earn money, Banks's income came from his estates worked by others, as a member of the landed gentry. It was this difference between the financial and social worlds of the two men, coupled with Blagden's desire to achieve the standing of a gentleman, that resulted in tension in their relationship. When Blagden asserted that he had expected to be paid for his work on spirituous liquors, Banks declared 'I have spent much time in the service of different departments of government... & never asked or thought of reward'.³⁰ He suggested that if Blagden desired money, he should write to the government and name his price.³¹ Such behaviour was anathema

²⁶ Letter from Joseph Banks to Charles Blagden, 7 Apr. 1790, published as letter 985 in *The Scientific Correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks*, 3, 548.

²⁷ Gascoigne, *Banks and the English Enlightenment*, 8.

²⁸ Royal Society, CB/4/7/20 (draft of a letter from Charles Blagden to William Cullen, undated). Royal Society, CB/1/5/113 (draft of a letter from Charles Blagden to Mrs Nemes, 1775). For Banks's calculation of Blagden's yearly income as secretary, see note in Banks's hand on reverse of British Library, Add MS 33272, ff. 104r-105v. (letter from Charles Blagden to Joseph Banks, 24 Jul. 1792).

²⁹ Royal Society, CB/3/3, f. 62v. (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 18 Jun. 1795).

³⁰ Memorandum written by Banks appended to British Library, Add MS 33272, f. 74r. (letter from Joseph Banks to Charles Blagden, 27 Mar. 1790).

³¹ British Library, Add MS 33272, f. 75v. (letter from Joseph Banks to Charles Blagden, 28 Mar. 1790).

to Blagden's idea of the gentleman, as he noted in his reply, 'it is customary with Government to avoid the indelicacy of making such inquiries'.³² Blagden's expectation had been that Banks would inquire delicately on his behalf, or that he would be paid by Banks directly. A few days later, Banks complained that Blagden's demands had come as a surprise,

that a connexion should have existed between us for near 20 years without my discovering till lately how far the motive to it on your side was an expectation that I Should be the means of improving your fortune or advancing your Situation in Society may appear to you extraordinary but it is nevertheless True.³³

Such a comment by Banks may have been truthful—he may never have suspected Blagden's motive in becoming his client to have been a desire for money and status. On the other hand, such a statement of ignorance may have been a strategy employed by Banks to absolve him of the charge of neglecting Blagden's interests.

III. Closeness and distance in the emotional role of Blagden's writing

Blagden's correspondence during the break in his relationship with Banks reveals that this was a time of considerable turmoil. In coming to terms with extreme feelings, Blagden's writing may have served an emotional function. His contemporary, the artist Joseph Farington, noted of his diary that it enabled him 'to reconsider opinion given, and thereby to strengthen my own judgement', suggesting the power of writing in processing events and responses.³⁴ Though Blagden's diary does not appear to have fulfilled such a function, emotional remarks can be found in his letters. Blagden and Banks's expectations were distant from one another, and in letters, this manifested in a language of distance that played upon and subverted eighteenth-century

³² British Library, Add MS 33272, f. 77r. (letter from Charles Blagden to Joseph Banks, 29 Mar. 1790).

³³ British Library, Add MS 33272, f. 80v. (notes / copy of a letter from Joseph Banks to Charles Blagden, 7 Apr. 1790), published as letter 985 in *The Scientific Correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks*, 3, 548-49.

³⁴ Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, 1, xxxiii.

conventions in correspondence as a genre of writing, where patronage and friendships were described as close and equal relationships.

Up until their disagreement, Blagden and Banks's relationship was referred to on both sides as one of 'friendship'. As revealed in chapter two, 'friendship' connoted a range of dependency relationships, including that between a patron and client.³⁵ In his *Dictionary of the English Language*, Samuel Johnson defined a 'friend' using metaphors of proximity, as 'One joined to another in mutual benevolence and intimacy', with intimacy similarly defined as 'Close familiarity'.³⁶

Eighteenth-century manuals describing gentlemanly relationships also relied on a language of closeness when stressing the importance of shows of equality. In his letters to his son, Lord Chesterfield outlined how a gentleman ought to behave towards a social subordinate, in the kind of relationship that might apply to a patron and client,

[when] in company with an inferior, [do] not to let him feel [h]is inferiority... if you take pains to mortify him, or to make him feel himself inferior to you, in abilities, fortune, or rank, it is an insult... If you at any time invite an inferior to your table, you put him during the time he is there, upon an equality with you... I would rather double my attention to such a person, and treat him with additional respect, lest he should even suppose himself neglected.³⁷

During his dispute with Banks, Blagden's chief complaint was that Banks had neglected his interests, and had violated the norms of gentlemanly behaviour. As Eve Tavor Bannet has argued, letter writing manuals of the eighteenth century offered much advice on how to address friends of standing, and on the polite language to use in letters to one's patrons.³⁸ Though in his early letters Blagden had addressed Banks as a 'dear Friend', at the beginning of their falling out, he began to use forms of address that stressed the relative distance between them, deliberately contravening rules of politeness in response to Banks's neglect. In January 1789, Blagden wrote a letter to Banks composed entirely in the third person,

³⁵ Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution*, 57-58.

³⁶ Johnson, *Dictionary of the English Language*, 311, 412.

³⁷ Chesterfield, *The Accomplished Gentleman*, 38.

³⁸ Bannet, *Empire of Letters*, 64-66.

Dr. Blagden presents his compliments to Sir Joseph Banks, and has the pleasure of sending the two last continuations of M. de Saussure's Observations on the Col du Geant, for the use of Sir Joseph & his Friends.³⁹

In this exaggeratedly distant form of address, Blagden cast himself as a distant acquaintance, far removed from Banks and his 'Friends'. Banks acknowledged Blagden's rude tone, noting 'This is the First time that the Dr. Ever addressed me this & after an unbroken Friendship of many years I think it extraordinary'.⁴⁰

In letters that followed, Blagden was similarly obsequious, adopting epistolary conventions that rudely highlighted Banks's greater social standing. Bannet has revealed how sensitivities around status also meant that conventions had to be obeyed when writing the closing lines of a letter, known as the 'subscription'.⁴¹ While typical subscriptions to friends included 'Your humble and affectionate Servant' or 'Your friend and humble Servant', Blagden ended several of his letters to Banks in 1789 with 'your most obedient humble Servant', a subscription reserved for distant superiors.⁴² The written conventions of correspondence as a genre mattered, and it was by deliberately subverting usual codes of practice that Blagden revealed his anger towards Banks. Throughout the dispute, Banks protested Blagden's allegations of neglect, stressing their friendship in his own writing, 'I have considered you as my friend for many years & to the best of my judgement have treated you as such'.⁴³

In letters to his other patron, Cavendish, Blagden wrote of his fear that in pursuing patronage with Banks, he had distanced himself from a better

³⁹ British Library, Add MS 33272, f. 54r. (letter from Charles Blagden to Joseph Banks, 30 Jan. 1789). This letter refers to an observation produced by Horace-Bénédict de Saussure on his recent expedition to Mont Blanc.

⁴⁰ Note by Banks appended to British Library, Add MS 33272, f. 55r. (letter from Charles Blagden to Joseph Banks, 30 Jan. 1789).

⁴¹ Bannet, *Empire of Letters*, 66.

⁴² *Ibid.* Many of Blagden's letters sent during the early 1780s featured variants of the usual subscription for a friend, 'Your humble and affectionate servant', see for example letter from Charles Blagden to Joseph Banks, 7 Jun. 1782, published as letter 257 in *The Scientific Correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks*, 1, 327-28. This offers a marked contrast to the subscription used in British Library, Add MS 33272, f. 56v. (letter from Charles Blagden to Joseph Banks, 27 Mar. 1789).

⁴³ British Library, Add MS 33272, f. 58r. (draft of letter from Joseph Banks to Charles Blagden, 28 Mar. 1789).

friend and patron. By the end of the 1780s, Blagden's relationship with Cavendish had changed. As Jungnickel and McCormmach have noted, this change was one of degree rather than kind; though they remained friends, the two ceased to produce researches and to travel with one another.⁴⁴ The exact nature of their relationship is difficult to define, though initially it appears to have been immensely close, particularly in Cavendish's generosity towards Blagden. When Cavendish died, Blagden wrote of an earlier time when he had been 'intimate with him'.⁴⁵ During the dispute with Banks, Blagden lamented that it was Cavendish who had worked to ensure his independence as a client, while Banks had merely used him.⁴⁶ Despite this strong friendship, Blagden did not turn back to Cavendish after his relationship with Banks wavered. It is possible that their former intimacy meant he felt unable to.

In an essay-style draft of a letter to Cavendish, Blagden spoke of having 'followed' Banks and thereby orchestrated his own downfall, by turning away from a career in medicine,

on my return from America I had a good prospect of success in the practice of Physick if I had then directed my attention that way... At that period, however, Sir Joseph made use of every art to induce me to attach myself to him & his pursuits. He professed himself in the strongest terms my friend, & frequently declared his intention & wishes to be useful to me on all occasions... He continued this style of behaviour till after I became secretary of the Royal Society, & was as he thought, so far involved in that situation as to have no other path left open to me.⁴⁷

In language that explicitly referred to attachment and friendship, Blagden suggested that Banks had tricked him, with vague promises of unspecified rewards, into a relationship that had rendered him a servant. Blagden noted that Banks, having secured his attachment through false expressions of friendship,

⁴⁴ Jungnickel and McCormmach, *Cavendish*, 297-98.

⁴⁵ Charles Blagden, quoted in *ibid.*, 298.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 466.

⁴⁷ Royal Society, CB/4/6, BLA.6.224 (draft of letter / essay from Charles Blagden to Henry Cavendish, undated).

never made any effort either to improve my fortune or raise my situation in the world... His sole object from the beginning was to make me the tool of his ambition... to keep me as low & dependent as possible.⁴⁸

Blagden implied that it was Banks's 'friendship' that had caused him to turn away from a career in medicine, that would have been supported by Cavendish. In the same draft letter, Blagden asserted,

You [Cavendish]... seeing how unwisely I neglected my profession, had the goodness not only to advise me to resume it, but likewise to offer that you would bear all the pecuniary risk attending the pursuit, so that my private fortune should at all events remain unimpaired.⁴⁹

He also suggested that Banks had opposed his wishes to marry, which he argued would have afforded him financial reward through Cavendish's support.⁵⁰ Blagden complained to Banks that 'If you had afforded me effectual assistance on that occasion, I should indeed have felt it as a most important act of friendship'.⁵¹

It is unclear how or why Banks opposed Blagden's marriage proposal, planned to a Miss Ann Osborne.⁵² In a note on Blagden's behaviour, Banks commented that 'The marriage was in my opinion impossible as I know the Lady has a preconceived aversion to the Drs manners'.⁵³ Though Blagden had begun to make inquiries with Osborne's family, the proposal was called off in August 1790. Blagden stated in a letter to his brother that 'Many circumstances have induced me to give up all thoughts of the business', but provided no further details.⁵⁴

Rather than pursuing a career in medicine and a marriage supported by Cavendish, Blagden lamented that he had instead chosen to follow Banks, and a career as a publishing natural philosopher,

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ British Library, Add MS 33272, f. 81v. (letter from Charles Blagden to Joseph Banks, 8 Apr. 1790).

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Beinecke Library, OSB MSS 51, box 5 folder 60, unpaginated (letter from Charles Blagden to John Blagden Hale, 31 Nov. 1789).

⁵³ Memorandum by Banks appended to British Library, Add MS 33272, f. 80v. (letter from Joseph Banks to Charles Blagden, 15 Apr. 1790), published as letter 988 in *The Scientific Correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks*, 3, 552.

⁵⁴ Beinecke Library, OSB MSS 51, box 5 folder 60, unpaginated (letter from Charles Blagden to John Blagden Hale, 27 Aug. 1790).

when I told you [Banks] in the year 1784 that Mr. Cavendish wished me to persecute seriously the profession of physic, you replied that you did not see how you could be of any use to me in that time... you observed, that the literary line I had adopted, though a more slow, might ultimately be a more certain way of raising my future.⁵⁵

This 'literary line', suggests a career where Blagden expected to derive fortune and standing from his natural philosophical researches. Banks insisted that he had never advised Blagden to pursue such a course. He mused that no man 'except Sr. I[saac] Newton' had ever raised 'a Fortune... by literature without Selling his works', an action which for both Blagden and Banks was at odds with the identity of a gentleman.⁵⁶

Blagden confessed his fears to Cavendish that it was Banks's intention to abandon him, 'He now, I believe, thinks that he has got from me almost as much as I can give him, & rather wishes me out of the way'.⁵⁷ Blagden was not alone in his anxieties towards Banks, who enjoyed maintaining his privileged status over others. As another of Banks's clients, the chemist Humphry Davy, commented, Banks 'was always ready to promote the objects of men of science; but he required to be regarded as a patron, and readily swallowed gross flattery'.⁵⁸ In requiring advancement of standing and fortune, it is possible that Blagden sought too much from Banks, who was happy to see his own elevated status preserved, while his clients remained his subordinates.

⁵⁵ British Library, Add MS 33272, ff. 81r-81v. (letter from Charles Blagden to Joseph Banks, 8 Apr. 1790).

⁵⁶ Notes on Blagden written by Banks, appended to British Library, Add MS 33272, f. 80v. (letter from Joseph Banks to Charles Blagden, 15 Apr. 1790), published as letter 988 in *The Scientific Correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks*, 3, 552.

⁵⁷ Royal Society, CB/4/6, BLA.6.224 (draft of letter / essay from Charles Blagden to Henry Cavendish, undated).

⁵⁸ Humphry Davy quoted in John Davy, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Humphry Davy*, 1836, in Knight, "Establishing the Royal Institution," 107.

IV. The absence of writing as an aid to forgetting

Though Blagden wrote of his discontent in letters, he does not appear to have done so in his diary. Fragments of diary for the period covering the most heated phase of the dispute are absent within archives—possibly yet to be acquired, possibly destroyed, or possibly never written. Through the destruction or absence of writing Blagden may have tried to distance himself from painful memories.

Ignorance and forgetting have been discussed in the history of science by a number of scholars, in relation to scientific knowledge and notetaking. Robert N. Proctor and Londa Schiebinger have proposed the study of ‘agnotology’, as a counterpoint to ‘epistemology’, drawing attention to the ‘conscious, unconscious, and structural production of ignorance’.⁵⁹ For historians of early modern information management, forgetting is a central concept, as a state combatted by notetaking strategies. As Richard Yeo has noted, examining the role of notebooks enables historians to discern the ‘practices that allow one to forget and later retrieve’.⁶⁰ Notebooks have been described as aids to remembering by enabling one to forget, described by Alberto Cevolini as ‘forgetting machines’.⁶¹

The ability to forget something at will is a problematic concept, particularly as it relates to writing. As a counterpart to the art of memory, Cevolini has argued that any attempt to describe ‘the art of oblivion’ is an impossible task owing to the paradox of ‘remembering to forget’.⁶² Though forgetting was not trained in the same way as remembering in the early modern period, it was a task that could be ‘achieved passively, by not recording and not trying to remember’.⁶³

Scholars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were concerned about forgetting as a natural and unconscious process. In his *Elements of Law*,

⁵⁹ Robert N. Proctor, "Agnotology: A Missing Term to Describe the Cultural Production of Ignorance (and Its Study)," in *Agnotology: The Making and Unmaking of Ignorance*, ed. Robert N. Proctor and Londa Schiebinger (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 3.

⁶⁰ Yeo, "Notebooks, Recollection, and External Memory," 128.

⁶¹ Cevolini, "Knowledge Management Evolution."

⁶² *Ibid.*, 30.

⁶³ Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 65-66.

Thomas Hobbes described forgetting as 'the natural, gradual decay of a conception originating in sensory perception'.⁶⁴ John Locke expressed a similar sentiment in his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, in which he noted that without 'special precautions', ideas were apt to fade, 'leaving no more footsteps or remaining Characters of themselves, than Shadows do flying over Fields of Corn; and the Mind is as void of them, as if they never had been there'.⁶⁵

One of the precautions that scholars including Blagden took against forgetting was creating written records. As Yeo has noted, Locke had specific views on the utility of notetaking in assisting recollection that related to the associations and judgements one made when recording material. Locke kept notes on different subjects in different notebooks, in his *Adversaria Physica*, in which he made notes on medical and scientific subjects, and his *Adversaria Ethica*, which included moral, philosophical, and political subjects.⁶⁶ Locke reflected on the advantages of this system in his journal for the year 1677,

A great help to the memory & meanes to avoid confusion in our thoughts is to draw out & have frequently before us a scheme of those sciences we imploy our studys in, a map as it were of the mundus intelligibilis.⁶⁷

As Yeo has argued, when Locke re-read an entry he had written, it prompted recollection of 'the material from which it was drawn, the circumstances in which it was made, or the issues that it represented', in part because Locke had made a judgement concerning where this knowledge existed on his personal map of knowledge.⁶⁸ By associating fragments of knowledge with others in a wider scheme, Locke trained his processes of memory via recollection.

Blagden's views concerning the interrelation of memory, forgetting, and associations were similar to Locke's. In his notebook on memory, Blagden enumerated the ways in which memories might be lost, '1. Length of time 2.

⁶⁴ Thomas Hobbes, quoted in Yeo, "Notebooks, Recollection, and External Memory," 132-33.

⁶⁵ John Locke, quoted in *ibid.*, 132-133.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 147.

⁶⁷ John Locke, quoted in *ibid.*, 148.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

Want of repetition 3. Want of observing relations & so associating 4. Want of Exercise'.⁶⁹ If Blagden wished to forget the painful memories of his dispute with Banks, he may have chosen not to write them down, thereby avoiding exercising his memory. By neglecting to write his diary for periods of time, Blagden may also have hoped to avoid the risk of associations. In not writing, one avoided setting up the associations that could prompt unsettling recollections, regardless of whether unsettling material was committed to paper.

It is also possible that Blagden destroyed the missing sections of his diary. Blair notes that while some early modern scholars chose to preserve their manuscripts for future generations, with a view to posthumous publication, others systematically destroyed their old notes, either because they no longer found them useful, or because they feared they had been superseded by later work.⁷⁰ Manuscripts were also destroyed by those who sought to fashion posthumous reputations in particular ways.⁷¹ A famous example is the destruction of the memoirs of the poet Lord Byron, committed shortly after his death and planned by his close friend John Cam Hobhouse for fears of damage to his own reputation by association.⁷²

The preservation or destruction of notes in relation to reputation rests on a distinction between the view of such documents as either public or private.⁷³ As Eddy has noted in relation to the diaries of Scottish children during the Enlightenment, the knowledge that family members or friends would read these manuscripts meant that personal content was often absent.⁷⁴ Blagden conceived of diaries as private documents. When he spoke of the diaries of his contemporaries, it was with the conviction that such manuscripts should be kept private. When the lawyer James Boswell published his diary of his tour through the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson after Johnson's death, Blagden commented that 'Most people would be sorry to have a bosom friend,

⁶⁹ Wellcome Library, MS/1250, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, notebook on memory, undated).

⁷⁰ Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 64-66.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 66.

⁷² Peter Cochran, *The Burning of Byron's Memoirs: New and Unpublished Essays and Papers* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 3.

⁷³ Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 64-66.

⁷⁴ Eddy, "The Child Writer," 717.

who kept a journal of their conversations, to publish as soon as they should be dead'.⁷⁵

During his dispute with Banks, Blagden considered destroying some of his manuscripts. In 1789, he embarked on a trip to the continent, to escape the ongoing tensions with Banks.⁷⁶ Immediately prior to the trip, he deposited his personal papers in Cavendish's London townhouse, giving him explicit instructions for the care of the manuscripts,

The enclosed key opens the drawers of my bureau, placed now in your bed-room in Bedford Square wh[ich]. contains several papers & letters. In case of my death be so good as to burn the latter, except there sho[ul]d. be any among them which you wo[ul]d. wish to keep.⁷⁷

These papers may have included sections of diary. Blagden's instruction that Cavendish destroy certain letters suggests that he was concerned about private matters becoming public.

V. Physical distance and Blagden's solution to his 'rupture' with Banks

In response to the ongoing turmoil with Banks, Blagden physically distanced himself from his male patrons. Between 1788 and 1793, he embarked on three trips to the continent, and made several changes in his lifestyle. Such a strategy may have worked in the short term, and during the periods of his travel abroad, Blagden resumed writing his diary.⁷⁸ At the same time, he began to pursue a longer-term solution, by forging a new network of acquaintances. These new connections were even more distant from Blagden in their standing and finances, but enabled him to emulate an alternative

⁷⁵ Letter from Charles Blagden to Joseph Banks, 16 Oct. 1785, quoted in Jungnickel and McCormmach, *Cavendish*, 298.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 464.

⁷⁷ Royal Society, CB/2/314 (draft of letter from Charles Blagden to Henry Cavendish, 16 Sep. 1789).

⁷⁸ Royal Society, CB/3/1 (Charles Blagden, diary, 1771-1792). This volume of Blagden's diary contains entries for periods of his travel abroad, from 21 September to 21 October 1788, 17 September to 4 November 1789, and 28 July to 26 December 1792.

identity following the dissolution of his relationships with Banks and Cavendish.

At times when Blagden found himself at breaking point with Banks, his immediate solution was to seek physical distance. In the summer of 1788, after having threatened to resign as secretary, Blagden travelled to France and Switzerland. While travelling, he continued to correspond with Banks, without the expressions of distance that characterised their correspondence when he resided in London.⁷⁹ When Blagden returned in 1789, his hostility towards Banks resumed, and in the autumn of that year he made plans to travel to Italy and Switzerland.

Immediately prior to his departure in 1789, Blagden made several major changes to his lifestyle, suggestive of his desire to distance himself from his situation. Blagden sold the house in Gower Street he had received as a gift, and wrote to Cavendish of his ambitions to renew his medical career while abroad among 'the great number of English who resort every winter to Italy'.⁸⁰ Though he expected the trip to last at least a year, Blagden wrote to his brother in October, just one month after setting out, stating that the whole of his travelling party were now on their way back to Britain, owing to a personal 'circumstance' of one member of the group.⁸¹ In 1792, Blagden made a further trip to the continent, during which he was able to complete the itinerary he had planned two years earlier, visiting Paris, Lausanne, Geneva, Florence, Naples, Rome, Augsburg and Frankfurt, before returning to London in November 1793.⁸²

Blagden explained to Cavendish that by physically distancing himself from Banks, he hoped to salvage their relationship,

⁷⁹ For a summary of Blagden's letters and movements, see Dawson, *The Banks Letters*, 72-73.

⁸⁰ Beinecke Library, OSB MSS 51, box 5 folder 60, unpaginated (letter from Charles Blagden to John Blagden Hale, 11 Aug. 1789). Royal Society, CB/2/314 (draft of letter from Charles Blagden to Henry Cavendish, 16 Sep. 1789). Royal Society, CB/2/695 (draft of letter from Charles Blagden to Henry Cavendish, Aug. 1789).

⁸¹ Beinecke Library, OSB MSS 51, box 5 folder 60, unpaginated (letter from Charles Blagden to John Blagden Hale, 9 Oct. 1789).

⁸² Blagden's itinerary is given by the locations from which he sent his letters to Banks. Dawson, *The Banks Letters*, 78-80.

This day... I perceived too plainly, either thro' my fault, or his [Banks's], or both, unless some change was made we sho[ul]d soon come to an open & perhaps a violent rupture.⁸³

In 1789, when he notified Cavendish of his plans to sell his home, Blagden mused that 'perhaps... my absence for a winter may prevent an open rupture with Sir Jos. Banks'.⁸⁴

Though Blagden initially sought the solace of distance, this was only a short-term solution. Despite his threats to resign, Blagden continued as secretary of the Royal Society until 1797, and this meant that he was obliged to return to London regularly, to carry out the duties of his office. Examination of Blagden's diary and letters for his time spent travelling suggests that he had begun to pursue a more permanent solution to his patronage issues, centred on the cultivation of an alternative network of friends.

When Blagden travelled abroad, he mixed with individuals of impressive social standing. On 14 September 1788, Blagden wrote to Banks from Switzerland notifying him that he had been obliged to stay on in Geneva in order to accompany Prince Edward, who was completing his education in the city, 'Prince Edward... being on the point of setting out upon a tour through the Mountains of Neufchatel... was so obliging as to request me to accompany him'.⁸⁵ In 1789, Blagden travelled to the continent with Henry Temple, Viscount Palmerston, and his wife Lady Mary Palmerston, anticipating that their acquaintance might lead him to mix with further 'good or appreciable company'.⁸⁶ His trip having been cut short, Blagden again travelled with the Palmerstons in 1792, during which he spent time in the company of Georgiana Cavendish, the duchess of Devonshire, and her family, Lady Georgiana, the Dowager Countess Spencer, and Lady Henrietta Frances Duncannon.⁸⁷

Though Blagden began to pursue acquaintances who were even more distant in standing and fortune than Banks, in 1792 he received a knighthood,

⁸³ Note by Blagden appended to Royal Society, CB/1/1/112 (draft of letter from Charles Blagden to Joseph Banks, 2 Feb. 1788).

⁸⁴ Royal Society, CB/2/695 (draft of letter from Charles Blagden to Henry Cavendish, Aug. 1789).

⁸⁵ British Library, Add MS 33272, f. 52r. (letter from Charles Blagden to Joseph Banks, 14 Sep. 1788).

⁸⁶ Royal Society, CB/2/695 (draft of letter from Charles Blagden to Henry Cavendish, Aug. 1789).

⁸⁷ de Beer, "The Diary of Sir Charles Blagden," 75.

offering him something of the standing he sought.⁸⁸ Blagden was pleased by this honour, and the greater status it afforded him on his trips to the continent. Writing to his brother John, he reported 'This day His Majesty was pleased to confer upon me the honor [sic] of Knighthood; it gives a title more convenient for travelling than that of Doctor'.⁸⁹ Such a reward was significant for Blagden in removing his explicit connection to the profession of medicine, and in closing some of the distance between his own standing, and that of the social groups he sought to emulate. The nature of these social groups into which Blagden sought entry will be explored in detail in chapter five.

VI. Conclusion

Though Blagden had attempted to secure a career through patronage, this strategy compromised his attempts to achieve status. It was the differences between Blagden and Banks's expectations for how their patronage relationship would work that resulted in the initial tensions. Blagden was unhappy with the tasks that Banks required of him and expressed his concern that the rewards Banks dispensed were insufficient. Though it was fortune and standing that Blagden had hoped to gain, these ambitions proved contradictory, in light of his complex attitude towards financial remuneration. Money was no object for Banks, who was baffled by the emotional turmoil that Blagden suffered in his attempts to emulate gentlemanly status.

Blagden expressed his anger at Banks's behaviour in letters, where his language centred on the motif of distance, as the opposite of what was expected in patronage as friendship in the eighteenth century. In his letters, Blagden stressed the distance that had grown between him and Banks. In letters to Cavendish, Blagden lamented that he had unwittingly followed a career that had led him far from Cavendish's friendship and support. While these letters abounded with emotional content, extant portions of the diary do not cover or mention the period of Blagden's rupture with Banks. As a

⁸⁸ Miller, "Blagden, Sir Charles."

⁸⁹ Beinecke Library, OSB MSS 51, box 5 folder 60, unpaginated (letter from Charles Blagden to John Blagden Hale, 13 Jul. 1792).

complement to the distance he expressed in letters, Blagden may have avoided writing his diary, or otherwise destroyed it, to aid forgetting.

Though Blagden continued as secretary of the Royal Society until 1797, he had already begun to pursue an alternative means of self-fashioning his identity. Having received a knighthood, Blagden engaged in extensive travel, and began to cultivate a network of friends and acquaintances beyond the Royal Society, amongst the highest social ranks.

CHAPTER FIVE: 'THE ELEVATED RANKS OF SOCIETY': BLAGDEN BETWEEN FEMALE NETWORKS AND THE ROYAL SOCIETY

I. Introduction

Blagden's ambitions since the beginning of his career had centred on forging a particular identity as a gentleman. When his relationships with Banks and Cavendish failed to align with these ambitions, he turned to an alternative network beyond the Royal Society, composed of individuals of elevated social standing. This chapter explores the nature of these networks, in large part composed of influential aristocratic and intellectual women. Blagden began cultivating these women's acquaintance in the 1780s and 1790s, but after the crisis with Banks they came to provide his principal source of standing and self-esteem, as he emulated their lifestyle and enrolled himself in their circles. A focus on the diary in the year 1795 makes this apparent.

Blagden's friends among the socially elevated were a continual feature of his life after the dissolution of his patronage relationships. In 1797, immediately prior to his resignation as secretary, Banks disparaged Blagden's 'habits... lately adopted of mixing much in the Gay Circles of the more Elevated ranks of Society'.¹ In the eighteenth century, contemporaries aligned the notion of 'Elevation' with the concept of 'dignity', defined as an individual's rank, advancement of station, and 'grandeur' of manner.² As such, social elevation included possession of a title, alongside appropriate manners and behaviour. Blagden's friends among the elevated ranks were in many cases of even higher standing than Banks, including titled aristocracy.

Up to this point, Blagden had relied on his engagement in medicine and the sciences to connect to male patrons such as Cavendish and Banks. When this failed, he adopted a different strategy, increasingly acting as a communicator of knowledge among the elevated classes. Blagden provided

¹ Royal Society, CB/1/1/120 (letter from Joseph Banks to Charles Blagden, 27 Apr. 1797).

² Samuel Johnson's definitions for 'height', 'elevation', and 'dignity', in Johnson, *Dictionary of the English Language*, 357, 239, 203.

news and information, 'going between' the all-male circles of the Royal Society and the heterosocial world of the elevated ranks. As Kapil Raj has noted, while absent from the history of science a decade ago, the study of 'go-betweens' has gained considerable momentum in recent years, with the 'go-between' emerging as a 'significant new actor in science studies'.³ Though historians have commented on Blagden's identity as an individual between communities, the majority of scholarship has focussed on his interactions between men of learning in Britain and on the continent.⁴ Where studies of the go-between have typically focussed on exchanges in distant locations and between individuals across the globe, this chapter examines Blagden closer to home, among the elegant circles of London, newly fashionable British resorts such as Bognor, and popular destinations for British travellers abroad.⁵

In exploring Blagden's role as a go-between among women, this chapter draws attention to a little-acknowledged group in the history of eighteenth-century science. As Londa Schiebinger has argued, the scholarly focus upon the history of academies in the development of modern science, after the move of natural philosophy away from the court, has overshadowed what she terms 'the other heir of the courtly circle—the salon—as an institution of science'.⁶ This chapter considers Blagden's place within circles of individuals, often presided over by women, interested and engaged in natural philosophical discussion at fashionable gatherings. As Leonie Hannan has argued, while much attention is given to published intellectual works, usually penned by men, this focus on published sources has neglected the 'intellectual life' of women, who participated in natural philosophical discourse among

³ Kapil Raj, "Go-Betweens, Travelers, and Cultural Translators," in *A Companion to the History of Science*, ed. Bernard Lightman (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2016), 39.

⁴ Fauque, "An Englishman Abroad." Lipkowitz, "'The Sciences Are Never at War?'" Watts, "Philosophical Intelligence."

⁵ On go-betweens see Neil Safier, *Measuring the New World: Enlightenment Science and South America* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 2008). *Europe Observed: Multiple Gazes in Early Modern Encounters*, ed. Kumkum Chatterjee and Clement Hawes (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2008). *The Brokered World: Go-Betweens and Global Intelligence, 1770-1820*, ed. Lissa Roberts Simon Schaffer, Kapil Raj, James Delbourgo (Massachusetts: Science History Publications, 2009). Miles Ogborn, "'It's Not What You Know...': Encounters, Go-Betweens and the Geography of Knowledge," *Modern Intellectual History* 10, no. 1 (2013): 163-75.

⁶ Londa Schiebinger, *The Mind Has No Sex? Women in the Origins of Modern Science* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991), 10.

circles 'conducive to female learning'.⁷ While Hannan has suggested women's correspondence as fertile source material for examining female participation in 'the life of the mind', this chapter reveals Blagden's diary as another source for accessing this intellectual domain.⁸

This chapter begins by considering the various circles among the elevated ranks that featured in Blagden's network of friends and acquaintances in 1795, and the ways in which he emulated their manners and lifestyle. Female participation in polite natural philosophical discourse is examined, as the context which enabled Blagden to carve a role for himself as a valued source of information, supported by his diary. The final sections of this chapter reveal what it was that elegant women sought to gain from Blagden's knowledge brokering, and in turn how their acquaintance bolstered his social status, through the recording of 'attention'.

II. 'Gay Circles' and 'Elevated ranks'

By 1795, Blagden had cultivated a network of acquaintances beyond the Royal Society among the elevated ranks. Though not exclusively female, a significant portion of these contacts were women. Belonging to a range of groups, including the aristocracy, the *beau monde*, and the bluestockings, these individuals were united by their prominence in London society.

Blagden had initially come into contact with members of the elevated ranks while living in London in the early 1770s and 1780s. It had been Blagden's hope that Banks's patronage would enable him to extend his network of prestigious contacts. When Banks proved unable to provide the connections and status he sought, he turned elsewhere, as evidenced by Banks's complaint concerning his 'absences' from duty, occasioned by his time spent among the 'Gay Circles' of the elevated ranks.⁹

Over a decade, between 1780 and 1795, the number of women and members of the elevated ranks that Blagden spent time with increased

⁷ Leonie Hannan, "Women, Letter-Writing and the Life of the Mind in England, c.1650–1750," *Literature & History* 22, no. 2 (2013): 1-19, 15.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Royal Society, CB/1/1/120 (letter from Joseph Banks to Charles Blagden, 27 Apr. 1797).

significantly, as revealed in the diary. In 1782 Blagden's female acquaintances were principally Georgiana Cavendish, the duchess of Devonshire, and her family, as well as Lady Isabella Hamilton, daughter of the tenth earl of Buchan, Henry Erskine.¹⁰ By contrast, in 1795 Blagden recorded his frequent visits to the homes of Charles Grey, first Earl Grey, and his wife Lady Elizabeth Grey, Henry Temple, second Viscount Palmerston, and his wife Mary, Viscountess Palmerston, Lavinia Spencer, Countess Spencer, Margaret Bingham, countess of Lucan, Elizabeth Montagu, the author Mary Berry, and her sister Agnes.¹¹

Many of the elevated friends that Blagden cultivated were titled aristocrats. These individuals and their families possessed connections to the court and politics, and constituted a predominantly Whig circle whose favour Blagden sought. One such individual was Lady Elizabeth Grey, daughter and heiress of George Grey of Southwick, and matriarch of the Grey family, married to army officer Charles Grey, first Earl Grey.¹² Blagden had a long-standing connection to the Grey family. He had met Charles Grey in the 1780s, and had around that date begun a correspondence with Lady Grey that lasted several decades.¹³ The Grey's eldest son Charles, later second Earl Grey, was a prominent Whig politician and later served as prime minister.

Around this date, Blagden was becoming closer to the Palmerstons and the Lucans, two further aristocratic families with Whig connections. Lady Mary Palmerston, a frequent correspondent of Blagden's during his later life, was the second wife of Henry Temple, second Viscount Palmerston. Lord Palmerston was a member of the Society of Dilettanti and a fellow of the Royal Society.¹⁴ The Palmerstons were friends of the Prince of Wales, and later his wife Caroline of Brunswick. They travelled extensively on the continent, with Blagden joining them on a number of their visits, in the late 1780s and early

¹⁰ Royal Society, CB/3/1, ff. 16r-63r. (Charles Blagden, diary entries, 1781-1782).

¹¹ Royal Society, CB/3/3 (Charles Blagden, diary, 1795). See part two of this thesis for transcription.

¹² Rory Cornish, "Grey, Charles, First Earl Grey (1729-1807)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

¹³ Royal Society, CB/1/4/76-85 (letters from Elizabeth Grey to Charles Blagden, 1784-1814).

¹⁴ E. A. Smith, "Temple, Henry, Second Viscount Palmerston (1739-1802)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

1790s.¹⁵ Though the Palmerstons were originally among the Whigs who had supported Charles Fox before the outbreak of the French Revolution, their later travels to the continent brought them into contact with the atrocities of the Revolution, and they became supporters of William Pitt after 1795.¹⁶

The Palmerstons pursued an extensive social life in London, as did the Lucans, who feature frequently in Blagden's diary for 1795.¹⁷ Lady Margaret Lucan was noted painter of miniatures, and was the wife of Sir Charles Bingham, first earl of Lucan, an Irish peer.¹⁸ The Lucans's daughter Lavinia Bingham, who married George John Spencer, second Earl Spencer, was another of Blagden's close acquaintances, and a member of a fashionable circle within the aristocracy, known as the *beau monde*.

Members of the *beau monde* constituted a significant circle in Blagden's new elevated acquaintances. Greig has defined this group as an 'urban, primarily metropolitan, "world of fashion"' that developed in the eighteenth century.¹⁹ Though it consisted almost exclusively of members of the peerage and their families, the *beau monde* existed within this group as a 'subsection of the most elevated'.²⁰ While all of Blagden's friends among the *beau monde* were members of the elevated ranks, not all members of the elevated ranks were part of the *beau monde*. Membership of this circle required additional social and cultural capital, obtained through shows of fashionable connections, manners, and language, governed by a hotly debated 'invisible standard'.²¹

Lady Lavinia Spencer was one of Blagden's key acquaintances in the *beau monde*. The Spencer family was staunchly Whig, and, like the Palmerstons, had supported the Whig Fox-North coalition in government in 1783.²² Following the French Revolution, Lord Spencer was among the Whig

¹⁵ Blagden's plans for travelling abroad with the Palmerstons in 1789 are described in Royal Society, CB/2/695 (draft of letter from Charles Blagden to Henry Cavendish, Aug. 1789). For Blagden's later trip with the Palmerstons, see de Beer, "The Diary of Sir Charles Blagden."

¹⁶ Smith, "Temple, Henry, Second Viscount Palmerston."

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Ernest Radford, "Bingham [Née Smith], Margaret, Countess of Lucan (c. 1740-1814)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

¹⁹ Hannah Greig, *The Beau Monde: Fashionable Society in Georgian London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 3.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 3-4.

²² Malcolm Lester, "Spencer, George John, Second Earl Spencer (1758-1834)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

leaders who broke with Charles Fox and Charles Grey to join the Duke of Portland in supporting the Tory government of William Pitt in 1794.²³

When in London, Lady Spencer resided at Spencer House in St James's, where she hosted politicians, intellectuals, and members of fashionable society at elegant gatherings.²⁴ Historians have described Lady Spencer as a woman of erudition.²⁵ Letters sent by her to her mother in law, Lady Margaret Georgiana Spencer, reveal that she possessed a voracious appetite for books and knowledge. In 1792, Lady Spencer described her reading as 'to the mind what new blood is to the body—till you acquire some by exercise you are listless & torpid... having found all this new food for thought... gave me very great pleasure'.²⁶

Lady Spencer was the sister-in-law of the most fashionable of all Blagden's contacts, the Duchess of Devonshire. The Duchess was celebrated in the press throughout her adult life as a 'beauty'. Greig has argued that the moniker of 'beauty' applied only to select women among the circles of the *beau monde*, connoting not only 'physical allure' but particular behaviour, prestige, and politeness.²⁷ The Duchess was the daughter of John Spencer, the first Earl Spencer, and his wife Margaret Georgiana. Having married William Cavendish, fifth duke of Devonshire, in 1774, the Duchess cultivated a circle of eminent acquaintances known as the Devonshire House Circle, including the playwright Richard Brinsley Sheridan, and the Whig politician Charles James Fox, for whom the Duchess canvassed political support during elections in 1780 and 1784.²⁸ In 1789, the Duchess engaged in an affair with the up-and-coming Whig politician Charles Grey, son of Blagden's friends Lord and Lady Grey, and was sent into exile on the continent during the early 1790s after becoming pregnant with Grey's child.²⁹

It was during the Duchess's time in exile that she began studying natural philosophy, and forged a firm friendship with Blagden. Unlike her

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ British Library, Add MS 75598, unpaginated (letter from Lavinia Spencer to Georgiana Spencer, 23 Feb. 1792).

²⁷ Greig, *The Beau Monde*, 169-81.

²⁸ Amanda Foreman, "Cavendish [Née Spencer], Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire (1757-1806)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford Oxford University Press, 2004).

²⁹ Ibid.

friends in the *beau monde*, Blagden was approachable at a time of scandal and dishonour. Though the two had met previously in the 1780s, the Duchess spent considerable time with Blagden in Lake Geneva, while he was travelling with the Palmerstons.³⁰ Blagden accompanied the Duchess to lectures and gatherings filled with men of science.³¹ Upon her return from exile, the Duchess continued to pursue her interests in natural philosophy, conducting experiments in the back rooms of Devonshire House, and continuing to expand her mineral collection.³² Though sexual misconduct often resulted in ejection from the *beau monde*, Greig argues that the Duchess's return to society in 1793 was 'relatively smooth'.³³ Nevertheless, the Duchess's prestige was tarnished; her constant public presence of the 1770s and 1780s was replaced by a 'more muted approach both to her political responsibilities and social activities' in the 1790s.³⁴ Despite this, the Duchess's social elevation was still enough to attract Blagden.

Blagden's elevated acquaintances also extended to members of the bluestocking circle, and their leader Elizabeth Montagu. Elizabeth Eger has described the bluestockings as a 'network of intellectuals... involved in a diverse range of cultural activities', including poetry, politics, law, and the arts.³⁵ Possibly derived from the attire of an attendee at an assembly hosted by Montagu, described by Samuel Johnson as 'Queen of the Blues', the term 'bluestocking' was applied to those who visited and attended Montagu's gatherings.³⁶ The daughter of wealthy and well-connected parents Matthew Robinson and his wife Elizabeth, Elizabeth Montagu made in her youth a number of connections with aristocrats and intellectuals, including Margaret Bentinck, the duchess of Portland, famed for her natural history collection.³⁷ In 1742, Elizabeth married Edward Montagu, the grandson of the first earl of

³⁰ M. P. Cooper, "The Devonshire Mineral Collection of Chatsworth House: An 18th Century Survivor and Its Restoration," *Mineralogical Record* 36, no. 3 (2005): 239-72, 244.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 243-44. de Beer, "The Diary of Sir Charles Blagden."

³² Amanda Foreman, *Georgiana: Duchess of Devonshire* (London: Harper Collins, 1998), 287.

³³ Greig, *The Beau Monde*, 214.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 215.

³⁵ Elizabeth Eger, *Bluestockings: Women of Reason from Enlightenment to Romanticism* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2010), 1.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 11-13.

³⁷ Barbara Brandon Schnorrenberg, "Montagu [Née Robinson], Elizabeth (1718-1800)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

Sandwich, and owner of a number of coalmines and estates in Northumberland, Yorkshire, and Berkshire.³⁸ From the 1750s, the Montagus lived in Hill Street in Mayfair, where Elizabeth cultivated her reputation as a host.³⁹ In 1775, Edward Montagu died, leaving his estates and mines to Elizabeth, who took a keen interest in their management and used their sizeable profits to support a variety of individuals with literary ambitions.⁴⁰

In contrast to Blagden's connections among the aristocracy, the bluestocking circle incorporated a range of social ranks. Eger notes that guests at Montagu's assemblies ranged from 'young ladies to Birmingham hardware manufacturers', with participants admitted on 'the basis of merit rather than social rank'.⁴¹ 'Merit' in the context of bluestocking assemblies was connected to an individual's ability to participate in enjoyable and educative conversation. Such conversation was cultivated as an artform among these assemblies, where diverse opinions, intellectual polish, and exchanges between equals, were celebrated.⁴²

Blagden's friendships among the bluestockings might suggest that his social circles were not restricted to the elevated ranks, complicating the notion of his alignment with gentlemanly cultures over merit, as discussed in chapter two. However, a significant portion of Blagden's closest bluestocking friends, including Montagu, did possess aristocratic connections. This included three more of Blagden's friends, the author Mary Berry, her sister Agnes, and their close friend, the sculptor Anne Damer. Born into a mercantile family in Yorkshire, Mary and Agnes Berry travelled with their family extensively during their youth.⁴³ Upon their return to England in 1788, the family took a house at Twickenham Common where they met Horace Walpole, fourth earl of Orford, who remained their life-long friend and admirer.⁴⁴

Lord Orford was connected to the Berrys's friend Anne Damer, and acted as her guardian during the absences of her parents, the army officer

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Eger, *Bluestockings*, 67.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid., 106-10.

⁴³ Charles Kent, "Berry, Mary (1763-1852)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁴⁴ Ibid.

Seymour Conway and his wife, Lady Caroline Ailesbury.⁴⁵ Related to the aristocracy though her mother, Damer straddled two groups within Blagden's networks of friends, the bluestockings and the *beau monde*. Damer was celebrated as another of London's 'beauties'.⁴⁶ Anne married John Damer in 1767, but separated from him after seven years.⁴⁷ She was a Whig supporter and friend of Charles Fox, and another of Blagden's female contacts who canvassed for him during the Westminster election of 1780.⁴⁸ She was also a life-long friend of the Berrys and travelled with them on the continent, spending time with Blagden in Paris in 1802 during the Peace of Amiens.⁴⁹

III. Elegant life in 'the town'

Though subtly distinct, each of the groups within Blagden's elevated contacts pursued a social life that centred on residency in the fashionable areas of London at particular times of the year. Membership of the elevated ranks necessitated a visible presence in the capital, and adherence to a yearly timetable of residency in the rapidly developing area to the north west known as 'the town'. Life within 'the town' was governed by 'the season', a period which ran from early November to late spring.⁵⁰ In the eighteenth century, a whole range of business, entertainment, and sociability took place during the season, including meetings of the Royal Society, Royal engagements at court, and elegant female-run assemblies.

As a newly developing area, 'the town' encompassed the court, St James's Palace and parliament, alongside a host of theatres, coffeehouses, and clubs.⁵¹ New squares were developed in the town in the eighteenth century, including Bloomsbury, St James's, Cavendish and Grosvenor, all located between Holborn and Hyde Park.⁵² Within these new developments,

⁴⁵ Alison Yarrington, "Damer [Née Conway], Anne Seymour (1749-1828)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁴⁶ Greig, *The Beau Monde*, 187.

⁴⁷ Yarrington, "Damer [Née Conway], Anne Seymour."

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Royal Society, CB/3/4, ff. 4r-5r. (Charles Blagden, diary entries, 23-24 Mar. 1802).

⁵⁰ Greig, *The Beau Monde*, 1-4.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 9.

the majority of residents were those who counted themselves among the elevated ranks.⁵³

Blagden's elevated friends all lived in the town during the season. The Greys lived at 13 Hertford Street, the Palmerstons at Spring Gardens, the Lucans at 20 Charles Street, the Spencers at Spencer House in St James's, the Duke and Duchess of Devonshire at Devonshire House on Piccadilly, and Elizabeth Montagu at Montagu House on Portman Square (see fig. 8).⁵⁴ Greig has noted that for those who came to town, the season involved a hectic timetable of visits and excursions, conducted to establish and consolidate membership among the fashionable.⁵⁵ In 1795, Lady Spencer frequently attended the opera, making use of the box she hired for the season, in addition to hosting regular assemblies at Spencer House.⁵⁶ For Elizabeth Montagu and the bluestockings, the season involved a regular schedule of assemblies at Montagu House. Other activities included visits to court, the pleasure gardens, and the theatre. When the season came to an end in the late spring, members of the elevated ranks returned to their country seats, travelled to fashionable British resorts, or made trips to the continent.⁵⁷

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁵⁴ Addresses taken from *Directory to the Nobility, Gentry, and Families of Distinction, in London, Westminster, &C*, (London: J. Wilkes, 1793).

⁵⁵ Greig, *The Beau Monde*, 2-3.

⁵⁶ Royal Society, CB/3/3, f. 53v. (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 11 Apr. 1795).

⁵⁷ Greig, *The Beau Monde*, 24.

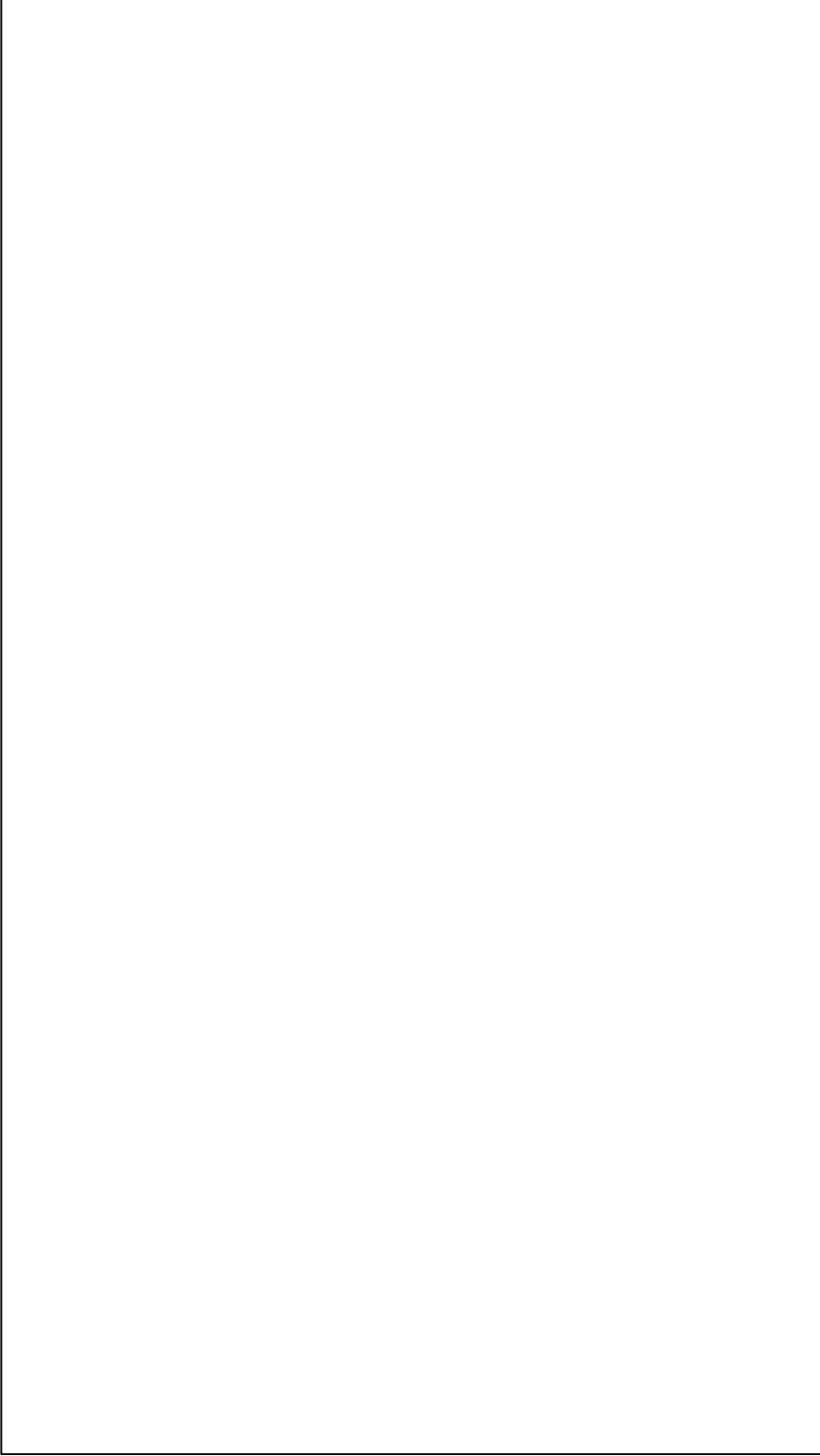


Fig. 8. Map of Blagden's homes in London, and those of his friends, patrons, and the Royal Society. Locations are overlaid on Bowles's Reduced New Pocket Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, with the Borough of Southwark, exhibiting the New Buildings to 1795 (London: Bowles and Carver, 1795). [image removed]

1795 was the year that Blagden hit his stride among the elevated ranks. In that year, his social life tightly followed the seasonal movements of his new friends, as he sought to emulate their behaviours. At the end of the previous year, Blagden had purchased 18 Portman Square, a house that placed him squarely within the town—next door to Elizabeth Montagu and close to his friends in neighbouring Mayfair and St James’s, (see fig. 8).⁵⁸ Blagden’s choice of a house in Portman Square at the end of 1794 marked a departure from his previous living arrangements in London, and one that privileged proximity to the elevated ranks over Cavendish and Banks.⁵⁹

While living in the town, Blagden undertook regular engagements that emulated those of the elevated ranks, recorded in his diary. Greig has noted that several members of the *beau monde* kept engagement diaries and memorandum books, in which they recorded their itineraries to keep track of visits to concerts, clubs, and assemblies hosted by their acquaintances.⁶⁰ Blagden’s diary served as a similar tool. In 1795, Blagden recorded numerous trips to the opera, theatre, and various exhibitions. Blagden’s entry for 12 June, for example, recorded his attendance at an ‘exhibition of Jamaica drawings’ followed by a visit to the ornamental glass showroom of the manufacturer John Blades in Ludgate Hill, to see his glass mausoleum.⁶¹

On many of the excursions he made in 1790s, Blagden accompanied his elevated female friends. As Greig notes, ‘shows of acquaintance’ commonly took place at elegant venues, where individuals appeared alongside fashionable members of society in ‘strategic displays of alliance and association’ that bolstered their own status.⁶² In November 1793, Blagden

⁵⁸ Blagden wrote of his purchase of 18 Portman Square in a letter to his brother John. Beinecke Library, OSB MSS 51, box 5 folder 60, unpaginated (letter from Charles Blagden to John Blagden Hale, 21 Oct. 1794).

⁵⁹ Previously, Blagden had taken houses closer to Cavendish, who lived in Bedford Square, and Banks, in Soho Square, in four homes over a number of years in Gower Street, Percy Street, and Charlotte Street. Jungnickel and McCormmach, *Cavendish*, 296-97. On 8 June 1790, Blagden wrote to his brother John from Percy Street. Beinecke Library, OSB MSS 51, box 5 folder 60, unpaginated (letter from Charles Blagden to John Blagden Hale, 8 Jun. 1790). On 27 June 1794, Blagden mentioned in a letter to his brother that from the middle of the following week he would be resident at 85 Charlotte Street. Beinecke Library, OSB MSS 51, box 5 folder 60, unpaginated (letter from Charles Blagden to John Blagden Hale, 27 Jun. 1794).

⁶⁰ Greig, *The Beau Monde*, 96.

⁶¹ Royal Society, CB/3/3, f. 61v. (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 12 Jun. 1795).

⁶² Greig, *The Beau Monde*, 77.

accompanied the Duchess of Devonshire on a visit to the British Museum at her request.⁶³ On 11 April 1795, he recorded in his diary 'In evening to Opera: Ly Spencer civil'.⁶⁴ Blagden had visited museums and the opera during his time in London in the 1780s, but the visits he made in the 1790s were different for the conspicuous presence of his elegant female friends.⁶⁵

When the season ended, Blagden followed his friends in their exodus from the town, attending them at their country seats and at resorts. Two gaps in Blagden's diary in the summer and autumn of 1795 attest his absence from the capital, on trips to Bognor, a leisure resort established by the entrepreneur Sir Richard Hotham in 1787, and Sandford, Elizabeth Montagu's Berkshire residence.⁶⁶ Blagden's contemporary, Lady Newdigate, a fellow resident in Bognor during the summer of 1795, described it as a resort consisting of around twenty to thirty private houses for rent 'for the reception of Company'.⁶⁷ Newdigate's letters detailed the individuals in residence, including 'the Duchesses of Devonshire and Rutland, Lady E[lizabeth]. Foster, Dowager Lady Sefton etc' and 'at least 20 more of the very supreme set'.⁶⁸ On his visit in August, Blagden attended Lady Spencer and the Duchess of Devonshire.⁶⁹ Even when Blagden left London, his new social circles remained the same.

Though Blagden's activities closely mirrored the cultural preferences of the elevated ranks, such emulation did not bring him automatic membership of these circles. Formal membership was largely dependent on an individual's possession of a title.⁷⁰ Though Blagden had received a knighthood in 1792,

⁶³ Royal Society, CB/1/3/277 (letter from Georgiana Cavendish to Charles Blagden, 18 Nov. 1793). Royal Society, MS/821, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 22 Nov. 1793).

⁶⁴ Royal Society, CB/3/3, f. 53v. (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 11 Apr. 1795).

⁶⁵ For Blagden's visits to the theatre and other attractions in the 1780s, see Royal Society, CB/3/1, ff. 27v.-29v. (Charles Blagden, diary entries, Apr. 1782).

⁶⁶ See the gap in the diary from 19 July to 20 August, Royal Society, CB/3/3, ff. 65v.-66v. (Charles Blagden, diary entries, 19 Jul.-20 Aug. 1795) and from 7 September to 8 October, Royal Society, CB/3/3, ff. 68r.-68v. (Charles Blagden, diary entries, 7 Sep.-8 Oct. 1795). On Bognor, see Lindsay Fleming, *History of Pagham in Sussex, Illustrating the Administration of an Archiepiscopal Hundred, the Decay of Manorial Organisation and the Rise of a Seaside Resort*, 3 vols., vol. 2 (Ditchling: Ditchling Press, 1949), 548-629.

⁶⁷ Letters of Lady Newdigate, quoted in *ibid.*, 557.

⁶⁸ Letters of Lady Newdigate, quoted in *ibid.*

⁶⁹ Lady Spencer discussed her plans to visit Bognor with Blagden, see Royal Society, CB/3/3, f. 63v. (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 2 Jul. 1795). Blagden wrote to Banks that he intended to stay in Bognor a little longer than he had originally planned, as the Duchess of Devonshire had just arrived. British Library, Add MS 33272, f. 143r. (letter from Charles Blagden to Joseph Banks, 12 Aug. 1795).

⁷⁰ Greig, *The Beau Monde*, 64.

this did not put him on an equal footing with the likes of Countesses and Duchesses. His position was similar to that described by Greig as the 'untitled yet urbane gentleman', able to participate in the sociable activities of life in the town, but not as a full member of fashionable circles.⁷¹ Individuals within the elevated ranks, such as Lord and Lady Spencer, possessed a number of such 'urbane gentleman' friends.⁷² Such a position offered Blagden an alternative source of standing to the direct patronage of figures such as Cavendish and Banks. However, within the minds of the fashionable elite, 'urbane gentleman' such as Blagden occupied a position 'at the periphery rather than at the centre of the social world'.⁷³

By the time Blagden resigned as secretary to Banks and the Royal Society in 1797, he could afford to occupy such a role. Though his resignation meant the loss of his secretary's honorarium, he retained an income from his half-pay from the army, received dividends from securities in the form of Scotch bonds, and, crucially, a legacy of £1800 that he was left in 1795 after the death of a family member.⁷⁴ It was after this windfall that Blagden severed his formal patronage connection to Banks, and began to attach himself more and more to his network of elevated friends. Where these women offered Blagden the status he desired, he provided them with support in their learning, using natural philosophy as a currency to fashion his position on the periphery of the elevated ranks.

IV. Blagden as a go-between among female networks

Blagden's ability to forge connections with aristocratic women was predicated on female interest and participation in natural philosophical discourse. Schiebinger has argued that in the Renaissance, natural philosophical learning developed in the Italian courts within a markedly 'feminine' context that differed from more masculine pursuits. While men of

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid., 94.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Jungnickel and McCormmach, *Cavendish*, 295-96. For mention of the legacy Blagden received, see Royal Society, CB/3/3, ff. 47v., 49r. (Charles Blagden, diary entries, 23 Feb., 3 Mar. 1795).

the court engaged in the culture of arms, including government and martial arts, ladies and humanists engaged in an emerging 'play of the intellect'.⁷⁵ Women of status gained entry into the learned world as erudite discourse developed as a form of leisure, where 'fine questions were posed after dinner amidst pastimes such as singing or dancing—in a context highly suited to women'.⁷⁶ In such situations, though women of status influenced the course of discussion, it was men who possessed the specialized training necessary to provide natural philosophical content.⁷⁷ This culture endured into the eighteenth century, when natural philosophy became a feature of 'polite' sociability, which demanded some learning of women if they wished to engage in elegant conversation.⁷⁸ It was these social mores that provided the framework for Blagden's interactions with women in the 1790s.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, women's participation in natural philosophical discourse took place within the context of the salon, an important though understudied heir of the courtly circle.⁷⁹ Schiebinger has argued that the salons that developed in France served as an institution of science that rivalled the academies.⁸⁰ Dena Goodman has described the gatherings hosted by the French salonnières as important clearing houses for information, and the institutional base for the Enlightenment Republic of Letters.⁸¹ Eger, writing on the similar format of the opulent assemblies held by English ladies, in particular the bluestocking circle, has highlighted the similarities between these gatherings and those of the salonnières as 'a form of woman-centred but mixed-gender sociability' that made a strong mark upon intellectual culture.⁸²

Examination of the participants and conversations held within salons and assemblies has proved difficult for historians. Salons did not possess journals, proceedings, or secretaries, unlike the meetings of all-male

⁷⁵ Schiebinger, *The Mind Has No Sex?*, 18.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 37.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁸¹ Dena Goodman, "Enlightenment Salons: The Convergence of Female and Philosophic Ambitions," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 22, no. 3 (1989): 329-50, 338.

⁸² Eger, *Bluestockings*, 61.

academies.⁸³ Blagden's diary provides vital insight, in its documentation of those who ran such gatherings, those who attended, and the topics of discussion. Though brief in its mention of conversations, the diary records the nature of Blagden's discussions with and in the presence of notable ladies, many of which concerned natural philosophy. Such conversations constitute what Hannan has termed female participation in 'the life of the mind', as unpublished discourse with epistemic value.⁸⁴

Though in the seventeenth-century court context it had been gentlemen of learning that brought natural philosophy into discussions, in the eighteenth century, women's natural philosophical learning became central to 'polite' sociability. At the beginning of the century, the essayist Joseph Addison remarked how natural philosophy had moved from closets and colleges, to clubs, assemblies, and coffee houses, venues where, Addison argued, natural philosophical learning could and should be rendered sociable.⁸⁵ As Lawrence Klein has noted, such a sentiment intersected with eighteenth-century notions of the public sphere, a concept 'principally built on traditions of civility and civil conversation'.⁸⁶

In cementing the civility conversation, scholars have drawn attention to the role of women. Klein has argued that polite conversation required the participation of both genders to secure a balance of pleasing attributes, noting the common conception that 'while the discussion among women on their own was too shallow, the discussion among men on their own was too unsociable', since men were reputedly more inclined to pedantry or controversy, and women more inclined to superficial discussion.⁸⁷ As Alice Walters has argued, if scientific topics were to be introduced into polite conversation, it could not be achieved without the active role of 'interested and informed women'.⁸⁸

Blagden capitalised on this culture of polite sociability, using knowledge as the currency of his engagements. His diary reveals how he managed and

⁸³ Schiebinger, *The Mind Has No Sex?*, 31.

⁸⁴ Hannan, "Women, Letter-Writing and the Life of the Mind."

⁸⁵ Lawrence Klein, "Gender, Conversation, and the Public Sphere in Early Eighteenth-Century England," in *Textuality and Sexuality: Reading Theories and Practices*, ed. Judith Still and Michael Worton (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 100-01.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 104.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 105.

⁸⁸ Alice N. Walters, "Conversation Pieces: Science and Politeness in Eighteenth-Century England," *History of Science* 35 (1997): 121-54, 130.

brought natural philosophical information into ladies' homes. On 15 January 1795, Blagden recorded taking Sir George Staunton, naturalist recently returned from Lord George Macartney's embassy to China, and a Chinese servant, to the house of Lady Lucan.⁸⁹ On 23 January he recorded, 'Went with Ld Orford to [Miss Mary] Berry's; long conversation with Mrs Chomleigh, about Kangooroo's &c'.⁹⁰ Blagden was not alone in such behaviour. As Gillian Russell has noted, following their return from Cook's *Endeavour* voyage in 1771, Banks and Solander shared the news of their travels within the social circles of elite women, including the Duchess of Portland and the botanical artist Mary Delaney. As Russell argues, these elevated women form a 'neglected context in which knowledge... was defined and circulated'.⁹¹

Much of the information that Blagden shared concerned the Royal Society. In 1795, Blagden was still serving as secretary, a position that gave him privileged access to the latest natural philosophical news. On 1 January, Blagden recorded that he had 'Called on Ld Lucon [Lucan]... shewed drawings of Sir W[illiam]. H[amilton]'s paper'.⁹² The drawings that Blagden referred to were those that were to be published alongside Hamilton's 'Account of the Late Eruption of Mount Vesuvius', a paper that was to be read to the Royal Society two weeks later, on 15 January.⁹³ Mentions of Hamilton's drawings of Vesuvius feature frequently in the diary for the beginning of 1795, revealing the diary's function as a tool for tracking flows of information, and the reactions of particular acquaintances. On 2 January, Blagden recorded 'Called on Ly. Spencer, with drawings of Vesuvius; found that promise not kept of apprising her of it'.⁹⁴ As Lady Spencer's chagrin at not having been updated soon enough of Hamilton's activities reveals, one aspect of Blagden's role within these circles was the expectation of the timely sharing of news.

⁸⁹ Royal Society, CB/3/3, f. 41r. (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 15 Jan. 1795).

⁹⁰ Royal Society, CB/3/3, f. 45v. (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 23 Jan. 1795).

⁹¹ Gillian Russell, "An "Entertainment of Oddities": Fashionable Sociability and the Pacific in the 1770s," in *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity, and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660-1840*, ed. Kathleen Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 52.

⁹² Royal Society, CB/3/3, f. 40v. (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 1 Jan. 1795).

⁹³ Sir William Hamilton, "An Account of the Late Eruption of Mount Vesuvius," *Philosophical Transactions* 85 (1795): 73-116.

⁹⁴ Royal Society, CB/3/3, f. 40v. (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 2 Jan. 1795).

Blagden also shared information in letters. He corresponded with a number of women throughout his life, including Lady Grey, the Duchess of Devonshire, Lady Palmerston, and Anne Damer. Blagden informed these women of the latest papers published in the *Philosophical Transactions*, sending copies of the journal to some of his contacts as gifts.⁹⁵ Lady Grey, a regular recipient of the *Philosophical Transactions* via Blagden, frequently expressed her thanks, 'You are very good to inform me what is going on in your Society'—a society that women could only access through male members.⁹⁶

Blagden's provision of news of the Society was not restricted to his female contacts. He also sent news of the latest discoveries to his male acquaintances, many of whom were geographically distant from the Royal Society, rather than being excluded on the basis of their gender. In December 1784, Blagden wrote letters containing the same information to Lady Grey and Pierre-Simon Laplace, whom he had met in Paris in 1783, to share news of the discovery of a variable star named 'Antinoi', described in a paper that had been read at a meeting of the Royal Society on 23 December.⁹⁷

In correspondence with his female contacts, Blagden went beyond merely transmitting news and copies of journals. As Lady Grey wrote to Blagden in the 1790s, it was his judgement, selection, and opinion that she particularly valued, 'you are so good to point out the Papers most worthy of notice, with your own judgement, (upon which) I place the greatest value'.⁹⁸ In some ways, Blagden operated as a tutor, selecting and shaping knowledge for his friends to digest, as an active mediator of information rather than a passive intermediary and conduit for news.⁹⁹

Information exchange in Blagden's correspondence was often mutual, and he facilitated two-way exchange between his female friends and the Royal

⁹⁵ Blagden recorded his purchasing and sending of copies of the *Phil. Trans.* in his diary. See for example Royal Society, CB/3/3, f. 376v. (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 14 Jun. 1795).

⁹⁶ Royal Society, CB/1/4/81 (letter from Elizabeth Grey to Charles Blagden, 21 Dec. 1784).

⁹⁷ Beinecke Library, Osborn fc15, folder 2, unpaginated (draft of letters from Charles Blagden to Elizabeth Grey and Pierre-Simon Laplace, undated).

⁹⁸ Royal Society, CB/1/4/83 (letter from Elizabeth Grey to Charles Blagden, 29 May 1799).

⁹⁹ Bruno Latour distinguished between mediators and intermediaries in the transmission of knowledge in his formulation of Actor-network theory, discussed in relation to go-betweens in Ogborn, "It's Not What You Know," 167.

Society. In January 1794, the Duchess of Devonshire wrote to Blagden to share information sent to her from her mother in Naples, accompanied by an illustration (see fig. 9). The Duchess wrote

I received today a letter from Naples with the following account of Vesuvius from my Mother, and a sketch of its appearance on the 17 of December... The appearance of the mountain was thus—No 1 is a Pyramid of fire that rises every minute from the top of the mountain—and No 2 a vast sheet of fire from the bottom of the Mountain shooting up brighter and less bright till it at last subsided.¹⁰⁰

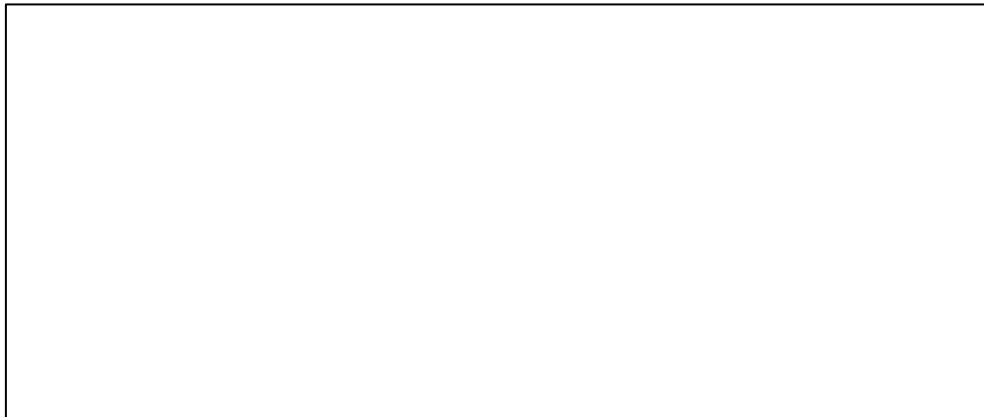


Fig. 9 Illustration of Vesuvius by Georgiana Cavendish. Royal Society, CB/1/3/278 (letter from Georgiana Cavendish to Charles Blagden, 13/14 Jan. 1794). [image removed]

On 15 January, Blagden recorded having shown the letter and sketch to Banks, 'Then on to Sir J. B[anks]... Shewed D[uche]ss[']s Sketch of Vesuvius on 17 Decr', before showing the same sketch to Lord Ailesbury on the 17 January, and to Henry Cavendish on 19 January.¹⁰¹ Although the content of the letter was never published, it does resemble other observations made of the volcano, subsequently published in the *Philosophical Transactions* at the beginning of the following year, in particular those found within Hamilton's paper.¹⁰²

For the rest of his life, Blagden continued to correspond with aristocratic women, relying on the diary as a repository for information. His

¹⁰⁰ Royal Society, CB/1/3/278 (letter from Georgiana Cavendish to Charles Blagden, 13/14 Jan. 1794).

¹⁰¹ Royal Society, MS/821, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, diary entries, 15-19 Jan. 1794).

¹⁰² Hamilton, "An Account of the Late Eruption of Mount Vesuvius."

correspondence with Lady Palmerston offers one such example in which Blagden discussed the latest scientific and political news also recorded in the diary. In August 1804, writing to Lady Palmerston from London, Blagden revealed that the captured artist James Forbes had just returned from Morlaix in France following an application from Banks to his captor Napoleon Bonaparte. Blagden noted that

Bonaparte behaved handsomely enough in the application to have him [Forbes] set at liberty; for he ordered that if no neutral vessel should be then at Morlaix a flag of truce should be dispatched with him on purpose.¹⁰³

The same information can be found in a diary entry prior to Blagden's writing of the letter. On 9 August, Blagden recorded a visit to Soho Square, where he was surprised to meet Forbes, who revealed the circumstances of his release, 'Mr Forbes passport signed by Bonaparte, who ordered that a flag of truce sho[ul]d. be sent with him from Morlaix if no neutral vessel going'.¹⁰⁴

Blagden's role as a source of information from France for men of science is well known, but many of his female contacts also relied on him for the latest news.¹⁰⁵ Anne Damer wrote to Blagden ahead of one of his trips to Paris, noting that 'from you I can depend on hearing really how things go in France'.¹⁰⁶ One of Blagden's key Parisian contacts was Marguerite Madeleine Gautier, daughter of the French banker Étienne Delessert, whom he had met in 1783.¹⁰⁷ Blagden and Madame Gautier shared an extensive correspondence during the first two decades of the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁸ Blagden sent her specimens, publications, and news, as evident in a letter she sent on 13 August 1807, in which she thanked him for 'a volume of Chemistry... as well as some seeds'.¹⁰⁹ Gautier also noted having 'read with

¹⁰³ Beinecke Library, Osborn c114, unpaginated (letter from Charles Blagden to Mary Temple, 22 Aug. 1804).

¹⁰⁴ Royal Society, CB/3/4, f. 256v. (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 9 Aug. 1804).

¹⁰⁵ Fauque, "An Englishman Abroad." Watts, "Philosophical Intelligence."

¹⁰⁶ Royal Society, CB/1/3/190 (letter from Anne Damer to Charles Blagden, 27 Aug. 1814).

¹⁰⁷ See letter from Blagden to Banks, 24 Oct. 1799, summarised in Dawson, *The Banks Letters*, 85.

¹⁰⁸ Royal Society, CB/1/4/26-52 (letters from Madame Gautier to Charles Blagden, 1807-1817).

¹⁰⁹ Royal Society, CB/1/4/26 (letter from Marguerite Madeleine Gautier to Charles Blagden, 13 Aug. 1807). My translation from French.

pleasure' Blagden's news of the use of inflammable gas drawn from charcoal used to light a cotton factory, sharing her own news with Blagden of the voyages of the French explorer Captain Nicolas Baudin in return.¹¹⁰

Madame Gautier also circulated information concerning British science among her Parisian friends. As Iain Watts has noted, on 16 November 1807, Blagden wrote to Gautier of Humphry Davy's experiments with 'fixed alkalis' and having 'obtained their bases, which possess very singular properties'.¹¹¹ This letter was followed up on 5 December with another that contained details of how the experiment was made.¹¹² While Davy's experiment was difficult for the French to replicate, Watts has revealed that it was Blagden's subsequent letters to Gautier, that gave further details concerning the application of the galvanic battery to potash, which enabled the French chemists Joseph Louis Gay-Lussac and Louis Jaques Thénard to repeat the experiment on 6 January 1808.¹¹³

Though scientific news featured prominently in Blagden's correspondence with women, such information was often shared alongside the news of family and friends. Through his female contacts, Blagden possessed a window onto the gossip of the elevated ranks. In 1809, it was the unhappy union between the widowed Marie-Anne Paulze Lavoisier and Count Rumford that formed a key part of Blagden's correspondence with Madame Gautier. Prior to Rumford's engagement to Madame Lavoisier, Blagden had himself entertained hopes of making a proposal.¹¹⁴ On 16 April, Madame Gautier wrote to Blagden, lamenting that 'One can only give sad news of Madame de Rumford. Her household is very bad... It is a scandal... which offends morals'.¹¹⁵

In addition to providing gossip, some of Blagden's female friends relied on his news as a diversion from their own lives. During the period of her return to society, the Duchess of Devonshire sought Blagden's news as a form of escape. In one letter, the Duchess wrote

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Watts, "Philosophical Intelligence," 762.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Miller, "Blagden, Sir Charles."

¹¹⁵ Royal Society, CB/1/4/32 (letter from Marguerite Madeleine Gautier to Charles Blagden, 16 Apr. 1809). My translation from French.

I hope you will give me a good account of your health, and occupations—has any thing new arisen in the last fortnight?—Any chemical, mineralogical or philosophical novelty... I am so much out of the world... My children & the duke are well & I live a very quiet, stupid, but I believe wholesome life.¹¹⁶

The Duchess's pleas suggest her thirst for philosophical news, and hint at the mental distraction it afforded from the unease of her family life.

Beyond the provision of entertainment and distraction, Blagden contributed to an atmosphere conducive to female learning. The identity of Blagden's female acquaintances is highly significant in the context of the later organisation and admission of women to the Royal Institution. Founded in 1799, the Royal Institution was established with the aim of diffusing natural philosophical knowledge, facilitating the introduction of 'Useful Mechanical Inventions and Improvements', and teaching by courses of lectures 'the application of Science to the common Purposes of Life'.¹¹⁷ In examining the prominence of women within lecture audiences during the nineteenth century, Harriet Lloyd has exposed the role of 'distinguished patronesses' in controlling women's admission.¹¹⁸ In a managers' meeting of February 1800, it was decided that eight women, Lady Bessborough, Lady Spencer, the Duchess of Devonshire, Lady Palmerston, Lady Teignmouth, Mrs Sullivan, and Mrs Margaret Bernard were to superintend the admission of female applicants.¹¹⁹ Of these women, Blagden was particularly close with Lady Spencer, Lady Palmerston, and the Duchess of Devonshire. The Duchess was also a patron of science in other contexts, as one of the supporters of the physician Thomas Beddoes's Medical Pneumatic Institution in Bristol, of which she wrote to Blagden.¹²⁰ Blagden's new friends also included several women who regularly

¹¹⁶ Royal Society, CB/1/3/279 (letter from Georgiana Cavendish to Charles Blagden, 4 Mar. 1794).

¹¹⁷ Frank A. J. L. James, "Introduction," in *'The Common Purposes of Life': Science and Society at the Royal Institution of Great Britain*, ed. Frank A. J. L. James (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 1.

¹¹⁸ Harriet Olivia Lloyd, "Rulers of Opinion: Women at the Royal Institution of Great Britain, 1799-1812" (PhD Thesis, University College London, 2018), 12-13.

¹¹⁹ Lloyd, "Rulers of Opinion," 61.

¹²⁰ Frank James, "'The First Example ... of an Extensive Scheme of Pure Scientific Medical Investigation': Thomas Beddoes and the Medical Pneumatic Institution in Bristol, 1794 to 1799," *RSCHG Occasional Paper* 8 (2016): 1-56, 19-21. Royal Society, CB/1/3/278 (letter from Georgiana Cavendish to Charles Blagden, 13/14 Jan. 1794).

attended the Royal Institution's lectures, including Mary Berry and Anne Damer.¹²¹ Blagden was not the only man of science circulating within this female network, but it is likely that he contributed to a climate where women were supported in cultivating a desire for the promotion of natural philosophical learning.¹²²

V. Blagden's rewards and paying 'attention'

In his provision of news, entertainment, and companionship to a network of elevated women, Blagden cultivated an alternative to the patronage of Banks and Cavendish. The connection Blagden pursued with these women was different to patronage—he did not receive money, nor did they provide him with opportunities for employment in the same way that Banks and Cavendish had done. By contrast, it was by appearing alongside these fashionable, intellectual, and high-born women, that Blagden played the role of the sociable gentleman about town. Moreover, it was the 'attention' of these female friends that confirmed Blagden's place within their social world.

The key difference between Blagden's relationships with Banks and Cavendish, and the relationships he cultivated among the elevated ranks, was the voluntary nature of these latter attachments. As a friend of aristocratic women, Blagden was not paid for his work. However, just as at the beginning of his relationship with Banks, these new friendships afforded him access to ever-more prestigious social circles. Elegant gatherings, such as those hosted by Lady Spencer and Elizabeth Montagu, were frequently attended by further elevated individuals. On 3 April 1795, Blagden recorded in his diary a visit to Lady Lucan's, 'In even[ing]. to Ly Lucan's... Ld Palmerston came in. Ld L[ucan]. mentioned that he was going with Ly Camden to Ireland'.¹²³ Blagden also received access to resources, including the Duchess of Devonshire's mineral collection, as recorded in his diary on 27 January 1794, 'Went to look

¹²¹ Lloyd, "Rulers of Opinion," 183.

¹²² Mary Berry and her sister Agnes, for example, were friends with other natural philosophers including the Edinburgh professor John Playfair. See British Library, Add MS 37726, ff. 12r.-15r. (letter from John Playfair to Mary Berry, 6 May 1796).

¹²³ Royal Society, CB/3/3, f. 53r. (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 3 Apr. 1795).

over D[uche]ss of Devonshire's Minerals'.¹²⁴ Blagden borrowed specimens from the collection, and recorded in his diary on 1 February that he had taken some specimens to show to Cavendish, the Duchess's cousin.¹²⁵ Such visible tokens of favour highlighted Blagden's place on the periphery of the circles of the elevated ranks.

A further indication of Blagden's acceptance was the positive response of his female friends, carefully noted in diary entries as 'attention'. In addition to demanding knowledge of natural philosophical topics, polite sociability in the eighteenth century also required the 'attention' of participants in conversation. As Lorraine Daston has argued, 'attention', as a feature of one's behaviour, was seen as 'the moral criterion by which to distinguish the serious savant from the frivolous amateur'.¹²⁶

The importance of attention was exhorted in eighteenth-century publications aimed at providing lessons in natural philosophy in the form of a dialogue between men and women. Examples include Benjamin Martin's *The Young Gentleman and Lady's Philosophy*, first published in 1758, which featured lessons in the form of discussions between a brother, Cleonicus, and his sister, Euphrosyne. Martin asserted, through the voice of his male protagonist Cleonicus, that all lessons were 'easily to be understood with a little Observation and Attention'.¹²⁷ 'Attention', as a key ingredient for learning, was echoed throughout the book; only 'Attention and Practice' were needed to render natural philosophy 'not only easy, but pleasant'.¹²⁸

Attention in natural philosophical conversation also possessed romantic connotations. Walters has noted the often-flirtatious undertone of conversations between men and women represented in published dialogues.¹²⁹ These often praised the value of female natural philosophical learning in terms of a woman's appeal to potential suitors.¹³⁰ In *The Young Gentleman and Lady's Philosophy*, Martin's protagonist Cleonicus asserted

¹²⁴ Royal Society, MS/821, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 27 Jan. 1794).

¹²⁵ Royal Society, MS/821, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 1 Feb. 1794).

¹²⁶ Lorraine Daston, "Curiosity in Early Modern Science," *Word & Image* 11, no. 4 (1995): 391-404, 401.

¹²⁷ Benjamin Martin, *The Young Gentleman and Lady's Philosophy*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (London: W. Owen, 1772), 20.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 30.

¹²⁹ Walters, "Conversation Pieces," 133.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 133-34.

that women who possessed a 'liberal and genteel Education... singular good Sense and Judgement, in natural Sciences especially' would be 'admired, esteemed and beloved by all Gentlemen of Discernment'.¹³¹

Blagden noted whether his friends had been attentive in his diary. During his visit to the British Museum with the Duchess of Devonshire in 1793, Blagden noted that 'The D[uchess]. behaved well, was attentive'.¹³² He also recorded absences of attention. On 2 January 1795, Blagden visited Elizabeth Montagu with several engravings for Hamilton's 'Account of the Late Eruption of Mount Vesuvius'. He was unimpressed with Montagu's behaviour, complaining in his diary that though he 'shewed her drawings' she had been 'inattentive'.¹³³ Blagden's observation of attention was not restricted to his female friends. On 5 February 1795, in reference to a meeting of the Royal Society, he recorded 'Mr C[avendish] attentive'.¹³⁴

Blagden commented on his notion of the ideal female companion, in a way that stressed the importance of natural philosophical interest and attention. During the rupture in his relationship with Banks at the end of the 1780s, Blagden's thoughts had turned to marriage.¹³⁵ Chief among his concerns when selecting a suitable wife was the likelihood of her tolerating his interests and his friendships with natural philosophers. Having determined to propose to a family friend, a Miss Anne Osborne, Blagden wrote to his brother John, to inquire about her interests,

Do you believe... she would come to take pleasure in the kind of company I should principally keep, and particularly could so far enter into the pursuits of my friend Mr. C[avendish]. as not to think some portion of time spent in his company tedious... You will easily suppose I do not mean that she sho[ul]d. enter into our studies, but simply that she should not find it disagreeable to be present when such matters were the subject of conversation, or even when any experiment which had nothing offensive in it, was going on.¹³⁶

¹³¹ Martin, *The Young Gentleman and Lady's Philosophy*, 1-2.

¹³² Royal Society, MS/821, unpaginated (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 22 Nov. 1793).

¹³³ Royal Society, CB/3/3, f. 40v. (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 2 Jan. 1795).

¹³⁴ Royal Society, CB/3/3, f. 44v. (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 5 Feb. 1795).

¹³⁵ Beinecke Library, OSB MSS 51, box 5 folder 60, unpaginated (letter from Charles Blagden to John Blagden Hale, 31 Nov. 1789).

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

Though Blagden did not go through with his planned proposal to Osborne, his comments imply his desire to find a female companion willing to participate in natural philosophical conversation.

Though he died unmarried, Blagden considered proposing to a number of women, several of whom possessed natural philosophical interests and connections. While travelling in Bavaria in the early 1780s, Blagden met Count Rumford, and was introduced to his daughter Sarah. Blagden wrote to Rumford shortly afterwards, seeking his permission to marry Sarah.¹³⁷ Though Rumford declined Blagden's offer on Sarah's behalf, Blagden and Sarah remained close friends, with Blagden leaving her one hundred pounds in his will.¹³⁸ Later in his life, Blagden considered marriage to the widowed Madame Lavoisier. He was successfully rivalled by Rumford, but the marriage was reputed not to be a happy one, as Madame Gautier revealed in her letters to Blagden.¹³⁹ Madame Gautier herself also earned Blagden's admiration, as he noted in his diary on 30 March 1802, having had 'occasion to say that I had always admired her; knew her when she was almost a child, & then very much admired her'.¹⁴⁰ Madame Gautier was a model of how Blagden hoped his female friends might behave, being 'very attentive & really interesting' when engaged in conversation.¹⁴¹

By ensuring that women enjoyed and valued his contributions, Blagden was able to confirm his acceptance on the periphery of the elevated ranks. Natural philosophy was not celebrated by all as a polite topic, and some eighteenth-century commentators expressed their concerns about its associations with pedantry.¹⁴² As Lord Chesterfield noted in his letters to his son, 'learning and erudition, without good-breeding, is tiresome and pedantic; and an ill-bred man is an unfit for good company as he will be unwelcome in it'.¹⁴³ Indications that Blagden was successful in navigating this difficulty can be found in comments made by his female friends. The author and

¹³⁷ Getman, "Sir Charles Blagden, F. R. S," 72.

¹³⁸ Ibid. Gloucestershire Archives, D1086/F59 (Prob. will of Sir Charles Blagden, kt., of 45 Brompton Row, Knightsbridge, London, 1820).

¹³⁹ Miller, "Blagden, Sir Charles."

¹⁴⁰ Royal Society, CB/3/4, f. 7v. (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 30 Mar. 1802).

¹⁴¹ Royal Society, CB/3/4, f. 6r. (Charles Blagden, diary entry, 28 Mar. 1802).

¹⁴² Shapin, "The Image of the Man of Science," 171.

¹⁴³ Chesterfield, *The Accomplished Gentleman*, 9.

bluestocking Hannah More, who met Blagden at the home of Elizabeth Montagu, described him as ‘a new bluestocking, and a very agreeable one... so modest, so sensible, and so knowing, that he exemplifies [Alexander] Pope’s line, “Willing to teach, and yet not proud to know”’.¹⁴⁴ More’s comment reveals that she valued Blagden as a member of the bluestockings, for his erudition, his willingness to share knowledge, and his humbleness. Writing to Blagden in 1795, following his return to London after a month-long absence, Lady Lucan remarked that ‘all your friends... were happy that... you return’d to their society to which you must always be such an agreeable addition’.¹⁴⁵

VI. Conclusion

When Blagden’s relationships with Banks and Cavendish proved unable to give him the status he sought, he was able to turn elsewhere, and to pursue his social ambitions by fostering attachments to groups beyond the Royal Society. By 1795, Blagden had developed a network of contacts among the aristocracy, the *beau monde*, and the bluestockings. These relationships were robust, and Blagden continued to mix within the circles of the elevated ranks for the rest of his life.

Rather than acting as a client to male scholars and a natural philosophical investigator, Blagden self-fashioned his image by forging new friendships, and by emulating some of the social practices of the fashionable elite. In 1795, Blagden’s life closely followed that of his new circles, made possible by his new-found financial security. He frequently appeared alongside elite ladies, at their homes, in town, and at fashionable resorts when the London season ended. Appearing alongside these women, Blagden played the role of the gentleman, attached to members of the elevated ranks as a voluntary companion, rather than as a paid client.

¹⁴⁴ Letter from Hannah More to her sister, 11 Jan. 1788, published in William Roberts, *Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Hannah More*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1834), 281.

¹⁴⁵ Royal Society, CB/1/4/270 (letter from Margaret Bingham to Charles Blagden, 24 Aug. 1795).

Blagden's self-fashioning was made possible by the entry of natural philosophical discourse into emerging notions of polite sociability. As in his relationships with Cavendish and Banks, natural philosophy was a means to an end. In conversation and in correspondence, Blagden fulfilled the role of the go-between, furnishing his female contacts with a window onto the all-male world of the Royal Society. Women were expected to participate in polite discussions, and attentiveness was noted, as a virtue, a marker of serious interest, and an attractive quality to potential suitors.

CONCLUSION

Though Blagden's world centred far more on the elevated ranks after his resignation as secretary of the Royal Society in 1797, he remained in contact with Banks and Cavendish for the rest of his life. When Blagden resigned as secretary, he retained his place on the council, and thus never fully severed his formal links from the Society.¹ It may have been Blagden's greater satisfaction with his social position in the 1790s that meant he felt comfortable continuing his relationships with his former patrons.

That Blagden had achieved something of the gentlemanly status he desired towards the end of his life is suggested by the creation of a portrait, produced in 1816 (see fig. 10). This image, the only known likeness of Blagden, is an etching by the female artist Mary Dawson Turner after an original oil painting by Thomas Phillips that has since been lost. Phillips was known for his portraits of eminent men of science and literature, his more famous works including three portraits of Banks as president of the Royal Society, produced between 1808 and 1814.²

The fact that towards the end of his life, Blagden's standing was more recognised by others may have induced him to sit for his portrait. In the eighteenth century, portraits were typically produced for purposes of commemoration at key moments in the sitter's life, such as embarking on a Grand Tour, or on inheriting the family estate.³ Louise Lippincott has noted that very few sitters paid for their own portraits, and that often works were commissioned by friends and family.⁴

¹ H. W. Robinson, "A Preliminary Note on the Blagden Manuscripts," *Notes Rec. R. Soc.* 5 (1948): 137-39, 137.

² Annette Peach, "Phillips, Thomas (1770-1845)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

³ Louise Lippincott, "Expanding on Portraiture. The Market, the Public, and the Hierarchy of Genres in Eighteenth-Century Britain," in *The Consumption of Culture 1600-1800*, ed. Ann Bermingham and John Brewer (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 82.

⁴ *Ibid.*

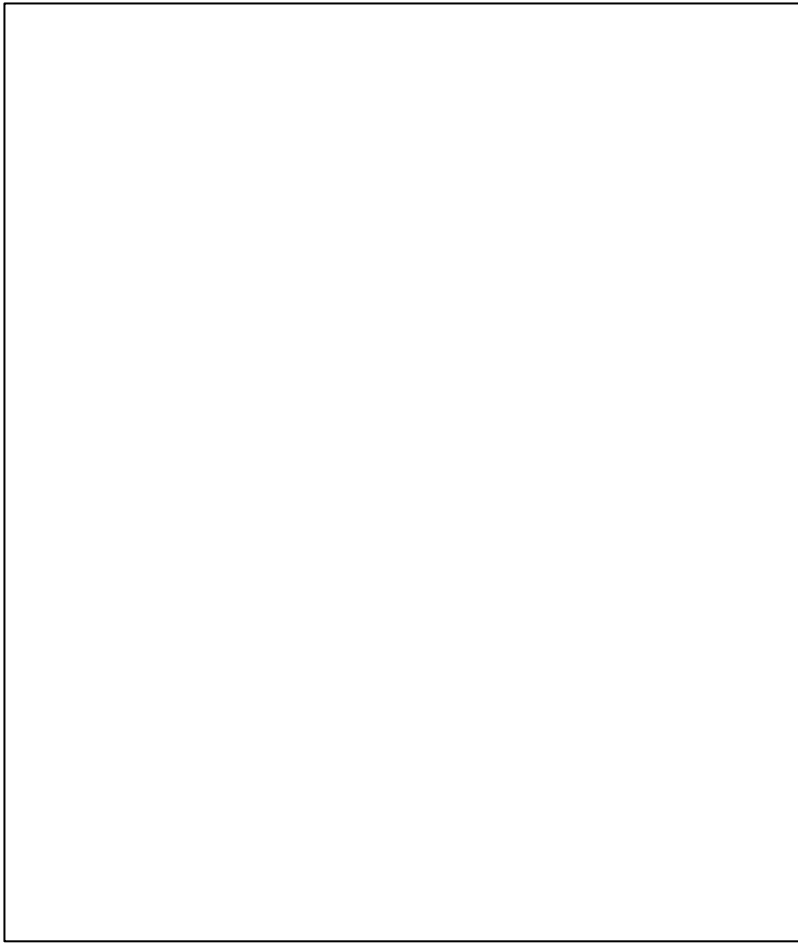


Fig. 10. Engraving of portrait of Sir Charles Blagden by Mary Dawson Turner (née Palgrave), after original oil painting by Thomas Phillips (1816). National Portrait Gallery, NPG D14478 (etching, 245 x 203 mm paper size, bequeathed by Frederic Leverton Harris, 1927). [image removed]

Though it is unknown who commissioned the original painting of Blagden, it may have been that a friend or family member wished to commemorate him as their esteemed acquaintance or relative. The process of sitting for a portrait was a social activity, and one that might also attest an individual's status. Having a portrait made was something of a 'performance art', with sitters visiting the painter's studio with family members and friends.⁵ Blagden may only have been comfortable with the act of having a portrait produced later in his life, having finally attained a position for himself among London's elevated circles.

⁵ Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), 41.

Rather than taking Blagden's position as a gentleman of science for granted, this thesis has traced the ways he constructed this position, with the aid of his diary, and the provision of natural philosophical knowledge. In exploring Blagden's life through the lens of his information management strategies, attention has been drawn to the nature of his writing, as informed by a variety of genres, and an approach to memory centred on the association of ideas. Taking a cue from recent work on the history of diaries, notetaking, and information management, Blagden's diary has been revealed as a source of information, a means to give coherence to various activities, and a prompt to recollection. If previous historians only considered isolated instances in Blagden's career, the argument presented here has shown how these were connected by his enduring goal of attaining status through emulation, his interests in oeconomy, and a continuing commitment to keeping a diary to help manage these ambitions.

Though scholars have not typically drawn attention to Blagden's natural philosophical investigations, these formed a key part of his self-fashioning efforts. Natural philosophy was part of a strategy of emulation, and assisted Blagden in playing the role of the client, investigator, and go-between. Nonetheless, his activities contributed to Georgian science and its communities. Blagden represents a further character within the history of science, an 'emulator' for whom natural philosophy was a means to an end rather than a calling, adding to the types of early modern men of science, in the form of the 'Godly naturalist', the 'moral philosopher', the 'polite philosopher of nature', and the 'civic expert', as described by Shapin.⁶

Blagden's diary is similar to a number of other early modern examples, and this exploration of his diary has corroborated a number of points raised in the existing literature. Where Henderson, Yeo, Hunter, and Littleton have noted that diaries supported individuals' efforts to remember and manage activities, Blagden's diary further supports this argument.⁷ As a manuscript inextricably linked to Blagden's ambitions, the diary supports Leong's

⁶ Shapin, *The Scientific Life*, 21-46.

⁷ Henderson, "Unpublished Material from the Memorandum Book of Robert Hooke." Hunter and Littleton, "The Work-Diaries of Robert Boyle." Yeo, *Notebooks*.

assertion that manuscripts can serve as testaments of individual interests and requirements.⁸

The way in which Blagden's diary supported his career was perhaps not unique in the eighteenth century. The diary of the artist Joseph Farington offers a comparable example of information management, consisting of a terse daily record of finances, work, conversations, and even the weather, composed between 1793 and 1821.⁹ Farington was a topographical artist, and a member of the Royal Academy who took an active role in its affairs. Evelyn Newby has described Farington as an 'urbane man', who 'mixed easily in all branches of the professions and society', a description that is similar to Blagden's image as the 'quintessential leisured scientific man-about-town'.¹⁰ Blagden and Farington's lives in the 1790s were similar, oriented around involvement with the cultural institutions and fashionable diversions of London, which may be why their diaries appear so similar in their content. The daily recording of events was clearly of use in managing a natural philosophical career in London, but such recordkeeping may also have been useful for individuals managing other interests.

Blagden self-fashioned a natural philosophical career within a particular cultural and temporal context. His information management worked for an individual where knowledge was managed by a single person, with written notes operating as external memory and aids to recollection. The genres that Blagden used for this task were those that had developed during the early modern period, adapted to suit his own purposes.

During the nineteenth century, systems for managing information changed. As JoAnne Yates has shown, new kinds of paper tools were used to manage information, in the context of corporations.¹¹ When opportunities arose for business to grow, new management techniques were required to replace informal, ad hoc systems, where information had previously been

⁸ Leong, "Collecting Knowledge for the Family," 81.

⁹ Farington's diary was published in sixteen volumes, edited by Kenneth Garlick and Angus Macintyre, in 1978. See Joseph Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, ed. Kenneth Garlick and Angus Macintyre, 16 vols. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978).

¹⁰ Evelyn Newby, "Farington, Joseph (1747-1821)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). Watts, "Philosophical Intelligence," 754.

¹¹ JoAnne Yates, *Control through Communication: The Rise of System in American Management* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989).

concentrated within a single individual. Yates has shown that to exert managerial control over growing corporations, new forms of internal communication were created, including orders, reports, and memoranda. In compiling these paper tools, Yates has argued that 'Quill pens and bound volumes gave way to typewriters, stencil duplicators, and vertical files that aided in creating, copying, storing, and retrieving documents'.¹²

Natural philosophical identities were also changing, as cultures of advancement centred on patronage were increasingly challenged in the nineteenth century. Writing just ten years after Blagden's death in 1820, the mathematician Charles Babbage complained about the typical structure of advancement in the scientific world in Britain, specifically at the Royal Society, in his provocatively titled *Reflections on the Decline of Science in Britain*. Babbage's comments, though perhaps an extreme reading of the situation, nonetheless highlighted the lack of clarity concerning the criteria for election as a fellow of the Royal Society,

if A. B. [a prospective candidate] has the good fortune to be perfectly unknown by any literary or scientific achievement, however small, he is quite sure of being elected as a matter of course. If, on the other hand, he has unfortunately written on any subject connected with science, or is supposed to be acquainted with any branch of it, the members begin to inquire what he has done to deserve the honour; and unless he has powerful friends, he has a fair chance of being black-balled.¹³

During the nineteenth century, the structure of scientific institutions began to change. As James McClellan has argued, the 'Old-Regime style' of institutional science in the European academies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was in part replaced by discipline-specific societies, accompanied by the revival of the universities.¹⁴ In 1831, the British Association for the Advancement of Science was created, with the aim of providing a stronger impulse for research and contact between those with scientific interests, aimed at arresting the decline of science and perceived

¹² *Ibid.*, xv.

¹³ Charles Babbage, *Reflections on the Decline of Science in England and on Some of Its Causes* (London: B. Fellowes and J. Booth, 1830), 50-51.

¹⁴ James McClellan, "Scientific Institutions and the Organisation of Science," in *The Cambridge History of Science: Eighteenth-Century Science*, ed. Roy Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 87. Knight, "Establishing the Royal Institution," 105-06.

dilettantism lamented by Babbage and others.¹⁵ The foundation of the BAAS, alongside William Whewell's coining of the term 'scientist' in 1834, has been taken as evidence of the professionalisation of science, centred on a new valorisation of specialist knowledge and expertise.¹⁶

This is not to say that the nineteenth century saw an immediate change in the criteria for establishing a scientific career. As Jack Morrell and Arnold Thackray have argued, the founders of the early BAAS did not represent a triumph of merit over gentlemanly status.¹⁷ Men of learning in the early nineteenth century still required a modest income. As Morrell and Thackray have noted, the 'Gentlemen of Science' of the early BAAS 'were not concerned with science in the modern professional sense of knowledge as a means of livelihood. Their interest was rather with science as a vocation or personal calling to those who already possessed financial security'.¹⁸ However, not everyone pursued science as a calling.

The character of the 'scientist' was different from that of the late eighteenth-century natural philosopher, and from the identity that Blagden cultivated in his attempts to pursue social ambition. The female communities in which he fostered his identity in the 1790s were possible in part due to the necessary inclusion of women within polite conversation, and the character of natural philosophy as a fashionable discourse. Blagden's self-fashioning through his diary reveals an important phase within the development of scientific identities, at a particular moment when it was possible to use natural philosophy and emulation to achieve standing among elevated communities in London.

¹⁵ Jack Morrell, "Founders of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (Act. 1830-1836)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

¹⁶ W. H. Brock, "Advancing Science: The British Association and the Professional Practice of Science," in *The Parliament of Science: The British Association for the Advancement of Science 1831-1981*, ed. Roy MacLeod and Peter Collins (Northwood: Science Reviews 1981), 91.

¹⁷ Jack Morrell and Arnold Thackray, *Gentlemen of Science: Early Years of the British Association for the Advancement of Science* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 33.

1795: A YEAR TRANSCRIBED FROM BLAGDEN'S DIARY

I. Note on the transcription

This transcription covers the year 1795 in Blagden's diary, made from the original manuscript, Royal Society, CB/3/3. The diary features three short gaps, where Blagden either did not write entries, or kept them separate from the main volume, notably when he travelled out of London. Where these gaps occur, I have provided an explanation in footnotes. The diary for the year ends on 25 December, after which Blagden visited the country seats of his friends for the Christmas period, as indicated in the transcription. Entries in the diary are sequential, apart from pages ff. 42r.-42v. where Blagden skipped forward from 13 to 16 January. Entries for 14 and 15 January can be found on f. 45v., and have been inserted in the correct place to preserve chronology. Page numbers in the manuscript are given in the transcription.

I have retained original spelling, punctuation, grammar, and capitalisation, as it appears in the manuscript, apart from where Blagden hyphenated longer words written over the end of a line, which have been given in full. Where Blagden used the astrological symbol for days of the week, I have expressed this in words using square brackets. Strikethroughs indicate crossings-out in the original manuscript.

Blagden used a range of abbreviations for the names of individuals, their titles, months of the year, and compass directions. He also abbreviated words that he used frequently. Where the meanings of these may be obscure, I have expanded to give the full word, name, or title. More common abbreviations, such as compass points and months of the year, have been left in their abbreviated forms. Where it has not been possible to decipher Blagden's abbreviations, I have left these in abbreviated form. Insertions above the main line of text in the manuscript are indicated in square brackets. Words I have been unable to read are indicated by 'illegible'.

II. Note on annotations

Where possible, I have identified individuals and events mentioned in the diary in footnotes. Given the large number of individuals, many of whom appear only once, it has not been possible to identify all of these. Similarly, I have not been able to identify all events referred to in the diary.

In footnotes, I have used the following abbreviations to indicate where biographical information has been found, under the name of the subject given in the footnote:

BDA: *Benezit Dictionary of Artists*. Online ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/benezit/>

DNB: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Online ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <http://www.oxforddnb.com>

DSB: *Complete Dictionary of Scientific Biography*. Detroit: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2008. Gale Virtual Reference Library.
http://link.galegroup.com.libproxy.ucl.ac.uk/apps/pub/9780684315591/GVRL?u=ucl_ttda&sid=GVRL

GDA: *Grove Dictionary of Art*. Online ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
<http://www.oxfordartonline.com/groveart>

HOP: 'Member Biographies'. *The History of Parliament: British Political, Social & Local History*. Institute of Historical Research.
<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org>

Where further sources have been consulted, I have indicated this by providing a full reference.

III. Transcription

40v. (1 Jan.)

Jan 1, 1795. [Thursday]. B[reakfaste]d at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s.¹ talked about Translation that doubted whether worth publishing. Gave Major Rennel² character of Mr Wilberforce,³ harsh as he deserved. Called on L^d Lucon;⁴ began really to think something: shewed drawings of Sir W[illiam]. H[amilton]'s⁵ paper on Vesuvius: agreed about L^y Spencer;⁶ L^d Bulkely⁷ there, frondeur; L^d Cambden⁸ poor weak character: executed very ill his speech. Then called on Montagu;⁹ very civil asked & offered about correcting arguments.¹⁰ Mr & Mrs Paradise¹¹ called. Dined at the club;¹² having first called on Mr Cavendish,¹³ & gave him translation of Fr[iar]. Breislak¹⁴ on Vesuvian Eruption to look over. Cold day: froze hard in night, had been on Soho Square 19°,¹⁵ at Clapham 11°,¹⁶ wind NS varying. fog at times & partially, not so much close to river, or N. part of town but between: froze about as much as at Bedford Square.¹⁷

¹ Sir Joseph Banks, baronet (1743-1820), naturalist and patron of science. DNB

² James Rennell (1742-1830), cartographer. DNB

³ William Wilberforce (1759-1833), politician and slavery abolitionist. DNB

⁴ Charles Bingham, first earl of Lucan (1735-1799), Irish peer and politician. HOP

⁵ Sir William Hamilton (1731-1803), diplomatist and art collector. Author of 'An Account of the Late Eruption of Mount Vesuvius', featuring several engravings of the volcano, published in the *Philosophical Transactions* in 1795. DNB

⁶ Lavinia Spencer, Countess Spencer (1762-1831), hostess, wife of George John Spencer, second Earl Spencer (1758-1834). DNB

⁷ Thomas James Bulkeley, seventh Viscount Bulkeley (1752-1822), politician. HOP

⁸ John Jeffreys Pratt, first Marquess Camden (1759-1840), politician. HOP

⁹ Matthew Montagu (1762-1831), later fourth Baron Rokeby, politician. Matthew was the nephew of Elizabeth Montagu (1718-1800), who adopted him in 1776. HOP

¹⁰ Blagden often read and corrected Montagu's parliamentary speeches. See for example Wed 2 Dec. f. 79v.

¹¹ John Paradise (1743-1795), linguist, and his wife Lucy Paradise (1751-1814). DNB

¹² The Royal Society Club, which met at the Crown and Anchor Tavern on the Strand. T. E. Allibone, "The Thursday's Club Called the Club of Royal Philosophers, and Its Relation to the Royal Society Club," *Notes Rec. R. Soc.* 26, no. 1 (1971): 73-80.

¹³ Henry Cavendish (1731-1810), natural philosopher. DNB

¹⁴ Scipione Breislak (1750-1826), German priest and natural philosopher. In 1794, Breislak witnessed the eruption of Vesuvius. See Scipione Breislak, *Memoria Sull'eruzione Del Vesuvio Accaduta La Sera De' 15 Giugno 1794* (Naples: Con Licenza de' Superiori, 1794). DSB

¹⁵ Banks's home at 32 Soho Square. DNB

¹⁶ Cavendish's home at Clapham Common. DNB

¹⁷ Cavendish's townhouse at 11 Bedford Square. DNB

[Friday] 2. Called on L^y. Spencer, with drawings of Vesuvius; found that promise not kept of apprising her of it. Said Pr[ince]. Of Wales¹⁸ extremely revengeful; never forgot a slight had had no gratitude for benefits. Called on M^{rs} Montagu¹⁹ & shewed her drawings, inattentive. Dined at home. In evening to L^y Spencer's. Mr R[ichard]^d Bingham²⁰ there: lounging odd foxhunter: attempts drollery, but of vulgar kind. Evidently no understanding. N. B. no strength [illegible word] or sentiment: but good natured, and affectionate. Arguing abo[u]t Pr[ince] of W[ales]. that completely worthless, profligate, & likely to be good for nothing. L^d Stair,²¹ [illegible word] ennuyé; frondeur, mean. Talk about Wilberforce L^y S[pencer] did not enter into his character. Very cold foggy raw day. Ther[mometer] hardly above 24°. Very thick & unnecessary.

41r. (3 Jan.)

[Saturday] 3. Called on L^d Ailesbury:²² liked him less & less. Then on Montagus;²³ very friendly; explained Causes to M^{rs} M[atthew]. M[ontagu].²⁴ Then at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s, then on Greys,²⁵ as usual, L^y Grey: then at Grotes,²⁶ left message for Mr Jos[eph] Grote about possible read [Thursday].²⁷ Dined & spent evening at home. Day clear tho' not quite without fog; very cold, Ther[mometer] 12 here.

¹⁸ George, prince of Wales (1762-1830), later George IV, first son of George III. DNB

¹⁹ Elizabeth Montagu (1718-1800), author and literary hostess. DNB

²⁰ Richard Bingham, later second earl of Lucan (1764-1839), politician. HOP

²¹ John Dalrymple, sixth earl of Stair (1749-1821), diplomatist. DNB

²² Thomas Brudenell-Bruce, first earl of Ailesbury (1729-1814), courtier. HOP

²³ 'Montagus' refers to Matthew Montagu and his wife Elizabeth. HOP

²⁴ 'Mrs Mathew Montagu' was used by Blagden to distinguish between Matthew Montagu's wife, Elizabeth, and his aunt, Elizabeth Montagu. HOP

²⁵ The family of Charles Grey, first Earl Grey (1729-1807), army officer, and his wife, Elizabeth Grey (1744-1822). DNB

²⁶ Joseph Grote (*d.* 1814), was listed as one of the original proprietors and subscribers of the Royal Institution. Bence Jones, *The Royal Institution: Its Founder and Its First Professors* (London: Longmans, Green, & Co, 1871), 134.

²⁷ The following Thursday, Blagden brought Grote as a guest to the Royal Society. See Thu 8 Jan, f. 41v.

[Sunday] 4. Called on Sir Geo[rge]. Staunton:²⁸ feeble & much emotion tendency to. On Mrs Buller;²⁹ on Mr Agar³⁰ Dined at M^r Montagu's: Percival³¹ there, & M^{rs} P[erceval] both pleasant: She good female character, & handsome. He very clean & clever; Sir Rob[er]t M. Keith.³² old school, sensible, & prodigious memory: L^d Portchester,³³ presumptuous, with [illegible word] & no great depth, tho' talents. Talk afterwards of Wilberforce's superiority At 10 a.m ther[mometer] 13°. froze very hard in night. Clear day, somewhat foggy; [illegible word] night, haze [illegible word] [Monday].

[Monday] 5. Called on L^y Lucan,³⁴ all night: told me that M^r Bingham would not speak to her. I mentioned about M[atthew]. M[ontagu]. S[ai]^d suppose M^r M[ontagu] granted peerage & to descend to him.³⁵ Then on M^r Anderson;³⁶ rather tricking, then to Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s. talked there with M^r Jos[eph] Wyndham³⁷ about Pompeii. he said that all the theatres of Asia minor &c were excavated out of a hill. Dined at home. In evening L^y Amherst's;³⁸ pleasant with L^y Lucan M^{rs} M[atthew] M[ontagu] & Miss B[erry].³⁹ latter rather particular. Talk with Mr Dillon; Mons[ignor]. Erskine.⁴⁰ Began to think some intentions.

²⁸ Sir George Leonard Staunton, first baronet (1737-1801), physician and diplomatist. In 1792, Staunton was appointed principal secretary to Lord Macartney's embassy to China, and returned to Britain in 1794. DNB

²⁹ Mention of a 'Mrs Buller', a member of the 'Blue Stocking Society of London', can be found in *Full, True, and Particular Account of the Conquest & Partition of France, by the King of Prussia, Duke of Brunswick...* 2nd ed. (London: H. D. Symonds and J. Ridgway, 1792), 46.

³⁰ John Samuel Agar (1773-1858), portrait painter and engraver. "John Samuel Agar," National Portrait Gallery, accessed 1 Aug. 2018,

<https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person/mp00041/john-samuel-agar?role=art>

³¹ Spencer Perceval (1762-1812), politician and later prime minister, and his wife Jane Perceval. DNB

³² Sir Robert Murray Keith (1730-1795), diplomatist and army officer. DNB

³³ Henry George Herbert, later second earl of Carnarvon (1772-1883), politician. HOP

³⁴ Margaret Bingham, countess of Lucan (1740-1814), miniature painter. DNB

³⁵ Matthew Montagu succeeded his brother Morris Montagu (1757-1829) as fourth Baron Rokeby in 1829. HOP

³⁶ James Anderson (1739-1808), agriculturalist and economist. DNB

³⁷ Joseph Windham (1739-1810), antiquary. DNB

³⁸ Elizabeth Amherst, Baroness Amherst (1740-1830), second wife of Jeffrey Amherst, first Baron Amherst (1717-1797). DNB

³⁹ Mary Berry (1763-1852), author. Blagden refers to her as Miss B or M B throughout the diary. DNB

⁴⁰ Charles Erskine (1739-1811), papal diplomat and cardinal. "Charles Erskine," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, accessed 1 Aug. 2018, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/05525b.htm>

Day fine clear tho' some hazy fog. Ther[mometer]. At 10 a.m. 23: thawed in day, froze at night.

[Tuesday] 6. Called at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s. [illegible word] for [illegible word] & [illegible word] probably for Chu Lan the Chinese name of Cowslip tea.⁴¹ Called on Mr Paradise. Mr Montagu: talk about Debate; vanity of Mr Harvey about Storer. Dined at home. Went with Staunton & the Chinese to Ly Lucan's. Conjuror's tricks: behave well, Agreeable conversation with M[ary]. B[erry]. Day foggy, wind S^d of W. Thawing Called on M[onsigno]r Erskine, & got [illegible name]'s account from him.

41v. (7 Jan.)

[Wednesday] 7. Called on L^d Orford;⁴² not in humour, believe disappointed: then on Miss Berrys, Agnes;⁴³ then on Mrs Buller. message to Sir Geo[rge]. Staunton. Dined & spent evening at home. Day thawing but thick fog, very dark, obliged to light candles, most uncomfortable.

[Thursday] 8. B[reakfaste]^d at Sir J[oseph] B[anks]'s: smooth. Called on Mr Montagu, all very friendly; persuaded to go to D[uche]ss of Gordon's:⁴⁴ said had not forgotten. Then on L^y Lucan: spoke about L^y Spencer to Montagu's: I undertook; talk how much better [illegible name] looked; really seemed to like. Then on Sir Geo[rge]. Staunton: friendly but faculties evidently impaired;⁴⁵ application to Governments to give the plates of Chinese Expedition.⁴⁶ Called

⁴¹ 'Chulan Hyson... sometimes called cowslip tea', is described in John Phipps, *A Practical Treatise on the China and Eastern Trade* (London and Calcutta: W. H. Allen and W. Thacker, 1836), 86.

⁴² Horatio (Horace) Walpole, fourth earl of Orford (1717-1797), author, politician, and patron. DNB

⁴³ Agnes Berry (1764-1852), sister of Mary Berry. The two were close friends of Horace Walpole. DNB

⁴⁴ Jane Gordon, duchess of Gordon (1748/9-1812) political hostess and agricultural reformer, wife of Alexander Gordon, fourth duke of Gordon (1743-1827). DNB

⁴⁵ Staunton had recently suffered a stroke, which affected his speech. DNB

⁴⁶ Staunton was charged with producing the official account of the Macartney embassy to China, entitled *An authentic account of an embassy from the king of Great Britain to the emperor of China... taken chiefly from the papers of his excellency Earl Macartney etc.*, 2 vols. (1797). Banks was responsible for selecting and arranging the engravings of illustrations for Staunton's publication. "Series 62: Papers concerning publication of the account of Lord Macartney's Embassy to China, 1797 (possibly later)," State Library of New

on M^r Montagu to deliver L^y Lucan's message. Dined at home, Went to R[oyal] S[ociety]. Mr Grote;⁴⁷ very friendly; went home to supper. Shewed drawings of Vesuvius. Attended A[ntiquaries]. S[ociety]. Ancora⁴⁸ chosen. Dull day, some fog. thawing, but raw; wind [illegible word] to E^d.

[Friday] 9. Called on M^r Anderson: le[ar]nt of his not applying for benefit: opinion by no means improves. Dined at M^{rs} Montagu's. Miss Poyntz's Louisa and Isabella:⁴⁹ nice countenance in the former tho' it seems latter most admired. Mr Boscawen⁵⁰ rather sensible; Mr Stanley the later, & Dr Heberden⁵¹ present. Then called at L^y Spencer's, & went to Lady Lucan's. Abominable cunning & duplicity of L^d Lansdown⁵² when courting Miss Molesworth:⁵³ she at last found him out & hated him. Kept table clearly for his blackguards & spies: tho' opposed Ministers said King privately knew that he was his friend. Miss B[erry]. came in very pleasant, [illegible word] then L^d. Lucan; friendly. Day not thawing much, cloudy tho' with some breaks, wind rather N^d of W.

[Saturday] 10. Called on Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]. asked him for Mr Grote: he returned translation of [illegible word]: said hardly [illegible word] [illegible word] [illegible word]. Went to M^r Cocks's: folly as well as wickedness of Carwardine; accuses Mr Ridge of harshness & under-valuing: wrote two

South Wales, accessed 1 Aug. 2018,

http://www2.sl.nsw.gov.au/banks/series_62/62_view.cfm

⁴⁷ The journal book of the Royal Society records that Blagden brought Grote as a guest. Royal Society, JBO/35, f. 389r. (meeting minutes, 8 Jan. 1795).

⁴⁸ Cajetanus D'Ancora, also known as Gaetano D'Ancora (1751-1816), archaeologist and honorary member of the Society of Antiquaries. *Biografia Degli Uomini Illustri Del Regno Di Napoli*, vol. 6 (Naples: N. Gervasi, 1819), 11.

⁴⁹ The daughters of William Poyntz (1734-1809), son of Stephen Poyntz (*bap.* 1685, *d.* 1750), diplomatist and courtier. DNB

⁵⁰ William Boscawen (1752-1811), lawyer and writer. DNB

⁵¹ William Heberden the younger (1767-1845), physician. DNB

⁵² William Petty, second earl of Shelburne and first marquess of Lansdowne (1737-1805), later prime minister. DNB

⁵³ Frances Molesworth (1760-1829) was engaged to William Petty in 1778, but subsequently broke off the engagement. Frances was the niece of the Earl and Countess of Lucan, and was raised by them following the death of her parents. "Frances Molesworth, later Marchioness Camden," The Huntington, accessed 1 Aug. 2018, <http://emuseum.huntington.org/people/3331/frances-molesworth-later-marchioness-camden;jsessionid=26C066B0C4737FE5175A74CAFDEBD874>

letters: then at Mr Townley's.⁵⁴ on Sir W[illiam] Musgrave.⁵⁵ D[uke]. of Devonshire⁵⁶ & L^d. Egremont⁵⁷ the 2 men most drained by ennui. Saw these two

42r. (10 Jan. cont.)

sitting on [illegible word] couch at the opposite corners, lolling & lounging, for an hour, without speaking to each other or joining bursts of company talking in the room. When large company went down to Petworth⁵⁸ he came up to town that night not have the trouble of receiving them, & then joined them when they were all settled. Wager that postchaise always before his door; built up the wall of his court to Piccadilly to prevent this wager. When came in to Brookiers, often ordered his carriage to door as going up stairs, walked round room & then went out again, & in course of evening came back. Called on Greys. Said Sir Cha[rle]s very angry, resolved to come home immediately: Cha[rle]s said that shortly there would be many changes.⁵⁹ Dined at home. Left paper at Mendoza's⁶⁰ lodgings. Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]. said that Sir W[illiam]. Jones⁶¹ died of a suppuration of the liver, Jones symptoms of which he had perceived for some time, but at last it came on rapidly: & that it appeared, he had really no intention of leaving India. Went in evening to Mr M[atthew]. Montagu's. L^y Spencer came, very properly, said that Rennell had been there shewing maps

⁵⁴ Charles Townley (1737-1805), collector. DNB

⁵⁵ Sir William Musgrave, sixth baronet (1735-1800), administrator and antiquary. DNB

⁵⁶ William Cavendish, fifth duke of Devonshire (1748-1811), nobleman. DNB

⁵⁷ George O'Brien Wyndham, third earl of Egremont (1751-1837), patron, agriculturalist, and philanthropist. DNB

⁵⁸ Petworth House, Sussex, Lord Egremont's residence. DNB

⁵⁹ When war was declared against revolutionary France in 1793, Grey sailed for Barbados to lead troops in an attack on the French West Indies, with Admiral Sir John Jervis leading the naval expedition. The campaign was a successful one with St Lucia, the Saints, and Guadeloupe taken in April 1794. Despite these successes, Grey's reputation was tarnished when it emerged that he had confiscated properties and raised levies upon the islands' inhabitants, enriching his own position. Grey arrived back in Britain on 8 January. DNB

⁶⁰ Joseph de Mendoza y Ríos (1761-1816), Spanish astronomer. DNB

⁶¹ Sir William Jones (1746-1794), orientalist and judge. Jones died at his home in Calcutta from a liver infection on 27 April 1794. DNB

of Carey's.⁶² Miss Bruhl⁶³ & L^y Fr. & Carnarvon⁶⁴ Family: thought Lucan family playing & trifling with. Cold day & evening, much fog.

[Sunday] 11. Called on M^{rs} Buller; on Mr Agar: saw Mr Hope & nephew: a good deal of character in both. Dined at M Grottes; agreeable, friendly: shewed Circello's drawings of Mt Vesuvius:⁶⁵ could not understand. Went with him to Sir Jos[eph]. Banks's, where also shewed drawings. C[avendish]. drier than ordinary. Day very fine, sun shining; froze hard in night.

[Monday] 12. Called on L^d Lucan, could make nothing of him; declined going to Spencer House⁶⁶ because of wanting time. Then on L^y Baker,⁶⁷ she & Miss very civil: then at M^{rs} Stirling's. M[ess]rs Grote & Culverden⁶⁸ called. Dined & spent evening at home. Day clear, cold, frost, Wind Wly

[Tuesday] 13. Called on Sir J[oseph]. B[anks] & mentioned to him about Ancora diploma, Cholmondeley⁶⁹ aerometers⁷⁰ & Mr Grote. Then called on Mrs M[atthew]. Montagu; perceived a difference: talk about L^y Fr. M. G & others: promised would do utmost but gave no great encouragement. Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]. asked to publish translation anonymously. Dined & spent evening at home. Morning very foggy dark so [illegible word], but not much cloud. [illegible word]. W^{ly} wind.

⁶² Mathew Carey (1760-1839), publisher and author. DNB

⁶³ Harriet Brühl (b. 1772), daughter of John Maurice (Hans Moritz), Count von Brühl (1736-1809), diplomatist and patron. DNB

⁶⁴ Elizabeth Alicia Maria Herbert, Countess Carnarvon (1752-1826), wife of Henry Herbert, first earl of Carnarvon (1741-1811). "Henry Herbert (HRBT769H)," University of Cambridge Alumni Database, accessed 26 Sep. 2018, <http://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/search-2016.pl?sur=&suro=w&fir=&firo=c&cit=&cito=c&c=all&z=all&tex=HRBT769H&sy=&eye=&col=all&maxcount=50>

⁶⁵ Monte Circello, landmark near the islands of Ponza and Ventotene, off the coast of Terracina in Italy. William Hamilton, "Some Particulars of the Present State of Mount Vesuvius; with the Account of a Journey into the Province of Abruzzo, and a Voyage to the Island of Ponza," *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London* 76 (1786): 365-81.

⁶⁶ 27 St James's Place, built for the first Earl Spencer. DNB

⁶⁷ Jane Baker (d. 1813), wife of Sir George Baker, first baronet (1723-1809), physician. DNB

⁶⁸ William Culverden, husband of Sarah Mee, the elder sister of Mary Temple, Viscountess Palmerston (1752-1805). "Palmerston's Letters to Laurence and Elizabeth Sullivan," *Camden Fourth Series* 23 (1979): 29-320, 37.

⁶⁹ George James Cholmondeley, first marquess of Cholmondeley (1749-1827), politician. HOP

⁷⁰ A device used to measure the specific gravity of liquids.

45v. (14 Jan.)

{Jan.}

[Wednesday] 14. Called at Grotes, on M^{rs} Anderson,⁷¹ who told me of L^d Stanhope⁷² at masquerade in character of a Turk, & supporting it admirably well, with fine turns of conversation. Then on M^{rs} Buller, letter, Sir Francis Bassett⁷³ came in, seemed rather sour. Dined & spent evening at home. Day cold, & some snow E^{ly} wind.

[Thursday] 15. B[reakfaste]^d at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s; he at Dundas's.⁷⁴ Called at Inchiquin's⁷⁵ on L^y Lucan, who mentioned about scarcity of bread⁷⁶ & that Mr. M[ontagu]. should move for committees;⁷⁷ then on L^d Orford, civil, Jerningham⁷⁸ there with MS; then on Montagu's: mentioned Lady Lucan's message, & information from M de Chabert⁷⁹ namely, that under DuHamel du Monceau's⁸⁰ management French navy in the same state as ours, just determined by supposed trials of good sailing; that their Bouguer⁸¹ wrote, & opened people's eyes to the necessity of high mathematics; then in consequence school established at Paris, & an inspecteur & examinateur; that young men who chose to apply to ship building were first instructed at the dockyards; then sent to this school of Paris where instructed in the principles

⁷¹ In his will, Blagden left one hundred pounds to a Mrs Anderson, of 13 South Audley Street, London. See Gloucestershire Archives, D1086/F59 (Prob. will of Sir Charles Blagden, kt., of 45 Brompton Row, Knightsbridge, London, 1820).

⁷² Charles Stanhope, third Earl Stanhope (1753-1816), politician and inventor. DNB

⁷³ Sir Francis Basset, Baron de Dunstanville and first Baron Basset (1757-1835), politician.

DNB

⁷⁴ Henry Dundas, first Viscount Melville (1742-1811), politician. DNB

⁷⁵ Murrough O'Brien, fifth earl of Inchiquin (1726-1808), Irish peer and politician. HOP

⁷⁶ Due to bad weather during the summer and winter of 1794, wheat yields across Britain were extremely low, causing a scarcity of bread exacerbated by disruption to European trade resulting from the war against revolutionary France. See Walter M. Stern, "The Bread Crisis in Britain, 1795-1796," *Economica* 31, no. 122 (1964): 168-87.

⁷⁷ See entry 17 Jan. f. 42v., where Blagden discussed with Montagu the possibility of discussing a bill related to corn.

⁷⁸ Edward Jerningham (1737-1812), poet and playwright. DNB

⁷⁹ Joseph Bernard, marquis de Chabert (1724-1805), French sailor, geographer and astronomer. "Chabert de Cogolin, Joseph-Bernard de, Marquis de Chabert," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, accessed 26 Sep. 2018, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/chabert_de_cogolin_joseph_bernard_de_5E.html

⁸⁰ H. Duhamel Du Monceau (1700-1782), naval engineer and founder of the first French school of shipbuilding. DSB

⁸¹ Pierre Bouguer (1698-1758), mathematician. DSB

mathematically, & afterwards examined from time to time by examineurs, in presence of the inspecteur very rigidly; till found to be fit; that the last of these officers were Chev[alier]. Borda⁸² inspector & M del. Place⁸³ examiner. Then when new model of a ship proposed, the government referred it to these gentlemen, who made a report; in consequence of which it was adopted or rejected: M[ontagu]; very friendly: talk about asking questions. Called on Mr Cavendish; shewed him map of new lava of Vesuvius & explanation;⁸⁴ doubted whether very deep crack in Vesuvius where come out. Attended A[ntiquaries] S[ociety] & R[oyal] S[ociety]. Mr Grote there. Lent Mr C[avendish]. papers on fall of stones,⁸⁵ Paper at Antiquaries on Welsh language, like Sanscrit seemingly. Went home with Mr Grote; like Caroline much sensible. Very wintry day, wind NE. flying clouds, a few flakes of snow. Ther[mometer] 23 at 4 p.m. (see 6 pages back.

42v. (16 Jan. pages have been re-ordered to preserve chronology)

[inserted at top of page: see 6 pages forward]

[Friday] Jan. 16. [inserted above: Mr Berry⁸⁶ called] Called at Mrs Buller's; on Greys; explained to Ly Grey the accusation: said could fully justify. Then to Banker, & on to Mr Emlyn;⁸⁷ pleasant conversation with Mrs Emlyn. Then on L^y Payne:⁸⁸ the brother there from army, seemed very priggish. Dined at home; in evening to L^y Lucan's; less satisfied than ever of good intentions. Talk with Montagu; also with M. Bingham. Day cold E^{ly} wind, in general black; a little snow. Very raw night.

⁸² Jean-Charles, chevalier de Borda (1733-1799), mathematician and physicist. DSB

⁸³ Pierre-Simon Laplace (1749-1827), natural philosopher and examiner at the École Polytechnique from 1795 until 1799. DSB

⁸⁴ A map of the currents of lava observed on Vesuvius during the eruptions in 1794 was published in Hamilton, "An Account of the Late Eruption of Mount Vesuvius."

⁸⁵ In a later entry, Blagden referred to having shared testimony concerning the fall of an iron meteorite in Agram, Croatia, in 1751. See 4 Feb. f. 44v.

⁸⁶ Could be Mary and Agnes Berry's father, Robert Berry (d. 1817), or their uncle, Robert's brother William Berry (d. 1810). DNB

⁸⁷ Henry Emlyn (1728/9), architect, and his wife Mary Emlyn. DNB

⁸⁸ Frances Payne (d. 1830), wife of Sir Ralph Payne (1739-1807), politician. DNB

[Saturday] 17. Took Mr Grote to breakfast at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s: left with him more translations on Eruption of Vesuvius. Called on Mr Montagu & told information about corn discussed propriety of making motion;⁸⁹ very friendly. Dined at home. Evening to Mrs Montagu's talk about her cold. Day cold, cloudy, dark, snowing more or less.

[Sunday] 18. Called on Mrs Montagu; at Sir Geo[rge]. Staunton's on M^{rs} Buller, & M^r Agar. L^d Ailesbury called here, with Miss Knight's⁹⁰ engravings. Dined at home. Went in evening to Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s. C[avendish]. sulkier than usual. Day cloudy, some snow. night clear.

[Monday] 19. Went to Court: Bakers. Went home with Mr Montagu, with whom dined. Relax; yielding of Pitt;⁹¹ good effect of what said on corn:⁹² In evening to Mr King's.⁹³ Day very hazy but clear night: wind N^d easterly.

[Tuesday] 20. Called on Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]. note from Eckhardt.⁹⁴ Called on Sir W[illiam]. Musgrave; invitation to mess; advised inhaler. Then on Berry's; civil. Miss [Mary] B[erry]. handsome. M^r Cole called; dined at club;⁹⁵ entertaining enough; Windham⁹⁶ civiler. Then to L^y Spencer; Compl[imen]t of M[ary]. B[erry]. D^r & L^y Spencer came in. talk about Fr[ederick]. Cavendish,⁹⁷

⁸⁹ Matthew Montagu was considering proposing a motion to relieve pressures on corn. From 1789, Banks was involved in discussions regarding a new bill. Gascoigne, *Science in the Service of Empire*, 81-87.

⁹⁰ (Ellis) Cornelia Knight (1757-1837), author and courtier. In 1805 Knight published a guide to the Roman countryside which featured several of her drawings. Cornelia Knight, *A Description of Latium, or La Campagna Di Roma* (London: Longman, 1805). DNB

⁹¹ William Pitt, known as Pitt the younger (1759-1806), prime minister. DNB

⁹² Refers to Montagu's thoughts on a motion on corn. See earlier entry 17 Jan. f. 42v. and note 89.

⁹³ Edward King (1734/5-1807), writer and antiquary. DNB

⁹⁴ Anton Georg Eckhardt (1740-1816), natural philosopher. Dawson, *The Banks Letters*, 297.

⁹⁵ Blagden belonged to several clubs, including one that met at Jack's Coffee House and later Young's Slaughter Coffee House on St Martin's Lane, the Monday Club, which met at the George and Vulture off Lombard Street, and the Literary Club, also known as 'The Club', which met at Le Telier's Tavern in Dover Street. Jungnickel and McCormmach, *Cavendish*, 298-300. James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson, Ll. D.*, 4 vols., vol. 1 (Oxford: Pickering, Talboys, and Wheeler, 1826), 376-77.

⁹⁶ William Windham (1750-1810), politician. DNB

⁹⁷ Lord Frederick Cavendish (1729-1803), army officer and politician. DNB

wild high spirits. Day fine, very cold: ther[mometer] in night 13° Soho Square
Th[ermomete]r 11° Gower St^r Upper.

[Wednesday] 21. Called on M^{rs} Anderson; grossness of Pr[ince]. [of] W[ales].
Then on L^d Orford & Grotes. Dined at L^d Lucan's; Sir R[alph]. & Ly Payne,⁹⁸ L^d
Bulkely, Sir R[ober]t Ainslie,⁹⁹ M^r Conyngnam:¹⁰⁰ hints; began to think that
nothing meant: In evening to Mr M[atthew]. Montagu's. Talk afterwards about
friends of people; danger; & raising troops, Day misty sky, some flying clouds,
some snow: at 4 p. m. ther[mometer] 21 ½

[Thursday] 22. B[reakfaste]d at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s. Settled with Eckhardt
about his paper.¹⁰¹ Called on M^r Cole, at L^d Hardwicke's¹⁰² & M^{rs} Buller. Dined
at home. In evening to A[ntiquaries] S[ociety] & R[oyal] S[ociety]. M^r
C[avendish]. better than usual. Day rather clear, some snow by passing cloud
Wind northerly or even Wd of it at times. The[rmomete]r 18 at 9. am. 22° at 4
p.m. Mr Cav[endish]. said had it at 0° at Clapham [illegible word]. [Monday] &
[Tuesday] last.

43r. (23 Jan.)

[Friday] 23. Called on L^d Ailesbury, and left with him a letter for Miss Knight,
which he promised to send, & thought it would be by Sir Hamilton.¹⁰³ Called
on Mr Montagu; spoke again that Loan sho[ul]d not be granted to Emperor,¹⁰⁴
asked to put down thoughts on it, which did. Called on M^{rs} Montagu; dined at
home. Went in evening to L^y Lucan's: M[ary] B[erry] said sho[ul]d like to travel
in Italy with me. Went with L^d Orford to Berry's; long conversation with M^{rs}

⁹⁸ Sir Ralph Payne, later Baron Lavington (1739-1807), politician. HOP

⁹⁹ Sir Robert Ainslie (1729/30-1812), diplomatist and numismatist. DNB

¹⁰⁰ William Burton Conyngnam (1733-1796), politician and improver. DNB

¹⁰¹ Eckhardt had submitted a paper to the Royal Society the previous year, entitled 'On a new Mechanical Application of Wheels'. He withdrew his paper on 19 March 1795. Royal Society, CMB/90/2, ff. 125r., 127r. (minutes of committee of papers, 19 Mar. 1795).

¹⁰² Philip Yorke, third earl of Hardwicke (1757-1834), politician. DNB

¹⁰³ Miss Knight travelled with Sir William and his wife, Emma Hamilton (1765-1815). DNB

¹⁰⁴ In 1795, a loan was granted to the Emperor of Germany, guaranteed by the British Government. The loan was debated in the House of Commons on 28 May. *Cobbett's Parliamentary History of England*, vol. 32 (London: T. C. Hansard, 1818), 38.

Chomleigh, about Kangooroo's & Mr M[ontagu]. came in, gave account at defence of L^d [illegible name]. Gave papers to M^{rs} Montagu at L^y Lucan's. Day rather fine; 16 at 10 a.m. & again at night. Very beautiful evening, but night grew cloudy.

[Saturday] 24. Called on Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]. Lent papers on fall of stones to Mr Marsden.¹⁰⁵ Went to L^y Spencer's: could not make out Mayers's¹⁰⁶ explanation of his method of perspective Doubted much of M[ary] B[erry] who then told L^y Spencer of danger if not [illegible word] enough to get the changes which are inevitably made without convulsion. Called on Miss Blossett;¹⁰⁷ Miss Miller. Dined at M^{rs} Montagu's. Banks's & B[ishop] of Llandaff.¹⁰⁸ B[ishop] gave his opinion that so Socinians¹⁰⁹ fairly to be called Christians, that in his opinion wrong in saying that Christ made no redemption; that future state known only thro' gospel.¹¹⁰ Memory not improved, but only impression kept up, by exercise. Read Miss Moore's proposal. Morning cloudy, wind variable but chiefly from westward. afternoon clear. Th[er]m[ometer] a.m. 22; [above: at 11 pm] 11°

[Sunday] 25. Called on M^{rs} Buller; spoke in favour of Bakers. Then on Mr Agar. Dined at L^d. Inchiquin's. Bakers, Banks's Mr Lee of H[ouse] of C[ommons]. D Lawrence. At 10 a.m this morning th[er]m[ometer] home 8°. Sir Jos[eph]. Banks's in night 4: Mr Cav[endish]'s on lawn at Clapham -6° on house -1°. Sir Geo[rge] Shuckburgh's¹¹¹ at 1. am +4° Went in evening to Sir J[oseph].

¹⁰⁵ William Marsden (1754-1836), orientalist. On 15 January, Blagden shared papers with Cavendish 'on the fall of stones', and on 4 February read papers concerning the fall of an iron meteorite in Agram. See ff. 44v, 45v. DNB

¹⁰⁶ Luigi Mayer (1755-1803), Italian painter. Blagden viewed some of Mayer's drawings of Constantinople on 23 February, see f. 47v. BDA

¹⁰⁷ Julia Henrietta (Harriet) Blosset (d. 1819). Prior to the *Endeavour* voyage, Banks had promised to marry Blosset, but subsequently broke off the engagement. DNB

¹⁰⁸ Richard Watson (1737-1816), bishop of Llandaff. DNB

¹⁰⁹ Dissenting Christian religious group, also known in Britain as the Unitarians.

¹¹⁰ In 1772, Watson had supported the Feathers tavern petition to relieve clergy and university graduates of the need to subscribe to the Thirty-Nine articles, a requirement that had barred dissenters from office. When Watson published his *Theological Tracts* in 1785, he included a number of works produced by dissenters, including some Unitarians. DNB

¹¹¹ Sir George Augustus William Shuckburgh-Evelyn, sixth baronet (1751-1804), mathematician. DNB

B[anks]'s. Arrowsmith's Map.¹¹² worries much: at 4 pm ther[mometer] was 21°. Day foggy, smoky: wind variable; clouds with breeze.

[Monday] 26. At 10 am The[mometer]r. 20. Some snow: wind S^d of E. Called on M^r Montagu; long conversation: discussion of bad effects of loan to Emperor:¹¹³ hint of indifference about governments [illegible word] of impatience, brusquerie; The Hardwicks. To speak to Raikes.¹¹⁴ Dined & spent evening at home. Grew much milder, but continued cloudy:

43v. (27 Jan.)

[Tuesday] 27. Called on Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]. Saw letters that ther[mometer] at Maidstone -14°. on night between [Saturday] & [Sunday]. Called on L^y. Spencer; conversation about Emperor's loan, against which I brought arguments about necessity of naval war, &c. Said he [Lord Spencer] kept all the secretaries of Admiralty in till he had got acquainted with every thing:¹¹⁵ though Stephens¹¹⁶ but a poor head; the others none at all. Called at L^y Lucan's; on Sir W. Musgrave; he mentioned his plan of suppressing sinecure places at Custom House.¹¹⁷ Dined at home. Went in evening to Spencer House; mention about D[uke]. of Richmond¹¹⁸ Ther[mometer] at 10 p.m 45°. Air warm S W^{ly}. thawing rapidly. Letter from D[uche]ss of D[evonshire].¹¹⁹ Mr Montagu called: Conversation about Emperor's loan: told him that might be of great cons[equen]^{ce}.

¹¹² Aaron Arrowsmith (1750-1823), cartographer. In 1795, Arrowsmith published 'A Map Exhibiting all the New Discoveries in the Interior Parts of North America'. DNB

¹¹³ See earlier entry, 23 Jan. f. 43r. and note 104.

¹¹⁴ Thomas Raikes (1741-1831), merchant and governor of the Bank of England between 1797 and 1799. "Governors of the Banks of England," Bank of England, accessed 6 Sep. 2018, <https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/about/people/governors>

¹¹⁵ Lord Spencer was made first lord of the Admiralty in December 1794. DNB

¹¹⁶ Sir Philip Stephens, baronet (1723-1809), politician and secretary to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty from 1763 until March 1795. DNB

¹¹⁷ Musgrave was appointed one of nine commissioners of the customs for England in 1763, and was an advocate of reforming its offices, including suppressing superfluous posts. DNB

¹¹⁸ Charles Lennox, third duke of Richmond (1735-1806), politician. DNB

¹¹⁹ Georgiana Cavendish, duchess of Devonshire (1757-1806), political hostess. DNB

[Wednesday] 28. Called on M^{rs}. Montagu, to whom shewed Sir W[illiam]. Jones's Epitaph. then on M^{rs} Anderson & M^{rs} Buller. M^r Montagu, tract about fog, seems not to be well attended to. [Illegible word] of M^{rs} M Montagu. Dined & spent evening at home. Day cloudy, rough, wind northerly, snow falling often. Squally.

[Thursday] 29. B[reakfaste]^d at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s; shewed him D[uche]ss of D[evonshire]'s copy of Epitaph by Sir W[illiam] Jones. Note to Sir Rob[ert]. Herries;¹²⁰ civil but erroneous answer. Went there in consequence too late. Talk with L^y Louisa Macdonald.¹²¹ Shewed epitaph: she & M^{rs} Foote¹²² copied it. Attended Council R[oyal] S[ociety]. Shewed letter & epitaph to Mr Cavendish. Dined at Crown & Anchor.¹²³ Ord¹²⁴ said that Sir W[illiam]. Musgrave had little or no private fortune, & therefore married L^y Carlisle,¹²⁵ so much older. Attended A[ntiquaries] S[ociety] & R[oyal] S[ociety]. Wilkins¹²⁶ there: Found that Sir Jos[eph]. Banks had let Marsden open Sir W[illiam] Jones's trunk of MSS: this he dissembled at the Council.¹²⁷ C[avendish] more gracious than usual. Day rather fine, much sunshine. Wind NE^{ly}.

[Friday] 30. Called on Mr Montagu; evidently vexed about newspaper: summoned to consult. Then Sir Geo[orge] Staunton understanding weaker. Said had about £15000 pay of his own, & £500 from E[ast] I[ndia]. company:

¹²⁰ Sir Robert Herries (1731-1815), merchant and banker. DNB

¹²¹ Louisa Macdonald (*d.* 1827), wife of Sir Archibald Macdonald, first baronet (1747-1826), judge and politician. DNB

¹²² Could be a relation of Catherine Herries (1762-1808), née Foote, wife of Sir Robert Herries. DNB

¹²³ The Royal Society Club. See note 12.

¹²⁴ John Ord (*bap.* 1729 *d.* 1814), politician. DNB

¹²⁵ Isabella Musgrave, Countess Carlisle (1721-1795), widow of Henry Howard, fourth earl of Carlisle (1694-1758). Lady Carlisle married Sir William Musgrave in 1759. DNB

¹²⁶ Sir Charles Wilkins (1749-1836), orientalist. DNB

¹²⁷ The council minutes for the Royal Society meeting of 29 January recorded that 'The President gave notice that the late Sir William Jones had about 3 years ago consigned to him by letter a parcel of MSS. with his desire that they be kept in the Presidents possession till his return to England... if he should not live to return his intention was that they be considered as a gift to the Royal Society'. Opening the manuscripts required the permission of Lady Anna Maria Jones, Sir William's widow. Banks wrote to Lady Jones on 7 February, but when no reply was received, the council decided in a meeting held on 14 May that the manuscripts should be opened and placed in the collections of the Society's Library. Despite this official recording of events, Blagden's entry here suggests that the parcel had in fact already been opened by Marsden, prior to the council's decision, on 29 January. See Royal Society, CMO/8, ff. 59r.-60r., 67r.-69r. (council minutes, 29 Jan. and 14 May 1795).

that intended his son for China; should not go if he were passed by. Then at L^d Beiboroughs [Bessborough's],¹²⁸ leaving message that called to inquire about L^y B[essborough].¹²⁹

44r. (30 Jan. cont.)

then at L^d Somers,¹³⁰ left card for both, then on Mr Paradise, saw his letter from Lucca,¹³¹ complaining of arrogant tone & great corruption, & how much sunk English sunk in reputation. Then at Mr Malone's;¹³² on Grey's. Cha[rle]s [Grey] came in, said that D[uke]. of Richmond had thwarted, disapproved war, refused responsibility; that about 3 weeks ago had been solicited not to go out.¹³³ Saw coming Sir Cha[rle]s G[rey]. & Sir J[oh]n Jervis,¹³⁴ had bad look. Then on L^y Englefield;¹³⁵ she complained of Miss Jones shewing her no respect, & working Sundays: found Mr Mackay at a M^{rs}. Rainsford's, of no good character: praised Miss Berry. Dined at home. In evening to L^y Lucan's. Said heart was there. curious dryness of manner in L^y Spencer: told her better that France sho[ul]^d be capable of being a good customer, as Tucker¹³⁶ said. Shewed them Sir W[illiam]. Jones's Epitaph; not liked. Day foggy raw very unpleasant. Wind light from SE varying to N.

[Saturday] 31. Mr Woulfe¹³⁷ called. Went to Sir J[oseph] B[anks]'s: conversation about letter to L^y Jones,¹³⁸ & then about P[rince] of W[ales]. &c.

¹²⁸ Frederick Ponsonby, third earl of Bessborough (1758-1844), politician. DNB

¹²⁹ Henrietta Ponsonby, countess of Bessborough (1761-1821), wife of Frederick Ponsonby, third earl of Bessborough. DNB

¹³⁰ Charles Cocks, first Baron Somers (1725-1806), peer and politician. HOP

¹³¹ Tuscan city of Lucca, Italy.

¹³² Edmond Malone (1741-1812), literary scholar. DNB

¹³³ Charles Lennox, third duke of Richmond, was replaced in January 1795 by Charles Cornwallis, first Marquess Cornwallis (1738-1805), as Master-General of the Ordnance. In 1794, Richmond had embarrassed the government when two individuals on trial for treason mounted a defence by citing a pamphlet he had produced in 1783. DNB

¹³⁴ Sir John Jervis, earl of St Vincent (1735-1823), naval officer. Jervis commanded the British campaign to capture Martinique with Charles Grey in 1794. DNB

¹³⁵ Catherine Englefield (1725-1805), widow of Sir Henry Englefield, sixth baronet (1715-1780). DNB

¹³⁶ Josiah Tucker (1713-1799), economist and political writer, interested in the consequences of the French Revolutionary Wars. DNB

¹³⁷ Peter Woulfe (1727?-1803), chemist and mineralogist. DNB

¹³⁸ Anna Maria Jones (1748-1829), widow of Sir William Jones. DNB

Major Rennell ment[ione]^d. the paper & instructions he had given to Ld Spencer: stupidity vanity & aim of Mr Newland¹³⁹ who came in. Called on L^d Orford: M[ary] & A[gnès] Berry & M^{rs} Churchill came in; M[ary]. B[erry]. wrote saw that afraid of sister's supplanting. Left at L^d Lucan's copy of Epitaph. Dined & spent evening at home. Morning foggy & ther[mometer] at 20: Soho Square night 18. Misty raw day.

[Sunday] Feb. 1. Very wet morning, some sleet, but fair tho cloudy afterward. Feverish last night, cold bad affecting lungs; thought not right to go out. Note to Mr M[ontagu]: & very civil answer. Sent note with meteorological papers to Mr Cav[endish]. at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s. Wind E^{ly}.

[Monday] 2. Wind westerly: some snow in the day. Staid at home. Note to Mr Montagu, with observations on plan for manoeuvring from ships that operate as heavier tax than the bounty on their [illegible word] trade [illegible word] revenue. Dined & spent all day at home Notes to [illegible name] & Ly Lucan. Better but still some peripneumonia.¹⁴⁰

44v. (3 Feb.)

[Tuesday] 3. Cloudy with breaks, some snow at times wind seemed N W^{ly} air clear. Dined & spent all day at home. Cold rather better.

[Wednesday] 4. Clear morning, but cold northwesterly wind blowing very fresh. Day fine sun shine, but could not venture out. Evening a little snow again, but fine night tho' cold. Mr. Cavendish called; read to him testimony about stones said to have fallen near Agram.¹⁴¹

[Thursday] 5. Went out for the first time, cold being better but far from well. Called on Mr Montagu; her intensity attention. Said how bad Imperial loan

¹³⁹ Abraham Newland (1730-1807), banking official. DNB

¹⁴⁰ Inflammation of the lung.

¹⁴¹ In 1751, an iron meteorite fell near Hradschina in the province of Agram, Croatia. Richard Taylor, *The Philosophical Magazine and Journal... For January, February, March, April, May, and June 1826*, vol. 67 (London: Richard Taylor, 1826), 9.

would prove in its affect, but that perhaps could not be opposed. Wilberforce not invited to plans for moving navy: total breach seems likely. L^d Spencer's remark about singlemen, Rose's look. Called on M^{rs}. Montagu; story about her extreme vanity, obliged to take away looking glass when a girl, & said of plain girl, you won't take away her looking glass: Spoke of dangerous calumny of Mrs. Ord.¹⁴² Report that Miss Ord much burnt, by L^y Beaumont.¹⁴³ Cabbage and Apples. Dined at home. In even[ing] to AS & RS. Banks's conversation about not being supported, in which case always drosser things. M^r C[avendish] attentive. L^d Fife¹⁴⁴ said, that M^r P[itt]. had written to L^d Amherst¹⁴⁵ desiring him to resign, & offering Earldom & rank of Marshall, which offers he declined: that h[a]d done business the day before with the K[ing]. who said nothing of it: that L^d A[mherst] had said he would keep the command till they turned him out, & thought the K[ing]. would support him in it: that it is a contrivance of Mr Dundas's, who expect to get all the patronage himself, by managing the D[uke]. of Y[ork]. who is to have it.¹⁴⁶ that Pr[ince]. Of W[ales]—admonished about expense said, what signify it? we are all going together. Day very fine, froze in night, but sun shone warm. Wind easterly.

[Friday] 6. Called on L^d Middleton;¹⁴⁷ found that L^y M[iddleton].¹⁴⁸ rather frondeuse. then on Mr M[atthew]. Montagu; remarked his deference of K[ing]. of Prussia. M^{rs} M[atthew] M[ontagu] promise to look out more. Called at Berrys, on M^{rs}. Buller; Sir Fr[ancis]. Bassett came in. Seems obstinate & positive; voted against loan last night.¹⁴⁹ Mrs & Miss Taylor came in. Dined at home; went in evening to L^y Lucan's.

¹⁴² Eleanor Ord, wife of John Ord. DNB

¹⁴³ Margaret Beaumont (1756-1829), wife of Sir George Howland Beaumont, seventh baronet (1753-1827), patron and landscape painter. DNB

¹⁴⁴ James Duff, second Earl Fife (1729-1809), landowner. DNB

¹⁴⁵ Jeffrey Amherst, first Baron Amherst (1717-1797), army officer. DNB

¹⁴⁶ In 1795, Lord Amherst was replaced as commander-in-chief by the king's son, Frederick, duke of York and Albany (1763-1827). Amherst was made a field marshal in 1796, having declined an earldom. DNB

¹⁴⁷ Henry Willoughby, fifth Baron Middleton (1726-1800), nobleman. "Biography of Henry Willoughby," University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, accessed 26 Sep. 2018,

[https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/manuscriptsandspecialcollections/collectionsindepth/family/middleton/biographies/biographyofhenrywilloughby,5thbaronmiddleton\(1726-1800\).aspx](https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/manuscriptsandspecialcollections/collectionsindepth/family/middleton/biographies/biographyofhenrywilloughby,5thbaronmiddleton(1726-1800).aspx)

¹⁴⁸ Dorothy Middleton, Baroness Middleton (d. 1808), wife of Henry Willoughby, fifth Baron Middleton.

¹⁴⁹ Refers to the loan to be granted to the Emperor of Germany. See note 104.

45r. (6 Feb. cont.)

Civility of C[oun]t de Woronzow.¹⁵⁰ Capt Cook, Sir J. Smith: Talk with Ly Spencer about French: said that if bad now, would be worse at slaves. Talk about Brothers¹⁵¹ & paper distributed under his name.¹⁵² M[ary] B[erry] said better for seeing her complimented on having brought her state of mind bright Day black cold easterly wind. Mr Malone mentioned boy that talked of a new play of shakespeare.¹⁵³ Repeated funeral speeches, thought new & very fine.

[Saturday] 7. Called at M^{rs}. Anderson's, on L^d Orford, saw how much he disliked Walpoles, Miss A[gnès]. Berry came in: judged M[ary] B[erry] clearly to be the favourite; he gets peevish & impatient: then on Mr Grote then at Mr Montagu's: Dined at Sir R[alph] Paynes: L^d Palmerston¹⁵⁴ & Clive,¹⁵⁵ Col. Payne & Mr Culverden; agreeable Saw that L^d P[almerston] sulky on mind. Ice extends 15 miles from shore about Cuxhaven.¹⁵⁶ Various arrangements talked of. Day thick clouds, easterly wind, but thawing. Feeling unpleasant.

[Sunday] 8. Note from Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]. to whom sent drawings of Sir W[illiam]. Hamilton. Called at M^r Montagu's, on M^{rs} Buller, whose bad mind discovered; then on Mr Agar. Dined & Spent evening at home. Day mild, cloudy, wind SSE. chiefly. Benson & S Cocks called.

[Monday] 9. Called on Mr Montagu; much conversation about Wilberforce, Ryder,¹⁵⁷ &c. intimation that would not buy into Parliament again: that would be well heard in Parliament. Then on Berrys: violence of Agnes: M[ary] B[erry] appeared to prize advantage. Dined at home. In evening to Mr King: said that

¹⁵⁰ Count Woronzow, 'Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the Empress of all the Russias'. George Mortimer, *Observations and Remarks Made During a Voyage to the Islands of Tenerife* (London: Printed for the Author, 1791), ix.

¹⁵¹ Richard Brothers (1757-1824), self-styled prophet, professed to have had a series of visions concerning the imminent judgement of God. DNB

¹⁵² Possibly Brothers's *Revealed Knowledge of the Prophecies and Times* (1795). DNB

¹⁵³ Relates to the supposed discovery of a new play by William Shakespeare entitled *Vortigern*. See note 179.

¹⁵⁴ Henry Temple, second Viscount Palmerston (1739-1802), politician and traveller. DNB

¹⁵⁵ Edward Clive, first earl of Powis (1754-1839), administrator in India. DNB

¹⁵⁶ German coastal town in Lower Saxony.

¹⁵⁷ Dudley Ryder, first earl of Harrowby (1762-1847), politician. DNB

would be much greater confusion yet; that we shod. have avoided it; if had not stopped Russians against Turks;¹⁵⁸ that would now engage, (Turks) & be ruined by it. Warm day wind blowing hard between S & W. damp, a good deal of rain.

[Tuesday] 10. Called on M^{rs} Anderson; said Pr[ince] of Wales's Georgian pawn: that had insisted on visiting Mrs Fitzherbert¹⁵⁹ & then on L^y Lucan. Sad K[ing]. goes quite mad, if thwarted in anything talked as if D[uke]. of York forced on him Denied arrange? of Windham, T[homas]. Grenville¹⁶⁰ &c. allowed that fleet detained for want of head. Called on L^d Orford: L^d Cholmondely came in; said that Oranges conducted by D[uke]. of Clarence¹⁶¹ to Tower & Bedlam; L^d Orford, did not they leave him behind. Pr[ince]. Of Orange¹⁶² fell asleep at King's supper. dined at Mr Montagu with Wilberforce & Barkers; pleasant. Dundas quizzed B[isho]p of Winchester,¹⁶³ because applied about Grant. Gave Wilberforce arguments against the Emperor's loan; he seemed to think it would be a decision of consequence. Warned being against thinking their resources exhausted. Said sho^d oeconomise our resources. Day wet, blowing hard from S W, as in night.

46r. (11 Feb.)

1795 [Wednesday] Feb 11. Called on Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]. & went with him to the Privy Council;¹⁶⁴ curious conversation between him & [illegible word] about young Vinleos voting against. Habeas Corpus bill¹⁶⁵ & the absurdity of

¹⁵⁸ The Russo-Turkish war 1787-92.

¹⁵⁹ Maria Anne Fitzherbert (1756-1837), unlawful wife of the Prince of Wales. DNB

¹⁶⁰ Thomas Grenville (1755-1846), politician and book collector. DNB

¹⁶¹ Prince William, duke of Clarence and St Andrews (1765-1837), later William IV, third son of George III. DNB

¹⁶² William V, prince of Orange (1748-1806), exiled in London in 1795. DNB

¹⁶³ Brownlow North (1741-1820), bishop of Winchester. DNB

¹⁶⁴ Blagden was involved with Banks in consulting with Charles Jenkinson, Baron Hawkesbury, and the Privy Council's committee on saltpetre, which sought advice on whether British exports of nitric acid to France posed a national threat, by enabling the French to manufacture explosives. Blagden and Banks conducted a number of experiments to test the cost of producing saltpetre, and in March, Blagden drew up a report on the experiments for Hawkesbury. See later entries 14 and 17 Feb. ff. 46v. 47r. and 20 Mar. f. 55r. Gascoigne, *Science in the Service of Empire*, 118.

¹⁶⁵ Refers to the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act of 1794, which was renewed by Pitt in February 1795. DNB

conscience. Examination by L^d Hawkesbury:¹⁶⁶ ignorance & weakness: commercial speculation of Boylston¹⁶⁷ as I suppose; price of saltpetre now £6.10; In Denmark £10, in America 16 g[uinea]^s Called on Ly Baker; civil & pleasant; saw L^y Molesworth.¹⁶⁸ L^d Somers called. Dined at Miss Grottes: Mr & Mrs Berners;¹⁶⁹ he coarse vulgar, has great taste for Bow Street examinations,¹⁷⁰ & seeming sagacity in detecting criminals. Evident aim of [illegible word] In evening to M^{rs} M. Montagu's read [illegible word] letter to them, & afterwards app^{l[e]d} to Montagus the business of examination. Gale much abated today, & rather pleasant S W^{ly} wind, cloudy with breaks.

[Thursday] 12. Conversation with Sir Jos[eph]. B[anks]. about yesterday's business: he thought well of L^d H[awkesbury]'s power of examining evidence, & fishing out: spoke much of L^d M's stupidity. Did not see Boylston's speculation in the manner I did. Boylston came in; I explained my reasons why Privy council not meddle & hinted about speculations: S[ai]^d would be right to let him supply French with cloths & all articles except military & provisions, if they would pay a high price in money. He said he knows of 60 tons of nitre smuggled to Denmark as coal coals being laid over them in the vessel. Rennell came in: said that convinced L^d Cornwallis¹⁷¹ acted superciliously, imperviously, & in the question he put about the Army uncandidly. Called on L^d Palmerston; civil, but manner only: then on Sir W. Musgrave, who censured Mr Pitt for not giving way to all Grey's motions, which then could have commanded Board of Green Cloth¹⁷² to provide above 20 [illegible word] for Orange family. Dined at home: desired Mr Montagu to put Ryder in mind of

¹⁶⁶ Charles Jenkinson, Baron Hawkesbury later first earl of Liverpool (1729-1808), politician. DNB

¹⁶⁷ Ward Nicholas Boylston (1747-1828), merchant. In July 1791, Boylston was permitted to export thirty tons of saltpetre to America, at a time when Britain sought to exclude America from the saltpetre trade over fears they might rival British forces. David Cressy, *Saltpeter: The Mother of Gunpowder* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 165.

¹⁶⁸ Catherine Molesworth, wife of Sir William Molesworth, sixth baronet (1758-1798), politician. DNB

¹⁶⁹ Relations of Charles Berners (1767-1831), of Woolverstone Hall. See note 196.

¹⁷⁰ Refers to the public examinations of accused criminals at the Bow Street Public Office. DNB

¹⁷¹ Charles Cornwallis, first Marquess Cornwallis (1738-1805), governor-general of India and lord Lieutenant of Ireland. DNB

¹⁷² Appointed by Royal warrant, the officials of the Board of Green Cloth audited the accounts of the Royal Household.

temptation to smuggle in the [illegible word] my idea of Boylston's speculation: Attended A[ntiquaries] S[ociety] & R[oyal] S[ociety]. Mr C[avendish]. civil; spoke to him about [illegible word] promised papers & Glass models of hailstones which fell at Menabilly;¹⁷³ one given me by Mr Rashleigh.¹⁷⁴ Went to L^y Baker's: great kindness & goodness of Miss B[erry]. a Miss Hadson. Day cold raw cloudy, [illegible word] wind NW. At night rain.

46v. (13 Feb.)

[Friday] 13. Considerable fall of snow in the night. Called on Mr Grote, & M^{rs}. Buller: the Cox's there; their discontent. Gave opinion that Halhed¹⁷⁵ not dupe but used Brothers as tool. Dined at M^{rs} Montagu's; conversation with Mr Pole Carew,¹⁷⁶ & B[ishop] of Ely:¹⁷⁷ his daughter seems well disposed girl: M^{rs} E. Harvey paper of examination of repton &c. Melancholy of M^{rs} M[atthew]. M[ontagu]. Conversation in morning with Mr Eckhardt: his proposal about getting patented letter from Mr Cav[endish]. Day cloudy NE^{ly} wind, showers of snow.

[Saturday] 14. Called on L^d. Ailesbury: then on Sir Jos[eph]. Banks with whom made experiment on q[uan]ti^{ty} of alkali required to saturate aqua fortis. Then called on L^y. Spencer: she gave account of M^r Irelands¹⁷⁸ Shakespeare curiosities some of which she thought genuine but pointed out many incongruities in his account, & did not see plays: one of the passages recited was too long & abstracted a soliloquy for Shakespeare, the other better, & one persuading [illegible word] to murder fine.¹⁷⁹ Then called on L^d Lucan; L^y too ill

¹⁷³ Historic estate on the south coast of Cornwall.

¹⁷⁴ Philip Rashleigh (1729-1811), mineralogist and antiquary. Rashleigh produced glass models of hailstones that fell in Menabilly on 20 October 1791. *A Complete Parochial History of the County of Cornwall*, (Truro and Piccadilly: William Lake and John Camden, 1872), 279.

¹⁷⁵ Nathaniel Brassey Halhed (1751-1830), orientalist. Halhed published Brothers's testimonies in 1795, and stood in parliament to oppose his conviction as a criminal lunatic. DNB

¹⁷⁶ Reginald Pole Carew (1753-1835), politician. HOP.

¹⁷⁷ James Yorke (1730-1808), clergyman. DNB

¹⁷⁸ Samuel Ireland (d. 1800), father of William Henry Ireland (1775-1835), literary forger and writer. DNB

¹⁷⁹ In December 1794, Samuel Ireland's son, William Henry, produced a number of Shakespeare forgeries, including a deed signed by Shakespeare belonging to a mysterious

to be seen; Miss B[erry]. ill. full affection for her: shook hands. Sent excuse to M^{rs}. Pepys. Dined & spent evening at home. Day fine, sun shine, mostly clear; froze in night.

[Sunday] 15. Called on M^{rs}. Buller, M^{rs} Anderson there, civil. then at M^r Agars, not well. Then at C[oun]t Woronzow no 35. Dined at home. Went to Sir Jos Banks's; introduced to Mr Cracroft; recommended M^r Pole Carew to him: [illegible word] of French Maps of Academy, said he had above 160 sheets. told him I thought there were above 180 in all; talk with M^r C[avendish]. civil: went with L^d M^t Norris¹⁸⁰ to L^y Amherst's: dull; persiflage by Miss W^{mrs}. to L^d M. L^d Mansfield¹⁸¹ earning. Miss Berry; behaviour not pleasing. Day rather fine, clear night.

[Monday] 16. Called on Montagus: went with him to call on M^r Raikes. his vanity even about women: masquerade story; yet charming openness. Called on Lucans, great civility of all; cunning of Warren; story of Dundas going to advise L^d Spencer to give promotion to Lieutenants of La Blanche.¹⁸² Dined & spent evening at home. Cold raw day wind easterly. thick in general: thawing. very dirty. M[iss]. B[erry]. amiable. Rec[eive]d £20 at Bankers.

47r. (17 Feb.)

[Tuesday] 17. Went to Sir Jos[eph]. Banks's, & made exp[erimen]t with double aq[ua]. fort[is]. of which 2 ½ oz required 55 dwt¹⁸³ of the pearl ashes to saturate it. Rennell thought French wo[ul]d endeavour to seize port in Devonshire, & destroy Plymouth: I thought rather make evacuations on different parts of

'Mr H', which Samuel believed to be genuine. In February 1795, Samuel's house in Arundel Street was opened to the public to display the papers. A new play entitled *Vortigern* had supposedly been found and was accepted for production at the Drury Lane theatre. In December 1795, Samuel published facsimiles of the texts, though many denounced them as forgeries. DNB

¹⁸⁰ Arthur Annesley, first earl of Mountnorris (1744-1816), Irish peer. DNB

¹⁸¹ David Murray, second earl of Mansfield (1727-1796), diplomatist and politician. DNB

¹⁸² HMS *Blanche*, captained by Robert Faulknor (1763-1795), naval officer. In January 1795, the *Blanche's* crew captured the French frigate *Pique*, in a battle off the coast of Guadeloupe. DNB

¹⁸³ Pennyweight or denarius weight.

coast. Called on M^r Cocks at L^y Inchiquins,¹⁸⁴ on M^r Wilkins, at Sir Pepys's.¹⁸⁵
Dined at Club. Cha[rle]s Fox¹⁸⁶ took no notice, L^d Spencer dry. Day raw with
easterly wind, cloudy, night clear snow N^{ly}.

[Wednesday] 18. Mr Woulfe & Mr Ark called. Called on L^d Orford, who more
kind; Greys, went into General, asked Sheridan¹⁸⁷ about the Shakespeare
discovery, he seemed not to credit it; on Grotes, pleasant enough; at M^r Agars
& M^{rs} Stirling's Dined at home. Went in evening to M^r Montagu's. Talk with
Jay,¹⁸⁸ coarse shrewd man, too American: Miss Ryder,¹⁸⁹ L^y Bathursts;¹⁹⁰ Miss
Gibbes talk against age, L^y M[argaret]. Fordyce¹⁹¹ about Brothers, that said
French if came here sho[ul]^d not be resisted, for that he sho[ul]^d. then be
revealed & prevent them from hurting us: foolish dispute about if he was in
league with French. Day cold, wind easterly, part of day pretty clear; night
black, some snow.

[Thursday] 19. B[reakfaste]^d at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]. all civil: made some
exp[erimen]ts on crystallization of nitre & c. Saw some letters. Called on Sir
W[illiam] Musgrave: said that 330,000 £ 3 [illegible words] pleasant
conversation with him. Called on Ly Lucan told me first quarrel with Pr[ince].
of Wales was that prevented Miss Molesworth from marrying [illegible name]
Fred[erick]. ? St John.¹⁹² D[uke]. of York wished to go to her parties, opposed
by Pr[ince]. of Wales. behaved well on the occasion. Dined at home. Attended
R. S. M^r C[avendish]. dry. Home nearly with Lord Middleton. Day black E^{ly}.
Wind, bitter, some flying snow.

¹⁸⁴ Mary O'Brien, countess of Inchiquin (1750-1820), second wife of Murrough O'Brien, fifth earl of Inchiquin. HOP.

¹⁸⁵ Sir Lucas Pepys, first baronet (1742-1830), physician. DNB

¹⁸⁶ Charles James Fox (1749-1806), politician. DNB

¹⁸⁷ Richard Brinsley Sheridan (1751-1816), playwright and politician. DNB

¹⁸⁸ John Jay (1745-1829), revolutionary and politician in America. DNB

¹⁸⁹ Anne Ryder, daughter of Nathaniel Ryder, first Baron Harrowby (1735-1803), politician. DNB

¹⁹⁰ Georgina Bathurst, Countess Bathurst (d. 1841), wife of Henry Bathurst, third Earl Bathurst (1762-1834), politician. DNB

¹⁹¹ Margaret Fordyce (1753-1814), widow of Alexander Fordyce (*bap.* 1729, *d.* 1789), banker. DNB

¹⁹² Frederick St John (1765-1844), politician. HOP.

[Friday] 20. Called on Montagus, on Sir Geo. Staunton. Dined at Dr Blane's.¹⁹³ Mr Thompson able but self sufficient Col. Cotterell, Mr Collings Dr Clarke &c Then to L^y Lucan's: Spencers &c had dined there M[jiss] B[erry]'s attention; did not like L^y Spencers tone. Day bad, promising till night wind E^y. In morning frozen very hard.

47v. (21 Feb.)

[Saturday] 21. Went to Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s. then called on M^{rs} Anderson then on Defabi's, & at Mr Montagu's. Dined & spent evening at home. Saw [illegible word]; damage done by floods lately very great. Day some sunshine: snowing rather Wind SE^y.

[Sunday] 22. L^d Palmerston called, & agreeable conversation Called on M^{rs} Buller: shocking account of march of army from [illegible word] to [illegible word]; terrible plundering [illegible word] breaking open Barneveldt¹⁹⁴ 30 [illegible word] frozen one night, between 16 & 17 & 15 & 16 of Jan^y. Dined at home. In evening to Sir Jos[eph] Banks's, Mr Montagu: paper about Malaspina's voyage.¹⁹⁵ Mr C[avendish] civil. Day cloudy, some rain & sleet, thawing.

[Monday] 23. Went to see the drawing of Constantinople & various views about it belonging to M^r Berners¹⁹⁶ drawn by M^r Mayer. They are pretty, but not executed nearly so well as Mayer does now. Then called on L^d Orford, & L^y Lucan: talk with latter about unhappiness of political men; & then that had not the best opinion of M^r Carter¹⁹⁷ whom they defended. Familiarity of M[ary].

¹⁹³ Sir Gilbert Blane, first baronet (1749-1834), physician. DNB

¹⁹⁴ Barneveld, municipality in the province of Gelderland, the Netherlands.

¹⁹⁵ The Malaspina Expedition (1789-1794), commanded by the Spanish naval officer Alejandro Malaspina (1754-1810). Alessandro Malaspina, *The Malaspina Expedition, 1789-1794: Journal of the Voyage by Alejandro Malaspina*, ed. Andrew David (London: Hakluyt Society in association with the Museo Naval, Madrid, 2001).

¹⁹⁶ The artist Luigi Mayer accompanied Charles Berners on a tour of Egypt, Palestine, and Syria in 1792, and produced a number views of the tour. "A view in the plantations at Holbrook Suffolk: historical context and note," V&A Collections, accessed 6 Sep. 2018, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O147049/a-view-in-the-plantations-watercolour-mayer-luigi/>

¹⁹⁷ John Carter (1748-1817), draughtsman and antiquary. DNB

B[erry] &c. M^r Townley called; went to dinner with him: pleasant enough; in evening to Sir R[alph]. Payne: Chancellor¹⁹⁸ & L^y L[ucan]. there: after that L^d Mansfield; debate about journey from Vienna to Hanover; looked over afterwards & found it about 65 parts by Ratisbon¹⁹⁹ & only 55 by Dresden. Sir R[alph]. P[ayne]. said Banks & probably Sir W. Erskine²⁰⁰ the new K[nigh]^t. of B[ath].²⁰¹ Fine morning, afterwards cloudy. S Wind Wrote to Bro[the]^r T[homas] B[lagden]²⁰² at Bristol that send legacy²⁰³ [Monday] next from Bristol; & in the fewest bills he could. Day mild.

[Tuesday] 24. Went to M^r Montagu's to see the drawings of China, shewn by D^r Gillan²⁰⁴ & M^r Barrow.²⁰⁵ Remarked more than before the dress of Tyger soldiers, to look somewhat like Tyger, rather terrible.²⁰⁶ Silly remarks by M^r M[ontagu] his fondness for details: good sense of his wife in all. Then called on M^{rs} Buller: her great art: then on M^r Agar, who said K[ing]. of Prussia was insane, so that talk of superseding him. Sent excuse to L^y Spencer about play as not well. Dined & spent evening at home. Day cloudy mild; pleasant breeze from WSW.

48r. (25 Feb.)

¹⁹⁸ Edward Thurlow, first Baron Thurlow (1731-1806), lord chancellor. DNB

¹⁹⁹ Regensburg, Germany.

²⁰⁰ Sir William Erskine, first baronet (1728-1795), army commander. HOP.

²⁰¹ Banks was invested as a Knight of the Order of the Bath on 1 July 1795. DNB

²⁰² Thomas Blagden, physician in Bristol, and brother of Charles Blagden. Fauque, "An Englishman Abroad," 376.

²⁰³ Might refer to a legacy Blagden received after the death of his uncle the following year. See Beinecke Library, OSB MSS 51, box 5 folder 60, unpaginated (letter from Charles Blagden to John Blagden Hale, 13 Aug. 1794).

²⁰⁴ Hugh Gillan, physician appointed to Macartney's embassy to China. Peter J. Kitson, *Forging Romantic China: Sino-British Cultural Exchange 1760-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 138-47.

²⁰⁵ Sir John Barrow, first baronet (1764-1848), comptroller of household to Macartney's embassy to China. DNB

²⁰⁶ Drawing of a Chinese Foot-soldier, known as a 'Tiger of War', produced by the draughtsman William Alexander (1767-1816), who accompanied Macartney's Embassy to China. Frances Wood, "Closely Observed China: From William Alexander's Sketches to His Published Work," *The British Library Journal* 24, no. 1 (1998): 98-121, 98.

[Wednesday] 25. Called on L^d Palmerston. Saw his pictures said St Just's²⁰⁷ Report considered at [illegible word] as authentic. Mr Francis came in; arm in a sling. Then on Sir W. Musgrave; M^r Williams there; dry wordly character; said to be very agreeable in company from his knowledge of a long succession of people in the higher circles, & telling anecdotes about them. Sir W[illiam]. advised against Banks: mentioned had opinion of Neave²⁰⁸ & Giles,²⁰⁹ said had lowered their dividend at times as well as raised it. Recollected account of Del Campo²¹⁰ by M^{rs} Anderson that by management had grown in favour with the Queen, & had risen by that, she having solicited that he might be Ambassador, for w[hi]^{ch} he was made Marquis; being before descended & at first here only Charge d'Affaires: that his moving over to other side at the time of the Regency had put him so out of favour that now invited to none of the Queen's private parties, tho' had taken house at Windsor originally on that [illegible word] which he still kept not to show the change, but finds it very irksome to be there. Dined & spent evening at home. Cloudy day Wind WSW about day.

[Thursday] 26. B[reakfaste]^d at Sir J[oseph] B[anks]'s ment[ion]^d that [illegible word] to be elected Called at L^y Spencer, L^d Lucan's, where told that ill; on Miss Grottes, pleased with Miss Creswell. Dined at home. In evening to R[oyal] S[ociety]. M^r C[avendish]. expressed concern that not well. Went afterwards to

²⁰⁷ Louis Antoine Léon Florelle de Saint-Just (1767-1794), French Revolutionary leader. Saint-Just delivered reports to the National Convention and was one of the commissioners of the Committee of Public Safety. John Renwick, "Saint-Just, Louis de.," in *The New Oxford Companion to Literature in French*, Online ed., ed. Peter France (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), accessed 7 Sep. 2018,

<http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198661252.001.0001/acref-9780198661252-e-4181>.

²⁰⁸ Sir Richard Neave, first baronet (1731-1814), governor of the Bank of England from 1783-1785. "Governors of the Banks of England," Bank of England, accessed 6 Sep. 2018, <https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/about/people/governors>

²⁰⁹ Daniel Giles (c. 1725-1800), governor of the Bank of England from 1795-1797. "Governors of the Banks of England," Bank of England, accessed 6 Sep. 2018, <https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/about/people/governors>

²¹⁰ Bernardo del Campo y Pérez de la Serna, the Marquis del Campo, Spanish ambassador. Geoffrey de Bellaigue, "Huzza the King Is Well!," *The Burlington Magazine* 126, no. 975 (1984): 325-31, 325.

M^{rs} Anderson; some talk with Miss Wilkes;²¹¹ held off. Talk with Marshall Conway²¹² & L^d Moira;²¹³ also with L^y Ailesbury.²¹⁴ Cloudy day, & Ev[enin]⁹ wet.

[Friday] 27. Called on Montagus; very friendly: M^{rs} Raikes & Miss Greenland came in; plain but much mind in her countenance. [inserted above: Party at Berry's] Talk about Stanley & sisters. Called at M^r Graves's, M^r Berners, L^d Orford's, L^d. Euston²¹⁵ said to be with him, & on M^{rs} Buller. Dined at home. Lucans not visible L^d L. taken ill yesterday. Day cloudy. Wind NE or NNE drying, not cold; rather pleasant.

48v. (28 Feb.)

[Saturday] 28. Called at L^d Lucan's, better, not visible. Dined at home. In evening to Mr Montagu's. Miss Stanley & Ly Hettons, &c. Mentioned good opinion M. Greenland. Day bad; snowing, dark. Wind easterly: came to blow in evening, seemingly from NE. & sky clear night.

[Sunday] Mar. 1. Very fine sunshiny day; hardly above freezing [illegible word] in shade, but sun quite warm. M^r Wilkins & L^d Ailesbury called: Major Rennell after. Went to Mr Agar's. heard all reversed in Ireland. Dined at home. In evening to Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s. M^r Boulton²¹⁶ confirmed that 10,000 men enlisted in Birmingham, & upwards of 20,000 in it & the neighbourhood. Mr Wilkins said, the [illegible word] comprehended all books of instructions, [illegible word] among the rest: that Persian all the legends, so reckoned Mahabharat & Romayana²¹⁷ among them; that he had not the Persian Wilford²¹⁸ extracted from. that Moors a peculiar dialect, having many words

²¹¹ Mary Wilkes, daughter of John Wilkes (1725-1797), politician. DNB

²¹² Henry Seymour Conway (1719-1795), army officer and politician. DNB

²¹³ Francis Rawdon Hastings, first marquess of Hastings and second earl of Moira (1754-1826), army officer and politician. DNB

²¹⁴ Anne Elizabeth Brudenell-Bruce, countess of Ailesbury (1753-1813), wife of Thomas Brudenell-Bruce, first earl of Ailesbury. HOP

²¹⁵ George Henry FitzRoy, fourth duke of Grafton and earl of Euston (1760-1844), politician. DNB

²¹⁶ Matthew Boulton (1728-1809), manufacturer. DNB

²¹⁷ Two Sanskrit epics from ancient India.

²¹⁸ Captain Francis Wilford (1761-1822), linguist. Nigel Leask, "Mythology," in *An Oxford Companion to the Romantic Age*, Online ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999),

from Sanscrit & itself mixed with much Persian; at least ¼ of Sanscrit originally abstract.

[Monday] 2. Breakfasted with Col. Osborn,²¹⁹ C[om]t[e] Catuelan²²⁰ there; his address in worming out people's sentiments. Went to M^r Ireland to see Shakespeare things: told Sir J[oseph] B[anks] that not convinced. Dined at home. Went in evening to M^{rs}. Anderson. Leckie²²¹ great coxcomb, very handsom, to women: galanterie: Turks, [illegible word] brought them. Miss Gulston: the Viners, L^d Yarboroughs²²² 2 daughters, Miss Wilkes: L^y [illegible name] very peculiar, French lady from Blois. 2 Italians played & sung: Bianchi in affecting voice, the other de' Spinola di Trissubio, basso, various imitations, Portuguese, French, Cats, Horns, Hurdy-gurdy, bassoon. Fine natural base voice, & good false voice. Day cloudy, some snow. Wind southerly, raw: letter to Mr Grote to [illegible word]. M^r Leckie crossed over from [illegible word] to Peninsula, went then to [illegible word] by pass of [illegible word] to E. coast of Peninsula: then to his brother at Calcutta His brother made curious journey to Nagpour &c.²²³

49r. (3 Mar.)

[Tuesday] 3. Called on Montagus. M^{rs} M[ontagu]. character of Leckie: vile without sentiment most odious: then on Lord Lucan, very civil: DelCampo there asked tomorrow. M[ary] B[erry] kind. Left at Banker Bill for £1800 on Whitcheads. Letter from T[homas] B[lagden] with that bill inclosed.²²⁴ Dined at Club. not very pleasant too many dryness of L^d S. Talk with M^r Malone about

accessed 26 Sep. 2018,
<http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199245437.001.0001/acref-9780199245437-e-472>.

²¹⁹ Sir George Osborn, fourth baronet (1742-1818), general in the American Revolutionary War. HOP

²²⁰ Jacques du Merdy de Catuélan, French aristocrat. Fauque, "An Englishman Abroad," 378.

²²¹ Brother of the traveller Daniel Robinson Leckie. See note 223.

²²² Charles Anderson-Pelham, first Baron Yarborough (1749-1823), politician. HOP

²²³ Refers to Daniel Robinson Leckie, *Journal of a Route to Nagpore... in the Year 1790* (London: John Stockdale, 1800).

²²⁴ See earlier entry, 23 Feb. f. 47v. and note 203.

[Mr] Ireland. Says he mentions now Haming²²⁵ as having died intestate, which not so Day cloudy westerly wind.

[Wednesday] 4. Mr Eckhardt called & shewed Bramal's letter: talk of watch for 3'S. Called on L^d Orford, Lucan's, Mrs Buller. Invitation to Mr Wilberforce's. Dined at home. Went in evening to M^{rs} M. Montagu's; talk with L^d. Harrowby.²²⁶ Mr Jos[eph]. Windham²²⁷ Wilkins there. then to L^y Hardwicke's.²²⁸ talk with Gibbes; Day cloudy till afternoon the sunshine & clear ev[enin]⁹. night cloudy.

[Thursday] 5. B[reakfaste]^d. at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s. Called on Montagu's, then on Lucan's, attend them down. Marsden mentioned; all utterly unintelligible. Called on Sir W[illiam]. Musgrave; M^r Earle²²⁹ came in. Dined at home. Attended A[ntiquaries] S[ociety]. fine drawings of S[t] David's Cathedral by M^r Nash,²³⁰ & contrivances for mending it explained: seems clever. Attended R[oyal].S[ociety]. M^r C[avendish] absence about Wells's paper.²³¹ Marsden by Molesworth²³² & Gilpin.²³³ Then to Bar[on] Nolckens: lent 2g^s to Mr Stanley. Talks with Jay, who seems not so much to like Philadelphia. Doing poor in America 4. Day mild, part fine, but some wetting At night grew gusty, & blowing. M^r Berry met & found house in Berkely Square; good room, but too thin & sunny.

[Friday] 6 Note to M^r Daniell,²³⁴ his answer, & sent to M^{rs} M[atthew] M[ontagu]. Called on Grotes, Lord Orford, L^y Lucan, Dined at home. In evening to Lucan's, civil, n. Ld did not appear till late; L^d St Helens²³⁵ spoke of great abuse in

²²⁵ Possibly a reference to the mysterious 'Mr H', owner of a deed signed by Shakespeare. See note 179.

²²⁶ Nathaniel Ryder, first Baron Harrowby (1735-1803), politician. DNB.

²²⁷ Joseph Windham (1739-1810), antiquary. DNB

²²⁸ Elizabeth Yorke, countess of Hardwicke (1763-1858), wife of Philip Yorke, third earl of Hardwicke. DNB

²²⁹ William Benson Earle (1740-1796), philanthropist. DNB

²³⁰ John Nash (1752-1835), architect. Nash rebuilt part of St David's Cathedral in Exeter in 1793. DNB

²³¹ A paper by William Charles Wells, physician, was read to the Royal Society on 19 March, entitled 'Observations on the influence which incites the muscles of animals to contract in Mr Galvani's Experiments'. Royal Society, JBO/35, f. 436r. (meeting minutes, 19 Mar. 1795).

²³² Richard Molesworth (1737-1799), botanist. Dawson, *The Banks Letters*, 615.

²³³ George Gilpin (d. 1810), clerk of the Royal Society. *Ibid.*, 358.

²³⁴ Thomas Daniell (1749-1840), painter and printmaker. DNB

²³⁵ Alleyne Fitzherbert, Baron St Helens (1753-1839), diplomatist. DNB

emigrant corps; very expensive way of giving pensions. L^y Spencer came in; smiled as if had some meaning. invitation. Then to Berrys: pleasanter than usual. Day cloudy, with a few breaks, blow[in]⁹ hard from W.

[Saturday] 7. Called on Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]. in gout; his reserve, horrid turnd. Then went to see L^d Hardwicke's drawings by Labrusse & Tito: some by latter of Rome & country about it very striking indeed. Dined at home. In evening to L^y Bakers; Miss Mazey fine playing: Miss Miller In [illegible word] Piece, called on M^{rs}. Montagu One of the Danbys fancies herself with child. Day raw, cloudy some rain Wind NNE.

49v. (8 Mar.)

[Sunday] 8. Called on L^d. Palmerston, Mr Paradise, at L^d Shuldham's,²³⁶ on M^{rs}. Buller & Mr Agar. Dined at L^d Spencer's. L^y S[pencer]. address about Marsden: said had known it some time. Out of spirits. They said not well. Went to Sir J[oseph] B[anks]'s he too ill to appear: some talk with Mr Cavendish. Day pretty fine.

[Monday] 9. C[om]^[te] Catuelan & Col Osborn breakfasted here. the former said that he could not explain philosophically his adventure of receiving the ring from a person far off: that the person ~~dreamed~~ had a vision of the sort at the time, & actually lost the ring: that neither felt pain, nor was the operator hurt. that he touched the person & took off the ring. Called on M^{rs} Anderson: &c play about Miss Wilkes at [illegible word]. Then on L^y Lucan: told that L^d. Camden, appointed to Ireland:²³⁷ that Pr[ince] of Wales quarrelled with King about being appointed Major General; that said wished never to be in the room with him, & would not let the Pr[ince]ss of Wales be after her marriage.²³⁸ Dined at L^d Palmerston's; pleasant enough: Mr & M^{rs} Balkin Godfreys &c. talked to M[iss]

²³⁶ Molyneux Shuldham, Baron Shuldham (1717/8?-1798), naval officer and politician. DNB

²³⁷ Lord Camden served as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland between 1795 and 1798. DNB

²³⁸ On 8 April, the Prince of Wales married Caroline of Brunswick (1768-1821). DNB

G[odfrey]²³⁹ a little rather pleasant. Cholmondeley; said could attend to nothing; see evidently that laid aside all thoughts of spirits business. Then to L^y Paynes. also amicable. Note to L^y. Spencer. Day raining chiefly: relaxing.

[Tuesday] 10. Called on Montagus; went to see Mr Daniell's drawings of India. L^y Spencer, & L^y Lucan came; former fidgety, not just right. Then called on Sir Jos[eph]. Banks: Saw him: much affected in head with gout. his ideas that all men ought to have some portion of land their own. Dined at M^{rs} Montagu's. Rennells, Wilkins, M^{rs} G Harvey, D^r Gillan: Rennell shewed his character to Montagu talk with M^{rs} M[atthew]. M[ontagu]. about M. Godfrey. In evening to Mr Wilberforce's He said Mr Pitt himself should have gone to Ireland, & that he he [repeated word] thought this an excellent opportunity of bringing about an union. Rennell's acrimony against Mr Pitt after decrees. Wet nasty day & evening, after a fair morning.

[Wednesday] 11. Called on L^d Middleton. L^y M[iddleton]. agreeable enough. then on Sir Geo[orge]. Staunton: said he had drawn up the instructions &c for their late voyage to China: that Dundas not man of business, but got others to do it for him: that instruction delivered to political men by their underlings as briefly to lawyers.²⁴⁰ Then on Mrs Buller; looked at [illegible word] map Dined at L^d Lucans. Told M[ary] B[erry] how amiable: direct simple without any kind of affectation. ~~Then to~~ at L^d Lucans was

50r. (11 Mar. cont.)

Mr Crosbie, who said that he going once with very little acquaintance with the Pr[ince]. Of Wales; in his carriage to [illegible word], Pr[ince]. said, "[illegible word] that my father well but is not; I was at court today, Saw that his legs swelld over his buckles:" insultingly. Then to L^y Hardwickes money to A.

²³⁹ Amelia Elizabeth (Emma) Godfrey, daughter of William Godfrey, brought up by Mary Temple, Viscountess Palmerston, as a member of the Palmerston family. "Palmerston's Letters to Laurence and Elizabeth Sullivan," 46.

²⁴⁰ Henry Dundas was reputed to have stipulated the instructions for the Macartney embassy to China. Alain Peyrefitte, *The Collision of Two Civilisations: The British Expedition to China in 1792-4*, trans. Jon Rothschild (London: Harvill, 1993), 9.

Gibbes, fine pleasant Assembly: went with Montagu's to L^y Bassett's,²⁴¹ Miss Ryder in coach, she looked particular: Bassett's less [illegible word] good rooms; pictures, Gainsborough's ragged boy: & copies of Raphael's painting in Vatican, Squared off from the originals. Day some sunshine early then some rain, & clouds with breaks. Night clear.

[Thursday] 12. B[reakfaste]^d at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s. conversation with him on gout, papers. Analysis of meal, &c. Went to see Sir Joshua's²⁴² pictures; not very pleasing in general. Called on Sir W[illiam]. Musgrave: he mentioned that a certain number of members paid sums at end of Session, to ensure their attendance. A Scotch member that used to come to Sir Robt for his ordinary, refusing to take it from secretary of Treasury. Dined at home. Attended R[oyal] S[ociety]. Some conversation with Mr Cavendish; dryness of Marsden. Went to Mr Montagu's; music, Trissobio invitations [illegible word] Gibbes & Mrs G. Harvey. Characters of Rennel Bathursts²⁴³ & others. Ideas wanting to be whipped up by people. Day with gleams of sunshine, but raining often, & some snow: very wet night & much snow.

[Friday] 13. Took carriage. Called on L^d Palmerston with whom left proofs. then on L^d. Orford, L^d Fr[ederick]. Campbell²⁴⁴ there, pleasant enough. Then on Greys, Sir Cha[rle]s gave account of many circumstances of his Expedition: spoke of insidious letter about going to St Domingo; & he [illegible word] for Martinique[?] contrary to opinion of his officers from that letter.²⁴⁵ M. Whitbread²⁴⁶ came in; same tone as usual: with her M^{rs} Whitbread.²⁴⁷ Sir C[harle]s S[ai]^d. D[uke]. of Portland²⁴⁸ asked him the most childish question possible when he came home. Sir J[ohn] Jervis agreed with him that night to

²⁴¹ Frances Basset Coxe, Baroness Basset (1761–1823), wife of Sir Francis Basset, first Baron Basset. DNB

²⁴² Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792), painter and art theorist. DNB

²⁴³ Henry Bathurst, third Earl Bathurst (1762-1834), politician. DNB

²⁴⁴ Lord Frederick Campbell (1729-1816), politician. DNB

²⁴⁵ Charles Grey captured Martinique in March 1794 with John Jervis, during the campaign to attack the French West Indies. DNB

²⁴⁶ Samuel Whitbread (1764-1815), politician. DNB

²⁴⁷ Elizabeth Whitbread (1765-1846), wife of Samuel Whitbread, politician. DNB

²⁴⁸ William Henry Cavendish Cavendish-Bentinck (1738-1809), third duke of Portland, home secretary from 1794 to 1801. DNB

go to Martinique. Dined at home Called at L^y Lucan's: then to M^{rs} Anderson's; pleasant Singing, Miss Wainrights silk with M^{rs} Pechell. Then to M^{rs} Backin's; Harriet [illegible name] civil Miss Godfrey [illegible word] Day dry, cloudy, chilling N E. wind.

50v. (14 Mar.)

[Saturday] 14. Called on Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]. L^y Lucan who spoke about advantages of not having too strong understanding, but pliant temper. Then conversation with L^d L[ucan]. & L^y Spencer. Convinced that nothing meant about M[ary] B[erry]. Called at L^d Macartney's.²⁴⁹ Dined at Mr Montana's. L^y Beaumont Messrs Daniell & Barrow: agreeable enough, tho' not in spirits. Disappointed by carriage. Wind N E but cloudy, black, icy, a little snow; & at [inserted above: night] much rain & sleet.

[Sunday] 15. Called on M^{rs} Buller, with whom had agreeable conversation: then on Mr Agar: mentioned supposed possible plan of Prussia to have Hanover in exchange for Cleves &c. & Emperor Bavaria for Netherlands²⁵⁰ Dined at home. In evening to Sir Jos[eph]. Banks's, C[avendish]. dry at first, afterwards better: money returned by Stanley, & very civil. Talk with Dr Simmons²⁵¹ about Brothers: said he knew Jews by a peculiar & involuntary motion of their arm: gave his own pedigree from James, & the various changes of place to himself, born in Newfoundland.²⁵² Said all would repent what they had done to him & would all supplicate him: Physicians gave report that insane. Day cloudy, but in middle sunshine.

²⁴⁹ George Macartney, Earl Macartney (1737-1806), diplomatist and colonial governor, head of the embassy to China, 1793-1794. DNB

²⁵⁰ In 1805, France ceded Hanover to Prussia in exchange for Cleves, Neuchatel, and Ansbach during the French Revolutionary Wars. Charles Arnold-Baker, *The Companion to British History*, ed. Henry von Blumenthal (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 616.

²⁵¹ Samuel Foart Simmons (1750-1813), physician. DNB

²⁵² In his *Revealed Knowledge*, 1795, Brothers discussed the many 'hidden Jews' in England. Brothers claimed his descent from King David through James, the brother of Christ. DNB

[Monday] 16. Called on Montagus: friendly conversation; hinted what best do with money; advised 3 [illegible word] Called on Mr Cavendish, & went with him to George & Vulture,²⁵³ where dined: pumping art of Aubert.²⁵⁴ Mr Cavendish freer than usual; said never flourish till minister & measures changed, & that should have confidence in Fox. Very wet day. SE. warmish.

[Tuesday] 17. Called at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s; did not see him. Report of D^r. Hunter²⁵⁵ on Cruikshanks²⁵⁶ exp[erimen]ts respecting regeneration of nerves.²⁵⁷ Called on M^{rs} Anderson: going to see Agar's pictures with Eruption. Then on L^y Lucan; abuse of Pr[ince]. of Wales: saw no others of family. Then on L^y Baker: saw Miss B's drawings, much pleased with her behaviour. Then on Sir W[illiam]. Musgrave: corruption of just Members of Parliament: go out to make bargain whilst debate carrying on: Fox's motion put off, till can bring Ireland into it.²⁵⁸ L^y L[ucan]. said, that

51r. (17 Mar. cont.)

suspected L^d. Fitzwilliam²⁵⁹ meant to make a separate party.²⁶⁰ Sir W[illiam]. Musgrave spoke of letters L^d. L w. had written, all throwing blame on Ministry, & D[uke]. of Portland particularly.²⁶¹ Then on Mr Crawford, who seemed quite odd & absurd: said house satisfied to Cottrells adjoining. Then on Mr Stanley: shewing his drawings to Sir H[enry]. Englefield²⁶² & party. Dined at home. In evening to M^{rs}. Montagu's: conversation with several; comp[li]ment from L^d Harrowby about faithful Reporter. talk with Miss Lyttelton, Miss Ryder, Mr Jay.

²⁵³ The George and Vulture was the meeting place of the Monday Club. See note 95.

²⁵⁴ Alexander Aubert (bap. 1730, d. 1805), merchant and astronomer. DNB

²⁵⁵ John Hunter (1728-1793), surgeon and anatomist. DNB

²⁵⁶ William Cumberland Cruikshank (1745-1800), anatomist. DNB

²⁵⁷ See William Cruikshank and John Hunter, "Experiments on the Nerves, Particularly on Their Reproduction; and on the Spinal Marrow of Living Animals," *Philosophical Transactions* 85 (1795): 177-89.

²⁵⁸ Refers to Fox's motion delivered on 24 March, for a Committee to inquire into the state of the Nation. HOP

²⁵⁹ William Wentworth Fitzwilliam, second Earl Fitzwilliam (1748-1833), politician. DNB

²⁶⁰ Fitzwilliam was disenchanted with the disintegration of the Whig party during the 1790s. In 1793, he broke with Fox to give his support to Pitt, supporting the duke of Portland who had broken away from Fox. DNB

²⁶¹ In July 1794, the duke of Portland formed a national coalition with Pitt, during which the 'Portland Whigs' joined Pitt's ministry. DNB

²⁶² Sir Henry Charles Englefield, seventh baronet (c. 1752-1822), antiquary. DNB

Asked Mrs M[atthew]. M[ontagu]. to invite Bakers. Day fair, rather dry, but cloudy: some rain at night, soon over.

[Wednesday] 18. Went to stamp office, & got stamp for £34. 2 [illegible word] discount allowed; so paid £33.6.5. impertinence of people at office. Then called at Mrs Whitbread's & then on Mrs Buller. Dined at home. Went in evening to Mrs G. Harvey's; very civil talk with Miss Campbell, L^y Montagu, sweet girl: Miss Campbell, Miss Van Neck. Then to Sir Ph[ilip]. Gibbes's:²⁶³ talk with Jay: offered to go with him to America. L^d Palmerston: L^y at going away. Cold raw day, some snow, cloudy, but cleared in evening.

[Thursday] 19. B[reakfaste]^d at Sir J[oseph] B[anks]'s: conversation about L^d Hawkesbury, Note with Conway's letter. Called on Greys, L^y G[rey]. very civil, mentioned Tiernay;²⁶⁴ called on Grottes, rather disgusted with their style. Attended Council R[oyal]. S[ociety]. Dined at Crown & Anchor; Cav[endish]. dry & worse at R[oyal] S[ociety]. Attended A[ntiquaries]. S[ociety], Lysons's²⁶⁵ drawings of Woodchester shewn. Attended R[oyal] S[ociety]. Tract mentioned of Peat blown up from depth by inundations lately on Kennett just S of Thatcham,²⁶⁶ & found to be massive wood on some of which mark of tool: much impregnated with vitriol: confirmation that woods cut down origin of these peatmosses. Afterwards called on L^y Payne. Day cloudy chiefly, wind NW pleasant.

[Friday] 20. Sent about Hackney Coachman, said fined 10S. Drew up answer to L^d Hawkesbury.²⁶⁷ Called on Montagus, very friendly: invitation: Bakers. Called at

²⁶³ Sir Philip Gibbes, first baronet (1731-1815), plantation owner and lawyer. George Edward Cokayne, *Complete Baronetage*, vol. 5 (Exeter: W. Pollard & Co., 1906), 177.

²⁶⁴ George Tierney (1761-1830), politician. DNB

²⁶⁵ Samuel Lysons (*bap.* 1763, *d.* 1819), antiquary. Lysons worked as a field archaeologist on the Woodchester Roman pavement in Gloucestershire. DNB

²⁶⁶ The village of Kennet, West Berkshire.

²⁶⁷ Blagden's report for the committee on saltpetre. See British Library, Add MS 33980, ff. 5r.-6r. (letter from Charles Jenkinson, Lord Hawkesbury, 20 Mar. 1795).

51v. (20 Mar. cont.)

Sir Ph[ilip]. Gibbes's. Dined at home. In evening to L^y Lucan's M[ary]. B[erry]. & L^y S. rather dry: others pleasant enough. gave reason why not at Club, that too fatiguing as obliged to go early in evening to large company. Talk with L^y Clermont,²⁶⁸ M^{rs} Greive; L^y A[nne]. Barnard,²⁶⁹ who gave particular hint Day pretty fair, clouds with breaks; a shower or two.

[Saturday] 21. Called on Mr Jay: Mr Sharp,²⁷⁰ & Mr Pinkney²⁷¹ with him. conversation good, then on L^y L[ouisa]. Macdonald, shewed house. Then on M^{rs} Rose, affected, not right style then at M^{rs} Backam's, & on M^{rs} Blossett. Dined at home. In evening to M^{rs} G Harvey's: talk with M^{rs} Anderson L^y Beaumont, Miss Campbell, & L^y Middleton, M^{rs} Harvey; who painting paper hangings (afternoon: Day fine, much sun.

[Sunday] 22. Called on Major Rennell, M^{rs} Buller, at M^{rs} G. Harvey's, on Mr Agar. Dined with Mr Grote; a Miss Allen: pleased more with Caroline. Went to Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s. introduced Mr Grote to Mr Montagu. Day pretty fine, clouds collected in afternoon, clear [illegible word] Wind NNE.

[Monday] 23. Called on L^d Ailesbury, mentioned that snow had fallen 3 feet in Nov this winter, from L^d Bruce;²⁷² then on Sir W[illiam]. Musgrave; went to see Calonne's²⁷³ pictures; then called at L^y Spencer's, on L^y Lucan, saw L^d. doubtful: then at M^{rs} Anderson's; then on L^d Macartney, acknowledged the venality of Ireland; then on L^d Orford, at M^{rs} Montagu's. Dined at Sir W[illiam].

²⁶⁸ Frances Cairnes Fortescue, countess of Clermont, wife of William Henry Fortescue, first earl of Clermont (1722-1806), Irish peer and politician. HOP

²⁶⁹ Lady Anne Barnard (1750-1825), writer. DNB

²⁷⁰ Granville Sharp (1735-1813), author and abolitionist. DNB

²⁷¹ Charles Pinckney (1757-1824), planter and politician in the United States of America.

DNB

²⁷² Charles Brudenell-Bruce, Lord Bruce (1773-1856), politician. HOP

²⁷³ Charles-Alexandre de Calonne (1734-1802), French statesman. "Charles Alexandre de Calonne," in *Oxford Essential Quotations*, Online ed., ed. Susan Ratcliffe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), accessed 26 Sep. 2018, <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780191866692.001.0001/q-oro-ed6-00002514?rskey=s1mRGf&result=1>

Musgraves Miss, pleasant enough; then went to Mr King's evening, talk with Miss Cobson. Cloudy day & evening, Easterly wind

[Tuesday] 24. Called on Mrs M[atthew]. M[ontagu]. ment[ione]^d about [illegible word] Bakers &c. Then to Bank. rec[ei]ve^d. dividend: to Banker [inserted above: with it]; Called at M^r Emlyn's, on Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]. artful as usual. at Greys, Grotes, Bar[on]. De Breteuil²⁷⁴ vulgar blowing of nose. L^y [illegible name] hair like Bird of Paradise feathers. Day cloudy rather chilly, light airs WSW.

52r. (25 Mar.)

[Wednesday] 25. Called on Mr Cracherode.²⁷⁵ Saw [illegible name]'s catalogue of Sir Rob[ert] Ainslie's medals. Early editions of some Classics. Then on Mr Townley; Saw his [illegible words] to represent night, & that chaos, also his fine bust of Adian:²⁷⁶ both from Villa Negroni, purchased of Jenkins²⁷⁷ by Browne,²⁷⁸ Sent to Petersburg, after lying there 10 years now returned, & bought by Mr Townley of Browne's son at original price given to Jenkins, old Browne having demanded much more. Then made affidavit, called in at Calonnes pictures, & then on Sir Geo[rge] Staunton, who no better in speech; requested sentence in Chinese for L^y. Payne, which promised. Dined at home: Went in evening to M^{rs} G Harvey's. talk with L^d Berwick,²⁷⁹ L^d Grandison;²⁸⁰ saw L^y Gertrude:²⁸¹ talk with Miss Campbell, & then with Montagus mentioned

²⁷⁴ Louis Auguste Le Tonnelier, baron de Breteuil (1730-1807), French aristocrat and politician. Paul-Gabriel comte d'Haussonville, *The Salon of Madame Necker*, trans. Henry M. Trollope, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 168.

²⁷⁵ Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode (1730-1799), collector of books and prints. DNB

²⁷⁶ Charles Townley's bust of Hadrian.

²⁷⁷ Thomas Jenkins (1722-1798), art dealer, painter, and banker. In 1785, Jenkins bought a collection of antiquities from the Villa Negroni, and sold the principal pieces to Townley. DNB

²⁷⁸ Lyde Browne (d. 1787), antiquary and banker. Thomas Jenkins served as Browne's buying agent. DNB

²⁷⁹ Thomas Noel Hill, second Baron Berwick (1770-1832), peer and art patron. "Thomas Noel-Hill, 2nd Baron Berwick of Attingham, NT 609047," National Trust Collections, accessed 26 Sep. 2018, <http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/609047>

²⁸⁰ George Mason-Villiers, second Earl Grandison (1751-1800), peer and politician. HOP

²⁸¹ Gertrude Mason-Villiers, Countess Grandison, wife of George Mason-Villiers, second Earl Grandison. HOP

H. B. Promised to look out & inquire about M Baker. Day cloudy sky intervals of sunshine. SWly.

[Thursday] 26. B[reakfaste]^d at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s. Rennell, free. Called on L^y Lucan, M^r Fortescue there, not see L^d Lucan; then on Sir W[illiam]. Musgrave history of [illegible word]; mean, now £6000 a year to India estate Geo. Selwyn's bait for [illegible sentence] Called at M^{rs} Buller's, L^d Shuldham called. Dined at Club; pleasant, Sir G[eorge]. Shuckburgh's attack of Mr Cav[endish]. he odd, rather civiler. Aubert attentive. Attended A[ntiquaries] S[ociety]. & R[oyal] S[ociety]. Sir Geo[rge]. Baker, rather dry: Montagu admitted.²⁸² Seemed not inclined to say where should go. Pleasant morning, wind NS Soon got cloudy & about 4 p.m. rain; [illegible word].

[Friday] 27. Called on Montagus; read Anz.²⁸³ on Philodemus²⁸⁴ on Music: proposal for speaking which I discouraged; Called at L^y A. Barnard's. Dined at home. In evening to L^y Lucan, Marsden: dryness of L^y. S. Told M^{rs} M[atthew]. M[ontagu] that sho[ul]^d. better not speak; at least till clear up about rose, & till somewhat explicit. M[ary]. B[erry]. rather dry. Fog cloudy morning, seen flying rain, but cleared, & fine afternoon. NE^{ly}.

[Saturday] 28. Called on Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]. at M^{rs} Anderson's; on L^d Orford at Miss Berry's. gone to see Mr Storer's library. Dined at L^d Amherst's; B[isho]p of London²⁸⁵ & Lady.²⁸⁶ Mr Joy & son M^{rs} Montagu, Rennell, Cox. Joy said judicial can repeal a law [illegible word] to [illegible word] when brought [illegible word] before them, by declaring it null & void from

52v. (28 Mar. cont.)

²⁸² Matthew Montagu was admitted as a fellow of the Royal Society on 26 March 1795. Royal Society, JBO/35, f. 441r. (meeting minutes, 26 Mar. 1795).

²⁸³ The German journal *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*.

²⁸⁴ Epicurean philosopher and poet.

²⁸⁵ Beilby Porteus (1731-1809), bishop of London. DNB

²⁸⁶ Margaret Porteus, wife of Beilby Porteus, bishop of London, DNB

its nature. Went then to Mrs M[atthew]. Montagu's. Bakers, & many others: talk with L^y Grantham,²⁸⁷ Miss Gibbes, [illegible title] Bathurst & others. Out of spirits. Day cloudy, then Shiny & very pleasant, but fog at night [illegible word] Called on Mr Metcalfe;²⁸⁸ some of his pictures pretty.

[Sunday] 29. Called on Mrs Buller: saw progress of Army on map. Then on Mr Agar; talk with Hope; Royals pictures said to have sold for 2800; Calonne's for £20000. Walked to Kensington gardens. Talk with Strachey²⁸⁹ about Panopticon:²⁹⁰ letter send to N[ew]. S[outh]. Wales now have incurred first expences of the establishment. Dined at home. In evening to Master Pepys's²⁹¹ Conversation with Sir Lucas about America &c agreeable Day very fine, easterly wind; clear. warm in sun.

[Monday] 30. Called at Mrs Anderson's, on L^y Lucan, saw that all to be abandoned. Called on Mr Montagu; went with him to Mr Auberts, where spoke to a clerk who had nearly lost use of speech by nervous state, almost hysterical. Went to Lackington's,²⁹² great establishment tho' less striking than I expected.²⁹³ Dined at George & Vulture. introducing Mr Montagu Cav[endish]. declined dining at his house with Jay; pleasant conversation; advantages of marriage in England well told by Montagu. Returned to his house, tea, good character of Miss Baker.²⁹⁴ Called at L^y Payne's, refused much company apparently. Then to L^y Hardwicke's L^d P. civil yet sulky. Talk with L^y. Grantham & Bell Polwarth.²⁹⁵ Day fine clear; wind easterly, cold, warm in Sun.

²⁸⁷ Mary Jemima Robinson, Baroness Grantham (1757-1830), wife of Thomas Robinson, second Baron Grantham (1738-1786). DNB

²⁸⁸ Philip Metcalfe (1733-1818), politician, malt distiller, and philanthropist. HOP

²⁸⁹ Sir Henry Strachey, first baronet (1736-1810), politician. DNB

²⁹⁰ Refers to the philosopher and reformer Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832), and his panopticon prison. DNB

²⁹¹ One of Sir Lucas Pepys's sons.

²⁹² James Lackington (1746-1815), bookseller and publisher. DNB

²⁹³ Lackington's bookshop in Finsbury Square, opened in 1794, known as the 'Temple of the Muses'. DNB

²⁹⁴ Maria Charlotte Baker, daughter of Sir George Baker, first baronet. DNB

²⁹⁵ Amabel Hume-Campbell, *suo jure* Countess De Grey (1751-1833), political writer, and widow of Alexander Hume-Campbell, Lord Polwarth (1750-1781). DNB

[Tuesday] 31. Called on Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]. his harshness to Gough²⁹⁶ who resigned. Then rec[eive]^d half pay²⁹⁷ & left part at Bankers: then called at Sir Geo[rge]. Staunton's. Dined at D^r Hunter's:²⁹⁸ the 2 Kings & their wives, Miss Walton. rather agreeable. Then to Mr King's sweet expression of Miss Townsend, but with a little finesse; much pleased with M. Mazey. Clean dry day W[in]^d S. drying.

[Wednesday] Ap. 1. Called on Greys; civil, but L^y always interested. then on L^d Macartney, pleasing; then on L^d Shuldham, civil, L^y out. Dined at M^r Montagu's. Jays there [illegible word] Mr Ryder: affecting description of Indians by Mr Jay. Ryder mentioned about Privy Council's question Day fair, cold Easterly wind. chiefly cloudy. [illegible word] fog.

53r. (2 Apr.)

[Thursday] 2. Called on Sir Jos[eph]. Banks, to whom shewed letter from M^r Tawkinnes & the answer I proposed to send, which he approved. Then called on M^{rs}. Anderson; Leckie came in; his interesting story of his sister M^{rs} [illegible name]; she much emotion when gave her own case: then called at M Grottes & Mrs Buller's. Dined at home. In evening to Mr Montagu's, to whom shewed the papers about alkali from soap; also L^d Hawkesbury's note to me Said he would apply very soon: that must answer good purpose, that wo[ul]^d. take care to say not by my solicitation. Then to Berry's, rather large party for them: conversation with Mr Hailes, Mr Pepys, & c Day dry, fair & sunshine tho' E^{ly} mist.

[Friday] 3. Walked round fields. Dined at home. In even[in]^g. to L^y Lucan's. read letter from L^d h. to L^d Carlisle.²⁹⁹ L^d Palmerston came in. L^d L[ucan].

²⁹⁶ Sir Richard Gough (1735-1809), antiquary. Royal Society, EC/1774/31 (Richard Gough, election certificate, 1774).

²⁹⁷ Blagden received half-pay as a surgeon to the army, following his service in North America in the 1770s.

²⁹⁸ John Hunter (1754-1809), physician. DNB

²⁹⁹ Frederick Howard, fifth earl of Carlisle (1748-1825), politician and diplomat. DNB

mentioned that he was going with L^y Camden³⁰⁰ to Ireland. L^y L[ucan]'s change of tone about disgrace when L^d P[almerston]. came in. Suspected not given up. Day clear in general, but dry E^{ly} fog.

[Saturday] 4. Called at Mr Jay's; on M^{rs} Cocks, Lady Baker, Sir Jos[eph] Banks's. Letter to Mr Montagu about pamphlet of L^d. h's to L^d Carlisle. Talk with L^d P. & note to him. Dined at home. In evening to L^y Payne's. Miss Dee, L^y Clermont & Cooke, M^{rs} Grew, L^d Lucan Marquis Hertford.³⁰¹ civil. & latter so. Black, cloudy, E[venin]⁹. day, cold.

[Sunday] 5. Called on Mr Jay, long & interesting conversation: explained circumstances of temperature &c of America. Then went to see Princess come into London.³⁰² Dined at home. In evening to L^y Amherst; gracious: M^{rs} & Miss Tilson. Black dark easterly day, mostly raining

[Monday] 6. Mr Hill called: talked of Harrisons. Called on M^r Cav[endish]. & went with him to city Dined at Geo[rge] & Vulture. In evening to Mr King's; agreeable talk: invited self to dance: gracious. Day again black easterly wind: about noon began to rain, but small, odd mizzling, which continued day & even[in]⁹.

53v. (7 Apr.)

[Tuesday] 7. Called at L^d Lucan's, on M^{rs}. Anderson, complained much of caprice shewed excellent dispositions; called on L^d Orford, not go on well with him, says cannot [illegible word] new subjects; on M^{rs} Blossett; talk about Grotes; at M^{rs}. Montagu's & M^{rs}. Tilsons. Went to Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s; called on Mr Hill. Dined & spent evening at home. Raw cloudy, damp n E^{ly} day: mostly wetting.

³⁰⁰ Frances Pratt, Marchioness Camden (1760-1829), wife of John Jeffreys Pratt, first Marquess Camden. DNB

³⁰¹ Francis Ingram-Seymour-Conway, second marquess of Hertford (1743-1822), politician. DNB

³⁰² Caroline of Brunswick arrived in London on 5 April 1795. DNB

[Wednesday] 8. Called on Mr Malone, at Mr Paradise's, Mr Boswell's,³⁰³ Sir Rob[er]t. Ainslie's, Sir Geo[rge]. Staunton's. on M^{rs} Stirling, talk about Mr Grote. She seemed very good. Dined at home. in evening to Mr Montagu's: young Jay; talk with Mr Wilberforce, M Buckingham,³⁰⁴ L^y Lucan, very civil: pleasant. Saw a little of illuminations. Day fair, [inserted above: N E] cloudy, then clear.

[Thursday] 9. B[reakfaste]^d at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s Called on L^d. Lucan, disappointed of pamphlet but friendly talk with him, partly [illegible word]. Then on Greys & on M^{rs} Buller. Dined at Crown & Anchor; Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]. sulky all day. Called on Sir Geo[rge]. Staunton; very friendly. Spent evening at Greys. Day, dark, cloudy, heavy, some rain. E^{ly} Wind.

[Friday] 10. Called on Montagus; advice about Bakers, contested by him. Then on Lord Macartney: talked much about Gout, & otherwise familiar: then at M^{rs}. [illegible name] Harvey's, & Berry's, talk with Miss A[gnès]. about Italy & c. interested in them. Strange story last night by M^{rs}. Whitbread about them. Dined at home. In even[in]^g. to L^y Lucan's. Rather more appearance. Talk with L^d L. again about palpitation. D[uke]. & D[uche]ss of Leeds;³⁰⁵ did not introduce. Day rather fine, very hazy, Wind easterly.

[Saturday] 11. Called on Sir Jos[eph]. Banks; more familiar. Then at L^d. Fife's, on Sir Rob[er]t Herries, angry with Miss Bowdler:³⁰⁶ then on L^y Middleton, message from Harrisons: Dined at home. In evening to Opera: L^y Spencer civil, in box: L^y Grenville³⁰⁷ there, interesting, evidently has not yet had passions moved: L^d Broome³⁰⁸ came in, full, bland, not smart: absence of Cares. M[ary] B[erry]. kind in manner. Invitation from M^{rs} Backin; talk with [illegible name],

³⁰³ James Boswell (1740-1795), lawyer and diarist. DNB

³⁰⁴ George Nugent-Temple-Grenville, first marquess of Buckingham (1753–1813), politician. DNB

³⁰⁵ Francis Osborne, fifth duke of Leeds (1751–1799), politician, and his wife, Amelia Osborne, duchess of Leeds (1754–1784). DNB

³⁰⁶ Henrietta Maria (Harriet) Bowdler (1750–1830), writer and editor. DNB

³⁰⁷ Anne Grenville, Baroness Grenville (1772-1864), wife of William Wyndham Grenville, Baron Grenville (1759-1834), politician and later prime minister. DNB

³⁰⁸ Charles Cornwallis, Viscount Brome later second Marquess Cornwallis (1774-1823). DNB

Major Gregory, L^d Morton:³⁰⁹ Day fine, warm, hazy E^{ly} wind. L^d Morton said he thought the [illegible words] at Prince's day after marriage, bad etiquette; quizzing

54r. (12 Apr.)

1795 [Sunday] Apr. 12. Called on M^{rs}. Buller; serious style of conversation; found that M^{rs} M[atthew] M[ontagu] had been with her. Then on Mr Agar. Walked to Kensington Gardens, met Tiernay. Dined at home. In evening to M^{rs}. Pepys's; Penns there: Berrys came in; rather avoided. Went to L^d Amhersts. Same people came; more attentive [illegible word] Miss Amherst's drawing of ceremony. Day cloudy, mild, wind northward of W. a little rain in morning & again at night.

[Monday] 13. Called on Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]. who mentioned that K[night]. of B[ath].³¹⁰ settled; gave him paquet for D. G[aetano]. d'Ancora. Then called on Montagu M^{rs} M[atthew]. M[ontagu]. said had spoken to M^{rs} Buller, who sure that Sir G. B. would be liberal: informed her of story about Berry as told me by M^{rs} W.: D^r Gillan came in; going to Batavia as supposes: Said Sir Geo[rge]. [Staunton] would never be well enough or if venture, a substitute must go in case of accidents. Went with him to Mr Montagu, who said had written to Mr Pitt, not sanguine, but sho[ul]^d. have done his duty: promised to tell conversation, & thought w[oul]^d. remove prejudices if any. Called at Gregorys. Dined at home. In evening to Mr King's, & then to Berrys. Music, singing. Miss Dilkes, pleasant novice way of conversation, but doubt if sentiment. Talk with Stanley, who shewed strong sentiment. asked about his sister; seemed grieved, as if not happy at home. Day cloudy, northerly wind, pleasant enough.

³⁰⁹ George Douglas, sixteenth earl of Morton (1761-1827), Scottish peer. "Douglas; George (1761-1827); 16th Earl of Morton," Royal Society, fellow details, accessed 26 Sep. 2018, <https://collections.royalsociety.org/Dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqDb=Persons&dsqSearch=Code==%27NA3047%27&dsqCmd=Show.tcl>

³¹⁰ See note 201.

[Tuesday] 14. Called on L^d Lucan, L^y Spencer there, agreeable conversation. talk about Bentham's³¹¹ mechanics, carronnades in ships, & hollow shot, &c. Then on M^{rs}. Anderson; much discomposed; friendly; about Wainwright son, to debauch if let. Then on Sir Jos[eph]. Banks; shewed the part of Thompson's letter which refers to R[oyal]. S[ociety]. Then called on Armstrong, who promised to do all that the letter delivered to him desired. Called at M^{rs}. Drake's. Note to Mr Montagu about Sp[iritous]. Liquors.³¹² Dined at Club, not very interesting: in evening to M^{rs} King's much notice of Miss Mazey. Day fine, soft, hazy. wind NW^y. Miss Cobson sang with usual grace. Bakers.

54v. (15 Apr.)

[Wednesday] 15. Called at M^{rs}. Montagu's; Mr M[ontagu]. there; said began to be doubtful whether should not go determinately for peace. I said we were doing the best thing, not making effort on continent, but all by sea: but unlucky if true that orders sent to ~~recall~~ stop Guards &c He thought that Fr[ance]. would overrun Italy, & agreed that perhaps they the changes which the progress of opinions made inevitable, might be brought about gradually here, and without convulsion. Called on L^d. Orford: told that last [illegible word] at Vienna discovered by Monks dress [inserted above: occasional] servant [inserted above: to be] [illegible word] in, [inserted above: who] overheard all. Called at M^{rs}. Buller. Dined at L^d Lucan: L^y Spencer civil. L^y Spencer, Camden & Dr Barney. Talk about L^d Orford, L^d Harcourt³¹³ & others suspected. In evening about Hothamtown,³¹⁴ hint about marriage to Hotham.³¹⁵ partiality to L^y Lucan. Day fairer, hazy & chiefly cloudy win[d] WNW. Then to M^{rs} Backins, but co[ul]d^d not see company, Aunt dead.

[Thursday] 16. B[reakfaste]^d at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s. Called at Mr Montagu's: went to S^t. James's. talk with L^y Bassett, M^{rs} Anderson, M^{rs} Porteus, L^d.

³¹¹ Samuel Bentham (1757-1831), naval architect and inventor. DNB

³¹² See Blagden, "Report on the Best Method of Proportioning the Excise Upon Spirituous Liquors."

³¹³ George Harcourt, second Earl Harcourt (1736-1809), politician. HOP

³¹⁴ Seaside resort near Bognor known as 'Hothamton'. DNB

³¹⁵ Sir Richard Hotham (1722-1799), merchant and founder of the resort at 'Hothamton'. DNB

Spencer, &c Dined at home. In evening to A[ntiquaries] S[ociety] & R[oyal] S[ociety]. Day pretty fine, nice clear, but hazy portions NW^{ly} Wind.

[Friday] 17. Went by invitation of M^r. Wilberforce to see Gen. Bentham's mechanical contrivances. His baggage waggon³¹⁶ is a boat covered over with a boat: the boat, made of similar piece so to be cut with a machine all & not joining exactly, the outside is covered with oil cloth, or metallic plates. Saws moving in 2 concentric circles for cutting out fellies of wheels. Various powers of turning & sawing, but nothing that struck me as a new principle: great plane taking off large shaving from broad board, and returning on wheels. Panopticon; doubt whether it will be much better than other houses of industry: he seems to have given up nearly the plan of solitary confinement. Persons confined are to have one arm bare that they may be known by the difference in colour of the arm. Explained to Mr Montagu what learn yesterday about Cholmondeley & Jackson. Dined at home. In

55r. (17 Apr. cont.)

evening to L^y Lucan's: little company: some tenderness in M[ary]. B[erry]. Reflexion about coldness of L^y Grenwell, L said that better. M^{rs} M[atthew] M[ontagu] came in: very interesting. Called to day at L^y Payne's. Dog to be drawn; Sir R[alph] [Payne] very civil, talk about Chapter. Day flying clouds, fair Wind [illegible letter].

[Saturday] 18. Called on Miss Grottes, & got from them an account of Hothamtown. Did not much like manner. Then on Greys: Sir Cha[rle]s. civil; shewed great map of Martinique made in 1762. painted, very large scale: brought it from island. Then at M^{rs} Bullers. Dined at home In evening to Covent Garden, play *Life's Vagaries*,³¹⁷ characters not bad in idea, tho' little genius in them: but failed in the execution, & too much stuttering of scenes & bustle

³¹⁶ For an example of Bentham's amphibious baggage wagons, see "Amphibious baggage waggon, NPD0548," National Maritime Museum Collections, accessed 26 Sep. 2018, <http://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/388250.html>

³¹⁷ John O'Keffe, *Life's Vagaries, a Comedy: In Five Acts. As Performed at the Theatre-Royal, Covent-Garden* (London: T. N. Longman, 1795).

doing nothing. Entertainment of Windsor Castle³¹⁸ splendid, but uninteresting. Cloudy, windy day, E^{ly}. some rain

[Sunday] 19. Called on M^{rs} Buller; conversation with L^d Lyttelton;³¹⁹ called on Mr Agar. Walked in Kensington Gardens. L^d Orford & Mr Lewis³²⁰ called. Dined at home Went to Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s in evening. Mr C[avendish]. more attentive. Then to Mr Lewis. Taitt³²¹ not clear, very interested Day fine, flying clouds, a little rain, fresh wind from S^d.

[Monday] 20. Called on Lucans, with account of Hothamtown very friendly; invitation to stay there if went. things looked likely. Then on L^d Orford: & on M^{rs} M. Carter who received well; great panegyric on L^d P. Called on Mr Cavendish who civiler & went with him to Club, where dined; pleasant but trifling; Aubert declaration that wanted to be presented. Note to speak with Mr M[atthew] M[ontagu], but did not come home. at night note that Mr P. appointed [Wednesday] forenoon. Went to Mr King's thought shelves [inserted above: illegible word] projecting at entrance of [illegible word] Sepulchres, in the drawings at Sir Rob[ert] Ainslie's, were for putting lamps on.³²² Thinks these of date of Roman times, not earlier: thinks most things now in Athens all of that period, [H]Adrian's: believes that age of Architecture may pretty certainly be distinguished by its style. Told him my opinion that Pyramids succeeded barrows: that were tombstones over dead; not dead in them, & that granite vase probably not sarcophagus. Showery day SSW^{ly} wind.

³¹⁸ William Pearce, *Windsor Castle, or the Fair Maid of Kent, an Opera, as Performed at the Theatre-Royal, Covent-Garden, in Honour of the Marriage of Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales* (London: T. N. Longman, 1795).

³¹⁹ William Henry Lyttelton, first Baron Lyttelton and first Baron Westcote (1724–1808), colonial governor and diplomat. DNB

³²⁰ Probably a relation of Thomas Lewis (1699-1764), founder of the Dowlais ironworks at Merthyr Tydfil in Wales. Blagden was related to the Lewis family, his sister Mary having married a Mr Lewis. "Thomas Lewis," *Grace's Guide to British Industrial History*, accessed 26 Sep. 2018, https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Thomas_Lewis. Beinecke Library, OSB MSS 51, box 5 folder 60, unpaginated (letter from Charles Blagden to John Blagden Hale, 11 Nov. 1786).

³²¹ William Taitt (d. 1815), manager of the Dowlais ironworks. "Dowlais Ironworks," *Grace's Guide to British Industrial History*, accessed 26 Sep. 2018, https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Dowlais_Ironworks

³²² Ainslie possessed a large collection of drawings of Egyptian, Turkish, and Palestinian views, including sepulchres, many of which he commissioned from the artist Luigi Mayer. DNB

55v. (21 Apr.)

[Tuesday] 21. Went to M^r M[atthew]. M[ontagu]'s conversation about Dowlais Bill;³²³ said had been reading chiefly; M^{rs} M[ontagu]. came in. manner not as usual. Then called at M^{rs} Anderson's on L^y Baker, well received, pleased: then on L^y Spencer found Lucan's there. asked if would really go to H[othamtown]ⁿ. assured that would June 1st. then on Mr Lewis, where found Mr Cockshutt³²⁴ told him about Mr Montagu's undertaking. Dined at home. Wrote to Mr Montagu some particulars that learned from Lewis & Cockshutt. Spent evening at home. Day cloudy with breaks, light showers. SW^{ly}.

[Wednesday] 22. Mr Montagu called, & gave an account of his conference with Mr Pitt, who he said behaved with great propriety; acknowledged that saw a man might be useful, that did not know whether should any opportunity of employing him denied Mr M[ontagu]. to say nothing to him which sho[ul]^d. disturb his tranquillity. Called at M^r Kings, on Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]. ment[ione]^d that Brother³²⁵ coming; said wanted him to dine, & [illegible word] old times Called on M^{rs} Paradise, invitation Dined at home. In evening called on Mr Lewis; inquired more about canal bill,³²⁶ & then went to Mr Paradise's. Mr & M^{rs} Davidson, Mr Boswell's Brother & his wife³²⁷ Smirnoff,³²⁸ young Woronzows &c. Talk about proposing to Windham about American. Day fine,

³²³ Relating to the Dowlais ironworks, at Merthyr Tydfil in Wales, under the management of Thomas Guest (c. 1745-1807) and William Taitt. Blagden's comment possibly relates to a dispute between the managers of the Dowlais and Francis Homfray, a neighbouring ironworker. See later entry 25 Apr. f. 56r. and note 332.

³²⁴ James Cockshutt (c. 1742-1819), civil engineer of Wortley ironworks, Sheffield. Royal Society, EC/1804/10 (James Cockshutt, election certificate, 1804).

³²⁵ Blagden's brother, John Blagden (1740-1808), who married Ann Hale in 1779 and took the surname Hale in 1784. 'Brother Hale' is named in full in a later entry, see 26 Apr. f. 56r. "Hale Family of Alderley," The National Archives, accessed 26 Sep. 2018, <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/2f5a4204-b341-493d-b531-bb7b70a33dec>

³²⁶ In March 1790, Blagden wrote to his brother John about a project to build a canal from Merthyr to Cardiff. Mr Lewis, Blagden's brother-in-law, had advised him to subscribe £1000 to the project. Blagden agreed, but Lewis later withdrew the subscription, deciding that the investment was not a prudent one. The canal opened in 1794. See Beinecke Library, OSB MSS 51, box 5 folder 60, unpaginated (letters from Charles Blagden to John Blagden Hale, 10 Mar.–30 Apr. 1790). "Glamorganshire canal," Grace's Guide to British Industrial History, accessed 19 Sep. 2018, https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Glamorganshire_Canal

³²⁷ James Boswell's brother Thomas David Boswell (1748-1826), merchant. DNB

³²⁸ Iakov Smirnov, also known as James Smirnov, (1754-1840), priest of the Russian Embassy Church in London. "Smirnov Iakov Ivanovich," Russia's Ambassadors to Britain, accessed 19 Sep. 2018, <https://www.rusemb.org.uk/smironov/>

but flying clouds, & once wetting. SW^{ly} Talk about Marsden's place; Said know not whether should have accepted it, because depended much on the q[ualit]y of attendance, whether health equal; but in no respect offered.

[Thursday] 23. B[reakfaste]^d at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s. Called on M^{rs} Buller. convinced of her art, & want of friendship: ought to be cautious of speaking before her. Dined at home: Attended R[oyal].S[ociety]. Mr Lewis reported excellence of Mr M[ontagu]'s conduct at Committee. Mr Cav[endish]. rather dry. Called on Mr Montagu, ment[ione]^d to him what Paradise said last night, & that should like it. Bowdler came in; excessive vanity. Day very fine morning, afterward showery Wind WSW.

56r. (24 Apr.)

[Friday] 24. Called on M^{rs}. Anderson: talk about his behaviour; about [illegible words]; invitation. Then to Greys, advised for General warm both believing all his complaints for change of climate: invitation to Bar: Miss Ogle³²⁹ presently taken with Sheridan tho' denied it: he has settled £1000 a year on her, & £400 his money vesting the fund:³³⁰ Called on Berry, Miss A[gnès] & L^y Sinnett: talk about China. Dined at home. Sent Moor to Mr Montagus. Went to L^y Lucan's, L^d & Miss not there: talk with Lord Oxford.³³¹ Came in, & shewed account & plan of Hothamtown: engaged one of centre houses of E. row, at 6 g[uinea]s for 5 months. Day blowing SW. even[in]⁹ some rain.

[Saturday] 25. Called on Montagu's. account of agreement between Dowlais people & Homfray:³³² petulance injustice, & general bad behaviour of the

³²⁹ Hester Jane Ogle (1775/6-1817), married Richard Brinsley Sheridan on 27 April 1795. DNB

³³⁰ Miss Ogle's father insisted that a trust be established for her, comprised of her dowry of £5000, and £15000 from Sheridan. DNB

³³¹ Edward Harley, fifth earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer (1773-1849), nobleman. C. Watkins and Ben Cowell, *Uvedale Price (1747-1829): Decoding the Picturesque* (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2012).

³³² Francis Homfray (1725-1798), ironworker. Homfrey quarrelled with the managers of the Dowlais ironworks, situated on the Moralis brook at Penydarren, where Homfray had established a rival works. "Homfray family," *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, accessed 26 Sep. 2018, <http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s-HOMF-RAY-1726.html>

latter: M^{rs} M[atthew] M[ontagu]. pleased reading Moor's account: explained to her final discoveries on new coast of America. told Mr M[ontagu]. of Mr Jay's encouragement to tour. Called at L^y Spencers, Sir W[illiam]. Musgrave's, & Capⁿ Armstrong; latter evidently outlives himself; made paltry excuses. Dined at home. Went in evening to Mr Lewis, gone to play. then to see Hales; behaved very well. Then to M^{rs}. Blosset's: Miss Wilkes's invitation. Cards. Blowing, wetting day: S.

[Sunday] 26. Bro[the]r Hale called; the old uninteresting style of conversation Called at M Wilkes's, on Mr Agar; Dined at Sir Jos[eph]. Banks's Abbé Correa³³³ there; has spent much time in Italy: is very quick. but should think great rogue. Said beer invented in Egypt, Wine first cultivated on banks of [illegible word]; that Diodorus Siculus mentions of Spaniards that made beer & bought wine. Evening there. Cockshutt mentioned hill on borders of Monmouthshire where see strata of limestone iron stone coal as lie for far upwards of 1000 feet perpendicular height. Pearson³³⁴ thinks Wootz a steel having places some unreduced calx or iron: mentioned small q[uan]ti^{ty} of [illegible word] in steel, yet that thought it enough to give the qualities to iron.³³⁵ Day blowing hard, but still harder last night. SW^{ly}. Flying clouds; & sunshine Wertons remark about Miller. Emlyn to Brighthelmstone.³³⁶

[Monday] 27. Called on L^y Lucan; invited by L^y Spencer; cannot tell what to make of it. Called on M^{rs} Montagu; talk about L^y Spencer &c. Then at Mr Montagu's, on L^y Payne, & at M^{rs} Culverden's.³³⁷ Dined at L^d Spencer's. attentive; civil; Mr Windham in evening. L^y L[ucan]. very civil; L^d Spencer attentive, asked questions: L^y Spencer parted affectionately Went then to Mr King's; & afterwards to M^{rs} Anderson's: music. Miss Wilkes still as before, odd behaviour. Day fair, cloudy blowing from S. W^d.

³³³ José Francisco Correia da Serra (1750-1823), Portuguese abbot, polymath and politician. Royal Society, EC/1795/20 (Joseph Correa de Serra, election certificate, 1795).

³³⁴ George Pearson (*bap.* 1751 *d.* 1828), physician and chemist. DNB

³³⁵ See George Pearson, "Experiments and Observations to Investigate the Nature of a Kind of Steel, Manufactured at Bombay, and There Called Wootz," *Philosophical Transactions* 85 (1795): 322-46.

³³⁶ Brighton.

³³⁷ Sarah Culverden, the elder sister of Mary Temple, Viscountess Palmerston. "Palmerston's Letters to Laurence and Elizabeth Sullivan," 37.

56v. (28 Apr.)

[Tuesday] 28. Called at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s; at Kew to meet H[is] M[ajesty]. Then on Mr M[ontagu]. said that Elliott applying for America: not a word about wife dispositions & character of children strongly marked from very early period: in reasoning like adults within their sphere. Dined at Club. Mr Fox: not much interesting. L^d Lucan commendation of Mr M[ontagu]'s speech. Called on sister³³⁸ in evening. Day blowing hard from S. West forenoon; then fair Ed fine.

[Wednesday] 29. Note to Mr M[ontagu]. Called at M^{rs} Buller's. Walked round Kensington Gardens. Dined at home. Went in evening to M^r Lewis; family; very dull. Wind blowing very hard till evening: Showers about noon: then flying clouds from SSW.

[Thursday] 30. B[reakfaste]^d at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s. Talk with Greville about Dowlais business: not very fair. Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]. cunning, with Rennell. Called on L^y Lucan. Talk of Miss B[erry]. that should Invest, as not married; encomiums, affectionate, would make excellent wife. L^d Bulkely came in. Called on Greys; civil; invitation; Dined at Club. Cav[endish]. rather sulky: invitation from Mr Godschall.³³⁹ Attended A[ntiquaries]. S[ociety] & R[oyal]. S[ociety]. Topham³⁴⁰ asked about Gough. In evening called on Mr Montagu; talk about Pr[ince] of Wales. Dissuaded from proposing less: rather encouraged Committee of Inquiry, Secret. Bootmaker sent for in chaise £4 to Newmarket, to put on his boots. Day wet at first, then fair, but still cloudy. SSW^{ly}.

[Friday] May 1. Went to M^{rs} Montagu's: M^{rs} Porteus L^y Carnarvon. M^{rs} Garrick,³⁴¹ L^y Englefield. Called at M^{rs} Culverden. E. G. invitation. Dined at

³³⁸ Mary Lewis, Blagden's sister. See note 320.

³³⁹ William Man Godschall (1719-1802), fellow of the Royal Society. Royal Society, EC/1757/20 (William Man Godschall, election certificate, 1757).

³⁴⁰ John Topham (1746-1803), antiquary. DNB

³⁴¹ Eva Maria Garrick (1724-1822), dancer and widow of David Garrick (1717-1779), actor and playwright. DNB

home. In evening to L^y Bassetts: Makers, Miss Hunt: Pleasant day, much sunshine; some clouds. Wind SSW.

[Saturday] 2. Called at M^{rs} Anderson's, M^{rs} King's, L^d Hardwicke's, & on L^d. Orford. talk about Devonshire family: L^y Sennott, whom does not like & commendation of his temper. Dined at Sir Cha[rle]s Grey's. Col. Coote³⁴² & Capⁿ Fitzherbert [illegible initials] & wife: offered engagement to go with him, if went to Paris to make peace: he said he wo[ul]d. put me in mind of it, & should be very glad. Powis³⁴³ Sir G[eorge]. Shuckburgh &c said to have had a meeting about Pr[ince]. of W[ales]. & proposed not to pay his debts, & to allow only £100,000 a year: Mr Fox is for £130,000. Message from Mr Dundas whether Sir Cha[rle]s consider it as hostile if opposed inquiry: disturb on about being republican & not under King, which I resisted. Called at L^y Lucan's afterwards. Day cloudy Wind northerly.

[Sunday] 3. Called on M^{rs} Buller, artful, cautious, designing: then on Mr Agar: Walked in Kensington Garden. Dined at home. In evening to Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s. Took letter [illegible sentence] Cav[endish]. sulky called at L^y Amhursts. Fine day wind eastward of north.

57r. (4 May)

[Monday] May 4. Called on L^y Lucan; ment[ione]d nothing of Admiralty business: dry about Bognor, truly insincere. Went to Exhibition then to Mr Gilpin, & got information about Globes. Dined at Mr Culverden's: M[iss]. G[odfrey]. gracious, but same unyielding mind. Mr Littlehales there; sensible, knows many of the French Emigrants; was in Spain with L^d. Mountstewarts³⁴⁴ Then to Mr King's; all very civil. shook hands with H. C. Day fine, warm wind E^d of N. [illegible initials] at Mr King's.

³⁴² Eyre Coote (*bap.* 1759, *d.* 1823), army officer and colonial administrator. DNB

³⁴³ Edward Clive, first earl of Powis (1754–1839), administrator in India. DNB

³⁴⁴ John Stuart, first marquess of Bute (1744–1814), diplomatist and ambassador to Spain. DNB

[Tuesday] 5. Called at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s, & left note, as he at Kew. Called on M^{rs} Anderson; heard of L^d Moira's great regard for L^y [illegible name] consults her about every thing. Then on Miss Grottes; agreeable conversation [inserted above: Left note at Capⁿ Armstrong with Car. Grote. Dined at Mr T. Lewis's. Mr Russell vulgar unpleasant mind, but clever enough. Miss [illegible name] pleasing countenance, particularly eldest. Day fair, quite warm, some clouds.

[Wednesday] 6. Walked in Kensington Gardens. Dined at Mr. Montagu's. Mr Symonds, Mr Gregory: after talk about politics; saw that M[ontagu]. disgusted with Ryder &c. [illegible word] about soon. Day cloudy but fair, & fine night. W & then E.

[Thursday] 7. B[reakfaste]^d at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s. Sulky. Went to Mr King's pictures, fine Chelsea porcelain &c. Mr Matthews, Lysons, Walpole. Attended Council R[oyal]. S[ociety]. Sir Joseph's assuming. Dined at Crown & Anchor; went away soon. Attended A[ntiquaries] S[ociety] & R[oyal] S[ociety]. Cav[endish]. first sulky, then better. Watt³⁴⁵ & Boulton talking about Wootz.³⁴⁶ ~~Called~~ Mr Montagu there; asked him whether had ment[ione]^d his application to Ryder; said had not, & ~~that~~ I intimated that better not. Told Jekyll³⁴⁷ state of corn as I thought, that no scarcity, tho' only just enough; kept up on speculation of higher price, & all thing dearer from rise of estates. Fine day warm E^{ly}.

[Friday] 8. Called on L^y Lucan; no sincerity: on Grey's, artful about himself as usual: at L^y Spencers, Berrys, M^{rs} Buller. Dined at home. In evening to M^{rs} M[ontagu]'s Music; charming singing of L. Quesnay & Miss Erskine Talk with Yorke's;³⁴⁸ much pleased with [illegible initial]; also Bathursts, Percivals; L^y

³⁴⁵ James Watt (1736–1819), engineer. DNB

³⁴⁶ See note 335.

³⁴⁷ Joseph Jekyll (1754-1837), lawyer and politician. DNB

³⁴⁸ Charles Philip Yorke (1764-1834), politician, half-brother of Philip Yorke, third earl of Hardwicke. DNB

Somers's³⁴⁹ sharp defence of Hastings³⁵⁰ against L^y Lyttelton.³⁵¹ Day fine; chilling E wind with warm sun. Among the things seen at Mr King's yesterday were many specimens of the first porcelain manufactured at Chelsea³⁵² which seems to have been the pattern for the Sevre,³⁵³ & produced some most elegant

57v. (8 May cont.)

vases &c the gilding wonderfully rich, even on imitation of the different kinds of plumage of birds (all gold colour) & the purples, blues, &c astonishingly fine. There were two porcelain manufactures subsequent to this at Chelsea, but no one made vessels to be compared with these. Among his pictures is a remarkably fine Adrian Vanderwelt³⁵⁴ [inserted above: a] landscape with cattle, figures, man on horse &c, remarkable for the fine cloathing of the cattle, the outline being filled up in the richest & most natural manner. An excellent landscape by Adrian Ostade,³⁵⁵ finished as completely as Teniers.³⁵⁶ A landscape by Zuccarelli³⁵⁷ in a more natural style of colouring than usual. Copy of a picture of Vander Neer's³⁵⁸ by a coal porter, A vase of Sevre Porcelain, very fine: a cup and saucer of common Japan Porcelain, but with a landscape of Waterloo's³⁵⁹ upon it, which the Japanese there must have got from the Dutch. Some other very fine Japan porcelain. Mr K[ing]. shews admirably.

[Saturday] 9. Called on M^{rs} Montagu; received from her the present of her book: then on L^y Baker, civil, thought Miss growing dissipated: then on Mr

³⁴⁹ Anne Cocks, Baroness Somers (*d.* 1833), wife of Charles Cocks, first Baron Somers. HOP

³⁵⁰ Warren Hastings (1732-1818), governor-general of Bengal. In 1788 Hastings was formally impeached and tried for his alleged mismanagement of India. He was acquitted in April 1795, following a vote in the House of Lords. DNB

³⁵¹ Caroline Lyttelton, Baroness Lyttelton (1745/6-1809), second wife of William Henry Lyttelton, first Baron Lyttelton. DNB

³⁵² Chelsea Porcelain Works, established by the silversmith Nicholas Sprimont (*bap.* 1716, *d.* 1771) in 1745. GDA

³⁵³ Sèvres porcelain factory near Versailles, France, established in 1756. GDA

³⁵⁴ Adriaen van de Velde (1636-1672), Dutch painter. BDA

³⁵⁵ Adriaen Jansz van Ostade (1610-1684/5), Dutch painter. BDA

³⁵⁶ David Teniers the Younger (1610-1690), Dutch painter. BDA

³⁵⁷ Francesco Zuccarelli (1702-1788), Italian painter. BDA

³⁵⁸ Aert van der Neer (1603/4-1677), Dutch painter. BDA

³⁵⁹ Anthonie Waterloo (1609/10-1690), Dutch painter. BDA

Montagu; curious account of himself, that had no feelings of ambition, except as enabling him to do good, & no regard for persons, but in proportion as he thought them good. Dined at home. Went to opera. Satt by Mr Wight, Adianes &c L^d Galloway,³⁶⁰ Mr Greehead. In room after spoke to M^{rs}. Backin Drake Culverden pleased with Miss Godfreys manner: M^{rs} Leslie, Mr Jekyll &c. Day fine, some clouds, air chilly, still NW^{ly}.

[Sunday] 10. Called at Mrs Buller's; on Mr Agar. Walked in Kensington Garden: L^y Baker [inserted above: Tiernay] L^y Grey. Dined at home In evening to Sir Jos[eph]. Banks's, Talk with Mr Cav[endish]. L^d Mountnorris, Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s dryness about papers. Rennell mentioned Bengal Club ticket. Then to Bar[on] Nolckens, L^d Pontifiant seems almost crazy. Day finer harsh westerly breeze. pleasant temperature

58r. (11 May)

[Monday] 11. Mistake about Col. Osborn's breakfast. Called on L^y Lucan; deceitful rather. Then on M^{rs} Andersons, very interesting; complaint of Buller; strong expressions of kindness; told never to teize. Called on Mr Emlyn; very civil, pleasing, friendly. Dined at Club. Foolish altercation about [illegible title] Hubbard: In evening to Mr King's, talk about Deluge: insisted on it that coal is in one particular band, but make that secret: suppose it [illegible word] of old surface of earth at deluge, carried to a band according to position of poles at that time mostly fir wood & ferns, whence supposes antideluvian earth to have been very barren, from curse. Then to Lady Bakers: found M^{rs} M[atthew]. M[ontagu] & [illegible initial] had been talking. Miss Cobson. Day cloudy showery, cold. W^{ly}.

[Tuesday] 12. Breakfasted at M^r Osborn's. C[om]^{[t[e]} Catuelan; said the younger [illegible name] now in Vendée.³⁶¹ that Louvet author of the Chev[alie]'r de

³⁶⁰ John Stewart, seventh earl of Galloway (1736-1806), Scottish peer. HOP

³⁶¹ Department of France situated on the west coast.

Faublas.³⁶² Called on Montagus. Told that Sir Geo[rge]. Baker said mended by company of Ladies. mentioned approbation of Miss Yorke: Wrote to C[oun]t. Rumford,³⁶³ & put letter in post-office of Park Street. Dined at Club: more spirit than usual; L^d P. not warm. L^d Lucan not sincere; told about daughters Ladies: said that the main object, to give them some distinction; that promised by D[uke]. of Portland. Then to Mr Paradise's. Mr Moore mentioned that glass doors spoken of as a curiosity, in the account of Philo's embassy to Caligula.³⁶⁴ Then to L^y Bakers: conversation with Sir George who mentioned M^{rs} M[atthew]. M[ontagu]. as friend; I extolled telling talk with M^{rs} Anstey; with Pole Carew, &c. Said this morning to M^{rs} M[atthew]. M[ontagu]. that M[ary]. B[erry]. assent borne, to which she agreed. Day cloudy. with breaks, cold air from northward of West.

58v. (13 May)

[Wednesday] 13. Called at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s in vain. Went to exhibition Called at Bankers: at Mr T. Lewis's; at Mr Boswell's. Dined at home. Went in evening to Chev[alier]. Almeida's³⁶⁵ Talk with various: Mrs M[atthew]. M[ontagu]. dryer than usual. M^{rs} Anderson. Excuse to Miss Berrys. Cloudy day & night N^y

[Thursday] 14. Bro[the]r Hale came & breakfasted. Called on L^y Lucan, playing cunning. Then on Grey's, very civil, but no sincerity: he complained how ill used. Nod of A-Berry Attended Council R[oyal]. S[ociety]. Dined at Crown &

³⁶² *Les Amours du chevalier de Faublas*, a novel published in three parts between 1787 and 1790 by the French author Jean-Baptiste Louvet de Couvray. V. Mylne, "Louvet de couvray, Jean-Baptiste," *The New Oxford Companion to Literature in French*, Online ed., ed. Peter France (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), accessed 7 Sep. 2018, <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198661252.001.0001/acref-9780198661252-e-2815>.

³⁶³ Sir Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford (1753-1814), natural philosopher and philanthropist. DNB

³⁶⁴ Refers to Philo of Alexandria's (c. 25 BCE - c. 50 CE) account of his embassy to the Roman Emperor Gaius Caligula in 40 CE. Annewies van den Hoek, "Philo," in *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of Ancient Greece and Rome*, Online ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), accessed 26 Sep. 2018, <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195170726.001.0001/acref-9780195170726-e-976>.

³⁶⁵ Chevalier d'Almeida, Portuguese Ambassador. William Forsyth, *A Treatise on the Culture and Management of Fruit Trees* (London: T. Cadell, 1824), 472.

Anchor: Cav[english] rather civiller than common. Attended A[ntiquaries] S[ociety] & R[oyal] S[ociety]. Day cloudy, a few drops of rain, cold. NW^{ly} Bryan Edwards's³⁶⁶ positive assertions, about M^{rs} Sheridan &c.

[Friday] 15. Called on Montagus; civil but mentioned nothing Met M^{rs} Anderson friendly; called at M^{rs} Bullers; on M^{rs} Dickensons,³⁶⁷ invited. Dined at home. Went in Ev[enin]^g to M^{rs} Backin's: Miss Godfrey shewed pictures, very interesting. Then to L^y Spencer's; civil on L^y Lucan not much, nor M[ary]. B[erry]. conversation with Lord Rawdon: L^d Bulkely, very civil. D[uche]ss of Manchester's³⁶⁸ invitation L^d P[almerston]. spoke about going to Weston.³⁶⁹ Day cloudy chiefly, cold. NW^{ly}. Gooseberries first time: hardly any till this week.

[Saturday] 16. Left entry for hair powder certificates. Called on L^d Orford; in good spirits. His maxims that no one resists temptation, tho' many virtuous from the want of it: that the world is a comedy to those who see, & a tragedy to those who feel. His mean opinion of Virgil; general low estimation of epic poetry, & [illegible word] comedy the greatest effort of human genius, & Falstaff³⁷⁰ at the head of this Good opinion of D[uche]ss of Manchester. Called at [inserted above: illegible words] Miss Berrys. Walked round Kensington Garden. Dined at home. In evening went to Mr T. Lewis's, none of them at home left name. Day fair, cloudy with breaks NE^{ly}. chilling. Called on Mr Macnamara; odd behaviour, invitation

[Sunday] 17. D^r Robertson³⁷¹ & Mr Wilkins called. Called on M^{rs} Buller, & Mr Agar. Walked in Kensington Garden Dined at Mr Macnamara's; a Miss M there [illegible word]: also Mr Dillon, of Switzerland, who has been travelling tutor, L^d Cholmondeley's friend: Sir J[ohn]^o & Mr Miller: & Mr Caglan; Then to Sir

³⁶⁶ Bryan Edwards (1743–1800), planter and politician. DNB

³⁶⁷ Mary Dickenson (1756–1816), courtier and diarist. DNB

³⁶⁸ Susan Montagu, duchess of Manchester (1774–1828), wife of William Montagu, fifth duke of Manchester (1771–1843), colonial governor. DNB

³⁶⁹ Weston Manor, near Guildford, the home of William Man Godschall. Blagden visited Weston for a few days in May, see entry for 25 May, f. 60r. "Godschall Family of Weston House," The National Archives, accessed 20 Sep. 2018, <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/61bb92a1-5192-404b-af33-ea7a95d1883c>

³⁷⁰ John Falstaff, fictional comic character in several of William Shakespeare's plays.

³⁷¹ Abram Robertson (1751–1826), mathematician and astronomer. DNB

Jos[eph] Banks's talk with several. Cav[endish] - rather sulky; then to Bar[on]. Nolkens, entrust in M^{rs} Montagu. Day fair, gauze clouds, SW. pleasant.

59r. (18 May)

[Monday] May 18. Told yesterday by Mr Dillon, that B[isho]p. of Autun,³⁷² & most of the other Emigrants of that description gone to America, had taken up that residence at Philadelphia. Called at L^y Lucan's not well; took out powder certificates; called at Mr Cavendish's, & went to dine at Club. Mr C[avendish]. changes tone. In evening to Mr King's: Major Rennell gave account of bad management of our troops in late action with the [illegible word]. Corsican timber said to be split & unfit for ship-building. Mr K[ing]. wished pleasant summer. Day fine warm ^{wly}

[Tuesday] 19. C[om]^[te] Catuelan & Col. Osborn breakfasted. Attended opening of Sir W[illiam]. Jones's MSS.³⁷³ Mr Wilkins said he had lent him a complete copy of the Laws of Menu³⁷⁴ printed translation by Sir W[illiam]. Jones; that he had himself made a translation, which Sir W[illia]^m. desired him not to publish. L^y Jones applying to [illegible name] about some publication. Then called on L^d Palmerston M^{rs} Culv[erden] & M[iss] G[odfrey] there: mentioned Sir W[illia]^m Jones MSS. looked up. looked over Boydell's³⁷⁵ plates of Shakespeare with them. Saw some copies of pictures at Capo di Monte.³⁷⁶ the Domenichino's³⁷⁷

³⁷² Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord (1754-1838), bishop of Autun from 1788 to 1791. Talleyrand-Périgord was expelled from England in December 1794, and travelled to Philadelphia, becoming one of many French emigrants living there. Douglas Johnson, "Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles-Maurice de," in *The New Oxford Companion to Literature in French*, Online ed., ed. Peter France (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), accessed 26 Sep. 2018,

<http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198661252.001.0001/acref-9780198661252-e-4475>.

³⁷³ See note 127.

³⁷⁴ The Laws of Menu was one of the first Sanskrit texts translated into English, and was published by William Jones in 1794 as the *Institutes of Hindu Law, or, The Ordinances of Menu*. DNB

³⁷⁵ John Boydell (1720-1804), engraver and print seller. In 1786, Boydell began publishing a series of prints illustrating Shakespeare's works, in partnership with the bookseller George Nicol. DNB

³⁷⁶ The Museo di Capodimonte, art gallery in Naples, established in 1757. BDA

³⁷⁷ Domenichino Zampieri (1581-1641), Italian painter. BDA

servant maid: the Correggio's³⁷⁸ Madonna & Child: the 2 laughing boys: & some pictures. He said that true about Corsican timber, that split near heart by a concentric circle from which irregular decaying split radii went out towards circumference. Johnson came in; looks clever, but very thin. Dined & spent evening at home. Day fine, some haziness, wind N^d of W.

59v. (20 May)

[Wednesday] 20. Went to M^{rs} Hunter³⁷⁹ at Blackheath: very agreeable. Saw her son in law. Col. Campbell,³⁸⁰ did not seem to have much in him: on bad terms with his father who allows him only £300 per Annum. disappointed by his Uncle Sir Arch[ibal]^d.³⁸¹ Said that M^{rs} Dickenson had been very nervous. Saw Miss Ellicot; just 14; a fine countenance. Sir Rob[er]t Herries made no settlement on M^{rs} Foote.³⁸² Dined at home. Walked round Kensington Garden. Spent evening at home. Day fine, tho' gauzy sky. Wind E^d of N.

[Thursday] 21. B[reakfaste]^d at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s; civiler. Told Major Rennell about Corsican timber. Called on Mr Montagu; more grand, she kind; ill: affectionate sentiments of [illegible name] philosophical news: reflexions on Jerningham's play, not quite just. Called at L^y Lucan's: Dined at home. Went to A[ntiquaries] S[ociety] & R[oyal]. S[ociety]. conversation with Aubert about Huddart;³⁸³ also some with Cavendish; odd. Then to Chev[alier]. Almeida; pleasant fête. Talk with Miss & L^d Lyttelton. Somers's. Fine day, Southerly wind hot. 78 Clapham near 80.

[Friday] 22. Called at M^{rs}. Stirling's, on Miss Grote; Miss Allen there; sensible: comp[limen]^{ts} to Brother. then on Greys. L^y Grey not well; civil; interested; then on Bakers, both interesting. affected by death of M^{rs}. Swinnerton: left drawings

³⁷⁸ Antonio Allegri da Correggio (1489-1534), Italian painter. BDA

³⁷⁹ Anne Hunter (1742/3-1821), poet and widow of the surgeon John Hunter (1728-1793). After the death of her husband, Anne moved with her daughter Agnes to Conduit Vale, Blackheath. DNB

³⁸⁰ Sir James Campbell (1763-1819), army officer, husband of Agnes Hunter. DNB

³⁸¹ Sir Archibald Campbell (1739-1791), army officer and colonial governor. DNB

³⁸² In 1793, Sir Robert Herries married Catherine Foote (1762-1808). DNB

³⁸³ Joseph Huddart (1741-1816), hydrographer and engineer. DNB

with Caldwell:³⁸⁴ called on L^d. Palmerston, D^r Dreuse, the Eldirs: ~~then~~ Dined at home. In evening to L^y Spencers; civility of the Family, but unmeaning; talk of not seeing: said sho[ul]^d. be much disappointed if did not find at Bognor L^d Moira entering into conversation: D[uche]ss of D[evonshire]. Then to Bengal Club Ball; very hot. Talk with Mr H. Browne; the Raikes, L^y Somers Miss Godfrey; vulgarity of Col. Hastings. M^{rs}. Hastings, too prince-like. Day fine, hot, wind NW^{ly}

[Saturday] 23. Called on M^{rs} Montagu; very friendly; invitation to Sandford.³⁸⁵ doubt if July or Aug. confined. Then on M^{rs} M[atthew] M[ontagu]. Sir G[eorge]. Baker said, had connected asperities; she thinks all of them hounded, not advisable: recommended M. Stanley; and very much. Men^{tioned} Ryder's: said much employed & probably would be more. Talked of M[iss] G[odfrey]'s father. Called on D[uche]ss of D[evonshire]. then at L^y Lucan's. Dined at home: Mr Buller called. Evening D[uche]ss & D[uke] of Manchester Talk with M^r M[atthew]. M[ontagu]. M^{rs} Anderson: much with [illegible title] Bingham, who truly amiable. Fine day [illegible word]: wind NW^{ly}. hot. ther[mometer] near 80°.

60r. (24 May)

[Sunday] 24. Called at L^y Lucan's, not well enough to see; on L^d Orford, civil, asked where going; on L^d Palmerston egotist as usual, hint about Waldegrave.³⁸⁶ on M^{rs} Buller, freer, civil, gave note to Aiton.³⁸⁷ on M^r Agar, Gen. [illegible name] said that discontents & dissatisfaction much prevailed I said, not of a Jacobinical kind, for that lessened; he would not declare that he thought Luxembourg would be relieved. Dined & spent evening at home. Note to [illegible name]. Cloudy day, easterly wind, quite cool.

³⁸⁴ James Caldwell (1739-1822), engraver. "James Caldwell," National Portrait Gallery, accessed 20 Sep. 2018, <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person/mp14135/james-caldwall>

³⁸⁵ Sandford Priory, Berkshire, Elizabeth Montagu's country residence. DNB

³⁸⁶ William Waldegrave, first Baron Radstock (1753-1825), naval officer. DNB

³⁸⁷ William Townsend Aiton (1766-1849), horticulturalist. DNB

[Monday] 25. Set out for Weston House; went the Epsom Road; weather got quite cold. Dined & spent day at Mr Godschalls; only Mr Sam. Godschall.³⁸⁸

[Tuesday] 26. Called on Archbishop of Canterbury³⁸⁹ at Clandon House.³⁹⁰ In middle of it a large cube of 40 feet, with marble floor, better for Station Climate than ours, look to northward from dining room, & Library, very pleasant: deer in the Park. Portraits of the O[n]slows,³⁹¹ speakers. Then went to Guildford; looked at Barracks Old Priory House made so, for horse; stables & accommodations for privates build of wood adjoining; one fell down lately by weight of its roof, which of pantiles: Col. Villars company. Here met L^d Malmesbury;³⁹² who said Bischoffswerder³⁹³ had full influence over K[ing]. of Prussia & that C[oun]t de Hertzberg³⁹⁴ lived near [illegible place name] now decaying from age. Returned with him to Weston to dinner: L^d Palmerston & Miss Whitworth³⁹⁵ arrived. Went on course;³⁹⁶ poor races; in evening M^{rs} Culverden & Miss Godfrey came Day fine, cold.

[Wednesday] 27. Rode on horseback with Mr S[amuel]. Godschall, pleasant round by Chilworth Ponds, estate of L^d Spencer here, about £800 per Ann. of

³⁸⁸ Samuel Man Godschall, son of William Man Godschall. See notes 339 and 369.

³⁸⁹ John Moore (*bap.* 1730, *d.* 1805), archbishop of Canterbury from 1783 until his death. DNB

³⁹⁰ Clandon Park, Palladian mansion in West Clandon, Guildford, built in the 1720s for the Onslow family (see note 391). DNB

³⁹¹ Family and ancestors of George Onslow, first earl of Onslow (1731-1814). George's father, Arthur Onslow (1691-1768), was speaker of the House of Commons. DNB

³⁹² James Harris, first earl of Malmesbury (1746-1820), diplomatist. DNB

³⁹³ Johann Rudolf von Bischoffswerder (1741-1803), adviser to Frederick William II, King of Prussia from 1786 to 1797. "Bischoffswerder, Johann Rudolf von." in *The Oxford Companion to German Literature*, Online ed., ed. Henry Garland and Mary Garland (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), accessed 26 Sep. 2018, <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198158967.001.0001/acref-9780198158967-e-634>.

³⁹⁴ Ewald Friedrich von Hertzberg (1725-1795), Prussian statesman. "Hertzberg, Ewald Friedrich von" in *The Dictionary of Eighteenth-Century German Philosophers*, Online ed., ed. Heiner Klemme and Manfred Kuehn (London: Continuum, 2011), accessed 26 Sep. 2018, <http://www.oxfordreference.com.libproxy.ucl.ac.uk/abstract/10.1093/acref/9780199797097.001.0001/acref-9780199797097-e-0248?rskey=dAcoyg&result=1>

³⁹⁵ One of the sisters of Charles Whitworth, Earl Whitworth (1752-1825), diplomatist and politician. Lord Whitworth was a close friend of Viscount Palmerston. "Palmerston's Letters to Laurence and Elizabeth Sullivan," 35.

³⁹⁶ The Guildford Races, which took place from 1701 until 1870 on Merrow Downs during Whitsuntide. "Village History: Guildford Races," Merrow Residents' Association, accessed 20 Sep. 2018, <http://www.merrowresidents.org.uk/historyraces.htm>

w[hi]^{ch} M^r S[amuel]. G[odschall]. gamekeeper. Dined at Weston; went again on course. Day still fair, but more clouds, cold.

60v. (28 May)

[Thursday] 28. Went to Stoke³⁹⁷ with Mr Godschall, calling on M^r Adusey. M^{rs}. Adusey pleasant engaging style of mind: place rather pretty, River Wey running at bottom of it. Dined at Weston, again on course: some rain.

[Friday] 29. Walked with Misses Whitworth & Godfrey: observe person of latter: little mind developed: indolent character. Dined at Weston, on course, day cloudy but no more rain. Pleasant walk round Chilworth Ponds.

[Saturday] 30. Sudden opportunity of going away with Lord P[almerston]. Charged 18 miles from Weston to Kingston, of which to Ripley.³⁹⁸ Cold still; cloudy morning but fine day. Dined at L^d. Palmerston's; talk about Lucan's. Said I con[sidere]^d. M[ary]. B[erry]. as still feeling engaged.³⁹⁹

[Sunday] 31. Staid at home looking over proofs &c. Dined at home. In evening walked to Kensington Garden. NW Day cloudy, rather cold, but pleasant

[Monday] Jun. 1. Staid at home forenoon. Walked to Kensington Gardens just before dinner. Dined at home & evening. Day cloudy with breaks. Wind S by E.

[Tuesday] 2. Called at M^{rs} Montagu's; inquired about M^r. Montagu, & c. Called on M^{rs} Anderson; compliment about Maid. Then to Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s & Mr C[avendish]'s. Dined at home & evening, except walk. Mr Dalby⁴⁰⁰ called: said that Luth Hill above 1000 feet high: Hindhead⁴⁰¹ between 800 & 900:

³⁹⁷ Parish of Stoke-juxta-Guildford, containing Stoke Park.

³⁹⁸ The village of Ripley, between Guildford and Kingston upon Thames.

³⁹⁹ Mary Berry was briefly engaged to General Charles O'Hara (c.1740–1802) in October 1795. DNB

⁴⁰⁰ Isaac Dalby (1744-1824), mathematician and surveyor. DNB

⁴⁰¹ Small village in Surrey.

Butser Hill⁴⁰², near Petersfield as high as any of the Chalk range; highest land of Isle of Wight not above 700. Day fine. cloudy with [inserted above: many] breaks Wind S^{ly}.

[Wednesday] 3. Called at Lord Ailesbury's, told not in town. Then on Montagu's; pleased with notice taken of him by Mr Pitt: then on Grey's, true interested style; at D[uche]ss of D[evonshire]'s, at Mr Brand's, on M^{rs} Buller. Dined & Ev[enin]^g at home. Day fine, clouds. warm.

[Thursday] 4. B[reakfaste]^d at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s settled with engravers &c. Dined at home sent book, & list, to Montagus. Attended R[oyal]. S[ociety]. Cav[endish]. civil Day very warm. in evening hard showers; thunder. nearly determined to resign next anniversary.⁴⁰³

61r. (5 Jun.)

[Friday] 5. Called on Lord Orford; talk about poems; his conjecture that Epistle of Kien-Long⁴⁰⁴ by Dr Laurence.⁴⁰⁵ peevish with Marshall Conway. Dined at M^{rs} Montagu's. Poyntz family, M^{rs} Anderson; Bullers Mr Arbuthnot. Talk with Eldest Miss Poyntz. Morning fine; then clouds, calm, threatening, sulky some rain: then clearer.

[Saturday] 6. Called at M^r Montagu's, gone: then L^d P. pleasant talk: then on Berry's, asked very particularly about Cheltenham;⁴⁰⁶ said required Sea bathing. then on L^y Spencer; very civil, reproach about not calling; asked when go to Bognor: news of various kinds from Mediterranean, acknowledged

⁴⁰² One of the highest points in Hampshire.

⁴⁰³ Blagden had been threatening to resign as secretary of the Royal Society since 1788, following a rupture in his relationship with Banks. He continued as secretary until 1797. DNB

⁴⁰⁴ *The Imperial Epistle from Kien Long, Emperor of China, to George the Third, King of Great Britain, in the Year 1794*, published in 1795, a satire that purported to be an address transmitted from the Chinese Emperor to George III. Laurence Williams, "British Government under the Qianlong Emperor's Gaze: Satire, Imperialism, and the Macartney Embassy to China, 1792-1804," *Lumen: Selected Proceedings from the Canadian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 32 (2013): 85-107.

⁴⁰⁵ French Laurence (1757-1809), lawyer, politician, and author of satirical poems. Laurence was not the author of the *Imperial Epistle from Kien Long*. DNB

⁴⁰⁶ Cheltenham Spa.

alarm; exultation of Hotham for promotion, & command Censure of Pr[ince]. of W[ales]. hint that K[ing]. wished to keep money because doubtful whether might not come to want: his partiality for D[uke]. of York: when told of marriage to M^{rs}. F[itzhertbert]. said exultingly "Then Frederic's⁴⁰⁷ children will have the crown. favourable character of D[uke]. of Y[ork]. joined in a memorial against job of Dundas's, who evidently disliked by L^y Sp[encer]. promotion of a young man on L^y Sp[encer]'s recommendation, a situation that raised sensibility. Repeated that a change must take place from state of men's hands, & all the efforts of wisdom should be to let it happen gradually without convulsion: shewed cleverness: said every thing was to be expected from truth & feeling. Dined & spent evening at home. hot day, thunder, showers, W^d [illegible word] L^y Spencer said French dug up plant[e]d potatoes, from [illegible word] afford.

[Sunday] 7. Called at M^{rs} Buller's; on Mr Agar; brutality of M^r Pitt. Walked to Kensington Garden; nearly empty Dined & spent evening at home Day cold N E wind, cloudy & forenoon rainy.

[Monday] 8. Went to Mr Cav[endish]'s; thought different tone; called somewhere so not go together. Dined at Club: rather in spirits. Dalrymple⁴⁰⁸ denied that sent to: only note from Stephens. Confirmation of Rowley to Stephen's daughter.⁴⁰⁹ In evening to Miss Blossett's. Miss [illegible name] there, eldest taking at sunning. Then to M^{rs} Andersons. very wet day & night wind N.^y

61v. (9 Jun.)

[Tuesday] 9. Called on M^{rs} M[atthew]. Montagu; agreeable interesting conversation; disadvantage to young men from being brought up ~~with~~ by women: account of M. Stanley. very meek, aimiable disposition: parting of parent hardly a quarrel, you may go where you please, but I will stay here. 2

⁴⁰⁷ Prince Frederick, duke of York and Albany (1763-1827), army officer and bishop of Osnabrück, second son of George III. DNB

⁴⁰⁸ Alexander Dalrymple (1737-1808), hydrographer. DNB

⁴⁰⁹ Sir Philip Stephens's illegitimate daughter, Caroline, married Thomas Jones, sixth Viscount Ranelagh, in 1804. DNB

sons, 3 daughters. Walked. Dined & spent evening at home. Day cloudy, [inserted above: damp;] wind NE of N. Wet morning, then fair.

[Wednesday] 10. Called on M^{rs} Montagu. M. M. M. there; very interesting relation of story of Paul & Virginie.⁴¹⁰ ridiculous vain letter of Geo[rge]. Hardinge:⁴¹¹ Called on Bakers: told that going to Bognor, & about middle of Aug. to Brighton. Dined & spent evening at home. Day cloudy, close, but coldish Wind blew N & E.

[Thursday] 11. B[reakfaste]^d at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s. Called at M^{rs} Anderson's on L^d Orford, Mr Dickenson,⁴¹² Mr Montagu, invitation to Shooter's Hill discouraged; Dined at Crown & Anchor. attended A[ntiquaries] S[ociety] & R[oyal] S[ociety] took out own & Mr Coxe's⁴¹³ prints from former, leaving them to be sent to Cadell's⁴¹⁴ for Coxe. Mr Cav[endish]. desired that draw out account of cold, which however did not undertake. Day cloudy, but with breaks. NE.

[Friday] 12. Went to exhibition of Jamaican drawings: then to Mausoleum at Mr Blades':⁴¹⁵ called at Bankers & found [illegible word] Exchequer bills to be from July 18. Dined at home. In evening to M^{rs} Buller; Aiton very civil to Somers's party. M^{rs} Anderson's [illegible word] from perverseness & craziness. Day cloudy, damp, cold, NE^{ly} Sent Blades ticket to M^{rs} M[atthew]. M[ontagu]. Harrison's letter

[Saturday] 13. Card from Spencers & refusal. Answered Mr Harrison. Called on Palmerston's; civil: Madame Morandi⁴¹⁶ after Carr, departures went to Mr

⁴¹⁰ Jacques-Bernardin-Henri de Saint-Pierre, *Paul Et Virginie* (Lausanne: J. Mourer, 1788).

⁴¹¹ George Hardinge (1743-1816), judge and writer. DNB

⁴¹² John Dickenson (d. 1842), husband of Mary Dickenson, courtier and diarist. DNB

⁴¹³ William Coxe (1748-1828), historian and clergyman. DNB

⁴¹⁴ Thomas Cadell the elder (1742-1802), bookseller, or his son, Thomas Cadell the younger (1773-1836), who succeeded him in his business in 1793. DNB

⁴¹⁵ John Blades (1751-1829), glass manufacturer. Blades had a showroom of ornamental glass in Ludgate Hill. See later entry 15 Jun. f. 62r. and note 418. "John Blades (1751-1829)," National Portrait Gallery, accessed 20 Sep. 2018, <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person/mp53454/john-blades>

⁴¹⁶ Madame Morandi (d. 1824), Italian opera singer. Sylvanus Urban, *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, vol. 94 (London: John Nichols and Son, 1824), 479.

Newton, an American: Seriston, after La Flotte, to several. Called on Greys; mentioned approaching marriage of George to Miss Whitbread:⁴¹⁷ D[uche]ss of D[evonshire]. often there. Dined & spent evening at home. Letter to Bro[the]r. Day cloudy, cold, then clear NW.

[Sunday] 14. Called on Portuguese Minister Saw specimens of gold from Bresil & Mozambique: crystals, especially an aqua marine. within a rock crystal; aqua marine not very green, but said to be much harder than the [illegible word] crystal, its surface rather opaque with green crust, as if chlorites: fine mother of opal on petrified wood: bone (of Mammoth?) blue, white when found near 40 feet deep, in Bresil, turned instantly blue when removed from earth. Dined at home. Went in evening to Sir Jos[eph]. Banks's; made inquiries for Thompson; Talk with Mr Cav[endish]. [illegible word] that 65 feet in diameter, 26 high: hoops 1 to 3 tons. Day cloudy, then clear, cool. NNE.

62r. (15 Jun.)

[Monday] June 15, 1795. Went again to Blades; saw the fine purple & green lustres, & elegant small ones for single candles. In centre of Mausoleum⁴¹⁸ a stone as it were raised with depression in its middle, probably for the lamp; the light of which will have an effect on green glass that may be curious. Dined at Geo[rge]. & Vulture. Mr Dalrymple shewed letters about his place; had no doubt about accepting it except India company's permission: Told that [illegible word] how to use oil to lock, but if difficult letter then unopened, did without. In evening to Mrs Anderson's; Miss Wainwright's very pleasant singing. Day fair, but cloudy in gen[era]l. Some breaks, calm often, Wind sometimes easterly, sometimes to W^d. Warmer.

⁴¹⁷ Sir George Grey, first baronet (1767-1828), third son of Charles Grey, first Earl Grey, married Mary Whitbread (1770-1858), daughter of Samuel Whitbread, on 18 June 1795. DNB

⁴¹⁸ Blades produced a glass mausoleum in the style of Henry VII's tomb, housed in the chapel of Westminster Abbey. The mausoleum was made in 1795 for the Nabob of Oude, Northern India. Rudolph Ackermann, *The Repository of Arts, Literature, Fashions &C. Third Series.*, vol. 1 (London: Ackerman, 1823), 212.

[Tuesday] 16. Called at M^r. Montagu's, met M^{rs} M[atthew]. M[ontagu]. Called on M^{rs} Montagu, complained that no general conversation now; [illegible word] M^{rs}. M. Carter: folly of pomps of language if [illegible word] admired L^y Spencer. Called on D[uche]ss of Devonshire false; message about going to Spring Grove.⁴¹⁹ Dined at Club: L^d Spencer civil received with indifference. account of Blane to Sick & Hurt.⁴²⁰ Day cloudy, sometimes slight mizzling. Wind westerly.

[Wednesday] 17. Went to Capt. Armstrong's; got his account with C[ount]. Rumford; he promised to write to the Count Friday, & to assure him of his purchase at opening of 3 [illegible words], & purchasing then at rate 62 [illegible symbol] to the amount of £1000: Has Theobalds House. Called at L^y Spencers, Sir Rob[ert] Herries's, Miss Grotes who said M^{rs} Stirling & Miss Caroline going to Isle of Wight, let & [illegible word] with Mr Grote to Lincolnshire, [illegible name] into Kent & then [illegible place] called at M^{rs} Bullers. Sent Phil[osophical]. Trans[actions]. to Miss Grotes for Mr Grote. Dined & spent evening at home. Day cloudy dark, often mizzling. Wind E^{ly} Boswell 140 women since wife death & more: Stevens said he boasted so. Mr [illegible initials] proposed letter to Shakespeare, said that she ordered him to attend to meet L^d [illegible name]; but he died when Shakespeare only 23 they said.

62v. (18 Jun.)

[Thursday] 18. B[reakfaste]^d at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s Talk with Rennell about offer to be Geographer; L^d Spencer sounded him thro' Marsden. Neither liked master, or thought it equivalent. Dined at home. In evening to A[ntiquaries] S[ociety] & R[oyal] S[ociety]. Hinted to Sir Geo[rge]. Shuckburgh that did not intend to remain long Secretary, & that salary ought to be increased. Continued rain all day, & eve[nin]g, with wind from E to ENE. dismal.

⁴¹⁹ Banks's country house in Middlesex. DNB

⁴²⁰ Sir Gilbert Blane was appointed commissioner for sick and wounded seamen, also known as the Sick and Hurt Board, an office he held from 1795 to 1802. DNB

[Friday] 19. Called on Montagus, friendly, but more assured: asked about Lucan's: told of Geographical at establishment Mention about Stanleys.⁴²¹ house burnt some time ago, not rebuilt, but go to a small house on sea-side of Cheshire. Then on L^d. Palmerston: L^d. Ossory,⁴²² vulgar appearance. Invitation to them. Day very cloudy: wind from NE to ENE. very raw & cold: ther[mometer] under 50, in evening about 47 some rain, always damp.

[Saturday] 20. Went to Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s, & settled titles of foreign members for certificates. Then to Mr Cav[endish]'s looked about books on brewing. Heydinger⁴²³ said he bought very few books now Then called on M^{rs} Anderson, civil, but capricious. Dined & spent evening at home. Day cloudy, cold. Ther[mometer] 49 morn[in]⁹. Gale from E.

[Sunday] 21. Called at M^{rs} Buller's; on Mr Agar. Callopy said that people from Holland to Hope spoke much of good behaviour of French, how much liked, & how much the opposite we were. Went to Kensington Gardens. Dined at home. In evening to Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s. talk with Gen. Mordaunt⁴²⁴ about Sir W[illiam]. Hamilton: L^d Mountnorris, that political illness, not to be asked about cessation of arms: mentioned Jena Chart to Dalrymple: Fetiche Portuguese from to do because of the manoeuvres in [illegible word]: the Physique [illegible word] in Portuguese, not properly published by Academy but by (Pacaiba?) so man who made a decision in the Academy, a great intriguer at length turned out, all the papers however were read before Academy. Day cloudy, warmer, little wind NE^{ly}.

[Monday] 22. Called on Bakers; civil. did not see Mr Baker; then at L^y Spencers, left message to inquire for L^y Lucan: then on Miss Blossett; the gardening person means Nichols. Dined & spent evening at home. Day fair, but chiefly cloudy: some breaks. wind from NW to W.

⁴²¹ The family of John Thomas Stanley, sixth baronet (1735-1807), who lived at Alderley Park, Cheshire, until it was damaged by fire in 1779. HOP

⁴²² John FitzPatrick, second earl of Upper Ossory (1745-1818), politician. HOP

⁴²³ One of the two sons of Carl Heydinger (*fl.* 1766-1784), printer and bookseller, who continued his business after his death. DNB

⁴²⁴ Thomas Osbert Mordaunt (c. 1729-1809), lieutenant general. Royal Society, EC/1796/02 (Thomas Osbert Mordaunt, election certificate, 1796).

63r. (23 Jun.)

[Tuesday] 23. Note from D[uche]ss of Devonshire to put off from 12½ to 1 ¾. at which time went there. Delayed with Col. S^t. John. Went to Spring Grove: got there at 3. Went to Chiswick:⁴²⁵ various good pictures, the Relicary the best, bought by L^d Burlington⁴²⁶ in Italy; suppose[e]d by Vandyk⁴²⁷ by D[uche]ss. Improvements at Chiswick. Pr[ince] of Wales suspects people of laughing at him; easily takes offence: had formerly prejudice to L^y Jersey.⁴²⁸ D[uche]ss of D[evonshire]'s offer if wanted to recommend my one to L^d Spencer. Dined at Devonshire House. Duke civil for him; [illegible word] well. Day cloudy with breaks. Some showers Wind W^{ly} spent evening at home. Sent letter to C[oun]t Rumford, with Armstrong's account, 4^d to Gen. Post Office.

[Wednesday] 24. Called on M^{rs} Montagu: saw her servant whose head hurt by a fall; told her that observed no dangerous symptoms. Then at L^d Macartney's, M^{rs} Grey's, & on M^{rs} Buller. Great Map of France by Departments in 4 sheets. Sent [illegible word] work to Mr Montagu. D^r Baker called. Dined & spent even[ing]⁹. at home. Day cloudy, not cold; in evening wet.

[Thursday] 25. B[reakfaste]^d at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s. Arrested cause of dearness from rise of rents; bare reply of those who thought gentlemen a prejudice. People gone entirely from New Madrid in America S[ai]d Correa, who has been to Chev[alier]. Almeida's. Note to L^y Spencer & answer. Called on Montagu's, very civil; that sho[ul]^d get settled by X[ma]^s. Dined at home. In evening to A[ntiquaries] S[ociety] & R[oyal] S[ociety]. Cav[endish] –rather sulky: Astle⁴²⁹ about recovering old deed; had it done by infusion of galls in spirit; very well but stained paper a little. Day often mizzling rain, always cloudy, wind WSW^{ly}.

⁴²⁵ Chiswick House, Palladian Villa in west London, owned by the duke and duchess of Devonshire. DNB

⁴²⁶ Richard Boyle, third earl of Burlington and fourth earl of Cork (1694-1753), collector, patron, and designer of Chiswick House. DNB

⁴²⁷ Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641), Flemish painter. BDA

⁴²⁸ Frances Villiers, countess of Jersey (1753-1821), royal mistress and courtier. In the spring of 1793, Lady Jersey had an affair with the Prince of Wales, before encouraging him to marry Caroline of Brunswick. DNB

⁴²⁹ Thomas Astle (1735-1803), archivist and collector of books and manuscripts. DNB

[Friday] 26. Knee so ill, sent excuse to Dr Heberden, & letter to Lady Spencer. Harrison⁴³⁰ called; could discover nothing. Dined & spent evening at home. Day cloudy, showery NW.

[Saturday] 27. Knee rather better, but still bad. Harrison called again. Dined at Mrs. Montagu's Bullers, Mrs Chapone,⁴³¹ &c. Not in spirits. Sent to Admiralty about Lucans. Day cloudy, with few breaks, showery wind NW^{ly}. Evening clear.

[Sunday] 28. Wet day, cloudy, dark, southerly wind. held up in evening. Dined at home, & evening. Saw no company. Time passed unexpectedly. Knee better, but still cracking.

63v. (29 Jun.)

[Monday] 29. Mr Cav[endish]. called: asked whether Gout, if had got that companion; called more to avoid obliging than out of friendship; said had found phosphorus not luminous in d[ephlogisticate]^d air, but only for a very little time in p.[hlogisticate]^d & observed -120 diminution. Dined & evening at home sent inquiries about Lucan for L^y. Spencer. Day fair, cloudy but some sunshine. W^{ly}.

[Tuesday] 30. Wet day, with some intervals. Spent day at home & dined, walking a little in evening. Better in all respects. Wind below seemed SSW. but above N^d of W. Wrote to L^y Lucan.

[Wednesday] July 1. Called on Mr Montagu; faint, a little capricious. L^y Marg[aret]. Fordyce has £1000 stock left her by Sir [illegible initials]; his natural daughter in Germany about £9000. L^y M. in succession to be his residuary legatee, in case of failure. Called on Mrs. Anderson; invitation from Mr Johnstone: horrid behaviour of A almost drives to desperation. Met Mrs G

⁴³⁰ Edward Harrison (*bap.* 1759, *d.* 1838), physician. DNB

⁴³¹ Hester Chapone, (1727-1801), writer. DNB

Harvey; called at M^{rs}. Bullers. Dined & staid at home, walking in evening. Day showery, cloudy with breaks. W[in]^d W to N

[Thursday] 2. Called on M^{rs}. Montagu; civil; invitation to Sandford, that should be there in Sep^r. Then on D^r Heberden civil & pleasant: on L^y Spencer; said she rather preferred latter part of month, because she sho[ul]^d. then be at Bognor; found that struck against Rennell about Bentham: said political clouds breaking. Attended Council R[oyal]. S[ociety]. Dined at Club. came away early. Spent evening at home. Cloudy, thick day Some rain N^{ly}. gave D^r Maskelyne⁴³² Cassilla's paper.

[Friday] 3. Called at L^d Palmerston's, at Greys, gone out, on Bakers, talk with young Baker, decent but not clever, saw L^y B[aker] to disadvantage, on D[uche]ss of Devonshire, who said that Duel for the day unexpected to Beresford,⁴³³ who called out of bed, L^d F[it]zwilliam]. having come to town sooner than was expected. Townsend got intimation of it at the opera that night, & was with them in the morning, having engaged L^d F[it]zwilliam]'s porter to let him know when L^d F[it]zwilliam]. went out w[hi]^{ch}. however he did not L^d F[it]zwilliam]. refused apology; but when officers interfered, Beresford declared sho[ul]^d. go no further: L^d F[it]zwilliam]. said, he did not intend the letter for printing, & meant no reflexion on Mr B[eresford]. in his private capacity: & B[eresford]. declared on other hand, that he had no share in

64r. (3 Jul. cont.)

L^d. F[it]zwilliam]'s recall. L^d. F[it]zwilliam]. sent D[uke]. of Devonshire copies of his letters to L^d F. [Carlisle?] they were incorrectly printed & supposed to have been obtained from a Clerk employed to copy them.⁴³⁴ Behaved well, seemed to have some emotion pressed for Bognor. clearly sees not much of L^d L^y

⁴³² Nevil Maskelyne (1732-1811), astronomer and mathematician. DNB

⁴³³ John Beresford (1738-1805), politician. DNB

⁴³⁴ Lord Fitzwilliam was recalled as lord lieutenant of Ireland in March 1795, due to his handling of the proposal of a Catholic relief bill. Fitzwilliam demanded an investigation, which was denied. Without his explicit sanction, a defence of his behaviour was published in the *Lords Journal*, in the form of two letters that Fitzwilliam had sent to Lord Carlisle, one of which accused John Beresford, former first commissioner of the revenue, of corruption. DNB

Sp[encer]. no cordiality, at least between the Ladies. Called at Mr Johnstone's. Dined & spent evening at home. Very close day, cloudy, some little rain, variable, Ev[enin]⁹. Easterly.

[Saturday] 4. Called on Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]. laid Ancora's letters before him, he agreed that better not to deliver the letter to Mr Wright Letter from Menzies;⁴³⁵ fine country Chili Valparaiso;⁴³⁶ bad management of voyage thither.⁴³⁷ I said to him & Major Rennell that prices would never come down again, that partly depended on lessened value of numeraire,⁴³⁸ which partly on increase of national debt, & that always went by jerks, keeping behind till an occasional cause brought it up to its level or rather beyond. Told Rennell that had had something said about Bentham; offered copying paper, I said would let him know when I wanted it; asked me when & where going; told him first to Bognor, then to Brighton.⁴³⁹ Rec[eive]^d. friendly letter from L^y Lucan. Dined & spent evening at home. Day very mellow with ENE wind till 2 p m. Then fair but continued cloudy wind same – clouds getting hard. wintry, Great excellence of sail cloth cover for stacks in making hay.

[Sunday] 5. Sir Cha[rle]^s Grey called; censured Government; evidently angry, & very interested; wanted violent measures in W. Indies: to send off the disaffected to Monarchy to Africa or Spanish Main! where he sent several!! Called on M^{rs} Buller; eulogium on M^{rs} Anderson: agreeable conversation. Then to Mr Agar's. Not much changed: meanness of O'Connor's mind. Dined & spent evening at home, only walking. Day cloudy, with some breaks, wind northerly, night misty.

[Monday] 6. Called on Mr Cavendish; civil, but rather affected by: wo[ul]^d. not have Beaumont on Mar. Alps. Went to George & Vulture to dinner: mentioned ~~machine~~ instrument making for Dr Hunter to ascertain by reflexion if eye

⁴³⁵ Archibald Menzies (1754-1842), naval surgeon and collector. DNB

⁴³⁶ Port city on the Chilean coast in South America.

⁴³⁷ Sir Archibald Menzies was the surgeon and naturalist aboard the *Discovery* voyage, captained by George Vancouver (1757-1798). In March 1795, the expedition landed in Valparaiso, Chile. DNB

⁴³⁸ Commodity which acts as a universal measure of value in economics.

⁴³⁹ These plans account for a gap in the diary, between 19 Jul. and 20 Aug., see ff. 66r-v.

changes its shape. Auberts sister sees well after operation of imparting crystalline. Character of Gen. Hyde, a great proprietor in the London assurance, Spent evening at home. Dry fair, but much of it cloudy wind about NNW. pleasant.

64v. (7 Jul.)

[Tuesday] 7. Staying of servant. Called on M^{rs} Anderson: looked very pale: said lately ready to go out of house: know must bear it. Called at L^y Spencer's: on Mr Montagu; told that I could not bear to lose time, but must be done. Said to Sandleford [Monday] Sepr 14. Stay from a week to 10 days. Saw Panorama of fleets Jun 1.⁴⁴⁰ effect striking; some of the ships excellent, sea bad. Met Dr Maskelyne there; Told him about paper of Measurement, & D^r Robertson's paper would be for printing next week;⁴⁴¹ he promised to write to Oxford, & let me know result. Pleasant young woman with M^{rs}. Maskelyne.⁴⁴² Dined & spent evening at home, walking. Day fair, cloudy forenoon & breaking, towards ev[enin]⁹. clear NNW.

[Wednesday] 8. Called on M^{rs} Montagu. Pleasant conversation Then on Greys. M^{rs} Grey said M[atthew] M[ontagu] knew liked her; inquired why did not call there at his house Sir Cha[rle]s very civil outwardly: city honours mentioned. Called on Mr M[atthew]. M[ontagu] to tell about death of Sir W[illiam]. Middleton⁴⁴³ &c. Dined & spent evening at home. Forenoon cloudy high mist with ENE wind; cleared in day, but dark high mist again at night

[Thursday] 9. B[reakfaste]^d at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s. Kirwan,⁴⁴⁴ his gross defence of Empress of Russia. Invitation from Sir Joseph. Called then on Sir

⁴⁴⁰ Panorama shown at Leicester Square between June 1795 and April 1796 which depicted Lord Howe's naval victory over the French at Ushant on 1 June 1794. Markman Ellis, "'Spectacles within Doors': Panoramas of London in the 1790s," *Romanticism* 14, no. 2 (2008): 133-48, 141.

⁴⁴¹ Robertson's paper entitled 'The Binomial Theorem demonstrated by the Principles of Multiplication' was read at the Royal Society on 21 May 1795. Royal Society, CMB/90/2, f. 131r. (minutes of committee of papers, 2 Jul. 1795).

⁴⁴² Sophia Maskelyne (1752-1821), wife of Nevil Maskelyne. DNB

⁴⁴³ Sir William Middleton, fifth baronet (1738-1795), politician. HOP

⁴⁴⁴ Richard Kirwan (1733-1812), chemist. DNB

Rob[er]t Herries; L^y H. recovered limbs. Called at L^d Palmerston's. Sent M^{rs} M[atthew]. M[ontagu]. specimen of tea in round balls about size of marbles; leaves however distinct in the balls, which might easily be picked to pieces & are not hard: it is brown tea, very pleasant. Dined & spent evening at home. Day sunshine, toward evening thick dry misty sky, wind easterly, very raw, chilly.

[Friday] 10. Called on Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]. went with him to Greenwich observatory, taking Mr Molesworth's in way. Saw at obs[ervator]y a Dark glass, consisting of 2 prisms of violet & green colours set the same way, & one of flint glass between set contrary way: said to do better than prisms of the 2 coloured glasses set contrary ways, & sliding on each other. Dr Hunter bought 2 time keepers made by late Emery,⁴⁴⁵ to be put on trial. Saw ravages of dry rot,

65r. (10 Jul. cont.)

all the boletus lachrymans,⁴⁴⁶ spreads [inserted above: often] a vast way before shoots up any flowering stalk; to be known from the other sort, by its being more branched & interwoven the other (clavaisa) running more in straight filaments. Said that washing wood with solution of green vitriol kills them; The spreading roots or filaments suck all the moisture out of the wood, so that it becomes quite short without any strength or cohesion, & quite dry. Account of flooring out of which came [illegible word] gigas,⁴⁴⁷ which bored its way thro' probably having been laid in the wood whilst growing in the north. Dined at Green Man; visited M^{rs}. Hunter: L^y Louisa Macdonald came in. Went & returned with Sir Joseph Banks: He said that consumption in his family about 1lb 10² of bread; in flour about 1 ½ oz, per man. In evening to M^{rs}. Buller's. M. Mouton read letter from Louis XIV to Colbert,⁴⁴⁸ & shewed it in his handwriting;

⁴⁴⁵ Josiah Emery (*bap.* 1725 *d.* 1794), Swiss watchmaker. DNB

⁴⁴⁶ Original species name for *Serpula lacrymans*, a fungi that causes dry rot.

⁴⁴⁷ *Urocero* gigas, species of saw fly.

⁴⁴⁸ Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683), controller general of finance under Louis XIV.

"Colbert, Jean-Baptiste," in *The New Oxford Companion to Literature in French*, Online ed., ed. Peter France (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), accessed 26 Sep. 2018,

also letter of Anne of Austria⁴⁴⁹ to Card[inial] Mazarin⁴⁵⁰ which he considered as love letter, but seemed to me only flattery, to make him believe she had been in love with him. Day black cloudy, but fair. N.E. Sir Jos[eph]. said that summer weekly consumption of London was 16000 sacks of flour; winter 22,000; each sack 250 lbs about. hence in summer about 600,000 sacks.

[Saturday] 11. Dined & spent all day at home except walk, in evening: sent Memoir to Mrs M[atthew]. M[ontagu]. Day very black cloudy without breaks, raw NE. wind, toward even[in]⁹. dampish.

[Sunday] 12. Called at M^{rs}. Montagu's, Mr Montagu's, M^r. Bullers; on M^r Agar: then walk in Kensington Garden, part of time with L^d. Stair & Mr Campbell former knew the news which we had from Mr. Nutt: dined & spent evening at home. Day black, tho' at time fair for a moment between clouds. NE^{ly} sometimes misty even wetting See [Monday] 13.

65v. (13 Jul.)

[Monday] 13. M^r Schmeisser⁴⁵¹ calld yesterday, & said he had been employed at G^d. in analysing adamantine spar, & had found like Klapproth,⁴⁵² but proportions somewhat different. Was sure it was a new earth, different from

<http://www.oxfordreference.com.libproxy.ucl.ac.uk/view/10.1093/acref/9780198661252.001.0001/acref-9780198661252-e-1013>

⁴⁴⁹ Anne of Austria (1601-1666), queen consort of France and Navarre. "Anne of Austria," in *A Dictionary of World History*, Online ed., ed. Edmund Wright (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), accessed 26 Sep. 2018,

<http://www.oxfordreference.com.libproxy.ucl.ac.uk/view/10.1093/acref/9780192807007.001.0001/acref-9780192807007-e-164>

⁴⁵⁰ Jules Mazarin (1602-1661), Italian cardinal, diplomat, and politician. During Anne of Austria's regency, Mazarin served as chief minister. Anne and Mazarin's intimacy caused speculation that they had married in secret. "Mazarin, Jules (born Giulio Mazzarino)," in *A Dictionary of World History*, Online ed., ed. Edmund Wright (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), accessed 26 Sep. 2018,

<http://www.oxfordreference.com.libproxy.ucl.ac.uk/view/10.1093/acref/9780192807007.001.0001/acref-9780192807007-e-2358>

⁴⁵¹ Johann Gottfried Schmeisser (1767-1837), German chemist. Royal Society, EC/1793/20 (Johann Gottfried Schmeisser, election certificate, 1793).

⁴⁵² Martin Heinrich Klapproth (1743-1817), German chemist. DSB

siliceous, indissoluble in alkali. Dr Rotheram⁴⁵³ assists Dr Black's⁴⁵⁴ lectures but is sometimes abused, & so ridiculed by the students: suspected he will not succeed Black, but that Rutherford will.⁴⁵⁵ A Mr Constable ? gives very good lectures on Agriculture. –This day called at Mr Cocks's; letter from Brighton, Mr H. Pelham black stockings used cloaks to walk Steyne; Col. Hulse's⁴⁵⁶ Lady was Mr Bailey: Then called at L^y L[ouisa]. Macdonald's L^y Spencer's, Mr Kirwan's. Dined & spent evening at home; walking. Day black, cloudy, a few small breaks, W[in]^d. E^d of N. Left at Mr Berts note of thanks to Dr Blumenbach.⁴⁵⁷

[Tuesday] 14. Called on M^{rs}. Montagu; Farquhar⁴⁵⁸ there; said he had seen the most remarkable instances of the prevalence of covetousness when people were notoriously dying. Called at Mr Malone's, on Mr Paradise; who remarked that Kirwan as excentric as ever. Put letter for d'Ancora into post office in Park Street. Dined at home. In evening to M^{rs}. Montagus. Examination of servant; prejudice, want of understanding and liberality; yet well intentioned. Talk about M^r. Cavendish, & explanation of character. I said would be at Sandeford about middle of Sep^r.⁴⁵⁹ Day fine morning, cool; [inserted above: NNE] afternoon cloudy.

[Wednesday] 15. M^r Montagu called to consult about answer to Bowdler's letter. advised him to say he should think it the greatest honour, provided he came in with the general approbation; but would neither do any thing to disturb the peace of the country, nor found it suitable, in his situation, to run the

⁴⁵³ John Rotheram (c. 1750-1804), natural philosopher. Rotheram became assistant to Joseph Black, professor of chemistry at Edinburgh University, in 1793. DNB

⁴⁵⁴ Joseph Black (1728-1799), chemist and physician. DNB

⁴⁵⁵ When Black retired as professor of chemistry he had initially backed his assistant Rotheram to succeed him. Henry Dundas wished to give the position to Daniel Rutherford (1749-1819), physician and chemist, who had trained under William Cullen. In the end, the chemist Thomas Charles Hope (1766-1844) was selected and took up the post of assistant professor in November 1795, before formally succeeding Black in 1799. Emerson, *Academic Patronage in the Scottish Enlightenment: Glasgow, Edinburgh and St Andrews Universities*, 301.

⁴⁵⁶ Sir Samuel Hulse (1747/8-1837), army officer and court official. DNB

⁴⁵⁷ Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752-1840), German physician, naturalist, and anthropologist. DSB

⁴⁵⁸ Sir Walter Farquhar, first baronet (1738-1819), physician. DNB

⁴⁵⁹ These plans account for the gap in the diary between 6 Sep. and 4. Oct., see ff. 68r-v.

expeuce of a contested election. Told him also I did not much like the servant Mrs. M[ontagu]. examined yesterday. Went to Bank rec[eive]d dividend, kept £34.10. & put £90 at Bankers. Called on Mr Emlyns; civil; said he out to be at Brighton about 10th Aug. Dined

66r. (15 Jul. cont.)

at home, & in evening went to Mrs. M[atthew]. M[ontagu]. pleasant conversation; Miss Stanley; very sensible; good observing mind. taste for reading & improvement. Spirit broke. Day dull misty, mizzling rain great part often calm, [inserted above: & easterly] but on whole NNW.

[Thursday] 16. B[reakfaste]^d. at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s; evidently sulky: talk with Mr Kirwan about volcanoes & Monte Bolca.⁴⁶⁰ M. Corrêa [Correia] said, that Muñoz⁴⁶¹ is a [illegible word] in one of the Courts for India affairs. Then called on Grey's, asked where Miss Miller was going, expressed liking & regret at not meeting any where. talk about Montagu for Northumberland,⁴⁶² they expressed good opinion of his character; I said he was extremely virtuous and might be depended on for honour & playing no tricks. Called at R[oyal] S[ociety] & went to dine at Crown & Anchor, where introduced him. Banks sulky: stroke about religion: went away without notice. Drank tea in Portman Square:⁴⁶³ talked about want of confidence in Mrs. M[ontagu]. that too much attached to the world. Day pleasant, some sunshine tho' a good deal of it cloudy. Wind N^d of W. Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s vanity remarked

[Friday] 17. Called at Lord Palmerston's; told were in Kent: then called on Bakers, agreeable enough then on Mrs Buller, told that Vienna suspects for L^d Macartney: pleasant conversation on the whole: told her what intended to do for tour. Dined at home. In evening to Mr Montagu's, where read letters of Mrs

⁴⁶⁰ Monte Bolca, near Verona, Italy, was a celebrated fossil site.

⁴⁶¹ Manuel Muñoz (ca. 1730-1799), captain in the Spanish army and governor of Texas. Marion A. Habig, "Munoz, Manuel," Handbook of Texas Online, accessed 23 Sep. 2018, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fmu05>.

⁴⁶² Montagu had considered becoming MP for Northumberland, but from 1796 took a break from Parliament that lasted ten years. HOP

⁴⁶³ The home of Elizabeth Montagu, at 22 Portman Square. DNB

M[ontagu]. very clever; extraordinary turns & fancy: but not always just taste: told that I was to be one of the persons charged with publication of them. Told them what thought on tour. Day cloudy, tho' some breaks; a little rain Wind NW^{ly}.

[Saturday] 18. Called at L^y Spencer's, & left message on card: called also at L^d. Palmerstons. Dined & spent evening at home, walking. Day cloudy, some sunshine, but generally quite covered, wind seem W^{ly}. light.

[Sunday] 19. Called on Montagu's: said considered as if had never spoken to Mr Pitt; had not discovered about Rose; caprice & little dependence on L^y S. Called at Mr Agars Walked to Kensington Garden. Dined at home. Went in evening to M^{rs}. Buller. Debate with M^r. Pepys about Ireland's papers.⁴⁶⁴ Bakers there: told Sir George what meant to do whilst away. Day pleasant cloudy, some breaks, light westerly wind.

[During this gap in the diary, Blagden visited Bognor and Brighton. See earlier entry 4 Jul. 64r. and note 439].

66v. (20 Aug.)

[Thursday] Aug. 20 1795. Arrived about noon. Called on Montagu's; told sentiments & all that occurred about Family at Bognor; encouraged. Met Almeida who very friendly; called at L^y Spencer's; message with Porter about seeing L^d. Lucan: Called at R[oyal]. S[ociety]. talk with Wales;⁴⁶⁵ his high opinion of L'Huilier.⁴⁶⁶ Dined at Crown & Anchor; much civility with Mr C[avendish]. hint of Sir Geo[rge]. Baker about attraction. curious talk of Warren. Evening at Montagu's, with M^{rs} Buller. Fine day chiefly cloudy. warm.

[Friday] 21 Called at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s & Mr Cav[endish]'s. Sent parcel to Admiralty for L^y Lucan [inserted above: wrote] Louvel & Syges. Wrote to L^y

⁴⁶⁴ See note 179.

⁴⁶⁵ William Wales (*bap.* 1734, *d.* 1798), astronomer and mathematician. DNB

⁴⁶⁶ Simon L'Huilier (1750-1840), Swiss mathematician. DSB

Lucan, with hints to be understood. Cloudy, very sulky, thunder. Dined & spent evening at home: After thunder; cloudy wet breaks, rain at times.

[Saturday] 22. Called on Montagus: read Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s letters about insect in wheat to them. Seemed doubtful if wished to come in for county. Advised to return to Bognor. Spencer Percival came in: shook hands. Superstition of nurses that L^y being with child standing Godmother is unlucky for the christened child. Called at Bakers Met Paradise; had been with C[oun]t. W[oronzow]. to the Russian Fleet. Said hardly any Foreigners but English in it: knew one American there a flag officer. Sent notes to M. Chauvel & Mr S[amuel]. Scott.⁴⁶⁷ Day cool, very pleasant some showers. wind NNW:— Getting low.

[Sunday] 23. Called on Chev[alier]. d'Almeida: then on M^{rs}. Buller; then Mr Agar, asked to dinner; declined. Dined at home. In evening to Mr Montagu's; his [illegible word] about Marechal de Saxe.⁴⁶⁸ M^{rs} Buller there: L^y M[argaret]. Fordyce came in. Very fine day, chiefly clear; N Westerly light breeze, cool, but sun hot. Got cloudy in evening. Paradise called with pamphlets.

67r. (24 Aug.)

[Monday] 24. Called on M^{rs} Anderson, pleasant; assured that L^d O[xford]. had made offer to Berrys, which refused, that might not seem interested. Pr[ince]. of Orange said, "I see Astley has done, was not I right to have gone last week?" Dined at home. Walked to Kensington Garden; Evening at home. Letter from L^y Lucan omitting answer to part about M[ary]. B[erry] letter of D^r M[askelyne] returned by M^r C[avendish]. Day cloudy, pleasant temperature, near calm W^{ly}.

⁴⁶⁷ Samuel Scott (1772-1849), politician. HOP

⁴⁶⁸ Maurice de Saxe (1696-1750), military theorist and marshal of France. Christopher Bellamy, "Saxe, Marshal Maurice de," in *The Oxford Companion to Military History*, Online ed., ed. Richard Holmes, Charles Singleton, and Spencer Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), accessed 26 Sep. 2018, <http://www.oxfordreference.com.libproxy.ucl.ac.uk/view/10.1093/acref/9780198606963.001.0001/acref-9780198606963-e-1127>

[Tuesday] 25. Called on Captⁿ Armstrong, who promised to have purchased the stock by this day sennight. Said that he was £3,000 in advance to Government & that Coxe the agent was 300,000. yet emigrant corps paid exactly. Called at L^d Lucan's, & told he was in town, came yesterday. Called on Montagus: M^{rs}. pressed very much declaration, said could not overcome shyness. Poyntz⁴⁶⁹ said so intended. Dined at home. In evening to M^{rs} Buller's; M^{rs} Anderson & M[adame] de Montion: latter said late King of France had amour with wife of one of his concierges, that army now refused assignats. Hot day, clear, light S^{ly} air. fair day.

[Wednesday] 26. Called on L^d Lucan; good humour; asked what news you have of my family; told about overturn of Devonshire carriage: that Bognor grown too fine, Ladies want to come away; going to look for house. L^y Spencer said had no time to læk read French pieces, told her excellence of Mme Roland's⁴⁷⁰ character. Called at R[oyal]. S[ociety] paid for [illegible word] & Transactions Money from Banker. Called at Bulmers.⁴⁷¹ Desired Mr Nicol⁴⁷² to inquire for Sir J[ohn] Sinclair's⁴⁷³ work. Dined & spend even[in]g at home. Very hot day. 75° about. clear, sunshine. wind S^{ly}.

[Thursday] 27. Called at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s. no one came. Present to [illegible word] Museum at hilbon⁴⁷⁴ but trifling; vast numbers of specimens from all countries sent to [illegible word], & kept packed up in Souterrains. Mason there: said French Principle much prevailing at Cape; that Gordon did not seem preparing any thing for the public. Called on M^r Paradise. Stood Proxy Godfather to M^r Montagu's child, John. Called on Mr Cavendish; decaying; his forehead healing not kindly. Dined at Crown & Anchor; very few;

⁴⁶⁹ William Poyntz (1734-1809), inspector of prosecutions in the Exchequer. HOP

⁴⁷⁰ Marie-Jeanne Phlipon Roland (1754-1793), French writer and political figure. "Roland, Marie-Jeanne Plipon, Madame," in *The New Oxford Companion to Literature in French*, Online ed., ed. Peter France (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), accessed 26 Sep. 2018,

<http://www.oxfordreference.com.libproxy.ucl.ac.uk/view/10.1093/acref/9780198661252.001.0001/acref-9780198661252-e-4057?rskey=voybj&result=2>

⁴⁷¹ William Bulmer (bap. 1757, d. 1830), printer to the Royal Society. DNB

⁴⁷² George Nicol (1740?-1828), bookseller and publisher. DNB

⁴⁷³ Sir John Sinclair (1754-1835), agricultural improver and politician. DNB

⁴⁷⁴ Possibly the British Museum.

no interesting conversation. Made nothing of C[avendish]. I can not understand him. Shewed to him Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s letter. Sent [illegible word] people to L^y Lucan. evening at home Fine day NW^{ly} wind cool, few clouds.

67v. (28 Aug.)

[Friday] 28. Left Condorcet's⁴⁷⁵ Esquisse⁴⁷⁶ at M^{rs} Buller's: called at Admiralty L^d L[ucan] & L^y S[pencer]. gone into country. Called on Greys, civil, but only cunning. Called at Montagu's, gone to Shooter's Hill; Walked. Dined at home & evening. Day rather cool with NW wind, separate clouds & sunshine.

[Saturday] 29. Called at M^{rs} Anderson's. Met Mr Parsons; called on Mr Montagu; talk about going to M^{rs}. Montagu's; consulted about pain in shoulder, & want of appetite. Dined at home. Walked. Ev[enin]⁹ at home. Day fair, pleasant some clouds

[Sunday] 30. Called on M^{rs} Buller; M^{rs} Anderson: simple manners of [illegible word] D[uke]. of Gloucesters⁴⁷⁷ visit to him. L^y Jersey's insults to the P[rince]ss of Wales: honours paid to Jerningham: bad behaviour of Prince to P[rince]ss. M^{rs} H. Pelham going with Lady Jersey in saying brutal things. Stadtholder's sucking-up [illegible word] wenches at Hampton & London, where just now got beat by a husband. Called on Mr Agar; said dissention between Paoli⁴⁷⁸ & Sir Gilbert Elliot.⁴⁷⁹ that L^d Mendip⁴⁸⁰ had to see at Pope's. Dined at home. In evening to Montagu's; no warmth, tired apparently. Said I had expressed enough that I liked; if any meant I sho[ul]^d. have further opportunity, & that

⁴⁷⁵ Marie-Jean-Antoine-Nicolas de Caritat, mearquis de Condorcet (1743-1794), French mathematician. DSB

⁴⁷⁶ Condorcet's *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progress de l'esprit humain* (*Sketch for a Historical Picture of the Progress of the Human Spirit*), published after his death in 1795. DSB

⁴⁷⁷ Prince William Henry, first duke of Gloucester and Edinburgh (1743-1805), younger brother of George III. DNB

⁴⁷⁸ Filippo Antonio Pasquale Paoli (1725-1807), Corsican politician. DNB

⁴⁷⁹ Gilbert Elliot Murray Kynynmound, first earl of Minto (1751-1814), governor-general of Bengal. In January 1794, Elliot led the negotiations with Paoli for the cessation of Corsica to Britain. DNB

⁴⁸⁰ Welbore Ellis, first Baron Mendip (1713-1802), politician. DNB

shyness as my natural character, might probably here be a just instinct. Day fair, clouds often. Wind light E^{ly}.

[Monday] 31. Called at Admiralty: L^d Lucan gone out, going tomorrow for Bognor. Thought avoided. Called at House in Charles Street, then at Mr Grotes, not yet come home. Wrote to Mr Emlyn. Dined & spent evening at home. Fine day, clear. E^{ly} Wind, some haze

[Tuesday] Sep^r. 1. Called on Capt. Armstrong, said had not purchased, & promised to write next Thursday: then at Sir Jos[eph]. Banks's: then at Admiralty: L^d Lucan gone, no information. Then on Montagus: his mother, difficult woman to talk with. Weakness of M^{rs} M[atthew]. Montagu still. Said stood in my own light. Dined & Ev[enin]^g at home. Walked. Fine day after cloudy, damp even misty morning; Wind N^d. of E. very fine clear Ev[enin]^g.

[Wednesday] 2. Called on L^y Spencer: saw there Mr Bingham; Lady Spencer unreasonable, head turned, panegyric on Nepean;⁴⁸¹ Gen. Bentham there; L^d Spencer came in, seemed oppressed, puzzled, weak Seemed to give no opening; said uncertain whether stay at Bognor: House at Ham that was Alvensleben's,⁴⁸² to be bought only; thinks L^d Lucan will not do that. Called at R[oyal]. S[ociety] then at Bankers: Met Sir Geo[rge]. Baker. Dined & spent even[ing] at home. Very dark day, tho' some breeze NE^{ly} clear, hazy.

68r. (3 Sep.)

[Thursday] 3. B[reakfaste]^d at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s. Left letter for Sir Joseph. Called on Sir W[illiam]. Musgrave. Then at M^{rs} Bullers. Sent M^{me} Roland's Appel,⁴⁸³ with note, to Chichester Coach, for Lady Lucan. Met Mr Bingham:

⁴⁸¹ Sir Evan Nepean, first baronet (1752-1822), politician and colonial governor. Nepean became secretary of the Admiralty under Lord Spencer. DNB

⁴⁸² Johann Friedrich Karl von Alvensleben (1714-1795), British-Hanoverian Minister who lived at Ham Common, London. "Alvensleben, Johann Friedrich Karl von," New German Biography, accessed 24 Sep. 2018, <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd117761443.html#ndbcontent>

⁴⁸³ Madame Roland's memoirs, entitled *Appel a l'impartiale postérité*. "Roland, Marie-Jeanne Plipon, Madame," in *The New Oxford Companion to Literature in French*, Online ed., ed.

told him that Mr. [illegible name] with burned the Notices Historiques. Liked his countenance, appeared friendly. Dined at Crown & Anchor; Mr C[avendish]. equivocal: gave specimens, with result of experiments. Went home with Major Rennell; expressed his discontent with L^d Spencer. Lady S[pencer].’s dislike of Dalrymple. Marsden not well: Day hazy, clear till about 5 p.m. hot, ther[mometer] to 77°. evening cloudy, some rain E^{ly} wind.

[Friday] 4. Told that parcel for L^y Lucan will not go till tomorrow. Called on Greys, civil, but cunning as usual. then at L^d Orford’s, to inquire about him. Sent letter to Dr Maskelyne, & another to C[oun]t Rumford by post office Park Street Dined at home, walked, spent evening at home. Much attendrissement for M[ary] B[erry]. runs in thoughts. Day wetting from time to time, cloudy. Wind E^{ly} raw

[Saturday] 5. Letter from M^r Montagu. Went to Mr Cav[endish]’s, left note about Smith’s work. Heidinger [Heydinger] confirmed. his has comes to take down journals. Met Col. S^t Paul; said that Beaumont⁴⁸⁴ ruined if not go to W. Indies; that great doubts about him in county. He assisted Beaumont, but thought not on right side. Dined & spent evening at home. Day cloudy in general, but some sunshine, & then sulky Wind SW^{ly}.

[Sunday] 6. Called at Chev[alier]. Almeida, & left card with message. Then at M^{rs} Buller’s: then on M^r Agar, who said Commissions from Pichegru found in packets of some of the Fish taken up; doubted by L^d Clifden⁴⁸⁵ Dined at home. Return books to Mr Paradise who had called here. affectionate note from M^{rs} Buller. Went there in evening; shook hands: seems to have regard. Day clear in general. very hot saw ther[mometer] at 79, believe was higher, little wind SW^{ly}.

Peter France (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), accessed 26 Sep. 2018, <http://www.oxfordreference.com.libproxy.ucl.ac.uk/view/10.1093/acref/9780198661252.001.0001/acref-9780198661252-e-4057?rskey=voybj&result=2>

⁴⁸⁴ Thomas Richard Beaumont (1758-1829), army officer. In 1794, Beaumont was temporarily appointed lieutenant-colonel commandant of a regiment that sailed to the West Indies in 1796, although he did not go with the regiment. HOP

⁴⁸⁵ Henry Welbore Agar (later Ellis), second Viscount Clifden (1761-1836), Irish politician. HOP

[During this gap in the diary, Blagden visited Sandleford. See earlier entry 14 Jul. f. 65v. and note 459.]

68v. (4 Oct.)

[Sunday] Oct. 4, 1795. Wet day. Wind NNE apparently by clouds; [illegible word] driving. Settled with Servant for journey. Called on M^{rs} Buller: tedious manner of M^{rs}. Buller, difference of her spirit. Called on Mr Agar: assured that Clairfaits estate in Flanders untouched, & his relations living at Brussels in comfort & amity; so believed him to be bribed. Dined & spent evening at home: still wet.

[Monday] 5. Called at L^d Orford's, Mr Bulmer's, Admiralty; met Mr Best, Sir Ph[ilip]. Gibbes, Sir R[alph] Payne, Mr Wood. Told at Admiralty that L^y S[pencer]. returns this day to Wimbledon, but know nothing of Lucans. Called on Mr Gilpin; gave him directions about letter by Layard⁴⁸⁶ to Lacorbière;⁴⁸⁷ wrote to Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]. Called at Mr Cavendish's; found he was gone. Dined & spent even[in]⁹ at home. Fine morning, but wet afternoon; Wind from WSW. Warm, no fire. Wrote to Mr Montagu.

[Tuesday] 6. Letter from Mr Montagu with copy of his to Mr Pitt; much hurt by it. Called on Greys; artful interest of L^y Grey, question about Whitbread. Said Sir Cha[rle]s applied to again about W. Indies, but would not go. His violence that not kept islands: scarcity owing to war, disturbance enough soon. That [illegible word] under Abercrombie⁴⁸⁸ 9300 4000 going for N. & 2000 others; so fully 15000 effective. As many from Ireland, with [illegible word] emigrants, &c for S^t Domingo.⁴⁸⁹ Certain that now determined to dissolve after supplies

⁴⁸⁶ Daniel Peter Layard (1721-1802), man-midwife and physician. DNB

⁴⁸⁷ Blagden wrote a letter to Banks on 3 September in which he mentioned a paper on the fabrication of sugar, submitted to the Royal Society by A. M. De Lacorbière. The paper does not appear to have been published. British Library, Add MS 33272, f. 114r. (letter from Charles Blagden to Joseph Banks, 3 Sep. 1795).

⁴⁸⁸ Sir Ralph Abercromby (1734-1801), army officer. DNB

⁴⁸⁹ Relates to the British campaign in the West Indies, 1793-1798. In March 1794, Grey reduced Martinique, and took St Lucia, the Saints, and Guadeloupe, which were subsequently retaken by the French. In November, Sir Ralph Abercromby was chosen to

voted. Called on Sir W[illiam]. Musgrave, who thought the same that would be dissolved. Called at Sir Rob[ert]. Herries's; at L^y Englefields: on L^y Payne, who thought not dissolved; also that P[rince]ss of W[ales]. not pregnant, but playing game; that never ment[ione]^d at Weymouths. Wrote to Mr Montagu. Dined & spent evening at home. Very fine day, few clouds, very clear air, W from WNW to WSW.

[Wednesday] 7. Went to Strawberry Hill.⁴⁹⁰ L^d Orford well. Said L^y. Ailesbury behaved with great resolution, but was inwardly consumed with grief. Horrid account given by O'Hara⁴⁹¹ of treatment in France, & cruelties he witnessed.

69r. (7 Oct. cont.)

number called from the Luxembourg every night to be Guillotined. Remark of person with him at Lyons, M^r. [illegible name]. Republican marriages, [illegible word] to [illegible word]: if any movement perceived, women on the shore huzzaed. Lucan's visit; new capitals, fine collation, great sensibility on his part, which he said right as he sought not Royalty: would not sit down in Lucan's presence; stood near 3 hours, tho' so lame; handed Lucan up stairs, but had forgotten to provide himself with gloves. Rejoiced that it would mortify D[uke]. of Glo[ucester]^r. who had used him so ill, & told so many lies about him. Duc de Nivernais' Life of Abbé Barthelamy,⁴⁹² who died Apr 30, 1795: said he, (L^d Orford) wo[ul]^d not have put his name to it. Miss Berrys went about with young [illegible name] & Gen. O'Hara; latter would not enter Glo[ucester]^r. prison, from horror of confinement: all much pleased with Rodborough⁴⁹³ county. Then went to Sir Geo[rge] Staunton at Richmond (having first left card at Berry's

lead another expedition against the French West Indies, and retook St Lucia in early 1796. DNB

⁴⁹⁰ Horace Walpole's Gothic revival villa in Twickenham. DNB

⁴⁹¹ Charles O'Hara (c. 1740-1802), army officer and colonial governor. In October 1793, O'Hara took command of the British forces at Toulon. When the French attacked at Fort Mulgrave on 23 November, O'Hara was wounded and captured. He was kept prisoner in Paris in the Luxembourg Palace until August 1795. DNB

⁴⁹² Louis-Jules-Barbon Mancini-Mazarini, duc de Nivernais (1716-1798), French diplomat and writer, who published a biography of the writer and numismatist Jean-Jacques Barthélemy (1716-1795). "Jean-Jacques Barthélemy," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, accessed 24 Sep. 2018, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02312d.htm>

⁴⁹³ Parish in the district of Stroud, Gloucestershire.

house. Sir G[eorge]. said that my answer about St Iago was satisfactory to his purpose, w[hi]^{ch} was that might not appear ignorant if any thing known. Visited Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]. who avoided saying any thing of his work: thinks he believes it will no be well done; ment[ione]^d his dryness about giving information of plants, jealousy lest sho[ul]^d. appear naturalist. Small poor house [illegible word] dignified with title of Nightingale Hall. Walked from Richmond home, & in all 17 miles; little tired. Day very fine; [inserted above: many] clouds in forenoon, & some with haze all day. Wind morning NE drew round gradually to SE in day. Girl died here L^d. Orford made condition not to go S^t James's.

69v. (8 Oct.)

[Thursday] 8. B[reakfaste]^d at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s. Looked over Beauforts map for place of gold mine in Ireland.⁴⁹⁴ Detained by wet: Called on Mr Cavendish; told him various particulars; sulky smile. Went with him to Club. Dined at Crown & Anchor. Conversation agreeable. Doubt about proportions of silver to gold. Evening at home. Menzies arrested on Vancouver's⁴⁹⁵ complaint for refusing to give up journal, & insolence: he said sho[ul]^d give up journal to Sec[retary]. of State as ordered.⁴⁹⁶ Day wet till 2 p.m. then cloud thick, moist; Wind SE.

[Friday] 9. Note from M^r Montagu; request that would excuse me from suspicion of indelicacy to Sir W[illiam] M[usgrave]. Called at M^{rs}. Buller's: told at L^d Lucan's that would not leave Bognor till end of this month. [illegible word]. Dined & spent evening at home. Morning fine, but wet day till 3 p.m. then fine & Even[ing]⁹ so. Wind with rain from E^d. then Southerly breeze with rain.

[Saturday] 10. Called at M^r Montagu's & M^{rs}. Montagu's. Met Mr Dalby; & Sir Geo[rge]. Baker; called on M^{rs} Cocks; at Admiralty on L^y Baker, Miss enlivened;

⁴⁹⁴ See later entry 5 Nov. f. 75r. and note 533.

⁴⁹⁵ George Vancouver (1757-1798), naval officer and hydrographer. DNB

⁴⁹⁶ Menzies was appointed surgeon and naturalist on Vancouver's expedition aboard the *Discovery*. Menzies and Vancouver experienced a turbulent relationship, and on the return journey, Vancouver arrested Menzies for insolence. DNB

on Sir Rob[er]^t Herries, who said that people in France nothing, governed by army, who governed by leading people of convention. Day showery; wind SW^{ly}. Dined & spent evening at home.

[Sunday] 11. Mr Dalby called. Shewed him L'Huillier's paper; read letters &c. Mr Buller called. I went to Mr Montagu's, & called on Mr Agar: a Mr Neave, Comm[issione]^r of Bankrupts. sensible. Dined at home. In evening to M^{rs} Buller's Bakers there; M^r & M^{rs} Cocks. M[ary] B[erry]'s parting adieu. [Illegible word] answer to a man who said angrily mais enfin, qu'est ce que le Roi peut me faire: - Il peut vous pardonner. Day cloudy with some showers; clear night Wind WSW.

[Monday] 12. Note from Mr Montagu to dine in City; called on him. Selling [illegible word]; computation of it. Promised explain to Mr P. Told him news. Letter about Bowdler; Burdons bridge⁴⁹⁷ cost £25000, of which only 4000 [illegible word] like rest; to be repaid by tolls only to principal & interest, then free. Walked in Park. Met L^d Mountnorris Sir Rob[ert] Herries: then L^y & Miss Baker, with whom walked back. M^{rs} Heberden nat[ural]. d[aughte]^r of Mr Ch[arle]^s Miller.⁴⁹⁸ Dined & spent evening at home. Day fine, grew cloudy, ev[enin]^g. some rain.

70r. (13 Oct.)

[Tuesday] Oct. 13, 1795. Called at Mr Montagus. Stopped by L^d Lavington⁴⁹⁹ as going to his house; called at D^r W[illiam]. Heberdens: saw Greys, so did not go there. Wrote to Sir Geo[rge]. Staunton in answer. Walked in Hyde Park. Dined & spent evening at home, Wet morning; damp all day, some misting; wetter in the evening. Wind SSW to SW. Last night [illegible word]

⁴⁹⁷ Refers to the Wearmouth Bridge, completed in 1796, the final design of which was patented by Rowland Burdon (1757?-1838), politician, in 1795. See entries on 21 and 27 Oct. ff. 71v., 73v. HOP

⁴⁹⁸ Elizabeth Catherine (1776-1812), wife of the physician William Heberden, daughter of Charles Miller of Oving, Sussex. DNB

⁴⁹⁹ Sir Ralph Payne was created first Baron Lavington on 1 October 1795. HOP

[Wednesday] 14. Met Mr Bulmer. Called at Grey's. What are your politics now? Sir Cha[rle]s certain that more than 25000 going to W. Indies. Peace within half a year. state of credit for 10 millions. Called at Admiralty. on M^r Gilpin. on M^r Montagu, Saw his new house. Mentioned various circumstances of memorandums. Wrote to L^d. Lucan. Notes to & from C[oun]t^t. Rumford. Dined & spent evening at home. Day fair, but chiefly cloudy, very warm ther[momete]r 66 S^{ly}. Wind.

[Thursday] 15. Called on C[oun]t^t Rumford, & went with him to breakfast at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s. Talk about American funds: idea of spending decline of life there. Advised him to see his daughter,⁵⁰⁰ either by going there, or having her over. Told him I knew what the obstacle was but was bound in honour not to tell him. Fortune about £3000, with Anu[al]ly of £100 a year. Called at M^{rs} Bullers. M^r Dalby called with proofs, desired him to keep them till M^r Mudge⁵⁰¹ saw them.⁵⁰² Dined at Crown & Anchor. Cav[endish] dry, but spoke about paper on light, saw had read it too loosely; doubted whether reflexion spoken of was not great inflection.⁵⁰³ Sir W[illiam]. Musgrave ment[ione]d^d. of a person who kept long in office, giving as a reason, that he was a Willow [page torn] oak. Mr Montagu disappointed at going, Day [page torn] few showers, many flying clouds SW to WSW.

70v. (16 Oct.)

[Friday] 16. C[oun]t^t Rumford came, & read over with him [page torn] of his instructions for the poor, at Munic[h]: vain but affecting.⁵⁰⁴ Letter from L^d

⁵⁰⁰ Sarah Rumford (1774-1852), daughter of Count Rumford. Blagden and Sarah were close friends, Blagden having previously sought permission to marry Sarah in an offer than was refused by her father. Getman, "Sir Charles Blagden, F. R. S.," 72.

⁵⁰¹ William Mudge (1762-1820), surveyor. DNB

⁵⁰² Dalby was involved in the British side of the measurements conducted for the Anglo-French trigonometrical survey, 1787-1789, which connected the Greenwich and Paris meridians. Blagden assisted the measurements on the French coast. Dalby's accounts of the work, composed with Mudge, were published in the *Philosophical Transactions* in three volumes between 1784 and 1796. DNB, Martin and McConnell, "Joining the Observatories of Paris and Greenwich."

⁵⁰³ Refers to a paper submitted by Henry Brougham to the Royal Society in the summer of 1795. See later entry 24 Oct. f. 72r. and note 512.

⁵⁰⁴ Refers to Rumford's 'An Account of an Establishment for the Poor at Munich' published in 1795. DNB

Lucan. Called on M^r Montagu. shewed him letter; ment[ione]^d news. Dined & spent evening at home. Letter from Mr Cav[endish]. Day showery, blowing fresh from SW^{ly}. Montagu seemed hurt at declining to dine. C[oun]^t Rumford hesitated about introduction to Las Casas.

[Saturday] 17. C[oun]^t Rumford gone to Broadlands.⁵⁰⁵ Called at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks's], 2 kinds of nut called Piken by Aublet,⁵⁰⁶ both pleasant to eat; one a sort of buttery but, the other larger & more like walnut: former buticosa, other called Sawena nut, brought by M^r Molesworth. One species of Banksia, wooden pear, has in middle of very thick woody shell, a dryish kernel which is eatable. Called on M^r Cocks: Miss Andersons Rose; going to see Carlton House.⁵⁰⁷ Then to M^r Cavendish's, for Newton Optics, which got, M^r C[avendish]. not being there. Called on M^r Montagu; letter to Lady Bathurst; advised leaving out part of it, but to let the figures stay in the house. Offered newspaper. Dined & spent evening at home. Day very fine. Light SSW^{ly} airs, Some light cloud.

[Sunday] 18. Called on M^{rs}. Buller; on M^r Agar; M^r [illegible name] Said Burgess very sensible, & agreeable, tho' dislike in office; has honorable retreat. Hammond clever, but stuttery, & then bursts out at [illegible word] is very difficult to understand. Outrage on [illegible word] Heras. Called on M^r Montagu; gave him news told about Banks & Staunton: Riou's⁵⁰⁸ history of endeavours to get 3^d specimen of the curious plant Dined & Ev[enin]^g at home. Wet morning, afternoon cloudy.

[Monday] 19. Languid; day warm, relaxing wind from SE cloudy, tho' some breaks. Went to Mr Cavendish, discussed paper on light;⁵⁰⁹ found had read it very imperfectly; he advised recommending it [page torn] author to render more compact & correct.

⁵⁰⁵ Country residence of Viscount Palmerston in Hampshire. DNB

⁵⁰⁶ Jean Baptiste Christophe Fusée Aublet (1720-1778), director of the Botanic Garden in Reduit. DSB

⁵⁰⁷ London townhouse of the Prince of Wales. DNB

⁵⁰⁸ Edward Riou (1762-1801) naval officer. DNB

⁵⁰⁹ Henry Brougham's paper on light. See note 512.

71r. (19 Oct. cont.)

Mess[e]^{rs} Mudge & Dalby called with proofs: settled that they should order the paper for their separate copies, & have their impressions of the plates struck off before they were delivered to our hands. Walked in Park; returning joined by L^d Spencer, very civil, talked about [illegible word] price of corn; I said would not come below of 70'S harvest not good, & now, & unless sho[ul]^d come a very extraordinary harvest would never again be below: that it operates as a depreciation of money to 25 [illegible word] that use of rents a primary cause; that thought partly kept up by bad combination meaning in as far as was above 70'S that importation from abroad would not have much effect in sinking; & that on peace the great additional gain funded would operate against lessening of consumption & foreign importation, so as to keep up price He said, that he knew [illegible word] great quantities were sent abroad: that price now excessively high abroad. News of arrival of navy parts of Mediterranean Fleet. Spoke of Lady Spencer's return; & that L^d L. had sent back Telescope: I said were to set out this day for Portsmouth: Very gracious in manner. Dined & spent evening at home.

[Tuesday] 20. Called at Mr Montagu's: on Mr Dalby to whom made various remarks about his paper, the numbering of the plates &c. Walked round Kensington garden &c. Dined & spent evening at home. Sir W[illiam]. Pepperell⁵¹⁰ called whilst out. Day fair, after morning, but clouds, threatening: Wind WSW, blowing hard at times: some rain at night. yesterday & today very warm.

71v. (21 Oct.)

[Wednesday] 21. Called on Greys. Question about preserving game with charcoal. Sir Cha[rle]^s Grey said would have gone to W. Indies if only to do with Mr Dundas who much the best of the Ministers; by D[uke]. of Portland &

⁵¹⁰ Sir William Pepperrell Sparhawk (*d.* 1816), who inherited the title of his grandfather Sir William Pepperrell, first baronet (1696-1759), army officer and merchant. DNB

L^d Hawkesbury his enemies & bad. former dull & sulky. L^d [illegible name] there, looking very ill, as if poxed. Then called at Bakers civil, Miss looking kind. Talk about dullness of D^r H[eberden]. Then on M^{rs} Buller: he true [illegible word]. then at Sir W[illiam]. Pepperell's. Dined & spent evening at home. At Grey's saw account of Burdon's bridge; that it was his invention; that he had taken out a patent for it: make of pieces of cast iron weighing about 400 lb. no manner of keystones, sound with [illegible word] &c of forged iron. Whole span 226 feet, only 250 ton of iron in it, of which 40 ton forged iron. is below Sudwick on Weir. M^{rs} Buller spoke of young Baker as having been prodigy in youth but now seeming nothing. Day cloudy, & about 3 p.m. heavy showers; then clearer then cloudy.

[Thursday] 22. Wet morning so breakfasted at home. Called at L^d Lucan's, told he would be here today; then at Sir W[illiam]. Musgrave's; then at Admiralty, told L^y. S[pencer]. would be in town from S^t Albans, & the Lucans. Called at R[oyal] S[ociety]: Saw [illegible word] paper. Dined at Crown & Anchor, introducing Mr Montagu; pleasant, play of Dalrymple & Marsden to each other. Sent to inquire about Lucans. Went home with Mr Montagu, letter from Sir J[oseph] B[anks]. Middle of day fair. Ev[enin]^g. wet Wind W SW.

[Friday] 23. Called on L^y Lucan; dry rather no encouragement; others gone out. Called on C[oun]^t. Rumford: saw his drawing of English Garden at Munic[h] & several views;⁵¹¹ also of his carriages, his cannon, his guns, charge not to be rained down, but elastic ring to it, of cord [illegible word]: also. a new kind of touchpole. Also his pistol for firing cannon. Then called at L^y Spencer's, gone to Wimbledon. Then on Mr Montagu; who said he had left note at Mr Pitt's, explaining the

72r. (23 Oct. cont.)

⁵¹¹ In 1789, Rumford created the 'English Garden' in the centre of Munich, for the recreation of the inhabitants of his workhouse. DNB

application about Sir W[illiam] M[usgrave]. Also, that he had called on L[ucan]'s, & advised me not to look as if there were any encouragement: he saw no marks of any. Dined & spent evening at home. Day very fine till afternoon, when clouds collected, & in evening Wind & Rain; blowing fresh. Told Mr Montagu, that some very odd things occurred when first went to Bognor. Wrote to Mr Cavendish & Sir Jos[eph]. Banks.

[Saturday] 24. Hard gale all night, with beating rain occasionally. Wind SW: Morning clear. gale continued: Wrote to Mr Brougham,⁵¹² M^r Harrison, Bro[ther]. Hale, 6 cheese for Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]. last making. Walked a little. Mr Paradise called. Dined at home. In evening to M^{rs} Buller's. Montyon observation that better books those w[hi]ch^{ch}. make to think than those which give information. Cocks's there: M^r Montagu. Weather same at night, but gale not so violent. Very nervous yesterday & last night, better in course of this day.

[Sunday] 25. Bright morning, wind moderate. C[oun]t. Rumford called & went over with him paper on experiments on gunpowder.⁵¹³ Called on Portuguese Minister; said that Portuguese went very rarely across Africa to Mozambique; that now made a good deal of woollen cloaths, but that importation from this country not lessened, because [illegible word] & consumption in S. America increased. take more flannels than we can make; working people find them so comfortable in S America. Then called on L^d Lucan. Family from Bingham in Nottinghamshire; first [inserted above: Sir] R[ichard]^d de Bingham in 13th Century. Reception friendly; advised to call on M^r Hamilton when come to town. Gave great character of M[atthew]. Montagu, a very honest fellow; I said never deceive or mislead, & that M^{rs} M[atthew]. M[ontagu]. as near to my idea of a perfect character as any one I ever knew; on the whole he more friendly

⁵¹² Henry Peter Brougham, first Baron Brougham and Vaux (1778-1868), later lord chancellor. Brougham wrote to Blagden in the summer of 1795, requesting to submit a paper on light. This was eventually published as Henry Peter Brougham, "Experiments and Observations on the Inflection, Reflection, and Colours of Light," *Philosophical Transactions* 86 (1796): 227-77. Royal Society, CB/1/2/191 (letter from Henry Brougham to Charles Blagden, 26 Jul. 1795), DNB.

⁵¹³ Might refer to Benjamin Count of Rumford, "Experiments to Determine the Force of Fired Gunpowder," *ibid.* 87 (1797): 222-92.

than L^y L[ucan]. That M^r Culverden EG he said looking very ill; black & out of health, with hacking cough. Called on M^r Agar S[ai]^d

72v. (25 Oct. cont.)

Sir J[oh]ⁿ Gallins just come from Paris: found every thing remarkably cheap for gold & silver. gay; spectacles well attended. no more than 500 people fell in late insurrection: all ordered to keep within doors, which he did; many houses damaged:⁵¹⁴ Convention very odious about it [illegible name] had said that D[uke]. of Almeida to be [illegible word] Minister in Spain, & that Del Campo would be the Secretary of State when went home. L^d Hawkesbury had said, that wheat dearer at this time in America than here: certainly no quantity smuggled out of the kingdom. Dined & spent evening at home. Sent note of intelligence to Mr. Montagu Day moderate on whole pretty clear, blowing by [illegible word]. Ev[enin]⁹ getting cloudy. Saw at Portuguese Ministers a black cloth made in Portugal of wool of black sheep, not dyed: it had a good lustre, was fine enough for great coats & looked more like dyed cloth than could have imagined. colour deep full & not purple brown black but sort of peat ash tendency. C[oun]^t Rumford has a pretty looking coat made at Munich of Bavarian Wool, black & white [illegible word], which has a fine gloss; & looks like dyed cloth too.

[Monday] 26. Went to Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s. Told that Vancouver angry with Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]. because had said at Admiralty that he was not a proper person. He was appointed by job of Alan Gardiner.⁵¹⁵ Disliked Menzies [illegible word] but on Sir Joseph's account had at length applying to him for medical advice, being quite despondent with hypochondriasm, & getting well by being higher according to Menzie's advice, he got into favour, & was at last appointed surgeon to the ship by him & continued on good terms till after

⁵¹⁴ Might refer to 13 Vendémiaire, the battle between Revolutionary troops and Royalist forces in Paris, which took place in 5 October 1795. John Renwick, "Revolution," in *The New Oxford Companion to Literature in French*, Online ed., ed. Peter France (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), accessed 26 Sep. 2018, <http://www.oxfordreference.com.libproxy.ucl.ac.uk/view/10.1093/acref/9780198661252.001.0001/acref-9780198661252-e-3988?rskey=098d03&result=2>

⁵¹⁵ Alan Gardner, first Baron Gardner (1742-1808/9), naval officer and politician. DNB

Vancouver took Indiaman, when quarrelled about employing Menzie's Servant as a Seaman. He flogged L^d Camelford⁵¹⁶ more than once, kept him sometime in irons, & at last turned him out of his ship at the Sandwich islands. Called on Mr Paradise, ill,

73r. (26 Oct. cont.)

felt cold, think will not live long; M^{rs} P[aradise]. very affecting Sir Cha[rle]s & L^y Grey called. Shewed them somewhat of Guthrie's⁵¹⁷ book of High. Antiq[uity]. Sir Cha[rle]s spoke of court martial held in Mediterranean on soldier disapproved here, being naval & determined that soldiers & [illegible word] not subject to be punished by naval Courtmarshal. M^r & M^{rs} Emlyn called. I called on Mr Montagu; told what L^d. L[ucan] had said of him, as honest man: & that could perhaps be of use in what I wished hereafter. He working about corn, expecting to be appointed on committee about it. Walked in Hyde Park. Dined & spent evening at home. Very fine day much sunshine hardly any wind, & that W ESd. Got well. In Hyde Park saw some persons employed in taking down some machinery they appeared to have lately set up: the man said it was a telegraph some dragoons attended to keep order.

[Tuesday] 27. Called at Mr Dalby's: then on Grey's: very civil said Mr Tiernay desired to see me; promised I would call. Shewed Guthrie to M^{rs} Grey: said how clever I thought Tiernay. Called at Mr Home's,⁵¹⁸ left name & note about Soemmering⁵¹⁹ on hole in retina.⁵²⁰ Called & left name at D[uche]ss of D[evonshire]'s. Called on Mr Paradise: said [illegible name] bad poet. Called on Mr Montagu; said he knew more about Windham than was at liberty to say.

⁵¹⁶ Thomas Pitt, second Baron Camelford (1775-1804), was one of the midshipmen aboard the *Discovery*. Vancouver found Camelford a disruptive presence on the voyage, and sent him home aboard the *Daedalus* from Hawaii in 1794. DNB

⁵¹⁷ William Guthrie (1708?-1770), historian and journalist. Guthrie published a number of translations of Quintilian and Cicero. DNB

⁵¹⁸ Sir Everard Home, first baronet (1756-1832), surgeon. DNB

⁵¹⁹ Samuel Thomas Soemmerring (1755-1830), German anatomist. DSB

⁵²⁰ The information Blagden shared with Home resulted in a paper published in the *Philosophical Transactions*. Everard Home and Professor Soemmerring, "An Account of the Orifice in the Retina of the Human Eye, Discovered by Professor Soemmerring. To Which Are Added, Proofs of the Appearance Being Extended to the Eyes of Other Animals," *Philosophical Transactions* 88 (1798): 332-45, 332.

Understood that peace in agitation talked about wisdom of acting right: debate how far moral sentiment depressed by being constantly witness of bad actions, so [illegible word] generous enthusiasm seldom excited. Avowed that evidence of religion did not strike him with that [illegible word] conviction that it did some people: but still act[e]d on it & persuaded himself as far as possible that it is well founded: seemed to think he was getting forward [illegible word] argument for or against continuing war. I said that if shake off foreign connection better to continue another year [illegible word] of naval war. Dined at Sir W[illiam]. Pepperrell's. C[oun]t. Rumford, Mr Paleur who has estate at [illegible place name] & a Mr Tonis? all New England men. conversation too much between C[oun]t Rumford & me, about

73v. (27 Oct. cont.)

Italy &c. mortified him two or three times very foolishly. M^{rs} Orde came in. Shewed [illegible word] paper of Burdon's bridge. abutment on one side a rock, on the other masonry brick up like Aquaduct, an arch formed at lower part: looked very neat & light on the paper. Fine morning: soon got cloudy, & blowing fresh, which continued all day, with occasional rain. Two Miss P's, not amiable.

[Wednesday] 28. Wet morning; cleared in middle of day: Called on M^{rs} M[atthew]. Montagu; emotion; fairness; not walked since. Mentioned that no appearance now; that sho[ul]d^d never have thought of it, if not suggested by what happened: said thought could explain; that meant to try once more on new title. Buller there, awkwardness. Grew showery so little walk. Sent Book of Guthries: Letters to Brother & M^r Cooper. Dined & spent evening at home. Evening fair.

[Thursday] 29. B[reakfaste]d^d at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s. Rennell came in. Abused Ministry much; L^d Spencer strongly. Agreed that Sir Cha[rle]s

Middleton⁵²¹ was inflexible, but man of abilities. Grenville⁵²² came in. Said workman in Pembrokeshire said partly in money, & partly by recovering things in hand, so did not feel times so much. Called on L^d Palmerston. He hinted nothing about M[iss] G[odfrey]'s illness. Said Windham sanguine & likely to be very pertinacious: I said had not soundness of judgement necessary for affairs; this he turned off; disliked his style of mind as much as ever. Called at L^y Lucan's, Driver said not at home; at Sir W[illiam]. Musgrave's; on M^{rs} Buller; more pleased with Condorcet. Dined at Crown & Anchor. Mr Dalrymple shewed solid mass of elastic gum, white in inside, brown to a small depth especially where run in tears; some 7 [illegible word] originally. Mr D[alrymple]. said whole mass looked as if had burst out of one tree, which must have been large. Curious journal of Entrecasteau.⁵²³ Some

74r. (29 Oct. cont.)

showers in morning; middle of day fair, & some sunshine. Evening some hard rain, & wind blowing ~~going~~ from SW.

[Friday] 30. Called on Mr Montagu; account of debate. In extacys at Pitt's speech: day changed a little by notice. Had seen address before. Mr Pitt's letter to Wilberforce; very kind. thought to shew great goodness of mind. Called at Mr Emlyn's. M^{rs} E[mlyn] there: some conversation about Sir Joseph & L^y Banks;⁵²⁴ their fitness that wo[ul]^d not so well have suited others. Then to Bakers. Met L^d Malmesbury; very civil: said that stone, if so, had been thrown on side of K[ing]'s coach where glass was up, so had passed thro' whole breadth of coach after breaking glass, therefore much force: made round hole in glass only: supposed must have come from some height, [illegible word] to carriage, to be perpendicular to plane of glass K[ing]. said immediately it is a

⁵²¹ Sir Charles Middleton, first baronet (1726-1813), politician and naval commander. HOP

⁵²² William Wyndham Grenville, Baron Grenville (1759-1834), politician and later prime minister. DNB

⁵²³ Antoine Bruni d'Entrecasteaux (1737-1793), French navigator. John Everett-Heath, "D'Entrecasteaux Islands," in *The Concise Dictionary of World Place-Names*, Online ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), accessed 26 Sep. 2018, <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780191751394.001.0001/acref-9780191751394-e-1802>.

⁵²⁴ Dorothea Banks (1758-1828), wealthy heiress and wife of Sir Joseph Banks. DNB

bullet from an air gun: attendants much frightened; said very very terrible; K[ing]. said, it is terrible, but remember, My Lords, there is a providence which watches over us all.⁵²⁵ Dined & spent evening at home. Day showery, clear [illegible word] often blow[in]⁹ fresh from SW.

[Saturday] 31. Called at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s; on L^y Baker; Provost of Eaton⁵²⁶ came in, pompous, conceited. Then on L^y Lucan, L^y Ann:⁵²⁷ poor left room L^y Lavington⁵²⁸ came in; offer to pay for pamphlets; ment[ione]^d. that M^{rs} M[atthew]. M[ontagu]. had called. Then on L^y Spencer, coldish civility: L^d Ossory & Mr Grenville there. Talk about newspaper for government. Discrimination about M^r & M^{rs} Paradise's at Lady Baker's; that she had strong sense of duty. Dined at Lord Lavington's; company L^y. Clermont, L^d & L^y. Stawell, L^d Palmerston; C[oun]^t. Rumford. Day showery, fresh blowing at times, wet night. Went in evening to Mr Montagu's. L^d Hardwicke & Count Bruhl⁵²⁹ there. Told Mr M[ontagu]. several of Brother's ~~experience~~ remarks about corn in Glo[ucestershi]^{re}.

74v. (1 Nov.)

[Sunday] Nov. 1. Called on Mr Paradise, who said Liston⁵³⁰ appointed to America; could not live on his pay at Constantinople: then on Major Rennell; then Mr Agar's. Dry to [illegible name]. State of retreat of French Austrians pursuing;⁵³¹ Mr Pitt said Gold was at £4.3.0 per oz. Silver at 5^s.4 ½^d. So gold to silver above 15:1. Speculation in corn buying up potatoes. Sent note with

⁵²⁵ On 29 October George III's stagecoach was hit by a missile. DNB

⁵²⁶ Jonathan Davies (*bap.* 1737, *d.* 1809), provost of Eton from 1791 until 1809. DNB

⁵²⁷ Anne Bingham (1767-1840), daughter of Charles Bingham, first Earl of Lucan. DNB

⁵²⁸ Frances Payne, Baroness Lavington (c. 1740-1830), wife of Ralph Payne, first Baron Lavington. DNB

⁵²⁹ John Maurice (Hans Moritz), Count von Brühl (1736-1809), diplomatist and patron. DNB

⁵³⁰ Sir Robert Liston (1742-1836), tutor and diplomat. In 1793, Liston was appointed ambassador-extraordinary to the embassy of the Sublime Porte in Constantinople. In February 1796, he was appointed British minister to the United States of America. DNB

⁵³¹ Refers to the Battle of Höchst, 11-12 October 1795, at which the Austrian army outmanoeuvred the French Republican army, who retreated to the north. "Battle of Höchst, 11 October 1795," *History of War*, accessed 24 Sep. 2018, http://www.historyofwar.org/articles/battles_hochst_1795.html

his news to Mr M[ontagu]. Dined & spent evening at home. Boisterous day. Squalls, hard showers, some intervals. SW.

[Monday] 2. Ill at night, fever; suspect to be from dinner [Saturday] at L^d Lavington's. Called on M^{rs} Grey: unsettled manner of Sheridan Miss Miller ill again. Called at Tiernay at L^y Clermonts. Met Mr King. Called at M^{rs} Bullers. L^d Lucan called. Said he saw very little of Hailes Stupid, absent, difficult to make understand. Called at Mr Montagu's. Day blowing hard, cold, northerly, at times some rain Agar said, that 43,000 tons of tallow imported less this year than last Cost up expenses of this year, [illegible words] Spent £359. of which £57 journeys 9 weeks. add about £45 for Chariot & Chaises. To live in town wholly for £320

[Tuesday] 3. Called on Montagus; said not very well; told they near a week past breath affected. Great alarm about corn: said will be great scarcity. Opinion of Claude Scott.⁵³² Went into City; rec[eive]^d half years that exp[ences] £50. bought ticket. Dined & spent evening at home. C[oun]t Rumford called before dinner: all friendly saw his daughter had income from her mother. He had bought American Stock 34 [illegible symbol] at 52. Day fine, but on afternoon cloudy; cold. Wind NW^{ly}. Symptoms of cold, & fever still

[Wednesday] 4. B[reakfaste]^d at Sir J[oseph] B[anks]'s, very civil: Count Rumford come. Expl[aine]^d business to Sir Joseph; seemed interested about Brougham. Called at Mr Metcalfe's, Mr Strachey's on Lord Lucan, some talk, spoke of how better it is to give up ones

75r. (4 Nov. cont.)

wishes; gave sentiments frankly about Windham Minister War & conduct of it. he said they had bungled it terribly, & that Windham now scarce ever came to Spencer House &c. Called at Mr Rob[er]t Smiths, Lord & L^y Cholmondeley's,

⁵³² Claude Scott (1742-1830), entrepreneur in the corn trade. While corn was scarce in England, Scott procured supplies from abroad, and received money from the government for transporting foreign grain. Scott continued to contract for the government until 1800. HOP

Mr Hamilton's. Dined at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s with C[oun]t Rumford all very civil; acquitted well. L^y Banks played; does it now much better & really well. Getting better all this day, though bit indifferent in morning. Fine day, cold, W^{ly}. Wet at night. Pearl barley made by 2 rotten; barley loses about half it weight & this residuum given usually to pigs. Heard Sunday that imported mill stones from Sicily: that quantity of broad bran much affected by manner of dressing millstones.

[Thursday] 5. Called on Sir J[oseph] B[anks]. Read the papers about gold mine.⁵³³ Called on Paradise: saw Sir G[eorge]. Baker for a moment. address of room warmth. M^r Home called. Dined at home. Went to A[ntiquaries] S[ociety]. Where delivered Ancora's letter & book. then R[oyal]. S[ociety]. Mr Cav[endish]. perverseness about Broughams letter. Explained to him about gold mine Friendly address of Lord Palmerston. Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]. relapsing. Evidence at Privy Council that a gallon of horse chestnuts produce half a pound & an ounce of plants suppose acorn will answer as well. Called at Count Rumford's: much out of spirits, suspicion about Banks, unfounded now: then to M^{rs} Buller's with M^r Montagu. An [illegible words] there, seemed to understand statistic: Said inhabitants of Italy 15 ~~thousand~~ millions. Miss

75v. (5 Nov. cont.)

Wilkes, rather neglected: L^y. Bassett, civil. Mr Cav[endish]'s appointment to attend experiment at Lacy's. Sour dark day, wet night.

[Friday] 6. Called on Sir J[oseph]. Banks; dryer. then to Mr Cav[endish]'s looked over books. Dined at home. Count Rumford came very much out of spirits. Went to Mr Montagu's where introduced Count Rumford: there not in

⁵³³ Refers to a paper read before the Royal Society on 19 November, entitled 'An Account of the late Discovery of Native Gold in Ireland' by the lawyer John Lloyd (1750-1815). A further paper on the discovery of native gold in Ireland was read to the Society on 17 December, contained in a letter from the geologist Abraham Mills (c. 1750-1828). Both papers were subsequently published, see John Lloyd, "An Account of the Late Discovery of Native Gold in Ireland," *Philosophical Transactions* 86 (1796): 34-37. and George Atwood, "A Mineralogical Account of the Native Gold Lately Discovered in Ireland. In a Letter from Abraham Mills," *Philosophical Transactions* 86 (1796): 38-45.

spirits, but acquitted tolerably. Mrs Broderick came in; very sensible & agreeable. Explained ideas that wages [inserted above: of labour] ought to be much increased. Day fine, with flying clouds. In night very hard gale; from NW, having changed suddenly from SW. Blew down chimneas trees &c.

[Saturday] 7. Called on Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]. with Mr Basire⁵³⁴ about Herschel's⁵³⁵ drawings. Then on Count Rumford; disliked his style; said I had done my part by him. Then on Dr Heberden, who mentioned illness of his son Cha[rle]s. & gave him great commendation: Then on Lucan's; L^y A[nne] barely speaks; took an early opportunity of retreating. Then on Sir W[illiam]. Musgrave: Dined at Mr Montagu's. Mr & L^y S. Ryder, Mr Trumbull, L^d Hardwicke. Found Ryder too aristocratic; Trumbull, just sensible on political subjects. Mr Montagu had shewn by questions, that Government either did too much or not enough in corn business. Day fair, but cloudy; Wind WSW.

[Sunday] 8. Called on Mr Paradise; pleasant conversation there Sir Geo[rge]. Baker present. Then on Mr Agar. Account of distress in France. Dined at home. In evening to Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s. Lent Home's paper to Mr Cav[endish]. He ment[i]one^d red dying in India on principle of Turkey red,⁵³⁶ & process for making

76r. (8 Nov. cont.)

steel by first fusion of iron from ore in India.⁵³⁷ Went afterwards to Mrs Buller's, with Mr Montagu, L^y. M[oun]t Edgcumbe.⁵³⁸ great contrivance of warm bath at Mrs Buller's. Day first sunshine, then bleak [illegible word] sky: night rather clear.

⁵³⁴ James Basire (*bap.* 1730, *d.* 1802), engraver to the Royal Society. DNB

⁵³⁵ William Herschel (1738-1822), musician and astronomer. DNB

⁵³⁶ Colour used to dye cotton made using the root of the rubia plant.

⁵³⁷ Relates to Wootz steel, see earlier entry 26 Apr. f. 56r. and note 335.

⁵³⁸ Emma Edgcumbe, countess of Mount Edgcumbe (1729-1807), wife of George Edgcumbe, first earl of Mount Edgcumbe (1720-1795). DNB

[Monday] 9. Called on Grey's: asked questions about philosophy, but not a word about Tiernay. D[uche]ss of D[evonshire]. almost always lays on a little rouge, so as not to be brown supposed to be a liquid rouge. Called on C[oun]t Rumford; explained situation that no proofs of one man's affections for another, but his actions. Called at Lady Lavington's, L^y M^t Edgecumbe's, L^y Bassett's Mr King called: seemed more friendly than usual. He & family glad to see. Said that that in inquiries about ancient castles, he had discovered many things that would illustrate the Bible, Herodotus, & other ancient authors.⁵³⁹ Dined & spent evening at home. Day fine, wind easterly & to S. a few high clouds.

[Tuesday] 10. Wrote to D'Ancora, & sent him account of Miss Herschel's⁵⁴⁰ new comet. Called on M^r Cocks, L^y Baker civil; Palmer there: Sir Geo[rge]. [Baker] Had opinion of M^r Paradise's case. Talk about Longton's situation. Dined at Club, L^d. L. civil but did not ask home. D^r Fordyce⁵⁴¹ mentioned method of clearing grain of insects, by putting it in heat which hatches them, so all dead before grain sown. Fine day. Easterly wind, sharpish.

[Wednesday] 11. Called on Montagus: he rather presuming, more intoxicated about Mr P[it]. Approves of bills in general.⁵⁴² Walked with them. Called on Lucan's. clearly changed. Called on Paradise. told M^{rs} P[aradise]. that dangerous ease. Dined at home. Mrs Buller & C[oun]t Rumford called. Latter in spirits again, with former vanity. Assisted at Mr C[avendish]'s experiments. Could perceive no difference of convexity of cornea by change of focus with

⁵³⁹ In 1796, Edward King published 'Vestiges of Oxford Castle', a work which anticipated his larger study *Munimenta antiqua, or, Observations on ancient castles*, published in four volumes between 1799 and 1806. DNB

⁵⁴⁰ Caroline Herschel (1750-1848), astronomer. On 12 November, Herschel's paper on the discovery of a new comet was read before the Royal Society. It was published the following year. See Caroline Herschel, "Account of the Discovery of a New Comet," *Philosophical Transactions* 86 (1796): 131-34.

⁵⁴¹ George Fordyce (1736-1802), physician. DNB

⁵⁴² Refers to Pitt's seditious meetings and treasonable practices bills, also known as the 'Two Bills'. These were introduced in early November, and outlawed mass meetings and political lectures in an attempt to curb political and economic protest in the wake of conflict with revolutionary France, and increasing food shortages. DNB

divided object glass⁵⁴³ [illegible word] day hard, cloudy with breaks, cold, northeasterly.

76v. (12 Nov.)

[Thursday] 12. B[reakfaste]^d at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s. pumping about strata & springs. Hint about address: I said people might think it wrong as making the Society too political. Called on Palmerston's. civil, but not cordial. She said had spent some time at Bognor; liked the people. Attended Council R[oyal]. S[ociety]. Threw out hint that led to medal for Ramsden.⁵⁴⁴ Dined at Club, introducing C[oun]^t. Rumford. Attended A[ntiquaries] S[ociety] & R[oyal]. S[ociety]. conversation about Monday Club. Mr. C[avendish]. know not what to do. Said some men without certain feelings. Black cloudy day, Easterly wind.

[Friday] 13. Called at L^y. Spencer's. Dined at home. Went in evening to Mr Montagu's. L^y. L[ouisa] Macdonald invitation. L^d Chief Baron's⁵⁴⁵ conversation about Hunter's collection; that M^r Pitt could not bring it on:⁵⁴⁶ idea of getting Ireland to purchase it: I told him of their purchase of Leske's mineralogical collection.⁵⁴⁷ He doubted whether this was for or against. I said it seemed not

⁵⁴³ Blagden and Cavendish may have been performing experiments in light of Everard Home's experiments, informed by the work of Professor Soemmerring. See earlier entry, 27 Oct. f. 73r. and note 520.

⁵⁴⁴ Jesse Ramsden (1735-1800), maker of scientific instruments, received the Royal Society's Copley Medal in 1795. The minutes of a council meeting of the Society held on 12 November recorded that the medal was 'ordered by ballot to be given to Mr Jesse Ramsden for his various Inventions and improvements in the construction of the instruments for the trigonometrical measurements carried on by General Roy'. Blagden had assisted General William Roy with his trigonometrical measurements in the early 1780s, and in 1787 assisted on the French side of the Anglo-French trigonometrical survey. Royal Society, CMO/8, f. 75r. (council minutes, 12 Nov. 1795).

⁵⁴⁵ Sir Archibald Macdonald, first baronet (1747-1826), lawyer and politician, and Chief Baron of the Exchequer from 1793 until his death. DNB

⁵⁴⁶ When the renowned anatomist John Hunter died in 1793, his famous natural history collection came up for sale. Despite Hunter's hopes that his collection might prove useful to the teaching of anatomy, the British government, under severe economic strain, was initially reticent to purchase it. William Eden, first Baron Auckland (1745-1814), eventually persuaded the British government to purchase the collection in 1799 for £15000. DNB

⁵⁴⁷ Through the negotiations of the chemist Richard Kirwan, the Dublin Society acquired the collections of Nathaniel Gottfried Leske (1752-86) in 1792. The purchase was funded by a grant from the Irish Parliament of £1350. James P. O'Connor, "Insects and Entomology," in *Nature in Ireland: A Scientific and Cultural History*, ed. John Wilson Foster (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1997), 224.

likely to do harm if Stanley at least proposed it in H[ouse]. of C[ommons]. He said if coolly rec[eive]^d. there perhaps might make people of Ireland cool also. C[oun]t Rumford exhibited with great art. Wilberforce very pleasant after comp[an]y. chiefly gone. Persuaded M^{rs} M[atthew] M[ontagu] to have young Ladies. Tasted bread made of wheat & maize, & wheat & rice. the latter more like cake; the former more doughy, but sweeter. Day black wind northerly, but not cold; at night some rain.

[Saturday] 14. Called on M^{rs} Montagu; consulted about her jaundice Seemed to have been a gallstone, which passed pretty readily. then on Mr & M^{rs} King, well received by both; he thinks no comets return to sun. Then on Mr Paradise; persuaded by D^r Warren⁵⁴⁸ to be in good spirits that lungs not affected. then on Major Rennel: left cards for L^y [Dorothea Banks] & Miss Banks.⁵⁴⁹ saw Sir Jos[eph]. Banks. above 51lb of flour for 60 of wheat: about 1/7 in former experiments. this by getting more pollard

77r. (14 Nov. cont.)

good bread with $\frac{3}{4}$ or 45lb to basket of 60lbs Called on Buller's; information about state of French on Rhine. Dined at home. Went to L^y Louisa Macdonalds with Montagus. Not much information some talk with Master of Rolls.⁵⁵⁰ Willis's great establishment in Lincolnshire.⁵⁵¹ Ment[ione]^d to Montagus suspicion that Browne's building was for a magazin for caravans. They spoke intention of haranguing against [illegible word] Reprobation of such councils: danger to the country: want of wisdom. every [illegible word] treat argument lessens soundness of judgment. L^d Grenville's prohibition about Banks's pension. Day fine, some louds; cold: northerly wind; freshness

⁵⁴⁸ Richard Warren (1731-1797), physician. DNB

⁵⁴⁹ Sarah Sophia Banks (1744-1818), collector of antiquarian items, and sister of Joseph Banks. DNB

⁵⁵⁰ Richard Pepper Arden, first Baron Alvanley (1744-1804), judge and master of the rolls between 1788 and 1801. DNB

⁵⁵¹ The extensive Lincolnshire practice of Francis Willis (1718-1807), physician. DNB

[Sunday] 15. Called on Mrs. Montagu; C[oun]t Rumford coming away; pert style. Her bad opinion of the Pr[ince]. of Wales. Then called on Lucan's: invitation: L^y Englefield there: remark why Sir H[enry] did not marry;⁵⁵² would repent it at last. Called on Mr Agar. Knox's [illegible word] consequence: L^d Townsend.⁵⁵³ Dined at L^d Lucan's. L^y. Corke⁵⁵⁴ there, & Mr Williamson,⁵⁵⁵ Professor of Mathematics a clear man, but no acquaintance with mankind. L^y Ann[e] [Bingham] gone to Wimbledon. Went together with L^d. L[ucan] to Sir Joseph Banks: said by way, what a great man L^d Bingham might have been by L^d Spencer's patronage. Menzies said he found the mountain at Owhyhee⁵⁵⁶ entirely volcanic: on top a great crater 1 ½ mile round, not burning; but a smaller one lower down much, on side of mountain, always burns.⁵⁵⁷ Fine day, sharp air. northerly.

[Monday] 16. Went to Mr Montagu's, to see the drawings of Sir Rob[er]t Ainslie's return to England thro' Bulgaria & Walachia,⁵⁵⁸ by Mayers. The country much resemble the Tyrol;⁵⁵⁹ very fine scenery; the [illegible name] a beautiful river. groups of gipsies [illegible words] where dined a sort of Chan: also sketches of Woolverston

77v. (16 Nov. cont.)

Park in Suffolk Mr Berner's place; and of Holbrook in Suffolk. Mayers draws his figures in general to a scale of 5 [inserted above: feet] 10 [inserted above: in] which makes them look too large, but fewer of scale for other parts. Conversation with Mrs M[atthew] M[ontagu] about L's, L^d Stair &c, Say clearly all at an end, that other pursuit, but no objection to sentiments being known. Called at Mr Raikes, on M^r Emlyn; civil; Mr Collier came in, sensible man,

⁵⁵² Sir Henry Charles Englefield, Lady Catherine Englefield's son, died unmarried. DNB

⁵⁵³ George Townshend, first Marquess Townshend (1724-1807), politician. DNB

⁵⁵⁴ Mary Boyle, countess of Cork and Orrery (1746-1840), literary hostess. DNB

⁵⁵⁵ James Williamson (*fl.* 1742-1795), Professor of Mathematics at the University of Glasgow from 1761 until 1795. "James Williamson," University of Glasgow Special Collections, accessed 25 Sep. 2018,

http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/manuscripts/search/detail_p.cfm?NID=35578&AID=&CID=94496

⁵⁵⁶ Hawaii.

⁵⁵⁷ Referring to the Vancouver Expedition (1791-1795).

⁵⁵⁸ Principality in Romania.

⁵⁵⁹ Austrian state in the Alps.

rather too drawling, seems good. Then called on Mr Woulfe. Dined at Geo[rge]. & Vulture. Cav[endish]. sulky. Then even[ing] to his experiments. Saw not least change from change of focus. Black cloudy day, Wind Sd of E. S most part.

[Tuesday] 17. Called on M^{rs} Montagu: M^{rs} M[atthew]. M[ontagu]. & Mr Garrick⁵⁶⁰ came in; arrangement about M^{rs} G[arrick]'s Box. Met Mr Berry civil; called at Grey's: met Mr Tiernay; ready conversation, clever; remarks just & not very violent Nod of M^{rs} Orde. Called at M^r. Ryder's: Dined at home: Went to M^r Emlyn's to meet Mr King; conversation agreeable enough: pleased that went there. Day cold, wind Southerly to westw^d. cloudy, with small breaks.

[Wednesday] 18. Hard gale from SW. with some rain. Called at M^{rs} Bullers. D^r Hunter called. told him about distrust in Society; the pleasures of which not to be estimated merely by entertaining conversation, but also by mutual confidence & deference. Dined & spent evening at home. gale abated. M[atthew]. M[ontagu]. company & notes.

[Thursday] 19. B[reakfaste]^d at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s settled the Council. Called on Mr Paradise Her violence about M^{rs} Joddrell; grieves him over: seems clearly to think it a deliverance. Called at M^{rs} Montagus. Called on L^d Lucan: friendly talk about Spencers. L^y A[nne] B[ingham] passed in carriage; looked distressed. Attended Council R[oyal] S[ociety]. persuaded by all, Cavendish included, to be paid for translation.⁵⁶¹ Dined at Crown & Anchor. L^d Palmerston; was rather civiler. Sir W[illiam]. Young's⁵⁶² curious papers about West Indies. Attended A[ntiquaries]. S[ociety]. & R[oyal]. S[ociety]. Auberts coaxing about Club. Sir H[enry]. Englefields account of Engine by explosion of

⁵⁶⁰ One of the brothers of David Garrick (1717-1779), actor and playwright. DNB

⁵⁶¹ The minutes of the meeting of the Royal Society's council on 19 November recorded the resolution that '15 Guineas be paid to Sir Cha[rle]s. Blagden for a translation of another paper of Mr Schroetter'. The German astronomer John Jerome Schroeter's paper had been read to the Society and published earlier that year. Royal Society, CMO/8, ff. 75r.-76r. (council minutes, 19 Nov. 1795). John Jerome Schroeter, "New Observations in Further Proof of the Mountainous Inequalities, Rotation, Atmosphere, and Twilight, of the Planet Venus," *Philosophical Transactions* 85 (1795): 117-76.

⁵⁶² Sir William Young, second baronet (1749-1815), colonial governor and politician. In 1791, Young embarked a voyage to the West Indies. DNB

infl[ammable]. air Day fine, clouds flying often. fine evening. night cloudy
Wrote to Dr Maskelyne that note refused.

78r. (20 Nov.)

[Friday] Nov. 20, 1795. Called on Montagu. He thought turn very much in favour of bills. Suspect his judgement misled by his friends. Spoke to Banker about American Stock. Called at Mr T. Lewis's. Dined at home. Met Mr Hailes; asked whether L^y L. in town. Went in evening to Mr Montagu: L^y Mt Edgecumbe & Mr Pepys: aristocratic credulity. Dispute about [illegible word] story. Ment[ion]ed that Hailes come. Fine day: some cloud; fine even SW^d. N^{ly}.

[Saturday] 21. Notes & paper to Mr Montagu. Called at Lucans, on M^{rs} Hunter,⁵⁶³ D^r out, on Bakers, conversation about Paradise, Bullers, Bassetts &c. at L^d Palmerston's, at Berrys. Note from D[uche]ss of D[evonshire] & answer. Dined & spent evening at home. Fired lamp. Very hard pitch black night; cold day, northerly wind, clear & night so.

[Sunday] 22. Called on Sir Geo[rge]. Staunton. Conversation about his publication.⁵⁶⁴ Sir Joseph [Banks]'s letters: desired me to speak; told him of Sir Jos[eph]'s jealousy, & that it wo[ul]d^d. only provoke him: that he had not much to expect from him. Called on D[uche]ss of Devonshire by opportunity Bar[on] de Breteuil: saw children & L^y Spencer for a moment; God bless you, but no invitation. Called on Mr Agar: dearness of corn in America. Randolph⁵⁶⁵ turned out, in consequence of the discovery made by Fauchet's⁵⁶⁶ intercepted dispatches: there said that all of them would do any thing for a bribe.⁵⁶⁷ Dined

⁵⁶³ Elizabeth Hunter (c. 1756-1802), wife of John Hunter (1754-1809), physician. DNB

⁵⁶⁴ Refers to Staunton's official account of the Macartney embassy to China. See note 46.

⁵⁶⁵ Edmund Randolph (1753-1813), revolutionary army officer and politician in United States of America. DNB

⁵⁶⁶ Joseph Fauchet (1761-1834), French diplomat and ambassador to the United States of America. DNB

⁵⁶⁷ Edmund Randolph was appointed secretary of state to the United States of America in 1794 and became caught in the conflict between the two factions in George Washington's cabinet, headed by Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson. In 1794, Randolph advised Washington to reject the Jay treaty, designed to ease post-war tensions between Britain and America, while the rest of the cabinet urged Washington to accept. Unhappy with Randolph's opposition, Hamilton's faction and the British government attempted to discredit

at L^d Bessborough's. Palmerstons; Mr Pelham Mr Crawford: agreeable enough: P[almerston]s civil; L^y P[almerston]: spoke of M[iss]. G[odfrey]. that had never quite recovered influenza. Then to Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s. some conversation with Cav[endish]. Said not well enough to attend tomorrow at Watson's. Sir J[oseph] B[anks]. dry: spoke of earthquake & that explosion of meteor perhaps, & that lightening in a clear sky. Weather changed in night to S^{ly}. wind: warm, damp, some rain.

78v. (23 Nov.)

[Monday] 23. Bad cold. Note from Mr M[atthew]. M[ontagu]. change of sentiments! Called. Mentioned council with Wilberforce & others: P[itt]'s treatment of Attorney General;⁵⁶⁸ [illegible word] in getting bills ready. alarm; numbers that will vote against; danger to Mr P[itt]. Wilberforce going down to Yorkshire: his MS, great eloquence. Ryder's impotence of not going all laugh; did not like to ~~as be known to~~ [inserted above: bring among his] public friends; got what could out of him. Dined at home. In evening to Mr King's; not very interesting; he out of humour. Fine day. rather warm, wind easterly. Papers to Sir G[eorge] St[aunton].

[Tuesday] 24. Mr Townley called. Better Dined & spent evening at home. Note from M^{rs} M[atthew]. M[ontagu]. that particular friends invited. Night stormy wet: abat[e]d in day & clear W[in]^d from SW.

[Wednesday] 25. Called on Grey's: mentioned circulating papers to armed force, to explain how the bills were meant originally, & that [illegible word] to them perhaps meant to push things to extremities. Note about Wilberforce called on M^{rs} M[atthew]. M[ontagu]. explained how far not engaged. Dined at home. In evening to Mrs Montagu's. Talk with L^y Louisa [Macdonald], chief Baron, &c. found M^{rs} M[atthew] M[ontagu] exactly measured Count Rumford.

him. In July 1795, a British ship intercepted a letter from Joseph Fauchet to the French government, which implied that Randolph had welcomed French financial aid. DNB
⁵⁶⁸ Sir John Scott, first earl of Eldon (1751-1838), politician. While serving as attorney-general, Scott was requested by Pitt to draw up legislation against treason. In November 1795, Scott defended Pitt's 'Two Bills'. See note 542. DNB

Buller of opinion, that Austrians would this winter blockade [illegible place name]. Day wetting dark misty, cold. Clear cold night. Wind N^y.

[Thursday] 26. B[reakfaste]^d at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks's]. Pushing forwardness of Rennell about the paper. Called on Lucan's. Sawall: no [illegible word] Met L^y Palmerston.⁵⁶⁹ Called on Mr Paradise; M^{rs} said he had made will: saw marks of exultation. Sieze on all. Dined at home. Attended A[ntiquaries]. S[ociety]. & R[oyal]. S[ociety]. Went to D[uche]ss of D[evonshire]. L^y P. C[oun]t Rumford. Sheridan. Frosty morning: fine day. Cooling wind [illegible word].

79r. (27 Nov.)

[Friday] 27. Called on L^d Palmerston; friendly reception; Mr Johnstone told of Legacy from Mr Crec to Miss El. Francis; that wo[ul]^d be £1000 a year if she [illegible word] all, & then on death of last survivor, all goes to young Mr Francis. Called at L^y Amhersts; on Banker's where gave order for £300 3 [illegible word] coin. to be bought in tomorrow. Then called at Mr Drake's. Dined at home. In evening to M^{rs} M[atthew]. Montagu: many of her invited did not come. L^y L[ouisa]. McD[onald] & L^y Southerland.⁵⁷⁰ Curious work of Barro's of [inserted above: illegible word] discoveries of Portuguese in India & E. coast of Africa, translat[e]d by him from old Portuguese. Talk after about P[itt]'s co[u]rage of M[atthew Montagu]. right that he should not be swindled out of his ideas: speech to be on necessity of attending to public opinion. Frosty morning, but day milder, getting cloudy at night rain

[Saturday] 28. Called on Sir Geo[rge]. Staunton; gave him understand that a scale of one quart[er]^d volume would have been better; & that better if not chose so large a print;⁵⁷¹ he seemed to repent: then called on M^{rs} Paradise, who said Mr P[aradise]. was much worse: then at L^d Hardwicke & Mr Pepy's. Dined at M^{rs} Montagu's. C[oun]t Rumford did not harangue much. L^y Louisa

⁵⁶⁹ Mary Temple, Viscountess Palmerston (1752-1805), second wife of Henry Temple, second Viscount Palmerston. DNB

⁵⁷⁰ Elizabeth Leveson-Gower, duchess of Sutherland (1765-1839) landowner, and wife of George Granville Leveson-Gower, Viscount Trentham (1758-1833) DNB

⁵⁷¹ Relates to Staunton's published account of the Macartney embassy, see note 46.

Macdonald Chief Baron came at night: very civil. Wet night, & morning damp & cloudy; then cleared, Wind NNE [illegible word] Story (by Ryder) of Gibbon & Lavata; of men remonstrating to Emperor; 1st execut[e]d, 2^d de même, [illegible words] le troisieme & l'Empereur trouve enfin qu'un honnete homme a raison. Estreau, [illegible word] je serais volontiers le troisieme.

[Sunday] 29. Mr Pepys called for character of Servant. Told him all family. His story of L^d Mansfield, who said action could not lie for bad character, because what so to one was not to another: & added example of himself with coachman, whose character he gave

79v. (29 Nov. cont.)

as very good, except selling oats, for which discharged: [illegible word] lied, that bad for [illegible word] but not to me; for you can never be in your stable, I am never out of mine. Lord Mendip called. Went to Mr Agars. Archb[isho]p of Cashell⁵⁷² & family there; very civil. Dined at L^d Lavington's. Palmerstons; Ellises. vulgar running on of L^y P[almerston]. Cha[rle]s Ellis⁵⁷³ not strong understanding; George⁵⁷⁴ much superior. Told them about cold of N & S latitudes: state of land at S Pole probably & not N. that climate of America not entirely changed. Went to Sir J[oseph] B[anks]'s. Cav[endish]. sulky. Each suspect [illegible word] makes floating bricks. Morn[in]⁹ frost. dull day, afternoon moist, night rainy SW^{ly}.

[Monday] 30. Wet night; very damp, warm close day, with SW wind. B[reakfaste]^d. at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s, & went with him to R[oyal]. S[ociety].⁵⁷⁵ M^r C[avendish]. did not come there. Dined at home. Note from M^r M[atthew] M[ontagu] that something to say. Went to M^{rs} Bullers in Evening: Not much amused: M^{rs} M[atthew]. M[ontagu]. not there Damp night.

⁵⁷² Thomas Bray (1749-1820), Roman Catholic archbishop of Cashel and Emly. DNB

⁵⁷³ Charles Rose Ellis, later first Baron Seaforth (1771-1845), politician. DNB

⁵⁷⁴ George Ellis (1753-1815), writer, and cousin of Charles Rose Ellis. HOP

⁵⁷⁵ The anniversary meeting of the Royal Society takes place on 30 November each year.

[Tuesday] Dec 1. Called on M^{rs} M[atthew]. M[ontagu]. death of M^{rs} Scott.⁵⁷⁶ L^y S. said to be free & cheerful only. Called on Lucans; L^y Spencer & L^y Ann[e] [Bingham] came in; agreeable enough but no cordiality. L^y S[pencher]. more moderate. Spoke of Windham's letter being lost but that he was in high spirits. Questioned about bills; said that certainly had been very ill managed; that no doubt every one wished suppression of [illegible word] & [illegible word] House. L^y L[ucan]. declined evening visits; said engaged chiefly with L^y Spencer, or her parties: Mr M[ontagu]. did not consult about speech. Dined & spent evening at home. Day damp close, evening cloudy. Wind S^d. of W.

[Wednesday] 2. Called on Montagu's. Speech lent. Talk about L[ucan]'s. Said what apprehended was lost, from what I thought pomposity of conduct, & A[nnie Bingham]. should suspect want of regard. Said wo[ul]^d. give hints, & favour good opinion. Called at Bakers: rather dull, out of spirits: provost of Oriel;⁵⁷⁷ great coxcomb. Miss Ackland⁵⁷⁸ to be married to Lord Porchester:⁵⁷⁹ said he had been dissipated. Sir Joseph Banks called. Very artful about looking over Sir Geo[rge]. Stauntons MSS. Said

80r. (2 Dec. cont.)

letters to him made him shudder; long sentences no grammar. I said what I did was so trifling did not deserve the name of correction; that only what sho[ul]^d. be glad at any time Sir G[eorge]. S[taunton]. would do for me.⁵⁸⁰ Said plants in such condition could hardly make any thing of them.⁵⁸¹ that all specimens torn or broken off, none cut with a knife. Dined at Devonshire House: Reply to Crawford that possibly he might be President, as he gave

⁵⁷⁶ Sarah Scott (1720-1795), novelist, historian, and aunt of Matthew Montagu. DNB

⁵⁷⁷ John Eveleigh (1748-1814), university reformer, and Provost of Oriel College, Oxford, from 1781 until his death. DNB

⁵⁷⁸ Elizabeth Acland (1772-1813), daughter of Colonel John Dyke Acland (1746-1778), army officer and politician, who later married Henry George Herbert, Lord Porchester. DNB

⁵⁷⁹ Henry George Herbert, second earl of Carnarvon (1772-1833), politician, known as Lord Porchester from 1793 to 1811. DNB

⁵⁸⁰ Blagden's comment implies that he helped to correct Staunton's account of the Macartney embassy.

⁵⁸¹ Staunton had collected botanical specimens during Macartney's embassy to China. DNB

good dinners. Rather in spirits there, & played part tolerably well. Duke more attentive than usual. Day cloudy with breaks, Wind NW^{ly}. Colder, pleasant.

[Thursday] 3. B[reakfaste]^d at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s; he gone to Kew. Extravagant stories told, & claims made, by Ireland, as related by S[amuel] Lysons.⁵⁸² Called on ~~Reynolds~~ Rennell; forwardness; imprudence; reflections on Dalrymple's pamphlets; L^y Spencer called on him. Called at Mr Paradise's: saw her, but not asked to see him: his complaints against her, to C[oun]^t Woronzow. Then on Sir Geo[rge]. Staunton; found that Mr Barro had told young Garthshore, that I looked over MS. Called at M^{rs} Montagu's; on M^{rs} Buller; L^y [illegible name] there, pleasing smile: called at Mr Grottes Miss [illegible initials]. in town, but not at home: at Berrys Dined & spent evening at home. Day fair, chiefly cloudy, but with breaks, wind N^d of W.

[Friday] 4. Called on L^d Ailesbury; a little dry: Said L^y. Cooper gone abroad; [illegible initials] gone to naples: vast numbers of emigrants at Hamburgh. Then on C[oun]^t Rumford: saw his painted jar for lamps, & got paper of Amer[ican]. Stock. Then to Mr Bulmers, to whom gave directions about stop's &c Then to Mr Cracherode: shewed 2 first editions of part of Cicero's works; one 1468, the other Subiaco⁵⁸³ edition, supposed earlier from analogy of another classic published there in 1465. Then on Mr Townly: got bit of carved rock of Elephanta⁵⁸⁴ which Blumenbach has sent for. Then at Lucan's: L^y L[ucan]. ill keeping room, L^d L[ucan]. with her. Called on Montagu's. very friendly: he satisfied with effect of his speech. Note from Wilberforce. About [illegible word]

80v. (4 Dec. cont.)

⁵⁸² Relates to the Shakespeare papers produced by William Henry Ireland. See note 179.

⁵⁸³ The Subiaco Press, Italian printing press.

⁵⁸⁴ Might refer to the Elephanta caves near Mumbai, India.

of £4000 left by M^{rs} Scott to nat[ural] D[aughte]r. of Montagu's father.⁵⁸⁵ M^{rs} M[ontagu]'s curiosity about mention of L^d Rokeby⁵⁸⁶ in Parliament; sent her papers, & M^{rs} Buller [illegible name's] pamphlet. Dined & spent evening at home. at Day cloudy with some breaks, wind N^d of W rather pleasant.

[Saturday] 5. L^d Hardwicke called. talk about German offer of Hamburg paper. Called at Mr Paradise's: saw M^{rs} P[aradise] not asked to go up. D^r Bancroft⁵⁸⁷ there. Dined at home. In evening to L^y Mt Edgecumbe's. M^{rs} Damer,⁵⁸⁸ Mr Jerningham; M^{rs} Buller. conversation pleasant. Much on politics; moderate. Wetting day, wind N^d of W.

[Sunday] 6. Called on M^{rs} Montagu; met M^{rs} M[atthew] M[ontagu] there: talked of Chief Baron, said nothing about dining there. Then to Mr Agars: forward impertinent affections of [illegible name]. Mr Pitt could not explain American fund of 5 ½ [illegible symbol]. Dined at home. In evening to L^y Louisa Macdonald's, cruel incitation Day cloudy, wet N of W.

[Monday] 7. Called on Grey's; rather dryer, blamed opposition for inactivity, rather dissipation; said only way was to make ministers afraid. Said should meet regularly pursue a consistent plan: make themselves respectable; & have with them working people, not in Parliament. Said did not signify a [illegible word] to the country, of whatever consequence it might be to the individuals.⁵⁸⁹ Then called at Lucans; on Sir W[illiam]. Musgrave: read Sir John Barnard's proposal of silver coin, 202 of copper to 10 of silver, these base pieces to be marked, & not to be forced on anyone. Dined at home. In evening to Mr King's; pleasant eve[nin]g. Mr Cavallo⁵⁹⁰ gave account from Stratford on Avon of agitation being so violent from earthquake, that knockers of a door knocked. Day dark cloudy, morning wetting. Wind S^d of W. dry.

⁵⁸⁵ Morris Robinson (1715/16-1777), solicitor, and father of Matthew Montagu. DNB

⁵⁸⁶ Matthew Robinson-Morris, second Baron Rokeby (1713-1800), politician and uncle of Matthew Montagu. DNB

⁵⁸⁷ Edward Nathaniel Bancroft (1772-1842), physician. DNB

⁵⁸⁸ Anne Seymour Damer (1749-1828), sculptor and author. DNB

⁵⁸⁹ Charles Grey, second Earl Grey (1764-1845), was an advocate of parliamentary reform, and in 1792 established the Society of the Friends of the People with a group of fellow Whigs, aimed at bringing about reform. DNB

⁵⁹⁰ Tiberius Cavallo (1749-1809), natural philosopher. DNB

81r. (8 Dec.)

[Tuesday] 8. Called on M^r M[ontagu] read to me his intended speech against Grey, & beginning of his pamphlet,⁵⁹¹ which was well composed. Invitation to meet Abbot & c. Then called on L^d Palmerston; friendly address: invitation to Broadlands, just if convenient Called at Gen. D'Aubert's, & on M^{rs} Montagu, to whom recommended Columbo root.⁵⁹² Dined at Club; dull; out of spirits: wretchedly missed opportunity of going to play. Paragraph about R[ichard]^d Ryder,⁵⁹³ contradicted because [illegible initial] to offer to Mr Pitt. Day misty, wind E^d of N. Evening fine, clear.

[Wednesday] 9. Called on L^d Orford; very friendly: excellent letter about [illegible word] demand; extraordinary opinion of Counsellor Mansfield; invitation for evening. Then called at Lord Bessborough's. Dined at home. In evening to M^{rs}. M[atthew]. M[ontagu]'s. Berrys. Nolkens &c. Afterwards talked of L^y A[nne Bingham]. he [Matthew Montagu] is to speak: that great impression. Day black cold, thick, easterly wind.

[Thursday] 10. B[reakfaste]^d at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s. spoke to him about Brother's requests. He ment[ione]^d. idea of getting papers put together by D^r Gray⁵⁹⁴ for money. Saw print of M^r. Burdon's Bridge. Called at M^{rs} Cocks's, Mr Wilberforce's, Admiralty, where saw all family. Spoke to L^y A[nne Bingham]. with much emotion about change in L^y L[ucan]: she behaved well, even with kindness. L^d Althorpe's⁵⁹⁵ jaundice. L^y L[ucan]. thought in a dangerous way. All going out, L^y A[nne]. at [illegible word] with L^d A[lthorp]. Shook hands, said

⁵⁹¹ Montagu produced several political pamphlets during his lifetime, the one mentioned here may have been his 'Friendly Remarks on Mr. Pitt's Administration, by a near Observer', published in 1795. David Rivers, *Literary Memoirs of Living Authors of Great Britain, Arranged According to an Alphabetical Catalogue of Their Names; and Including a List of Their Works, with Occasional Opinions Upon Their Literary Character*, 2 vols., vol. 2 (London: R. Faulder, 1798), 55.

⁵⁹² Used as a tonic for bilious diseases.

⁵⁹³ Richard Ryder (1766-1832), politician and second son of Nathaniel Ryder, first Baron Harrowby. DNB

⁵⁹⁴ Edward Whitaker Gray (1748-1806), physician and museum curator. Gray took up the position of secretary of the Royal Society in 1797, the year that Blagden resigned. DNB

⁵⁹⁵ John Charles Spencer, third Earl Spencer (1782-1845), politician and agriculturist, known as Viscount Althorp from 1783 to 1834. DNB

indeed I love you very much. Called on Paradise, saw him, very thin, yet much life still remaining. She half crazy; affected but rejoicing partly. Called on Sir Geo[rge]. Staunton; said would soon send MS. Told him that thought of going out of town at X[ma]^s. Dined at home. Attended A[ntiquaries] S[ociety] & R[oyal]. S[ociety]. Cav[endish]. odd, dry. magnetic granite in [illegible place name]. Day black, gloomy, dark, not very cold. Wind SE. disagreeable Miss Bowdlers letter.

81v. (11 Dec.)

[Friday] 11. Called at M^{rs} Montagu's. on L^d Orford; very ill, but not dangerously: on Sir Rob[er]t Herries about Miss Bowdler's business: hardly civil; met L^d Lucan: said that L^y L[ucan]. ill & Ladies with her; when got there found she was not! Called on M^{rs} Buller; mentioned idea of going to Bath: she spoke kindly. Sent letter to Miss Bowdlers: [illegible words] by bellman. Dined & spent evening at home. Wind from SE to W^{ly}. dark, thick, cloudy, damp. Bad night; pain in stomach, in day very indig[e]s^tion. feverishness.

[Saturday] 12. Called on Montagu's; saw new maps &c. Read letter of Miss Bowdler. Called on Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]. Got his answer about commissions, & wrote in consequence to Brother Hale: Dined & spent evening at Sir Geo[rge]. Bakers: came into spirits; agreeable with M[ary]. B[erry]. Played cassino with Miss Wilkes. Day cloud. SE^{ly}. pleasant.

[Sunday] 13. C[oun]^t. Rumford called: extreme vanity, but remarkably little disgusting; C[ounte]ss Nogarola⁵⁹⁶ thinking of him as a god! Called on Mr Agar: Crawford at Mulhaim.⁵⁹⁷ Dined at Mr Montagu's: Percevals, Abbott, affected; R[ichar]^d Ryder, weak; account of visit to L^y L[ucan]. L^d & L^y Malmesbury⁵⁹⁸ there: Geo[rge]. Ellis; their behaviour L^y. Corke. In Evening to Sir Jos[eph]. Banks's. Account by Menzies of passage from St Iago of Chili,

⁵⁹⁶ Countess Nogarola, one of Count Rumford's mistresses. William E. Burns, *Science in the Enlightenment: An Encyclopaedia* (California: ABC-CLIO, 2003), 277.

⁵⁹⁷ City in North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany.

⁵⁹⁸ Harriet Maria Harris, countess of Malmesbury (1761-1830), wife of James Harris, first earl of Malmesbury. DNB

across Andes to Buenos Ayres; go in 18 days. have huts built at every 5 leagues across the mountains, with forge & other necessaries, locked up, & a key given to the Courier who refreshes there, & if a storm comes on, shelters himself till over. After crossing Andes, all a flat plain to Buenos Ayres. Andes 30 leagues from coast of Chili. Day wet in general; wind WSW.

[Monday] 14. Sent to inquire about L^d. Spencer's health. Called on Mr Emlyn: promise to meet party M^{rs}. Emlyn. Dined at Geo[rge]. & Vulture. L^d Palmerston: Letter from Pelham, in praise of Dalrymple; ridiculous exaggerated expressions Cav[endish]. sulky enough: avoided going away. Called at Nairnes for thermometer for Miss Bowdler. Returned papers to Sir Geo[rge]. Staunton Message back that Mr P[aradise]. dead.⁵⁹⁹ Day cloudy, damp mild, Southerly wind.

82r. (15 Dec.)

[Tuesday] 15. Called on Greys; D[uche]ss of Devonshire there, familiar. Called at Admiralty; inquired particularly for L^d Spencer, how did; L^d John Cavendish⁶⁰⁰ with L^y Spencer. Called on L^d. Orford; weak, but spirits good: Miss Berry's note. Called at L^d Shuldham inquiring, better, left card; then at M^{rs} Buller's. Dined at home. In evening to M^{rs}. Montagu's. Talk with L^y. Bell Polwarth. Miss Wilkes, who remarkably civil; M^{rs} M[atthew] M[ontagu] blooming: the Gibbes' Mr. P[ole]. Carew. Day fair, pleasant SW breeze, cloudy with breaks N [illegible word].

[Wednesday] 16. Called at Miss Berrys & Sir Ph[ilip]. Gibbes's. Dined & spent evening at home. Fine morning, clouds collected & wet afternoon; cloudy night.

[Thursday] 17. B[reakfaste]^d at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s. conversation with Rennell, that should have done early what now. Called on Montagus M^{rs}

⁵⁹⁹ John Paradise died on 12 December 1795. DNB

⁶⁰⁰ Lord John Cavendish (1732-1796), politician. DNB

M[atthew]. M[ontagu]. talk what do; told advise to go on, & refusal when came to door. Mentioned danger of saying too much. out of spirits; something on mind. Met Grottes MA & S. rather shy; M^r Guise with them; suspected S. G. courted by him. Dined at home. Mr King called; civil; spoke of Niece: Attended A[ntiquaries]. S[ociety] & R[oyal]. S[ociety]. Mr C[avendish]. civil but unmeaning. Flourishing of Count Rumford. Lent Mr King papers on fall of stones in Siena.⁶⁰¹ Day cloudy, light S^{ly}. airs, very warm.

[Friday] 18. Note to M^{rs} M[atthew]. M[ontagu]. about L's. Called at L^d Shuldham's on Bakers; very civil, & pleasant. Sir Geo[rge Baker]. friendly. City breeding of M^{rs}. Garthshore, as they observed; his stiffness & rigidity. The [illegible name] ill brought up: put now under a Miss Hollis; great repugnance to Miss Murray: eldest clever: youngest Jane, less so. Left list at Bulmer's. Walked in Park. Called at Lucans; some apology for not seeing, but false by L^y. L^d L[ucan]. civil as usual. L^y A[nne Bingham]. came in a little: suspect to be seen walking. Letter to Mr Grote: others note to M^{rs} M[atthew] M[ontagu]. Day very warm. southerly wind, sunshine forenoon, cloudy afternoon.

82v. (19 Dec.)

[Saturday] Dec. 19. M^r. M[ontagu] read pamphlet; small, written in many parts. offered to revise mss. Called on L^d. Orford. Mentioned anecdote of Sarah D[uche]ss D^r. of Marlborough⁶⁰² when Sir Rob[ert] Walpole⁶⁰³ married a young wife: that man is always robbing the public. To another, you & I will do for one another what no-one else will do for us: drink our healths. Called at C[oun]t Rumford's. Dined at Sir Jos[eph]. Banks's. Will eat the best [inserted above: bread] & not be duped by the blackguards said he; & if property be worth any thing, the sooner we come to the contest for it the better. Barbary wheat there, [illegible word], no white on breaking, said will not grind into flour: may be split

⁶⁰¹ Edward King published an account of the fall of stones in 1796, in which he acknowledged Blagden's assistance in procuring information. See Edward King, *Remarks Concerning Stones Said to Have Fallen from the Clouds, Both in These Days, and in Antient Times* (London: G. Nicol, 1796).

⁶⁰² Sarah Churchill, duchess of Marlborough (1660-1744), politician and courtier. DNB

⁶⁰³ Robert Walpole, first earl of Orford (1676-1745), former prime minister. Walpole married Catherine Shorter (c. 1682-1737), daughter of the Baltic timber merchant John Shorter. DNB

by parching. [Illegible word] Gave opinion that [illegible word] partly nourished by carbone ready formed, but also partly made some for themselves: Banks thought none. Went in Evening to Mr Montagu's, Saw Will Thornton⁶⁰⁴ for a moment: did not much like his countenance. pleasant conversation with Wilberforce after gone. He disapproved of buying seat. After he gone, acknowledge change in Ryder. L^d Hardwicke's embarrassment; family uneasy. Said stood very good chance if had patience. Day showery, warm WSW Wind, blow[in]g hard, dampness

[Sunday] 20. Attended funeral of Mr Paradise. Langton⁶⁰⁵ with M^{rs} P[aradise]. Mr P[aradise]. not sensible of his end: persuaded on purpose by D^r W[arren]. that would recover: delirious at times, but sensible in general, & at last only weak & Indisposed to exertion: Buried in catacomb of Marybone,⁶⁰⁶ where coffins piled up as at S^t Giles; all there buried in lead. Called on Mr Agar: news that K[ing]. of Prussia agreed to turn against French, as condition of Russia allowing him to take his slice of Poland. Dined at home. In Ev[enin]^g. to Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]: half a pound of rhubarb seed! conversation with Mr C[avendish]. remark about expression of contest the sooner the better, yesterday afternoon: he said he could scarcely refrain from bursting out. I mentioned agreements that wo[ul]^d be used, to show how clever it was to set on K[ing]. of Pr[ussia]. against while he holding out peace. He said never was a nation so mad. [Illegible word] name of cotton, said to be made at [illegible place name] brought from S^t Cruz. Day cloudy, with some sun shine, mild, W^{ly}.

83r. (21 Dec.)

[Monday] 21. Called on M^{rs} M Montagu; spoke of having made a new Will. better. Talked about Stanley; defended him; opinion that he was interested; looked for places. Then to M^{rs} Buller; mentioned intention of going into country.

⁶⁰⁴ William Astell, formerly Thornton (1774-1847), director of the East India Company. DNB

⁶⁰⁵ Bennet Langton (*bap.* 1736, *d.* 1801), friend of Samuel Johnson. DNB

⁶⁰⁶ John Paradise is thought to have been buried at St Mary-le-Bow church, Cheapside. DNB

She recommended Badgmore,⁶⁰⁷ in preference to Broadlands. Sent thermometer & Rhubarb seed, packed up in parcel, to Mr Montagu, to be sent by Mr Aust to Miss Bowdler. Dined at home. In evening to Mr King's. Master Pepys told story of Troward the sollicitor who had case which much defended on antiquity of paper for deed: seemed old but he observed one thread white. Sent to man, & desired him to come next morning, for feard he were discovered, man in night cut his throat. Count [illegible name] from Florence: would talk English; asked various questions; on Thrale's expression, take away this soup, water gruel is brandy to it: [illegible name] asked, what is water-gruel what is oatmeal &? Said littel dog had ~~played~~ [inserted above: joked] with his laced ruffles & they were no more: said that on Richmond terras got the greatest knock in the eye he ever had in his life. Wet day, warm, very damp. blowing fresh from WSW.

[Tuesday] 22. Called on Count Rumford. Saw his grates double windows &c. Then on Grey's; nothing good. Then at L^d Orfords & on Sir Geo[rge]. Staunton, to whom read part of L^d Macartneys letter. Dined at Club. Applied to L^d. P. to speak to Lord Pembroke⁶⁰⁸ to put brother on Commission for Wilts[hire]. L^y Spencer's private box. B[isho]p of Dromore⁶⁰⁹ rather pleasing. Day damp, mild, cloudy. SW^{ly}.

[Wednesday] 23. Sent to Sir Geo[rge]. Staunton letter for L^d Macartney. Wrote to Mr Grote. Called at Admiralty; [illegible name] very civil, talked of part for L^d. Althorpe. then called on L^y Lucan, L^y Grantham there, civil: L^d L[ucan]. gone to Brighton, L^y A[nne Bingham]. to Wimbledon. called at L^d Lavington's. Dined at home. In evening to M^{rs}. Bullers. great cleverness, & affection of M^{rs} M[atthew]. M[ontagu]. M^{rs} Buller seemed warmed. Miss Wilkes civil. Day fine wind W^{ly}. & N^d. of it.

⁶⁰⁷ The Badgmore Estate, situated near Henley-on-Thames, Oxfordshire, owned by Joseph Grote. "Henley: Outlying Estates and Country Houses," in *A History of the County of Oxford*, Online ed., Vol. 16 (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2011), accessed 25 Sep. 2018, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/oxon/vol16/pp185-189#h3-0002>

⁶⁰⁸ George Augustus Herbert, eleventh earl of Pembroke and eighth earl of Montgomery (1759-1827), army officer and landowner. DNB

⁶⁰⁹ Thomas Percy (1729-1811), writer and Church of Ireland bishop of Dromore from 1782 until his death. DNB

83v. (24 Dec.)

[Thursday] 24. B[reakfaste]^d at Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]'s; ill behaviour. Called on Montagu's, recommended observation &c. Attended Council R[oyal] S[ociety]. recommended price 12S 6, but all for 14S for present Part of [Philosophical] Transactions. Dined at Club, introducing C[oun]^t Rumford. Sir J[oseph]. B[anks]. sulky: Cav[endish]. better, but nothing. Attended A[ntiquaries] S[ociety] & R[oyal]. S[ociety]. Day wet in forenoon, cloudy damp afternoon & Ev[enin]^g.

[Friday] 25. Did no go out. Returned Mr M[ontagu]. first that revised, with note recommending Perceval to see it. Note to L^y Shuldham,⁶¹⁰ that Transactions granted.⁶¹¹ Returned papers to Sir Geo[rge]. Staunton; sent letter to Mr Brougham. Dined & spent evening at home Day fair; forenoon some sunshine, afternoon cloudy. W^{ly}

[inserted below: January to Badgmore & Broadlands.⁶¹²]

⁶¹⁰ Margaret Irene Shuldham, Baroness Shuldham, wife of Molyneux Shuldham, Baron Shuldham. DNB

⁶¹¹ The council minutes of the Royal Society's meeting of 24 December recorded that 'Lord Shuldham and Lord Mortion were permitted to take such volumes of the Transactions as they have not yet received under the usual limitations of the Council'. Royal Society, CMO/8, f. 78r. (council minutes, 24 Dec. 1795).

⁶¹² See earlier entry for mention of travel recommendations made by Mrs Buller, 21 Dec. f. 83r. and note 607.

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