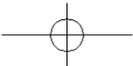
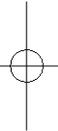
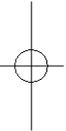




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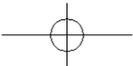
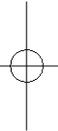
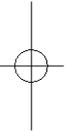
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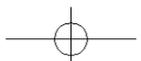
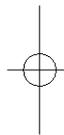
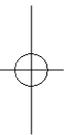
**THE DIARY OF
HANNAH LIGHTBODY
1786/1770**

Edited by
David Sekers



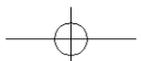
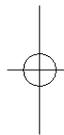
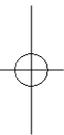


Portrait of Hannah Lightbody
Reproduced by kind permission of Katharine Gore



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THE DIARY OF HANNAH LIGHTBODY 1786-90

Preface and Acknowledgements

When working with colleagues in the late 1970's and 80's on the restoration and presentation of Quarry Bank Mill and Samuel Greg's factory community at Styal in Cheshire, we were fortunate to be able to make use of the large surviving archive. This provided information not only on the development of the Mill as a cotton spinning and weaving enterprise, but also on the deployment of the workforce, the arrangements, education and medical care for the apprentice children and the provision of housing, chapels, food and welfare for the whole workforce.

We debated about the extent to which this investment might be thought to have been enlightened. The debate goes on, and may now be illuminated by a later arrival in the Mill archives, the manuscript of the diary of Hannah Lightbody. It was mostly written before she married Samuel Greg, but gives an insight into her well read, finely tuned mind, her thoughtful and benevolent character, her enthusiasms and firm beliefs. The diary shows how she was exposed to current thinking on history, education, moral philosophy, Dissenting beliefs, and the roles of women. It also reveals her appreciation of music, art, gardening and scenery, and her support for the poor and care of the sick. We may now be better equipped to consider her influence on the factory community.

The diary may also shed light on Liverpool's Dissenting circles and their culture, beliefs and pursuits. It may add to our perceptions of women's spheres and to our understanding of the Liverpool abolitionists.

The editor is therefore glad of the opportunity to provide a full version of the diary. He is grateful to Emily Janes, who has lent the manuscript volumes to Quarry Bank Mill, for permission to publish them and to Michael Janes, who has written about the Hibberts and the Gregs, his own family. New light has been shed on the history of the Lightbody family

thanks to the information provided by their descendants Esther Galbraith and Nick Lightbody. The latter generously made available family records and research. The portrait of Hannah Lightbody is reproduced by kind permission of Katharine Gore, descendant of Hannah Lightbody and Samuel Greg. Jenny Smith and Dr. Tim Paine have likewise generously shared information and documents on their ancestors, the Hodgson family. The editor is also grateful to Lionel Burman for encouragement from the outset and then much sound guidance on Liverpool urban, intellectual and cultural history, contributing a number of interpretations and references and also providing links with other specialists and scholars. Dr. David Wykes, Director of Dr. Williams's Library and Alex Kidson, Curator of British Art at the Walker Art Gallery, have also provided several helpful suggestions (their names in brackets in the footnotes acknowledge their personal communications). The editor also wishes to thank Josselin Hill and Caroline Hill of Quarry Bank Mill. He also acknowledges generous help from Mrs. Fritz Spiegl and Joseph Sharples, Sherrylynne Haggerty and Melinda Elder. Finally he is grateful to the staff of the London Library and of the following archives for their assistance: Liverpool Record Office, the Sidney Jones Library of Liverpool University and Manchester Central Library.

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Abbreviations

DRO	Derbyshire Record Office
<i>E&D</i>	Enlightenment & Dissent
LRO	Liverpool Record Office
<i>ODNB</i>	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
QBM	Quarry Bank Mill Archive
TNA	The National Archive
<i>THSLC</i>	Transactions of the Historic Society for Lancashire and Cheshire
<i>VCH</i>	Victoria County History

THE DIARY OF HANNAH LIGHTBODY 1786-1790

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Introduction

The period of Hannah Lightbody's diary was one of peace and fast increasing prosperity across Britain. It was a moment when the established Nonconformist entrepreneurs in Liverpool, those circles in which Hannah Lightbody moved, were expanding their businesses. At the same time it was a period of growing tension, when the Dissenting communities, their merchants and ministers, felt their disenfranchisement to be most unjust. Before describing the background and family of the diarist, it may be helpful to establish this local context.

Late Eighteenth-Century Liverpool

The commercial and political history of Liverpool in the late eighteenth century is well known and documented. Overtaking Bristol by the middle of the century, it had become the dominant port after London, exporting coal, salt and manufactured goods via the new canal network, trading with other British coastal ports, with Ireland, the Baltic, Newfoundland and, most importantly, with Africa and America. Only the East Indies was restricted to its merchants. The volume and value of the trade importing tobacco and sugar continued to grow until the turn of the century and the slave trade associated with it had also grown throughout this period. By 1790, 138 Liverpool ships were engaged in the Africa trade

The appearance of the town was in a process of almost constant change during the second half of the century, with large new docks opened in 1753, 1771, 1773, 1788 and 1796. The town's development reflected not

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only its mercantile vigour but also the urban renaissance familiar across the rest of the country, with spaces and activities for leaders of fashion and taste, and elegant buildings for public institutions, such as the new parish church (St Peter's), a large Town Hall and Exchange (1749-53), a new Infirmary (1745-9), and a new Music Hall seating 1400 built in Bold Street in 1785-6. In mid century several new and fashionable squares had been built and in 1786 the Common Council had obtained an Improvement Act to modernise much of the old town centre, replacing the narrow streets with thoroughfares.

Town planning could not completely mitigate the rough and no doubt frequently rowdy atmosphere at the heart of a busy and successful port. While some merchants and entrepreneurs were extending their warehouses near the new docks, other smart families were moving away from homes adjacent to their warehouses and counting houses in the teeming port area to live in fashionable new streets like Great George Street or Bold Street, or further afield in Everton or Toxteth Park. Meanwhile housing conditions for the masses was already becoming a problem as the population of the town doubled from 34,000 to 78,000 between 1770 and 1800.

As in the urban renaissance elsewhere across Britain, the physical fabric and layout of the town reflected new patterns of cultural activity. The responsibility for Liverpool's cultural and intellectual development seems to have been divided. Charitable and cultural institutions and activity were often dependent on the liberality of individuals. The Liverpool Library established in 1758 was privately funded and in fact was the first of the private lending libraries in the provinces.¹ A new Theatre Royal was built in 1772 with two thirds of the funds subscribed by merchants. The 1783 Exhibition of Arts was the first such provincial art exhibition

¹ See M Kay Flavell, 'The Enlightened reader and the new industrial towns. A study of the Liverpool Library 1758-1790', *The British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 8 (1985), 17-35. Many members of the Lightbody family were subscribers, but records are incomplete for the three years of the diary when Hannah was back in Liverpool

in the country; and the triennial music festival was in full swing in the 1780s. Theatres established by subscription provided seasons with famous London actors and the local papers were full of announcements of lectures and debating societies, as well as more vulgar entertainments.² Some of the first wave of institutions failed to flourish: the Literary and Philosophical Society formed in 1779 ran initially only until 1783.

The Common Council was vigorously Tory and Anglican, a self-perpetuating oligarchy, committed to furthering trade (in 1787 thirty-seven of the forty-one councillors were involved in the slave trade). Councillors often acted as patrons and committee members of many public institutions such as the Dispensary, Infirmary, Workhouse and the Bluecoat School, which was founded in 1708 as 'a school for teaching poor children to read, write and cast accounts'.

It was during this period that Dissenting institutions in Liverpool flourished under the influence of inspiring leaders. The leading Presbyterian chapels were Kaye Street under John Yates and Benn's Gardens under Joseph Smith while in the 1790s Gateacre flourished under William Shepherd. These chapels were supported by many leading citizens and merchants, with many immigrant Scots among them. Their wealth, influence and frustrations with the Common Council increased in the last decades of the century. Among their articulate leaders were William Roscoe and James Currie, who together with William Rathbone IV, a Quaker by birth, became the centre of an enlightened circle, pressing for the abolition of slavery, for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts and for the establishment of civilised institutions in the town such as a lunatic asylum or a permanent library.³ They kept up links with fellow

² See P Borsay, *The English urban renaissance: culture and society in the provincial town 1660-1770* (Oxford, 1989) and Jon Stobart, 'Culture versus commerce: societies and spaces for elites in eighteenth-century Liverpool', in *Journal of Historical Geography*, 28: 4 (2002), 471-485.

³ See Ian Sellers, 'William Roscoe, the Roscoe circle and radical politics in Liverpool 1789-1807', *THSLC*, vol. 120 (Liverpool, 1969), and F E Sanderson, 'The structure of politics of Liverpool 1780-1807', *THSLC* (1959), vol. 111, 167, and 'The Liverpool abolitionists', in *Liverpool, the African slave trade, and abolition*, ed. Anstey and Hair, *THSLC, Occasional Series*, vol. 2 (1976).

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reformers such as Thomas Percival in Manchester, and seem to have maintained connections with the leading London Dissenters too.⁴

On the issue of the abolition of slavery, they were in a delicate position. They had many clients and friends, and sometimes their family, who were involved with the trade and to a varying extent dependent on it. Unlike in Bristol, the Liverpool Council was determined to oppose abolition, which they saw as a dire threat to the prosperity of the town. This was an issue which came into the open with the January 1788 sermon in Kaye Street Chapel, which was reported in Hannah Lightbody's diary. She knew most of the men who formed the small circle of the Liverpool abolitionists, and seems to have been taken into their confidence.

The Diarist, her relations and networks

While the commercial, political, institutional and cultural history of Liverpool in this period has been examined in some detail, the life within the merchant's home, and within the mind of the merchant class have not often been revealed. Some contemporaneous Liverpool diaries, like that of Mrs. Binns, and Hannah Rathbone are either too devout or too brief to give a clear picture. Thomas Nicholson of Liverpool wrote a diary of his visit to London in 1778 and when he returned with his wife and cousin Mary Hatfield in 1791, the latter both wrote lively diaries of their London visit. To a certain extent Hannah's diary might be compared to that of some other diarists of late eighteenth-century town life, like Abigail Gawthorn of Nottingham and Anna Larpent of London, who shed fresh light on the private world behind the public events.⁵

⁴ Dr. Currie's circle included Manchester, Edinburgh and London intellectuals. HL seems to have known Dr. Price, Dr. Kippis and a number of prominent radical London merchants.

⁵ Margaret Binns, 'Diary 1763-1812', MS in LRO Binns Collection, For the Hannah Rathbone Diary, see Emily Greg ed., *Reynolds-Rathbone diaries* (London, 1905) or the small manuscript pocketbooks in The Rathbone Collection, Liverpool University Library. For the Nicholson diaries see Ernest Axon, *Memorials of the family of Nicholson* (Liverpool 1928), 85-6, 92-5. The 1778 Thomas Nicholson diary is in LRO. For Abigail Gawthorn, see Adrian Henstock ed., *The diary of Abigail Gawthorn*

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Hannah Lightbody's diary, while not as long or as detailed as either of the above examples, offers a rare opportunity to glimpse the social, artistic and above all the intellectual and spiritual life in Dissenting circles, mainly in Liverpool, for a few years at a crucial period in the town's history. It sheds light on the private and public roles then evolving for an educated young woman: joining in debates not only about literature, art and religion, but also about marriage, morals and conduct.

The diary covers the period when the young writer was expected to get married. So the diary's entries illustrate the calendar of festivals, balls, races and assemblies which eligible women in her class were expected to attend. The pleasures and frustrations are occasionally described, but the courtship which resulted in her betrothal and marriage is only cursorily referred to.

It is of course first and foremost a personal document, providing occasional glimpses of the inner life of the diarist, revealing artistic, spiritual and emotional responses to her surroundings. The diary touches on tensions, such as the role of the educated young woman in what was largely a man's world, being paraded on the marriage market. Once married, she had problems handling her changed sphere and managing her household. This seems to have come as a shock, almost as if the enlightenment ideals which illuminate the earlier passages of the diary were all but extinguished. This dimension also adds to its documentary value.

The Lightbody Family

Hannah Lightbody, the youngest surviving child of Elizabeth and Adam Lightbody, was born in Liverpool on 21 July 1766. She was baptised at

of Nottingham 1751–1810 (vol. 33, Thoroton Society Record Series, Nottingham, 1980). The diaries of Anna Larpent are available in microfilm: Anna Margareta Larpent, *A woman's view of drama, 1790-1830: The diaries of Anna Margareta Larpent in the Huntington Library* (9 reels, Adam Matthew Publications, Wiltshire, 1995). They have also been published on the web by Adam Matthew (www.adam-matthew-publications.co.uk)

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Kaye Street Chapel on 9 August. Her grandfather Adam Lightbody senior (1677-1731), was a Scottish traveller and linen merchant from the parish of Caerlaverock near Dumfries. In about 1718 when a widower with three children, he had married Agnes Nicholson from the same parish. They had six children, and when Adam died in 1731, their five boys were taken under the wing of Agnes's brother John Nicholson (1692-1754) who by then was a prominent and successful linen merchant established in Liverpool along with his cousin Matthew. While one of the boys, James Lightbody, set up as a linen merchant in Glasgow, and another, Thomas in Dublin, William, Adam and Robert moved to Liverpool to join their Nicholson kinsmen, establishing their own partnership as linen merchants. In 1754, these three inherited a substantial part of their childless uncle John's fortune.⁶ The Liverpool linen trade before the advent of cotton was relatively steady and lucrative, and the Lightbodies became one of the leading families in it. William, the eldest was probably the most successful, increasing his fortune from £21,655 in 1765 to £33,498 by 1777. He married an heiress from an established Liverpool merchant family, and bought land both at Wavertree and north of the town centre. When he died in 1783, his nieces, the children of Adam Lightbody junior inherited £1000 each.

Little is known of Adam's life other than that by 1766 he was trading together with his brothers William and Robert as Linen Merchants in Dale Street. By 1774 Adam and his brother Robert were listed in Gore's Directory as Merchants at 1 and 2 Paradise Street respectively, while William Lightbody had a linen warehouse at 15 Dale Street at the same time. Like the Nicholsons, the Lightbody family were prominent

⁶ They were early Scottish migrants, a *diaspora* discussed in Diana E Scott & Fiona Lewis, 'Motives to move: reconstructing individual migration histories in early eighteenth-century Liverpool', in David J Siddle ed., *Migration, mobility and modernisation* (Liverpool, 2000).

⁷ Information from *Lightbody history and records 1635-1924*, typescript by William Lightbody, 1922

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members of the Kaye Street Chapel congregation.⁸ Adam had three sons who died in infancy and when he died in 1778, aged about fifty, he left his widow and three young daughters with a good fortune. He too owned land at Wavertree and a significant rural estate at Garston, providing Hannah and her sisters with a valuable inheritance. He may also have benefited from a good dowry from his wife Elizabeth, whose family owned estates in Cheshire. Adam's younger brother Robert provided the only surviving male heir for that line of the family. His son John was born in 1767, and was therefore a close contemporary of his cousin Hannah. After William and Adam had died, Robert was living with his son John at St Paul's Square and trading from Dale Street. By 1805 John had moved to live in Roscoe's former house, Birchfield in Everton, and had inherited or acquired a major part of the Garston estates, which provided several generations of his heirs with significant assets.⁹

The Tylston Family

Hannah's mother Elizabeth Tylston (1735-1801) was the great great grand-daughter of Philip Henry, the noted preacher and Dissenting minister who had been ejected in 1662. An heiress from Cheshire in her own right, Elizabeth married Adam Lightbody in 1755, had several sons who died in infancy and three daughters, Elizabeth (b. 1758), Agnes (b. 1760) and Hannah (b. 1766). The correspondence with her kinswoman Ann Hulton, the sister of the Commissioner of Customs in Boston from 1767 to 1776, shows that she was well connected with a number of prominent Liverpool families such as the Earles and Gildarts, and had formed friendships with Thomas Percival and Anna Cropper who were to feature in her daughter Hannah's diary.¹⁰ She was also in touch with the

⁸ See Ernest Axon, *Memorials of the family of Nicholson* (Liverpool, 1928) and the Nicholson papers in LRO.

⁹ William Lightbody, *Lightbody history and records*, 1922 typescript.

¹⁰ For more on Lightbody and Tylston antecedents, many of whom wrote diaries, see David Harley, 'The Good Physician and the Godly Doctor', in *The Seventeenth Century*, vol. 9 (1974), and Patricia Crawford 'Katharine and Philip Henry and their

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Rogers family, her kinsmen living in Newington Green. (Thomas Rogers, the banker and leading dissenter, had married Elizabeth's cousin. It was probably he who introduced her to Dr. Price and Dr. Kippis). She was an original subscriber to the Liverpool Dispensary, one of the few women members of the Liverpool Library and possibly also the only woman member of the literary group called the Octonian Society, which brought together a lively and intelligent circle including William Rathbone IV, Joseph Smith and Matthew Nicholson. The diary provides some evidence of her as an active reader as well as pious and intelligent woman.

The Diarist

Hannah's father died while she was away at Mr. Holland's school at Ormskirk. In 1782, after her elder sisters had married, she left Ormskirk and went to Miss Crisp's school at Fleetwood House in Stoke Newington where she was probably taken under the wing of the widowed Thomas Rogers and befriended by his family. She seems to have learnt there far more than the social graces then fashionable. She finished her education with a wide knowledge of English literature, philosophy, theology, French, German, music, and art, and above all the enthusiasm to learn more. She had started a commonplace or extract book there, and the diary opens on her return to Liverpool at the end of 1786. It ends with her marriage in 1789 and the birth of her first child in 1790.

The facts about Hannah's subsequent life are fragmentary. She had married the capable Manchester textile merchant and manufacturer Samuel Greg, lived with him initially at King Street, Manchester and bore him thirteen children of whom twelve survived. Samuel (1758-1834) was the third son of Thomas Greg, one of the most prominent merchants in Belfast. He was virtually adopted in 1766 by his uncle Robert Hyde, the

children: a case study in family ideology', *THSLC*, vol. 134 (1984), 39-73. Ann Hulton, *Letters of a Loyalist lady* (Harvard, 1927; republished 1970) is more widely known for the eyewitness accounts of Boston life during the War of Independence.

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Manchester-based merchant who was childless. He was sent away to be educated, then trained in the business, travelling abroad. By 1780 he had been made a partner, and when his uncle Robert died in 1782, he inherited a large part of his fortune and a substantial business. He soon became one of the most powerful cotton manufacturers of the first generation, basing his empire on the spinning mill at Styal which he started in 1784. Although he became a member of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society after his marriage, there is little evidence of Samuel's interest in the issues and spheres that mattered to Hannah.¹¹ From 1798 their family base was increasingly their home at Quarry Bank House at Styal.

From here Hannah became a 'driving force behind the enlightened welfare and educational provision for the parish apprentices'.¹² With the involvement of her children (the daughters taught the girls, the sons taught the boys), she organised the teaching of literacy, arithmetic and basic skills such as sewing for the girls. She was concerned with their health, their diet and living conditions and is thought to have been instrumental in the establishment of a Women's Club and Sick Club for the growing community of families in the factory community,

Hannah was clearly committed to the education of her children. She organised among them a domestic 'Literary and Philosophical Society' which she called the 'Duodecimo Society', no doubt based on her memorable experiences with the Octonian Society in Liverpool. The role of the educated woman in society continued to interest her, and although no radical, she sought a full education for her daughters.

¹¹ For a history of the Greg family textile business growth and decline, see Mary B Rose, *The Greys of Quarry Bank Mill* (Cambridge, 1986). The mill and indeed the whole factory community at Styal remain intact and may be visited. Together with a substantial business archive, they were given to the National Trust by Alec Greg in 1939.

¹² Ruth Watts, *Gender, power and the Unitarians in England 1760-1860* (London, 1998), 72.

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In a modest way she attempted to set out her thinking in writing. She privately published her *Observations; A collection of maxims* in 1799; with a further edition entitled *The moralist* in 1800; and then as *The monitor* in 1804. There are also handwritten drafts and fragments of *Catechisms of safety and health* of 1800, *Sermons for the children at the Apprentice House* of 1819 and a longer essay of 1811 entitled *The art of happy living* addressed in the form of a letter to her eldest son Thomas as he reached maturity. In each of these writings there are extracts from her commonplace book and echoes of ideas and conversations first captured in the diary.¹³

There are also passages in the diary that consider the challenge a bookish young woman may face upon marriage when she was expected to manage a husband, family and household. Indeed when these challenges are first met they unsettle her. The diary ends with a litany of anxiety and desperation. In later years, however, the remarks of children, friends and visitors frequently testify to the taste, hospitality and style of Hannah's home. She was much mourned when she died at the age of 61 on 4 February 1828, not least by the friends she made as a young girl in Liverpool.

Wider family and other networks

Networks were prevalent, important and specially influential in eighteenth-century Dissenting circles. Some insights into such networks in and around Liverpool can be deduced from the diary. (Appendix 2 provides family trees showing some of these kinship networks).

Starting with her immediate family, the diary records Hannah and her widowed mother living together, and then moving house together, to the smarter area of Bold Street. Here Hannah looked after her Hodgson and Pares sisters' children during their mothers' confinements. She joined in

¹³ These manuscripts, including the diary itself, are all in the archives of Quarry Bank Mill, Styal. A copy of *the Moralist* and other epitaphs and memorials are in the Rathbone Collection in the James Picton Library at the University of Liverpool

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the high flown social life of the Pares family in Leicestershire, and less happily with the less cultivated circles of the Hodgsons when at Caton. It seems Hannah felt quite at home among the rich and cultivated Pares merchants, their country homes and estates, their art and antiquarian interests and their gentry friends, a world slightly more elevated than her family circle in Liverpool, and probably more elevated than the merchant friends of her other brother-in-law, Thomas Hodgson in Lancaster.

The Nicholsons were benefactors, friends and relatives of the Lightbody's. They had come from the same area in the Scottish borders, and retained a fondness for their birthplace which linked them to other more recent Scottish expatriots, like the Wallaces, Kennedys and the Curries. The Lightbodys were initially tenants in Robert Nicholson's house at Paradise Street. Robert Nicholson (1727-1779) a governor of the Warrington Academy and an original subscriber to the Liverpool Library, had taken country lodgings in Toxteth Park in 1764, and in 1771 decided to live there permanently. His widow Arabella – the sister of Hannah's friend Anna Cropper – continued to live there until her death in 1815, and we can assume that Hannah's many happy visits to 'Park' referred to in the diary were in fact to see her kinswoman Arabella Nicholson.

The diarist encountered a number of direct descendants of Philip Henry such as the Rogers family in London, and the Ashtons of Woolton Hall in Liverpool. The Percivals and Croppers, both related to one of Philip Henry's prominent disciples Christopher Bassnett (1677-1744), formed another circle. He had been the first minister of Kaye Street Chapel between 1709 and 1744 and was the great uncle of both Hannah's friends Elizabeth Percival and Anna Cropper. Anna Cropper seems to have been a godmotherly figure not only to Hannah, but also to the Percivals and to the Rathbones. Dr. Currie owed his initial success as a young physician in Liverpool to her patronage.

The Dissenting circles in which Hannah and her family moved were largely based on the congregations of Kaye Street and Bennis Gardens

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Chapels, with their Ministers Rev. John Yates and Rev. Joseph Smith respectively, both trained at the Warrington Academy. The spirit of the Academy seems to have been preserved among them and their former colleagues like Dr. Clayton as well as by its first pupil, Dr. Percival and among the Heywood and Nicholson families. The diary illustrates how this circle provided Hannah with some further education, Joseph Smith advising her on what to see on her planned tour of the Lakes, Dr. Percival lending her one of his books in French, Dr. Yates showing her some electrical apparatus, and all of them discussing literature, religion, morals and history.

Close to the Lightbody family circle there appear to have been many merchants who were Dissenters, like William Wallace, Michael Humble, William Shaw, Joseph Birch and Thomas Hayhurst or bankers like the Heywoods. But her family also seems to have mixed with a small number of the Anglican ruling elite of Liverpool, the members of the Common Council, many of them powerful merchants like the Tarletons, Brooks's, Gildarts, Earles, and Thomas Smyth. Her brothers-in-law were both Anglican.

Hannah joined in the many cultural activities then on offer in Liverpool: plays, concerts, lectures as well as in private discussions with musical and artistic friends like William Roscoe and the Tate family. Further intellectual stimulus was provided by the Octonian Society, a literary society which occasionally met in her mother's house. The social and intellectual life of Manchester at this time is touched on and occasionally compared to that of Liverpool. The diary shows that Roscoe's and Currie's well-known Literary Society was not the only circle and its members were not the only Dissenters that argued about the religious, cultural and political issues of the day.

Hannah, whose great grandfather John Tylston was a physician, seems to have developed at this time an interest in medicine. She supported the Infirmary and was in touch with Dr. Binns, the physician to the Dispensary and later an abolitionist, and with Dr. Camplin, Dr. Brandreth,

and above all Dr. Currie, the able physicians then serving the Liverpool Infirmary. Thomas Percival, the leading physician and intellectual in the North West at this time, seems to have been a close family friend. Several years later Hannah was instrumental in supporting Dr. Peter Holland at Styal, and to some extent supervising the health and welfare of the apprentices at Quarry Bank Mill.

It is clear from the diary that James Currie, who became her personal doctor, was a close friend and mentor for Hannah in matters of literature, philosophy, and possibly also religion. Many passages shed light on this remarkable figure, even if they hardly touch on his role as an impassioned yet moderate reformer. When his friend Thomas Christie came to see him in Liverpool in June 1787 to assess the intellectual life of the regions, Currie engaged Hannah to see him two days running. It was no doubt Currie who encouraged her to read Reid's *Essay on the active powers of man*, which she devoured on three successive days. He later wrote to her about his work on the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, and advised her on her first book.¹⁴

Politics and political reform were subjects dear to the heart of the Liverpool 'Friends of Liberty' but are hardly mentioned in the diary. Hannah records jubilation on the king's recovery, but nothing about the French Revolution. Though interested in discussing women's roles, she was no radical. She admits she did not pay attention to an important sermon based almost certainly on Dr. Richard Price's *Discourse on the love of our country*.

The exception is the issue of the abolition of the slave trade, where Hannah, after reporting on the noted 1788 sermon by John Yates, was drawn into discussions with the leading Liverpool abolitionists. (Her summary of the Yates sermon may well be the only account that survives). In his early days, her brother-in-law Thomas Hodgson had been an agent for a Lancaster slave trader in Gambia. He later owned and ran a trading

¹⁴ William W Currie ed., *Memoir of the life, writings and correspondence of James Currie* (2 vols., London 1831), vol. 2, 167, 188.

The Diary of Hannah Lightbody 1786-1790

fort on the Isle de Los off Sierra Leone and even after the 1788 agitation he continued to invest in slaving ships from Liverpool.¹⁵ Others in Hannah's circle and that of the Hodgsons, such as Thomas Rawlinson, Samuel Hartley, William Neilson, Ellis and Robert Bent and indeed the uncle of Samuel Greg, had connections with the slave trade and slavery.

There was another circle of Dissenters of some distinction whom Hannah and her mother saw when in London. As well as Mrs. Barbauld, they included some leaders of Rational Dissent, including Dr. Price and Dr. Kippis, and possibly some of the active reformers in the families of the Thorntons and Boddingtons.

In addition to the family trees in Appendix 2, footnotes to the diary text aim to identify the main personalities referred to and outline their place in the diarist's networks where this can be done with some confidence.

Some themes that recur in the Diary

During this period, the pursuit of sensibility, taste and benevolence befitted the senior class of merchants across the country. Hannah seems to have readily embraced such ideas, and was ever ready to develop and refine her responses and understanding. She was in many ways an exemplar of the provincial women described by Brewer¹⁶ who fashioned their position in society by cultivating refinement and distinction, reading avidly and adopting a fashionable sensibility to nature and to the fine arts,

Hannah's sensitivity to nature, and her determination to live close to it, comes across in many passages. It seems to be both a spiritual and also a physical response; partly a personal characteristic and partly a sensibility derived from Rousseau and her favourite poets. An energetic walker, she believed in the powerful and morally beneficial effect of the countryside throughout her life.

¹⁵ See Melinda Elder, *The slave trade and the economic development of eighteenth-century Lancaster* (Halifax 1992), 188-9, and Bruce L Mouser, *A slaving voyage to Africa and Jamaica* (Indiana, 2002), n.41, 155, & n.157, 127.

¹⁶ John Brewer, *The pleasures of the imagination* (London, 1997), 619 and *passim*.

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The diary has depth when recording reflections or discussions on religious issues. Various shades of Dissenting belief are described at a time when Unitarian concepts were becoming more widespread, and such discussions and soliloquies provide a picture of the evolving yet central role that religion had in both Hannah's provincial and metropolitan Dissenting circles. The concept of the Trinity could become the subject of high flown conversations, sometimes late into the night.

Hannah's variety of reading is a distinguishing feature of this diary. It ranges from old magazines to the latest novels, from moralising tracts to comedies, from the older school of Dissenting thinkers like Watts, to the fresher ideas of Reid.

Hannah's other enthusiasms come across as being concert-going, play-going, art and sightseeing, where she seems to have developed knowledge and taste. (Notes on these are assembled in chronological order in Appendix 1). Students of eighteenth-century consumer culture may find the diary disappointing: there are no references to fashion and few to shopping.

The diary narrative

The narrative of this diary reveals a young woman's developing maturity and contains a certain inner drama. As do so many diaries, it begins with a litany of good intentions, as though there were rules in life that could ensure composure, benevolence, morality and good relationships.

This is followed by a torrent of social and intellectual activity in Liverpool. The record of books devoured and sermons heard soon dwindles, there are records of visits to the sisters in Leicester, London and Lancashire, pious and philosophical reflections, records of intense discussions after which many of the entries for much of 1788 and 1789 often become cursory.

The diary ends with many of the original good intentions and aspirations seemingly shattered. Several hurriedly written pages reveal the diarist, married and living in Manchester, suffering from

The Diary of Hannah Lightbody 1786-1790

homesickness and losing her composure, failing even to give dates to the entries. They are mostly a litany of perceived wrongs, failures or aggravations. Here the handwriting and style, with more frequent references to herself and more underlinings, reveal the sense of desperation. Although the last entry is written in a steadier hand, it ends in mid-sentence.

The diary manuscript

The diary was written in two plain notebooks, the second one unfinished.¹⁷ It appears to have been mainly written up regularly each day, but there are several short gaps, and sometimes evidence of a few days being written up retrospectively.

Throughout there are a few interlineations in pencil. These appear to be in Hannah's own hand, and probably date from many years later. Retrospectively she recalls for example the later fame of Mr. Bowles (10 January 1787), the baronetcy of Edmund Hartopp which was not conferred until 1795 (19 September 1788), and personal insights like, 'there is more meant than meets the eye' (22 February 1788), or 'some slight remarks – like the latter recal volumes to my mind' (7 May 1787).

The style is sometimes elliptical: that is to say, places are sometimes named as a form of shorthand to imply the names of the hosts who lived there. Thus Groby means the country home of John and Agnes Pares, Hopwell the home of Thomas Pares I. Sometimes even these clues are missing, and it is only by a process of analysis that we can deduce that she was staying with the Percivals on her significant visit to Manchester in November 1788 when she met Samuel Greg for the first time,

Editorial Method

The following conventions have been adopted:

¹⁷ Vol 1: 240mm x 185mm, cover grey mottled, frayed front & back inscribed in flyleaf in pencil: H L Wavertree. Vol 2: 294mm x 170mm, mottled red green and yellow covers, hand ruled margin for dates, on initial pages only. Flyleaf inscribed in pencil: [removed unto](?) Liverpool 1788.

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Spelling has been left unaltered, likewise punctuation, capitalisation and underlining.

Abbreviations are copied as written. A footnote is used to explain them where they may be unclear. In footnotes the diarist is referred to by the editor as HL.

Numerals are copied as written; likewise times of day, dates and sums of money.

Quotation marks in the manuscript often appear at the start, but not at the end of the cited passage.

Round brackets () are the diarist's and retained as such.

Square brackets [] indicate the editor's suggestion for doubtful readings – which are followed by a question mark.

Large brackets { } indicate retrospective interlineations. These were added in pencil, probably by Hannah Greg at a much later date.

Footnotes are used first to discuss textual issues, such as, for example, deletions, which may or may not remain legible. Footnotes are also occasionally used to help interpret the diarist's meaning where this is obscure. Otherwise they aim to provide information on the people, events and places referred to. The diarist rarely provides descriptions accurate enough to enable many names or initials to be identified with absolute certainty. The editor, using any internal and external evidence that is available, has aimed in his footnotes to distinguish degrees of uncertainty among his conjectures as follows:

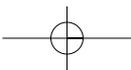
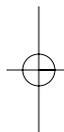
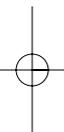
presumably: judged to be likely;

probably: likely, but yet uncertain;

possibly: tentative; among a range of realistic possibilities;

maybe: very largely hypothetical or conjectural.

Footnotes and dates are omitted when the places or people referred to remain as yet unidentified, and where they have occurred and been referred to previously.



HANNAH LIGHTBODY'S DIARY

Vol 1 Inscribed on flyleaf in pencil: HL Wavertree¹

December 31st 1786: Paradise Street² Liverpool

This day always places before my mind's eye the close of my mortal life and in bidding farewell to the present year I am filled with serious and awful reflections. I look back with severe regret to that time which is passed and cannot be recalled and forward with apprehension to that period when I must give account of every idle moment of my life. This is the day on which I never fail to make numberless good resolutions, which, alas! the first temptation to evil of the succeeding years chases from my remembrance. I still purpose to begin with the new year a new life, to correct my temper, to improve my mind, and to cultivate and exercise the pious and benevolent affections of my nature, in short, to improve all the advantages I enjoy from a well directed education, good society and a tolerable understanding – But how bitter is the consciousness of having thrown away these rare advantages! Of finding my self still the

¹ Wavertree: at this time a small village east of Toxteth Park, where an Enclosure Act of 1768 enabled Adam and William Lightbody to acquire several parcels of land. By 1778 Adam had a house and thirteen acres of land. He left part of it to his brother William, who in turn left another property there to his daughter, Mrs. Joseph Camplin. The diary seems to show the Lightbody family using their Wavertree property as a country retreat from which they 'went to town'. See I Leach, 'Wavertree Enclosure Act 1768', *THSLC*, vol 83 (1931), 43-59, and Will of Adam Lightbody in TNA catalogue ref Prob 11/1043 and of William Lightbody 11/1116.

² Paradise Street. Both a family home of Adam Lightbody and warehouse for his linen business. No. 1 Paradise Street was leased to the Lightbody family in 1781 in the will of Robert Nicholson bequeathing it to his widow Arabella. By 1774 Adam and Robert Lightbody were listed in *Gore's Liverpool Directory* as Merchants at 1 & 2 Paradise Street but by 1787 Robert was both living and trading from St. Paul's Square (Bailey, *Liverpool Directory*, 1787). The street had earlier been noted as a respectable area for prominent merchant families but was prone to flooding. See R Brooke, *Liverpool as it was during the last quarter of the eighteenth century 1775-1800* (1853 edn., Liverpool), 125.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1786

slave of Habit, that despotic Tyrant whose influence subdues Reason, Conscience and even Inclination itself.

Amongst other resolutions made and forfeited is that of keeping a Diary, a sort of Register of those actions which have left a trace behind them by impressing my mind, and of those sentiments and feelings that have led to or accompanied such actions, that by occasionally perusing an abstract History of my own heart I might remark thereby learn to avoid every circumstance, situation or pursuit that had proved unfavourable to its virtue or peace – and to repeal any action, to encourage any propensity that appears at any time to have promoted its best interests – that by noting the motives that have caused, and the consequences that have followed particular actions and events I may, when in similar situations recollect them to my advantage. I regard this practice as particularly useful to one whose memory is so shallow³ and whose powers of reflection are so weak as mine and I regret that I did not begin at a still earlier age when impressions were strong, life new, and observation alive, for tho' still so young many years are passed over, the history of which I should find it useful to read, and can only imperfectly recollect. To one whose time is constantly employed by the duties of business or life this practice might be inconvenient and comparatively unimportant from the regular tho' small demand it would make on the time usefully devoted, but to me whose affections are warm, and impressions strong and who live a life of leisure it may possibly lend assistance in that difficult task of 'keeping my heart with all diligence' – the world would laugh at the absurdity of writing so insignificant a life as mine but it is for my own eye only, and in the hope of being useful to myself – indeed were the possibility admitted of this ever being seen by others it would throw such a restraint over it as would render it totally useless and insipid. Of some days it is sufficient to set down where they were spent, as a recollection of the Scene often includes that of the Action – at any rate this action takes up

³ Shallow: replaces a word crossed out, which may have been *faltering or fallible*.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1787

so little time that it can do no harm, and, undertaking it with the best intentions I pray to God to bless it to my own use and improvement –

New Year's day 1787:

And then with smiling grace appear
 Thou blameless – grief unsullied year
 Oh smile once more on me!
 And witness that thy golden hours
 Have all been prized like summer flowers
 By some industrious Bee.

May I now at last be sensible that what is passed of a short life is more than sufficient to have lived idly and unprofitably, and become sincerely solicitous to redeem by future attention and usefulness the lost portion of my time. In the morning I attended Miss Pares⁴ who is now on a visit to my sister Hodgson⁵ at her devotions at Church, where I confess I often find it difficult to keep attention alive. I was shocked on my return to hear from Dr Camplin⁶ that he had just heard Dr Percival⁷ was dangerously

⁴ Miss Pares: possibly Mary or Dorothy Pares: both younger sisters of John Pares (1749-1833), the husband of HL's older sister Agnes.

⁵ Sister Hodgson: in 1781 HL's eldest sister Elizabeth (1758-95) had married Thomas Hodgson.

⁶ Dr Camplin: Dr. Joseph Camplin was a physician at the Liverpool Infirmary alongside Dr. Brandreth and Dr. Currie. He lived at Dale Street, and Watery Lane, as well as at Wavertree, where in 1784 his wife Anne, the daughter of HL's uncle William, had inherited property. He subscribed to the Liverpool Library and was HL's doctor until at the end of May she replaced him with Dr. Currie.

⁷ Dr Percival: Thomas Percival MD, FRS (1740-1804), physician, the first student at the Warrington Academy, FRS at the age of 25. Founder of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society in 1781. A leading Dissenter in Manchester, and campaigner for industrial health for the working classes, and for the reform of the Test Act. Wrote on medical ethics, education and numerous other topics, a family friend (*ODNB*).

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1787

ill, had sent for Miss Cropper⁸, and that she was taken ill at Everton⁹ and unable to go – I burst into tears which affected the good-natured Dr Camplin who was not aware how much I was interested by this intelligence – we spent the evening at my Uncle Lightbody's¹⁰ where my thoughts dwelt on my absent friends and were absent from the present Company – which tho' unavoidable I should not have betrayed.

Tuesday 2nd: We went to Park¹¹ where the smile of Friendship and kindness always welcomes us – I had spoken with my usual enthusiasm of the prospect, and foolishly allowed the bad weather to depress my spirits from the disappointment it caused – Dr. and Mrs Currie¹² drank tea with us, and I had the satisfaction to find that every time Dr C and Miss

⁸ Miss Cropper: Ann or Anna Cropper (1739–91), daughter of Edward Cropper (1704–76) a Liverpool draper and merchant. A prominent member of the Kaye Street Chapel congregation, she was a subscriber to the Liverpool Dispensary in 1778, a relative and close supporter of the family of Thomas Percival, and an early champion and patron of Dr. Currie when he arrived in Liverpool. An old friend of HL's mother, she was also a wise mentor to HL. See William Wallace Currie, *Memoir of the life, writings and correspondence of James Currie MD FRS of Liverpool* (London, 1831), I, 65–7, and Robert Donald Thornton, *James Currie, the entire stranger and Robert Burns* (Edinburgh, 1963), 122, 125, 128, 129, 200.

⁹ Everton: a rural village with views of the Liverpool docks, chosen by successful merchants such as the Campbells for their mansions and estates. Edward Cropper and probably also his sister Anna, as well as Matthew Nicholson lived there (R Syers, *History of Everton* [Liverpool, 1830]).

¹⁰ Uncle Lightbody: Robert Lightbody (1730–95) of St. Paul's Square.

¹¹ Park: probably the home in Toxteth Park of the widow Arabella Nicholson (1736–1815), a sister of Anna Cropper, a senior figure in the Kaye Street congregation and a friend of Thomas Percival, HL and her circle; she was 'always at call in family illnesses and in times of trouble' (Ernest Axon, *Memorials of the family of Nicholson* [Liverpool, 1928]).

¹² Dr & Mrs Currie: Dr. James Currie (1756–1805); Dissenter, physician and author, married Lucy, daughter of William Wallace in 1783. His surgery was in Rodney Street and home from 1790 at 22 Church Street. A successful and innovative physician, he was noted also as the first biographer of Robert Burns, as one of the few Liverpool abolitionists – perhaps wisely under the cloak of anonymity – as a campaigner for the reform of the Test Act and for toleration and social justice, for example for prisoners of war and for the insane.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1787

P were in company with each other their mutual admiration seemed to increase.

Wednesday 3rd : This day I return thanks to God for continuing to my sister P,¹³ Life and every other blessing and pray that each anniversary may find her equally happy – I spent an agreeable half hour with Mrs Earle¹⁴ and then heard Miss Pares read the Milkwoman's Poems. We spent the afternoon in playing quadrille, and in the evening, Mr Smith,¹⁵ Mr Rathbone¹⁶ and Mr Rogers¹⁷ were the only members of that selection, of learned, wise and good men called the Octonian Society¹⁸ who attended the meeting at our house – Mr S spoke in a very animated conversation about the practice of keeping a Journal, which he strenuously approved and Mr R contended that it was unnecessary, and useless except intended for posterity, he could not, he said, comprehend any use of it could be of¹⁹ to ourselves. Mr S considered its use entirely in a moral view and evinced in his arguments the power of such considerations on his mind and if possible increased my esteem for him.

¹³ Sister P: Hannah's elder sister Agnes (1760-1812), married John Pares in 1781.

¹⁴ Mrs Earle: the Earle family were among the most powerful shipping and merchant businesses in the city. This may possibly refer to the wife of Thomas (1754-1822), a friend and patient of Dr. Currie, a Councillor (Bailey, 1787) who in 1786 married Mary Adam, and who was later President of the Infirmary and Mayor. His father William (1721-88) was Trustee of the Bluecoat School,

¹⁵ Mr Smith: Rev. Joseph Smith (1775-1815), the Dissenting Minister; attended Warrington Academy between 1769-74. In 1781 he succeeded Dr. Clayton at Benn's Garden chapel. He was vice-president of the Liverpool Library in 1788.

¹⁶ Mr Rathbone: William Rathbone IV (1757-1809), merchant, philanthropist and noted Liverpool abolitionist, the eldest son of William Rathbone III.

¹⁷ Mr Rogers: probably Edward Rogers, Broker, of Old Hall Street (1787 Bailey), a member of the Committee of the Liverpool Library.

¹⁸ Octonian Society: a group of Liverpool intelligentsia dedicated to literary and philosophical discussions. Other members seem to have included Mrs. Elizabeth Lightbody, Matthew Nicholson, and William Smyth, who was also a member of Currie's and Roscoe's more famous Literary Society.

¹⁹ *Use..of*: the grammatical error is transcribed as written.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1787

4th : On this day my mind was depressed by the picture of affliction set before it – the amiable Mrs Hibbert,²⁰ whom tho' I have not seen I highly esteem has just heard of the death of her husband in France – the distress is much aggravated by the circumstances of being absent from his sick bed to which she might have yielded support, and by her own situation being near the confinement – God support her under this heavy calamity, and give to thy more prosperous servants grateful hearts – from the same quarter came more pleasing intelligence, viz: that Dr Percival is recovering and Miss C no sufferer from fatigue.

5th I walked about the town all morning with Miss Pares, and spent the evening at Dr B²¹ in Society very new to me and tolerably agreeable.

6th : I spent the morning in walking and riding and the afternoon in playing quadrille upstairs with Miss Richards as she was ill.

7th: I felt joyful at the return of this day of sacred rest, and renewed my resolutions to spend it more profitably. At Liverpool particularly I may find pleasure and improvement where my devotions are so ably assisted by Mr Y...s.²² He preached from 'if they hear not Moses and the Prophets, neither will they repent tho' one rose from the dead' – I lament that now I have left of writing at Chapel I seldom bring home more than the text – Miss Pares accompanied us to Chapel in the afternoon.

²⁰ Mrs. Hibbert: see footnote for 5 November 1789.

²¹ Dr B: possibly Dr. Joseph Brandreth, physician to the Liverpool Dispensary until he succeeded Dr. Matthew Dobson as Physician to the General Infirmary in 1780. In 1802 he was awarded the freedom of the Borough at the same time as Dr. Currie.

²² Mr Y...s: Rev. John Yates (1755-1826), Dissenting minister; entered Warrington Academy in 1772. In 1777 he became minister of Kaye Street Chapel, Liverpool. In 1791 the congregation moved to Paradise Street, where Yates continued to serve until 1823. One of the leading Liverpool abolitionists, in 1777 he married Mrs. Bostock, a rich widow, the daughter of John Ashton of Woolton Hall, and having invested wisely, left to his family the valuable Dingle estate (*ODNB*, and S A T Yates, *Memorials of the family of the Rev John Yates*, London, 1890, in LRO).

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1787

8th: Mr Hartley²³ came and enlivened us by his vivacity which with good humour renders a man's company acceptable, who has nothing beyond it to recommend him –

9th: This is the anniversary of Dr and Mrs Currie's Wedding. God grant them long life and long happiness. It was likewise the birthday of my nephew Thos Pares, a blessing it has pleased God to recall almost at his entrance into life, and when he had scarce tasted of its pleasures and its troubles – we saw much company in the morning who came to see Miss Pares who was preparing to leave us.

10th: Miss P quitted us and left us to regret the charms of her conversation and my sister Hodgson and I were almost constant and only companions – my Mother being at Leicester.

11th: This day passed over unmarked by important circumstances or agitated passions and was chiefly passed in reading Sidney Biddulph to my sister to beguile away time which to her was growing burdensome –

12th: We passed our time in a like manner, without any occurrence to excite pain, or pleasure – such is it my wish the tenour of my life should be. Peace and satisfaction are more the objects of my desire than Joy and Rapture.

13th: I called at Mr T Croppers²⁴, and spent the rest of the day like a cypher. In the evening my Mother's return exhilarated our spirits.

²³ Mr Hartley: probably Samuel Hartley who is recorded to have been a partner with John and Thomas Hodgson and Isaac Capstick in a slaving venture between 1789-91 (*House of Commons sessional papers of the eighteenth-century*, vol. 82, 329-37), see also 26 April 1787 and 10 June 1788, on his financial failure.

²⁴ Thomas Cropper (1737-1821), merchant, brother of Anna and youngest son of Edward Cropper (1704-76), resident of Everton.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1787

14th: I went with my Mother to Kaye St Chapel.²⁵ Mr Yates discoursed on the Pleasures of a virtuous life, and on the Power of Conscience over our happiness – the subject was usefully and eloquently discussed and I lamented my Sister H was not there, whose very tenacious memory often gives her a repeated pleasure in recollecting what she has heard. In the evening I sat down and thought of N Pilkington and my tears flowed to the memory of early Friendship lost to me forever – She directed me by her wisdom,²⁶ and indulged me with her affection. She was herself a Pattern of early Piety, and taught me to believe that ‘A flower when offered in the bush

Is no vain sacrifice’ –

She seemed too perfect for such a World as this and at the age of 16 – mature in goodness and a prodigy of learning, she was called hence. May her Memory ever live in my heart and forbid entrance there to every thought and disposition she would have disapproved! How much do I miss the influence of her Friendship, always exerted for my improvement –

15th: This day reminds us of the repeated mercies our family receive from their Almighty Father – Jane Pares is this day 2 years old, and is just recovered from the Small pox. I called this morning upon Miss Dobson who is ill in lodgings – a situation which to me who am surrounded with friends seems very pitiable – I spent the afternoon in Rodney Street²⁷ where Mr Hodgson²⁸ and I had a warm argument about Mr and Mrs R..e

²⁵ Kaye Street Chapel: Key or Kay Street Chapel, one of Liverpool's oldest non-conformist places of worship, built c.1707. In 1791 the congregation moved to more spacious premises in Paradise Street. Among those worshipping there were the Nicholson, Lowndes, Hayhurst, Birch and Humble families as well as the Lightbodies (Anne Holt, *Walking together* [Liverpool, 1938]).

²⁶ Wisdom: replaces indistinct word crossed out: possibly *advice*.

²⁷ Rodney Street: where Dr. Currie's based his practice. This was to become a fashionable address, particularly for doctors.

²⁸ Mr Hodgson: Thomas Hodgson (1737-1817), with his brother John (1735 -1813), left home at Caton near Lancaster in the 1750's to make a career at sea under Miles

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1787

16th: In the morning Miss Wilson²⁹ called upon me – went in the evening to Uncle L's to finish the week.

17th: Went to Chapel in the morning being the Lecture preceding Sacrament Sunday, Mr Y.s preached from the 5th Chapter of Galatians 'They that are Christ have crucified the flesh etc – He observed that tho' we were not called like many of our zealous forefathers to seal our faith with blood, that though persecution was at an end, that we were liable to greater dangers; that our own corrupt passions are more dangerous enemies to Christianity than the Axe or the Stake. I felt the truth of what he said. I believe indeed that since Persecution was abolished zeal has relaxed, and since it's outward and if I may so express myself foreign enemies have disappeared it has been engaged in a civil war and suffered from intestine invaders who have conquered imperceptibly – This evening I spent with the Octonian Club at Mr Rathbone's, a Society of Men who bring together in their various characters, Learning, Science,³⁰ Vivacity, Seriousness and solid Worth. In their conversation the heart and head share profit – and I would rather bring a young person to spend an evening in the Company than give them a whole year's common School education. The sort of luxury enjoyed in such company is exhilarating instead of fatiguing – you are grieved when it ends and enjoy it again on Reflection.

Barber, the noted local Africa merchant. They probably moved to Liverpool with Barber after 1765. Thomas was stationed in the Gambia as Barber's agent, returning in 1773 when he established an independent partnership with his brother. He married Elizabeth Lightbody in 1781, and was involved with the Africa trade as a merchant and investor, involved with over 50 slaving ventures and owning the station on the Isle de Los as late as 1793. In 1784 he had established the Caton cotton spinning mill with Thomas Gardom and his brothers-in-law John Pares and Isaac Capstick. He died in his retirement at Caton a respected and well-liked figure (Hodgson family papers).

²⁹ Miss Wilson: perhaps Margaret Wilson, mantuamaker of Pitt Street (*Gore's Liverpool Directory*, 1790).

³⁰ Learning, Science: the two following words crossed out and illegible.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1787

18: Went to the Assembly where my feelings were strongly contrasted to those of the preceding evening. Fatigue in my Limbs, confusion in my head and dissatisfaction in my heart.

20th: Read part of the Reign of Henry VIII by Rapin. Wrote to Miss Crisp³¹ and Miss Parish³² and was struck with Miss Bailey's resemblance to Miss Locke, which carried my thoughts back to the Times, the Pleasures, the companions of my Schooldays.

21: A cough obliged me to absent myself from Chapel all day – Read Blair's Sermons and wrote to Sister Pares.

22nd: My Mother very poorly – my thoughts dwelt much on melancholy objects.

23rd: My Mother still poorly but would not be persuaded to send for advice – I was afraid my sister would be confined before my Mother got well.

24th: My Mother better. We began to read White's Bampton's Lectures – much pleased with them. Miss Capstick³³ drank tea with us – Played a Pool at Quadrille. Read Mr Wilson's Poetry – mediocre.

25th: Dr B visited my Mother – talked much of Dr White of Oxford and about Junius, supposed to be Lord Geo. Germaine, or Mr Hamilton of Ireland, or Lord Chatham.

³¹ Miss Crisp: mistress in charge of HL's London school in Stoke Newington (see entries following 5 Dec 1787).

³² Miss Parish: possibly a teacher at HL's Stoke Newington School.

³³ Miss Capstick: possibly the daughter of Isaac Capstick, trading partner and brother-in-law of Thomas Hodgson.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1787

26th: Had the toothache. My Mother better. Dr & Mrs Camplin called. Mrs C dined with us. Read Sidney Bidulph – not a pleasing book at all.

27th: Spent the day very idly in a little reading and a little writing. Dr C called in the evening – was very friendly in his enquiries after my Mother.

28: Spent very unprofitably at home – wrote to Sister Pares, Miss Rogers,³⁴ Miss Cropper and Miss Martin.³⁵ My Sister ill – was quite frightened.

29: Sister quite well again – Did nothing all day.

30th: Mother was but indifferent – I walked out with Mr Hodgson.

31st: Rode out in the morning. It was a delightful day and produced in my mind those agreeable sensations which a clear atmosphere, sunshine and the appearance of Spring never fail to create – Wrote to Sister Pares. Had a Letter from Miss Wagstaff.³⁶

1st February: Wrote to Miss Wagstaff and Miss F Percival³⁷ – My Mother came down stairs.

2nd: Dr C..e drank tea with us, and spoke about the controversy in the Gentleman's Magazine between Miss Seward and Miss Reeve.

³⁴ Miss Rogers: see footnote for 20 August 1788.

³⁵ Miss Martin: see entries for 25 and 31 Dec 1787.

³⁶ Miss Wagstaff; possibly one of her teachers at HL's London school – she dined with Mrs Wagstaff in London on 28 November 1788.

³⁷ Miss F Percival: Ann (Fanny) Percival, daughter of Thomas Percival.

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Saturday 3: Sister H poorly.

Sunday 4th: Mr Yates preached from "Turn ye now from your evil ways etc". I supped at Dr Currie's with Mr N Heywood.³⁸

5th: William Currie's³⁹ Birthday – Called at Miss Loxham's,⁴⁰ Miss Heywood's,⁴¹ Miss Copland,⁴² Miss Ashton,⁴³ Miss Hodgson's, Mrs Smith, Miss Clegg's, Mrs Case⁴⁴ and Mrs Currie. Mr [Sorre?] dined with us. Played Piquet⁴⁵ with him.

6th: Called at Miss Dobson's, Mrs Tarleton's⁴⁶ and Mrs Hind's⁴⁷ and Miss Wilson's.

³⁸ Nathaniel Heywood: banker (1759-1815), son of Benjamin (1722-95), had been educated at Warrington Academy.

³⁹ William Currie: William Wallace Currie (1784-1840), son and eventual biographer of Dr. James Currie, became a merchant, secretary to the Athenaeum, and Mayor of Liverpool.

⁴⁰ Miss Loxam: maybe daughter of Rev. Richard Loxham who was a curate at St Peter's.

⁴¹ Miss Heywood. On 16 May 1787 the diarist refers to Benjamin Heywood's 'two sisters'.

⁴² Miss Copland: maybe daughter of John Copland, merchant of Duke Street (Bailey, 1787).

⁴³ Miss Ashton: possibly a daughter of Nicholas Ashton, who had purchased Woolton Hall in 1772.

⁴⁴ Mrs Case: probably Anna, another daughter of Nicholas Ashton whose brother-in-law was William Lightbody. Her husband George Case, merchant of Duke Street and Clayton Square, prominent in the Africa trade and on the Liverpool Common Council, was later to be Mayor of Liverpool, and first President of the Athenaeum in 1800.

⁴⁵ Piquet: a game of cards for two players.

⁴⁶ Mrs Tarleton: possibly Jane, widow of John Tarleton (1719-73) who lived at Water Street. He had been a partner in Tarleton & Backhouse, one of the four largest African trading concerns in the country; also active in the West Indies and American trade. Alternatively her daughter-in-law Mary, wife of Thomas Tarleton (b.1753), who was at the time President of the Infirmary, a subscriber to Liverpool Library, and a Director of the Liverpool Assurance Office with his brother John (Bailey, 1787; Brooke, *Liverpool 1775-1800*, 376).

⁴⁷ Mrs Hind: maybe the wife of Edward Hind, Merchant of Duke Street (Bailey, 1787), one of the sons of Thomas Hinde who had been the most prominent slave trader in Lancaster by 1760.

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7th: Went to Mr Casson's⁴⁸ for a Music Lesson – saw some of Gerard's Essay on Genius – Cumberland's Observer, Vision of Theodore in the Preceptor and White's Sermons. The Vision of Theodore is very beautiful and strikingly moral.

8th Wrote to Miss Pares. Mr Folllott spent the whole day with us.

9th: Wrote to Miss Crisp. Dr C-e called – talked to him of Gerard – and praised White's Sermons which he supposed to be very orthodox – drank tea at his house in the afternoon and met Dr & Mrs B.⁴⁹ Quakers – Dr B is a sensible Man. After they were gone we talked of Penrose's Poems. Dr C admired that on Madness and the few lines on Friendship, which I repeated. Talked of Mr N H....d whom Dr C said was a fine, amiable young Man. Came home animated and a little disturbed.

10th: Read the Observer – drank tea in Rodney Street. Heard that the Vision of Theodore was written by Dr Johnson – he most pathetically sets forth the power of Habit.

11th: Sunday Mr Yates preached from the text of last Sunday "Turn ye etc." Drank tea at Mr Smith's, happy in every opportunity of enjoying and improving by his Society. Spent three hours there – conversed about Mackenzie, Collins etc, he did not admire Caroline of Lichfield. Of all Rousseau's Works he admired the 2nd letter of the 4th Vol of Eloisa – he

⁴⁸ Mr Casson; probably John Casson, organist, at Clayton Square (Bailey, 1787).

⁴⁹ Dr B: presumably Dr. Jonathan Binns (1747–1818), physician in Liverpool from 1772, appointed to the Dispensary. A Quaker and a signatory to the first petition of the Liverpool Committee for the Abolition of Slavery, thus one of the very few Liverpool abolitionists, he was also a signatory and subscriber to the later London petition, along with Rathbone, Roscoe, Wallace, Yates, and Currie (anonymously). Succeeded Currie as President of the Liverpool Literary & Philosophical Society but closed it down in 1783.

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spoke of Lord W Gordon⁵⁰ and of the Quakers' principle so inimical to all improvement viz: that their ancestors could do no wrong.

12th: Wrote to Miss Cropper. Mr F.t sent over. Read in Gerard Collins, and Pope's Homer.

13th: Miss Dod's⁵¹ birthday. 10 years old. Mr Nicholson⁵² drank tea with us and spoke of a Paper of Mr Roscoe's for the Society of Arts and Sciences⁵³ – and of the dispute between Mr Cooper and Dr Barnes on Materialism.

14th: Miss Cropper and Mrs Rathbone called. Mr Donevan dined here. B A Heywood⁵⁴ called after dinner. Wrote to Miss Cropper. Drank tea at

⁵⁰ Lord W Gordon: HL may here be referring to Lord William Gordon (1744-1832), elder brother of Lord George Gordon (1751-93), who as head of the Protestant Association had instigated the Gordon Riots of 1780. Lord William had earned notoriety by fathering an illegitimate child with Lady Susan Bunbury (1745-1826), with whom he eloped in 1769. The affair did not last. Lady Susan was divorced in 1776 and married the Hon. George Napier (1751-1804) in 1781 (Christopher Hibbert, *King mob. The London riots of 1780* [London, 1958], 2 n.1; *ODNB*).

⁵¹ Miss Dod: presumably the daughter of John Dod and his first wife Anne Pares (d. 1780), sister of John and Thomas Pares II. See reference to Mr Dod on 26 and 30 Oct., and 23 Nov. 1787.

⁵² Mr Nicholson: maybe Matthew Nicholson (1746-1819), the Octonian member. Being then based in Manchester and an active member of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, he may have been well placed to bring news of the controversy referred to. He was also a collector of pictures.

⁵³ Roscoe's Paper: *Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser* of 22 January 1787 announced the opening of 'new rooms for the Society for Promoting Painting &c in Liverpool,' and its first meeting to be held on 1st February 'when an introductory lecture will be given'. This entry may refer to that event. (Burman).

⁵⁴ Benjamin Arthur Heywood (d. 1828) banker, and like his brother Nathaniel educated at Warrington Academy. In 1787 B A Heywood was president of the Liverpool Assurance Office (Bailey, 1787). Together with their father they established Heywood Brothers & Co. in Manchester in 1788. Benjamin went on to become treasurer of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society. Subsequently referred to in the diary as B.A.H.

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Mr Wilson's. Mr F...t supped with us & Cousin J.L.⁵⁵

15th: Mr F...t called. Mr Newnham⁵⁶ dined with us.

16th: Read Watt's Improvement of the mind. Dr C-e called.

17th: Walked up town with my Mother and felt a mingled sensation of Melancholy and Admiration at the appearance of present devastation and the prospect of future grandeur it exhibited. Walked on the Parade⁵⁷ which always elevates my Spirits.

18th: Mr Yates preached from "Forgetting those things that are behind, let us press onward etc. Mr Newnham dined with us and J. L...y.

19th: Mr Miles⁵⁸ came. I wrote to Mr T – conversed about my Mother and I coming to live in town.⁵⁹ Mr H and I disputed.

20th: Mrs Miles breakfasted with us – wrote to Miss Cropper – My Mother very low. She and my Sister rode out to Wavertree.

21st: Past the morning with Mr & Mrs Rathbone. Talked of Mrs Holbrook – of the shortness of life and the Renewal of Friendship in a

⁵⁵ Cousin J L: John Lightbody (1767-1844), the son of HL's uncle Robert. In 1787 he was in partnership with his father Robert as merchants in Dale Street. John Lightbody was a witness at James Currie's wedding to Lucy Wallace in 1783.

⁵⁶ Mr Newnham: maybe Edward Newnham, attorney (Bailey, 1787).

⁵⁷ Parade: one of the few 'polite' walking areas provided in the town at this time, it afforded views across the Mersey estuary to Birkenhead. 'The Parade formed a very pleasant walk 320 yards in length' (Brooke, *Liverpool 1775-1800*, 40).

⁵⁸ Mr Miles: maybe Peter Miles, attorney at Lancelot Hey (Bailey 1787).

⁵⁹ Coming to live in town: this suggests that HL's mother's other residence was at Wavertree, well outside the centre of Liverpool and that when in town she was staying in Paradise Street which she inherited when her husband Adam died.

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future state. Persuaded Mrs R that there was a propriety in letting her husband know of anything that was so necessary to her happiness as living in the Country and that a Wife has scarce a right to keep her husband in ignorance of what is necessary to her Comfort – since this happiness is in some measure connected with hers – conversed three hours upon this subject.⁶⁰ Went in the afternoon to Mr Wallace's.⁶¹

22nd: Miss Constance Kaye of Whitchurch dined with us. She was at Mrs Perry's School.⁶² Mr Nicholson dined with us.

23rd: Made several Calls. Mr Yates and Mr Bowyer drank tea with us and Mr Mourgere supped with us, with whose peculiarities I diverted myself greatly –

24th: Was not well and did nothing.

25th Sunday: I spent the day very unprofitably. In the morning I read Hawkin Browne's Poem on the Immortality of the Soul – a very good one – and sat all afternoon with J.L. without either reading or serious conversation – I thought many uncomfortable things. My mind dwells too much on the anticipation of future affliction, too little thankful for present comforts. I endeavoured to trace the source of that dissatisfaction I felt at being obliged to absent myself from Chapel and feared it was not entirely a love of the duties and offices of religion.

⁶⁰ Hannah Rathbone: Hannah Mary (1761-1839), the only daughter of Richard Reynolds (1735-1816) the noted Quaker ironmaster and philanthropist then managing Coalbrookdale. She was then expecting her first child, William b. 17 June 1787, who was to marry HL's eldest daughter Elizabeth. See also entry for 22 May 1788.

⁶¹ Mr Wallace's: William Wallace (d.1788), merchant of Duke Street, Liverpool, prominent member of Kaye Street congregation, a leading Irish linen merchant in Liverpool; father-in-law of Dr. Currie, and one of the eight Liverpool subscribers to the London Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. His wife Sarah was a cousin of Arabella and Anna Cropper.

⁶² Mrs Perry's School: Lydia Perry ran a boarding school at Mount Pleasant (Bailey, 1787), moving to Martindale's Hill by 1790 (*Gore's Liverpool Directory*, 1790).

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some days blank – nothing particularly occurred but read corresponded⁶³ &c.

11th March: My dear Sister Hodgson was relieved from her present disagreeable situation by the birth of a fine Girl⁶⁴. I could not avoid seeing that my Sister's situation on her recovery was very enviable – being blessed with an affectionate Husband and 4 fine Children, and for a short time, I was ready to give up my favourite system of single blessedness – independence &c – but I am an inadequate judge of the Sufferings as well as Pleasures of married life – perhaps they are nearly balanced, as happiness in every situation is more equally dispensed than appears to superficial observers – It signifies not, if we be innocent and virtuous whether the Sphere of duty lie in single or married life and if our Piety and Fortitude have conquered our evil Passions it matters not where the conflict was sustained whether on a Plain or a Mountain or in what part of the Universe be situated the Field of Battle. At the same time our Nature is so weak that we ought carefully to choose such ground as is likely to give every advantage – in short to throw ourselves in to whatever station of life we think best suited to the useful application of our abilities and dispositions.⁶⁵

12: Spent a very pleasant morning in walking. Called at Mr Wallace's and wrote to Mrs Bunney⁶⁶ &c.

⁶³ This line and the word March below were inserted as though after the following sentence had been written.

⁶⁴ Elizabeth Hodgson's fourth child was Mary.

⁶⁵ 'Useful application of our abilities and dispositions': replaces *abilities* which is crossed out.

⁶⁶ Mrs Bunney: Joseph Bunney's widow. Joseph Bunney (1715–82) had planned to start the first bank in Leicester with John Pares' father Thomas in 1763. Bunney came from an old and influential Leicester family and owned the Newarke in Leicester before John Pares. Mrs. Bunney died in 1802 (C J Billson, *Leicester memoirs*, [Leicester, 1924], 16/7).

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13: Wrote several letters and spent a very agreeable day in reading to my Sister &c.

14th: Supped at Mr Cropper's with a Party.

15: Sister Pares' wedding day. A.[M?]. Heywood's⁶⁷ birthday. Took the children to Mr Heywood's in the afternoon. Dr C. called.

16: Spent my morning very agreeably in looking out Ellen Barry's and other poor people and settling their affairs &c.

18. Sunday: Heard Mr Smith both ends of the day – his afternoon text “Rejoice evermore” on which he made a beautiful discourse.

19th: Blank

20th: Went to the Concert with Miss Heywoods and was entertained.

21st: Drank tea and supped at Mr Heywood's.

22nd: Spent the evening at Mr Wallace's most agreeably. Mr Smith read to me and commented upon part of Beattie's Minstrel – and we talked about and I repeated some of Thomson's lines.

23rd: Spent the morning in transcribing a Poem of Mr Whitehead's called the Enthusiast for Mr Smith – which Poem Mr Rathbone had written and sent to me.

⁶⁷ A. [M?] Heywood: this may refer to Arthur Heywood (1753-1836), who was the third son of Arthur Heywood senior, and a friend and executor of Dr. Currie. The M seems unambiguous in the ms.

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24th: Dined at Mrs Tarleton's with Mr Heywood's family. My Mother ill at night – thought much of Mrs Copland who died this day.

25th: Went to Chapel but was all day the victim of a horrid dream which oppressed me in the morning, which proved the forerunner of a Cold and sore throat – was ill till 31st. Went to Park and walked in the Dingle⁶⁸ – my favourite scene – I sat up on my beloved rocks and enjoyed almost with rapture the renovated state of Nature now just bursting from the imprisonment of Winter – expressive, striking emblem of that renewal of our mortal body when it shall burst its prison, the Grave –

1st April. Sunday After sleeping at the Park I walked home to hear Mr Godwin⁶⁹ – who always reminds me so strongly of the early morn of life, when every Sunday I hear him at Gateacre Chapel.⁷⁰

2nd and 3rd: Read Gilpin “I've lost a day” the Prince who nobly cry'd had been an Emperor without his Crown.

4th: Mr & Mrs Smith drank tea with us and we had much pleasure in the Conversation of the former. We talked still of Poetry – he expressed his approbation of Gerard's Essay on Genius and Taste which I had just purchased.

⁶⁸ The Dingle: at this time an undeveloped area of Toxteth Park adjoining the Mersey shore west of Otterspool. A large estate here was later bought by Dr. Yates and on his death divided among his children. In 1823 part was leased by James Cropper the Quaker merchant and philanthropist (no relation of the Everton Croppers).

⁶⁹ Godwin: Richard Godwin (1722-87), Dissenting minister at Gateacre Chapel, formerly one of the Ministers of the Octagon Chapel, and partly responsible for the innovative liturgy developed there. This aimed at breaking down the barriers between the Anglican Church and Dissent and as a result its credal content was minimal.

⁷⁰ Gateacre Chapel: built for Dissenters c.1700 near Woolton; later known for its Minister Rev. William Shepherd (1768-1847) the energetic ‘friend of liberty’ and colleague of Roscoe and Currie.

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5th: Went to Everton. Miss Rigg & Mr J..n Smyth⁷¹ spent the day with us – Staid all night and went from there to the Park to see Miss C and T Percival, and came home in the evening to Mr Hodgson's.

7th Was disappointed of a walk to the Park.

8th Sunday: All morning read Interesting Memoirs, a very serious book, in the afternoon wrote a Catalogue of Books, a Country dance in my Music book, some Scripture passages and read a discourse on the Love of Praise, full of instruction for me.

Monday, 9th: Went to the Park. Mr Yates dined there. Mr & Mrs Rathbone drank tea.

10th: Walked to Liverpool and returned at night.

11th: Read "Original Love Letters" all day and walked to Liverpool at night.

12th: Went to the Assembly and danced a Minuet.

13th: Drank tea at Mr Rathbone's with Mr Smith and Mr Holbrook. I had a delightful afternoon.

14: Had the toothache.

15th: d.o. Wrote some letters.

⁷¹ Mr (John) Smyth: a minister at St. Anne's Church (Anglican).

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16: A large party supped here. Misses Brooks,⁷² Sandys⁷³ Payne, T Percival, Lightbody, Bailey, Mr L Heywood.

17: Had the toothache and Miss Dobson spent the evening with me.

18: Doctor Currie dined with us.

19: My Sister Pares and family came which made us very happy. She was poorly and we sat with her and many friends called till

25th. Went to the Assembly – danced with Mr R Capstick,⁷⁴ chatted with B.A.H. had a very agreeable evening.

16th: Mr Hartley and my two Bros.⁷⁵ Dined at Mr Slater's.⁷⁶

27 & 28: Had the toothache. Read Miss Bowdler's Essays. Wrote to Mr Ralph.

29th: The family from Woolton⁷⁷ dined with us.

⁷² Misses Brooks; possibly daughters of Joseph Brooks jnr., a director of the Liverpool Assurance Office. One daughter, Frances, later married Thomas Duncan, a *protégé* and kinsman of James Currie in 1803.

⁷³ Miss Sandys; possibly a daughter of Samuel Sandys, merchant of Duke Street (Bailey, 1787). The Sandys had been important Africa traders originally based at Lancaster: see entry for 24 June where Miss Sandys joins HL on the journey to Lancaster.

⁷⁴ R Capstick: probably Richard, a son of Isaac Capstick.

⁷⁵ My brothers must mean brothers *in law*, which the 5 May entry would confirm.

⁷⁶ Mr Slater; possibly Gill Slater, a Director of the Liverpool Assurance Office; tar and oil merchant of Everton (Bailey, 1787).

⁷⁷ Family from Woolton: possibly the family of Nicholas Ashton, of Woolton Hall (see 7 May entry below). He had married Mary Philpott (d.1777), a descendant of Philip Henry and then secondly Catherine Hodgson. It is not known whether she was related to Thomas Hodgson, HL's brother-in-law. Nicholas Ashton's aunt Anna had married HL's uncle William Lightbody (d. 1784).

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30th: Went to the Concert with Mr & Mrs Browne from Barbadoes &c. Sat next Mr Smith and conversed in the Intervals of Music about the Lakes &c.

31st: The Octonian Society supped with us – they conversed on the different religious persuasions that divide Mankind.

Thursday 3rd May: Went to Wavertree – Worked very hard to prepare for Company till 7 o'clock when Miss C and T Percival came & E Nicholson⁷⁸.

4: My Brothers breakfasted with us

5th: My Brothers and Sisters dined, had a very happy day.

6th Sunday: Went to town – T.P, Mr J.L. and I walked to St Ann's Church and were pleased with Mr J..n Smyth.

7th: T Percival and I drank tea at Allerton⁷⁹ – called at Woolton – promised to supply [Miss?] Anne Leigh⁸⁰ with Books. {Some slight remarks – like the latter recal volumes to my mind}

8th: T.P. and I dined in Paradise St – met my Uncle's family and Mr R Coleman⁸¹.

⁷⁸ E Nicholson: probably Elizabeth (1766-1843), daughter of Arabella Nicholson of Toxteth Park and a niece of Anna Cropper. She was mainly based in Manchester.

⁷⁹ Allerton; at the time a small township in the parish of Childwall, and originally the seat of the 17th century Percival family, well known at this time as the estate of the Hardman family. After the widowed Mrs Hardman died in 1795, it was bought by William Roscoe.

⁸⁰ Ann Leigh: a Mrs. Ann Leigh is listed in *Gore's Liverpool Directory* (1790), living at 24 Water Street.

⁸¹ Mr R Coleman: maybe John Coleman, merchant and broker of John Street (Bailey, 1787).

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9th: Dined at Dr Camplin's. T.P. and I staid supper.

10th: Dr Currie and Mr Godwin dined with us and had an argument on Materialism on which Dr C shone very much – Mr Godwin was a very liberal defender of this doctrine.⁸² Dr Camplin's family drank tea with us.

11th: All our family from Liverpool dined with us. Mr R Coleman and Miss A Leigh – had a very pleasant day. Miss Cropper was poorly in the evening and the Chimney of her Room took fire which caused great alarm and confusion – but was soon extinguished.

12. Sunday: Miss Cropper and I staid at home. Dr C re-called in the afternoon and read to us Miss Williams' Ode to Peace of which he pointed out the beauties.

13: Mr Rhodes dined with us. Mr Coleman called which I regretted very much.

14: All our family quitted us and went to Leicester. Was very low – Dr C called and read in my common place book⁸³ in which he found some of his own works.

15: Mrs Currie dined with us.

⁸² The adjective *new* had been written before *doctrine*, and then crossed out.

⁸³ Commonplace book: HL regularly wrote up quotations from her readings, and possibly also from conversations. This epigrammatic collection is sometimes referred to as her 'extract book'. It seems intended to have been shared, and must have formed the basis for her published *Collection of Maxims, Observations &c* of 1799. No commonplace book has survived but some rough notes are preserved in the Quarry Bank Mill archives.

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16: Dr C called in his way from Allerton. B.A.H, his two sisters, Mr J Lightbody and Mr Rhodes dined with us. Had an argument with B.A.H. on the practice of Keeping a diary in which he was of Mr Rathbone's opinion "that the use have no proportion to the trouble.

17: Mr Rhodes took leave of us and carried a letter from me to Mr Ralph.

18: Many callers. Walked out in the evening.

Sunday. 19: Walked in the morning to Childwell.⁸⁴ Mr H Dannett⁸⁵ preached from "They loved the praise of Men more than the praise of God" – not equal to Blair on the same subject. Stayed at home in the afternoon with Miss C who was an Invalid. Held a long interesting conversation with her on the "lower order of accomplishments" as domestic management &c. which she was friendly enough to tell me she feared I was too much disposed to despise, or at least not to consider as sufficiently important – & that the present mode of educating females too much excluded an attention to what was nevertheless a most valuable part of a woman's character and substituted in its place accomplishments which might indeed render them agreeable Companions but not useful Wives, which two characters should always be joined – that Men whose affection I should be ambitious to gain, however they might delight in the first would select for a Wife accomplishments peculiar to the female province in domestic life – I contended that it was not only more common

⁸⁴ Childwell; (now Childwall): at that time an old village near Wavertree and Woolton, dominated by the medieval All Saints church. The parish of Childwall overlooked the Mersey to the south-west, and included the townships of Wavertree, Garston and Woolton.

⁸⁵ Mr H Dannett: Anglican minister at St. John's in Liverpool. Early in 1788 Henry Dannett was courageous in criticising those who defended the slave trade, publishing the pamphlet *A particular examination of Mr Harris's scriptural researches on the licitness of the slave trade* (London 1788), in which his authorship was publicly acknowledged.

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than was generally approved, but that it was certainly natural that they should be found joined – that a woman of Sense and taste was likely to apply⁸⁶ those faculties to whatever duties her situation presented, and that the minutest & vulgarest occupation of ordinary life would certainly be better performed when their performance⁸⁷ was under the direction of a cultivated mind – that for my own part, if it should fall to my lot to figure in domestic life, I should perhaps not keep what in Liverpool would be esteemed an elegant table, or an elegant equipage – but tho' my Style might have less shew I ventured to hope it would not have less true taste than those which now pass for models in this gay town – Hospitable plenty neatness, simplicity, unaffected friendliness, rational conversation and tranquillity.⁸⁸ I should ever be carefully solicitous to preserve and I believed those whom I wished most to see in my house would be more satisfied with these than with the most costly and elegant entertainment they might meet elsewhere – that tho' I was ignorant at present of matters relating to household management yet if it ever became my duty to know and practice them I should find them interesting and attainable – if my heart would prove equal to learn it – I thought Men too hasty in forming judgments – and concluded that if a woman had a turn for reading she must of course neglect or despise that sort of knowledge – most applicable to ordinary life – but I thought a Woman of Sense would always have ambition to perform her duties whatever they were creditably and well – and that a sensible liberal Man would not esteem her less for being capable of being his companion as well as his housekeeper. I thought I should never prefer the dulce to the utile when they became incompatible, but that I thought now was the time to give to those pursuits that might form me into the Companion before the more useful and importunate cares and occupations of domestic life claimed all my time – that however,

⁸⁶ Apply replaces the crossed out word *direct*.

⁸⁷ The word *by* was written after *performance* and then crossed out.

⁸⁸ *Rational conversation* and *tranquillity* are inserted in ink as additions to the sentence.

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I ought not to throw away all the advantages of such an education as I had received by neglecting those pursuits it had favoured – and that I would never marry a Man who did not value them in a wife – that a woman who merely provided her husband with the conveniences of a clean house and a good table, while he sought abroad the pleasures of Society, was no better than a slave and that I hoped the little discernment I had of Character would save me from marrying one who would condemn me to such an unworthy lot.

Men I knew were in general, selfish and unreasonable and instead of being satisfied with and making the most of those excellencies a woman had they were apt to expect she should excel equally in everything – expecting from what their pride terms the weaker sex an exemption from even human infirmity when it becomes inconvenient to themselves – Tho' an Enthusiast on many subjects I am not a romantic Girl likely to be misled by fancy or absolutely blinded by passion, I may hope therefore not to marry anyone whose disposition will not suit me and from whom I may not reasonably expect an addition of happiness – I am too well satisfied with a single life not be rather difficult in my choice of a Master, a Guide, one to whom I must swear fidelity and obedience and whose commands (whatever they be) if they dispute not those of a higher power I consider myself as bound to obey – and I confess at present I feel much more inclined to live according to my own Inclination and Conscience than to give up the reins to any man – since I am fond of my own opinions and yet consider domestic strife as the most dreadful of all calamities I am therefore better single. Perhaps when Love comes it will make me more pliable – If it is what Poets represent it will certainly prove sufficiently potent to do what Friendship has so often done, viz make me change my opinions for those of my friend.

Some female literary Characters have indeed by their conduct in common life justified the opinions I have been contending against – and perhaps a

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large portion of Genius may be unfavourable to the sober and patient discharge of those laborious duties assigned to the female province – but a moderate share of abilities well cultivated and united to the conscientious desire to do what is right and the ambition to be approached by those we love form the best foundation of virtue as well as happiness – and is surely what a wise and rational Man would wish for & be satisfied with in a companion.⁸⁹

20: Miss Cropper and T Percival left us and we passed a solitary day.

21: Dined at St. Paul's⁹⁰ and went to the Concert.

22: Dined at Dr Currie's and met B.A.H. Had a very pleasant conversible day. Postilion drunk at night.

23: Dined at Allerton.

24: Rode to town on horseback – sat with Mrs R.

25: Drank tea at Mr Shaw's.⁹¹

⁸⁹ The question of girls' training for domestic accomplishments or more intellectual and less practical knowledge was frequently debated at this period. See for example Vicesimus Knox, *Essays, moral and literary* (1779), II, chs. xxxiii & xxxvi, and his *Liberal education: or, a practical treatise on the methods of acquiring useful and polite learning* (1781), sect. xxvi.

⁹⁰ St Paul's: HL's uncle Robert and his family lived at 45 St. Paul's Square.

⁹¹ Mr Shaw: probably William Shaw who was prominent in the Kaye Street congregation, signed the trust deed for the new chapel in 1791, and is listed in *Bailey's Directory* (1787) as Scottish merchant of Tythebarn Street.

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26: Had a sore throat – Dr C came, was glad to become his⁹² patient – Dr Camplin being abroad.

27: Ditto

June 1st: Mr Capstick,⁹³ Mr Humble,⁹⁴ Mr Yates called.

2nd: Miss Williamson and Dr Currie called.

Sunday 3rd: Dr Currie called – was very low.

4th: Dr Currie dined with us. Mr Yates called.

5th: St Paul's family dined with us. Dr C called.

6th: Dr Camplin called.

7th: Low spirited all day and much hurt.

8th: Worked hard all day and was better, very pleased with Miss Wickstead.

9th June: Dr Camplin called. Wrote to Misses Broadbent, Holden,⁹⁵ Parish, Percival and Sister H. Norris Green.⁹⁶

⁹² His patient: the underlining is in pencil and may therefore be assumed to have been added many years later.

⁹³ Mr Capstick: had married Elizabeth, sister of John and Thomas Hodgson.

⁹⁴ Mr Humble: probably Michael Humble, merchant of 8 Great George Street (*Gore's Liverpool Directory*, 1790) was a signatory of the 1791 Paradise Street chapel deed.

⁹⁵ Miss Holden: maybe Hannah Holden the milliner, Castle Street (Bailey, 1787)

⁹⁶ Norris Green: a rural area near West Derby, dominated by the estate of the Goodwins, a powerful merchant and political family.

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10th. Sunday: Went to town. Mr Yates preached from “Set your affections on things above – not on things on the earth – he spoke of 4 classes of people – 1st those who devoted their cases and affections entirely to the world and took the most suitable and direct means to attain the highest temporal good. 2. those who still loved and revered virtue, wished to practise it, and to be entitled to the enjoyments of a future world but were too irresolute and too much attached to worldly pleasure to be able to sacrifice it – were inconsistent and wavering – here “the Children of this World are wiser in their generation than the Children of light” – 4. those whose hearts were purely devoted to “things above” who walked steadily in the path of virtue and resolutely relinquished every present enjoyment that interfered with their hopes of eternal felicity – he proceeded to comment on the difference of the above Characters and to point out in what the last has the advantage.⁹⁷

11th: Wrote a note to Dr C to consult him about going to Leicester, who in answer disapproved of it and advised me to stay and bathe at Liverpool. Drank tea at Lark Hill.⁹⁸

12: Dr C called. Drank tea at Everton.

13th: Bathed in a tub. Miss Cropper with us.

14th: Went to Wavertree Assembly, Dr C..n spoke to me about Dr C..rrie⁹⁹ attending me.

⁹⁷ Transcribed as written with the omission of Yates’s third point.

⁹⁸ Lark Hill: home of Richard Heywood (1751-1800), Arthur Heywood’s eldest son, who had bought it in 1776 from Jonathan Blundell. At this time Richard Heywood was a director of the Liverpool Assurance Office (Bailey, 1787). In 1800 Arthur Heywood inherited Lark Hill.

⁹⁹ Dr C..n, Dr C..rrie: The lowercase letters after the capitals are added in pencil, presumably several years later.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1787

- 15: Mrs Parke,¹⁰⁰ {Highfield}, Baker, Dawson¹⁰¹ &c. drank tea with us.
- 16: We drank tea at Mrs Colquitts¹⁰²
- Sunday 17: Came to town to dine.
- 18: Called at Woolton to visit Mrs N James – 63 people that morning. Dr C and Mr Christie¹⁰³ called.
- 19: My Mother went to Leicester, Miss Cropper and I to Liverpool. I supped at Dr Currie's with Mr Christie, Mr Roscoe¹⁰⁴ &c.
- 20: Miss Cropper and I dined at home/Paradise Street, Mr & Mrs Hodgson in London and supped at Dr Currie's.
- 21: Dined at Dr Currie's and left Miss Cropper there.
- 22: Ditto and rode to Park.

¹⁰⁰ Mrs Parke: the wife of Thomas Parke, merchant and director of the Liverpool Assurance Office. Highfield – a later pencil interlineation – indicates the name of the fine home of the Parke family near Woolton.

¹⁰¹ Mrs Baker & Mrs Dawson: probably the wife of Peter Baker, the Africa merchant and her daughter who had married John Dawson. In 1778 John Dawson as captain of the Mentor had captured the Carnatic, yielding more than £135,000, then the richest prize ever successfully taken. He married the daughter of Peter Baker, the Mentor's owner, forming a partnership building ships and investing in the Africa trade, becoming one of the largest slave traders.

¹⁰² Mrs Colquitt: possibly wife of John Colquitt who was the Town Clerk of Liverpool.

¹⁰³ Mr Christie: Thomas Christie (1761-1796), the founder of the *Analytical Review*, who was in Liverpool as a guest of Dr. Currie while on a tour of provincial towns and cities. Currie became a subscriber and contributor (Currie, *Memoir of James Currie*, I, 45).

¹⁰⁴ Roscoe: William Roscoe (1753–1831), historian and patron of the arts. He and Currie formed a literary circle of intellectuals. A lifetime opponent of the Slave Trade, Roscoe was a member of the London Abolition Society and campaigned through his writings from 1777. In 1807 he spoke in parliament in favour of abolition of the slave trade. In 1784 he established for a second time Liverpool's Society of Encouragement of the Arts, Painting and Design. 'Few strangers of eminence arrived

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1787

23: {The two} Dr C's both called – was much distressed with what passed. Dined in St Paul's and supped at Dr Currie's.

Sunday. 24: Dined at Mr Smith's who preached a beautiful Sermon at Bens Garden¹⁰⁵ on the Charms of Nature, my favourite subject. Slept at Dr C's.

25: Dined in Rodney Street and read Burn's Poems to Miss C and her brother. Visited a poor family Mr Smith had mentioned and was very happy.

26: Read Clarissa – bathed every morning with the Children at 6 o'clock.

27: Spent the day at Dr Currie's.

28: Drank tea at Mr Ben Heywood's¹⁰⁶ Everton.

in Liverpool without an introduction to Mr. Roscoe and Dr. Currie; and their houses were the resort of men of learning and celebrity from all quarters' (Currie, *Memoir of James Currie*, 1, 147; see also George Chandler, *William Roscoe of Liverpool 1753-1831* [Liverpool, 1953], and Ian Sutton, 'The extended Roscoe circle: art, medicine and the cultural politics of alienation in Liverpool, 1762-1836', in the *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 30, no 3 [2007]).

¹⁰⁵ Bens Gardens: originally a daughter to the Ancient Chapel of Toxteth Park. The congregation moved in 1727 to a newly built chapel in Benn's (or Ben's) Garden, Redcross Street. In 1752 among the congregation were the following Africa traders: G Campbell, John Crosbie, J Kennion, J Hardman, R Golding, A & B Heywood, J Bostock. William Roscoe and members of the Heywood family were also prominent members of the congregation. Rev. Joseph Smith succeeded Rev. Nicholas Clayton in 1781. Some of the Octagon Chapel congregation where Clayton had ministered had moved to Benn's Garden after 1776 (Holt, *Walking together*).

¹⁰⁶ Mr Ben Heywood: either Benjamin (1722-95), Arthur's brother; former treasurer of Warrington Academy who went to open his bank in Manchester in 1788 with his sons Nathaniel and Benjamin Arthur; or Benjamin Heywood (1752-1822) the son of Arthur Heywood.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1787

29th: Sent the following note to Dr C with acknowledgements. "Restored and confirmed health presses on my heart a sense of my obligations to Dr C to whose attention I owe the blessing. Long may he enjoy the ease he dispenses prays with warmth of heart his ever obliged and respectful H.L.

30: Drank tea at Park. Supd in Church St.¹⁰⁷

July 1st: Dr C called, & Morrison's¹⁰⁸ Wife called – Gave her [18/?] and some books and a note for Infirmary. M.L. went with me to dine at Wavertree at Dr Camplin's – felt rather awkward – {met G M Moore¹⁰⁹} Received letters from Miss Crisp, Hickstead, Everett,¹¹⁰ Parish, Wagstaff.

2nd: Went to the Play and was much pleased with Pope's performance of Douglas – supped with Dr C and Miss Cropper. Mrs C confined.

3rd: Heard my dear Sister P was safely delivered of a Girl.¹¹¹ Rec'd my Brother and Sister Hodgson at home and was highly pleased at the joy and sensibility shown by the Children and that their Parents thought them improved under my care.

¹⁰⁷ Church Street: home and warehouse of Thomas, HL's brother-in-law and their expanding family. This may be the house in Church Street bequeathed to Elizabeth Hodgson by her father Adam Lightbody in his will (Will of Adam Lightbody, TNA, Prob 11/1043.). Brooke described how near St. Peter's Church in 1775, the 'north side of Church-Street contained dwelling houses, several of which were of large size and were occupied by families of the higher classes' (Brooke, *Liverpool 1775-1800*, 129).

¹⁰⁸ Morrison's Wife: maybe connected to John Morrison, a bookkeeper at 36 Plumb Street (*Gore's Liverpool Directory*, 1790).

¹⁰⁹ G M Moore: Graham Moore (1764–1843), the son of Dr. John Moore (1729-1802), the author of *Zeluco*, at that time a young lieutenant from the Scottish borders with literary leanings, he became a firm friend of Dr. Currie. He had been staying at Liverpool from the summer of 1786 until February 1787 superintending the repair of his ship. HL's later pencil note may have mistaken the date. Moore went on to a distinguished naval career, was knighted and left copious diaries (*ODNB*).

¹¹⁰ Everett: maybe a family friend living in Stoke Newington, See entries for 27 and 30 December 1787.

¹¹¹ John and Agnes Pares' fourth child was called Mary.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1787

- 4: Went to see Mrs Pope in Rosalind – was much pleased.
- 5th: Conversed till two o'clock in the morning on the Trinity with Mr Cockin¹¹².
- 6: Walked with my sister to Mr Slater's.
- 8: Had Company, and went to the Play
- 10: Went to the Concert – Delighted with Miss Harwood's singing "Sweet bird" accompanied by Nicholson's flute – At supper had Dr C, Mr Wilson of Clitheroe¹¹³, Mr Cockin and Miss C's company – talked of Dr Johnson – Dr C defended him – Mrs C had published a "Cursory Defence".
- 11: Called early on Miss C – found her and Dr C engaged in an argument on Independence of Mind – When I returned Mr Cockin was talking highly in praise of Dr C's Character saying he was a Man of a capacious Mind, powerful eloquence, clear perception and noble feelings – Nature
 Has turn'd him out a human Creature
 on her first plan.
 In the evening again at the Play.

¹¹² Mr Cockin: William Cockin (1736-1801), teacher and writer, was at this time teaching at Blanchard's Nottingham Academy. He was a friend of George Romney, eventually becoming his companion at Hampstead and amanuensis. A Kendal man by birth, he helped Thomas West compile his *Guide to the Lakes* (1778), wrote scientific and philosophical papers, and well-regarded text books on mathematics and elocution as well as poetry. Among his poems is one in praise of Dr Johnson (*ODNB*).

¹¹³ Mr Wilson of Clitheroe: Dr. Thomas Wilson (1747-1813), a good friend of William Cockin's, and from 1775 the notable master of Clitheroe Grammar School, dedicated to the teaching of the classics. He was genial and gregarious, wrote an archaeological dictionary as well as poetry, founded a literary club, and was described as 'a smart little man, octavo size' (*ODNB*).

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1787

12: Dined at Wavertree and went to the Assembly in the afternoon – in looking on the past day I cannot help seeing¹¹⁴ that I have done no good thing, received no information, made no improvement, nor enjoyed any true pleasure – What a blank or more than a blank, when so valuable a possession as time is wasted.

13: Dr Currie called in the morning and spoke of my London journey on which I had set my heart.

14: Dined at Everton with Miss C and went home with her to Church Street – Talked of Mrs T.R. and the Inefficacy of tokens of Remembrance, Pictures &c.

Sunday. 15: Went to St Catherine's¹¹⁵ – On the Duty of Prayer. Mr Broadbent¹¹⁶ of Daventry in the afternoon.

16: The Hon. Mrs Elliott dined with us – very genteel and well bred, but all nonchalance, no heart at all.

17: Wished Sister H many happy returns of it.

18: A Blank.

19: Rode to Park with N¹¹⁷ Currie and the Hodgsons.

20: Called to take leave of friends at Park – reflected with sorrow and anxiety on the long absence I was going to make – went to see Douglas

¹¹⁴ Help seeing: replaces the word *discover* which has been crossed out.

¹¹⁵ St Catherine's: at that period an Anglican place of worship. It had been the Dissenters' Octagon Chapel.

¹¹⁶ Mr Broadbent: William Broadbent (1755-1827) had been a student and then a colleague of Thomas Belsham at Daventry Academy. From 1784 he was tutor in mathematics, natural philosophy and logic there, moving with the Academy to Northampton in 1791 before becoming Minister at Warrington in 1792 (*ODNB*).

¹¹⁷ The initial N appears to be unambiguous.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1787

again in the evening with T.N. Mr Smith joined us and spoke of the Lakes which he had just seen and I was going to see – was eagerly attentive to him by which I offended J.L.¹¹⁸

21: Made my Will – a proper employment for a birthday.¹¹⁹

22. Sunday: Breakfasted with Dr C. Spoke of Mrs Re....e.

23: Walked to St Paul's and up and down in the Yard all day – Mr T.L. came in the evening.

24: Miss Sandys joined me in a chaise to Lancaster – was received with great kindness by Mr & Mrs R..e.

25: Was charmed with Mrs T R..e. Mrs Lindow¹²⁰ and T.R¹²¹. dined with us and did not please me.

26 July: Sat up till 2 o'clock writing to Miss C & Dr Currie.

¹¹⁸ J.L.: ringed in pencil presumably at a later date.

¹¹⁹ Birthday: this was HL's 21st birthday, and the occasion when she was to inherit the assets bequeathed to her by her father (d. 1778) and uncle William (d. 1784). These were mainly left in trust until HL either married or reached the age of 21 and included £1200 plus interest as well as land at Garston and Wavertree from Adam and £1000 from William. As a woman of means, HL was acting responsibly in immediately safeguarding her inheritance (Wills of Adam and William Lightbody, TNA, Prob 11/1043 and 11/1116). See also entry for 29 July 1787.

¹²⁰ Mrs Lindow: probably Abigail, the widow of William Lindow (d.1785), a prominent Lancaster merchant and partner of the Rawlinsons who had married Abigail Rawlinson in 1771. Romney's handsome portrait of the Lindows is in the Tate Gallery (Melinda Elder, *The slave trade and the economic development of eighteenth-century Lancaster* [Halifax, 1992], 118-9, 121).

¹²¹ T.R.: probably Thomas Rawlinson, the prominent slave trader and slave plantation owner, trading from Lancaster and Liverpool. See entry for 10 August (Elder, *The slave trade and Lancaster*, 116).

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1787

27: Went to Caton¹²² and was transported with the scene.

28: Spent a quiet day at home.

Sunday. 29: Went to Church and to Hornby. Received from my Mother the division of Garston.¹²³

30: Read, wrote and walked.

31: Ditto.

August. 1st: Dined at Mr Baxendale's at Lancaster. Read a letter from Dr C who chid me for my warm¹²⁴ about Mrs T.R.

2nd: Thought only of my letter.

3rd: Went to Settle with Mr Brayshay¹²⁵ in a Whiskey?

¹²² Caton: Mill village several miles east of Lancaster near the 'crook of Lune'. In 1784 Thomas Hodgson developed Low Mill as a cotton spinning mill there. His partners were his brother John Hodgson, John Pares of Leicester, Thomas Gardom of Bakewell and Isaac Capstick of Caton. The farmhouse was converted to house pauper apprentices. Following losses suffered trading with Cadiz, Isaac Hodgson passed the mill to his uncle Samuel Greg in 1817 (Mary B Rose, *The Greys of Styal* [London, 1978], and C Aspin, *The water spinners* [Helmshore, 2005]).

¹²³ Division of Garston: This probably refers to Hannah's share of the property at Garston inherited on her 21st birthday the previous week. Although Adam Lightbody had bought Island Farm and other lands in Garston a few miles south of Liverpool in 1775, his will which is dated May 1775 refers only to cottages. In March 1788, however, Agnes and John Pares acquired the third inherited by Elizabeth and Thomas Hodgson as security for a loan, and then in 1805 John Lightbody secured this part of the property. It amounted to 11 acres including Outlane Croft, the Green, the Damfield, Field Meadow etc. It is uncertain what happened to HL's third share, but HL's cousin John Lightbody seems to have added to the property in the following decades, starting a policy of gradual housing development followed by his heirs until the 1930's (*Lightbody Family History & Records*, vol. 2).

¹²⁴ The manuscript omits the noun in this sentence: it could be *comments* or *remarks*.

¹²⁵ Mr Brayshay: maybe the same person as referred to by John Hodgson in a letter from Liverpool to his brother Thomas in the Gambia, dated 24 February 1771. The

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1787

- 4th: Returned from Settle – found a letter from Miss C
- 5th: Sunday. An unprofitable day.
- 6th: Agnes poorly – exerted myself and found the benefit.
- 7: Wrote to Martin, Everett, Rogers, Sister P and Miss C.
- 8: Walked 6 miles in the Evening to see a fine view.
- 9: Rode through the river – the garth broke and Mr J.H¹²⁶ held both me and the Saddle on till we got through – a narrow escape – Mr H had a letter from
- 10: Dined at Mr T Rawlinsons'.
- 11: Wrote to my Mother & Miss Pares.
- Sunday. 12: Walked to Church – wrote to Dr C.
- 13: Set off to the Lakes – for the Journal of this week see my Tour to the Lakes.¹²⁷ Mr H and L quarrelled about coming down to Milthrope.¹²⁸
- 19: Brother Pares¹²⁹ came to Caton.

reference implies that Brayshay at that time was acting as a factor for them, receiving shipments of slaves in St Dominica (Letter in the ownership of Jenny Smith).

¹²⁶ I.H.: possibly John Hodgson.

¹²⁷ My Tour to the Lakes: this journal seems not to have survived.

¹²⁸ Milthrope: HL probably means to refer to Milnthorpe, a village on the main road south between Kendal and Lancaster.

¹²⁹ Brother Pares: John Pares (1749-1833); second son of Thomas Pares I. His mother, Ann Norton, was a second cousin of the 4th Earl of Stamford. John married HL's elder sister Agnes in 1781. Brought up in the family's Leicester hosiery business, he was an ambitious and early investor in the new Arkwright cotton spinning machinery,

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1787

- 20: Went into Court at Lancaster.
- 21: Had a sad cold caught by being perpetually wet at the Lakes – did nothing all day.
- 22: Went to Lancaster Assembly. Danced¹³⁰ the first Minuet with Mr Pitt – was much chagrined by his imperfect recollection of me.
- 23: Made calls &c.
- 24: Brother P and I set off to Leicester – arrived at Manr. 6'ck. T Percival not at home. Was much affected at passing thro' Bolton at the recollection of Mr Godwin who died there. Slept at Dishley.¹³¹
- 25: Breakfasted at Buxton – dined at Hopwell.¹³² Founder Sister P wondering at Leicester, and my Mother wondering at Grooby¹³³ at our slow Journey.
- Sunday, 26: Went to Newtown & Ratby.¹³⁴

at Calver Mill from 1778 and Caton Mill from 1784. He was a Director of the Liverpool Assurance Office (Bailey, 1787).

¹³⁰ At written between *danced* and *the* is crossed out .

¹³¹ Dishley: now called Disley, a village between Stockport and Buxton (the Leicestershire village of Dishley would have been far off their route).

¹³² Hopwell: Hopwell Hall in Derbyshire was purchased by Thomas Pares I in 1786. The Hall, built by the Sacheverells in the sixteenth century, was rebuilt earlier in the eighteenth century by Henry Keyes. It was demolished in 1957 (DRO, Pares Collection, which also provides references for the several Pares landholdings in the area which HL refers to subsequently).

¹³³ Grooby: As well as occupying their town house and business headquarters at the Newarke in Leicester, it seems that Agnes and John Pares lived some of the time in the Manor House at Grooby (now spelt Groby), an estate village of the Earls of Stamford near Leicester.

¹³⁴ Newtown and Ratby: adjacent estates with parks owned by the Greys, Earls of Stamford, close to their Groby estate.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1787

27: Wrote to Mr L Parish, Sister H, Miss Cropper and Miss Crisp and had a pleasant ride.

28: Received a letter from Mr Ralph.

29: Wrote to Mr Ralph and T Percival.

30: My Mother left us. Rode out.

31: Went to Leicester – spent a deal of money.

Sept. 1st: Walked 7 miles with Sister P in the morning and narrowly escaped being shot.

15: After a fortnight spent entirely in the Country, enjoying the domestic Society, and the surrounding Scenery, marked by the arrival few¹³⁵ letters and still fewer visitors received, a letter from Dr C and Mr Carter's family dined here.

Sunday 16: Went to Church once and Mr R C-n dined with us – felt dissatisfied that the day was not properly distinguished.

17: Read Miss Talbot's Reflections.

18: Worked, walked, read and wrote

19: Went to Leicester.

20: Went to the Races – very gay – made acquaintance with Mr N – always assenting. Went to Church – to the Course and the Assembly, and

¹³⁵ Transcribed as written with the omission of any adverb.

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thought only of Dr Holland and Mr Hamer, { whose death I had just heard of. }

21: Was glad to return to Tranquillity and Grooby and took a long walk by moonlight.

24: Dined at Barkby. Mr Pochin's.¹³⁶

25: Wrote all day.

26: Dined at Branston.¹³⁷

27: Company came. Read the Lounger.

28: Lord Stamford¹³⁸ and Mr Heron dined with us.

29: Ditto.

Sunday. 30: Went to Newtown – a welchman preached who knew English imperfectly. Sad work. In the afternoon heard Mr H W from “Charity edifieth – a very good Preacher but too loud for a small place. Some circumstances which operate in the happiest manner on good hearts have a contrary tendency when they affect bad dispositions as the same beams which sweeten the honeycomb turn vinegar more sour – the Anthem “my song is of money and judgment very well sung. Gave a Guinea to the Charity.

¹³⁶ Barkby. Mr Pochin's: the Pochin family's house and estate still stand at Barkby in Leicestershire.

¹³⁷ Branston; another Leicestershire Estate linked to the spreading ownership of the family of Thomas Pares.

¹³⁸ Lord Stamford: the 5th Earl (1737-1819). One of the great land-owning family with roots in this part of Leicester, they had based themselves at Enville in Staffordshire for most of the eighteenth century, and then at Dunham Massey in Cheshire, but kept a hunting lodge at their Groby estate. See 31 October 1787.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1787

Dined at 5 o'clock at Mr Davie's – saw the unfortunate Miss M.C. Alas! how many valuable blessings do we who enjoy all, disregard and forget – Reason,¹³⁹ that richest endowment, we see withdrawn from many of our fellow creatures – ought not the sight to read a lesson to us on the use we ought to make of it. Had many melancholy reflections. I went to bed dissatisfied with the hurrying variety of the past day.

October 1st: Rose very early to walk.

2nd: Spent at Leicester.

3rd: At Grooby, writing

4: At Mr Pares, Leicester.¹⁴⁰

5: At Grooby, preparing for flitting.

6: Rode on horseback with Brother Pares to Loughboro'

7: At Hopwell – Risley – Ockbrook¹⁴¹

8: Rode in a mist to Duffield, dined at Matlock – Rode on horseback to sleep at Edensor.

¹³⁹ Reason: ringed in pencil at a later date.

¹⁴⁰ Mr Pares, Leicester: probably at the Newarke, John Pares' grand Leicester town house described by Billson as 'a noble looking house, like a mansion, which boasted of a paddock with an avenue of very fine trees... Besides two parlours and a study on the ground floor, there were two large drawing rooms above and some twenty bedrooms. Adjoining the house on the North West was a two story warehouse in which the hosiery business was carried on.' A ground plan is illustrated in Billson, *Leicester Memoirs*.

¹⁴¹ Risley – Ockbrook: in 1786 when Thomas Pares I purchased Hopwell Hall in Derbyshire he also acquired a share of the manor of Ockbrook and various farms and pieces of land in the Hopwell and Ockbrook area. Thomas Pares also bought land at Risley and Weston Hall with its estate in 1787 (DRO, Pares collection).

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1787

- 9: Walked in Chatsworth Park all day
- 10: Dined at Water Hall.
- 11: Rode to Monsal Dale and Longston.
- 12: Dined at the Cliff.
- 13: Rode Mira to Buxton to my Mother.
- 14: Hate Buxton.
- 15: Mr & Mrs Pares left us – very forlorn.
- 16: Went to the Ball.
- 17: Wrote letters, I wished myself anywhere else.
- 18: Lost a pearl pin – which did not disturb me so much as it might and perhaps ought to have done.
- 19: Slept at Matlock.
- 20: Arrived at Hopwell by moonlight.
- 21: Went to Ockbrook.
- 22: Played at Battledore and Shuttlecock.
- 23: Went to Derby.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1787

24: Went to Grooby – was delighted to sit down there quietly after a wearisome fortnight.

25: Company to dine.

26: Mr Dod called – wrote letters.

27: Received a painful letter from Mr H.

29: Company

30: Went to the Leicester Assembly. Mr Dod could not go on account of the Duke of Rutland's death, so danced with Mr T. Pares¹⁴² – a very agreeable evening.

31: Dined at Steward's Hey¹⁴³ – saw a very remarkable Aurora borealis – was much delighted.

November. 1st: Sister and I tête a tête –

2nd: Mr Dod and T Pares dined with us.

3rd: Went to Leicester to prepare for our Journey.

4th: Went to Chapel and dined with Mr T Pares.

5th: Set off to London and arrived there on the 8th – was received at

¹⁴² Mr T Pares: probably Thomas Pares II (1746-1824), elder brother of John Pares, living at the Old Grey Friars in Leicester until he inherited Hopwell Hall in 1806. A lawyer and antiquarian, he never married.

¹⁴³ Steward's Hey: when the Earls of Stamford visited Leicestershire in the eighteenth century they stayed at Steward's Hay, a hunting lodge they had built at Groby, as the great house at Bradgate Park was by then in ruins.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1787

Newington with the utmost pleasure and affection. Left my Mother at Mr Unwin's Hackney – Dr Lyster¹⁴⁴ spent the evening with us.

9th: Went into the School¹⁴⁵ room and found many of my former young Companions – was delighted with reviewing the Scene of many innocent enjoyments – was introduced to all the new Scholars – and highly interested with all that passed. Drank tea at Mr Webster's at Hampstead.

9: Sat with Mrs Smallwood in the morning. Drank tea at Mrs Elliott's at Hackney – called at Mr Unwin's to see my Mother.

10: Went with Miss Crisp to Abbot's¹⁴⁶ to see her Brother's picture where he joined us – a Character hard to understand and still harder to describe – having had the seeds of Religion early sown in his heart, which no long neglect of its duties and ordinances had been able entirely to root out – uneasy under the habitual neglect of duties which he imagined he had persuaded himself were unnecessary and delusive. Philosophic, profound, and studious – airy, trifling and indifferent. After 20 years residence in India he seemed a Child on his return to Europe. In

¹⁴⁴ Dr Lyster: probably the uncle of Mrs. Elizabeth Trench. See 3 April 1788 entry.

¹⁴⁵ Miss Crisp's school was at Fleetwood House, Stoke Newington. An Elizabethan building with 60 or 70 rooms, a large garden and 98 acres of land, it was once the residence of Lieutenant General Charles Fleetwood who died there 1692. In the upper part of the house there was said to be a little room used for hiding persecuted nonconformists during the reign of Charles II. Mr. Cook, a Turkey merchant resided there until 1752, followed by various other owners and tenants, one adding a Palladian façade in 1766. By 1772 the house belonged to Joseph Hurlock. Elizabeth Crisp was running a boarding school for girls in the older parts. Martha Rogers, sister of Samuel Rogers, went to it as a day pupil. Her mother wrote on 11 July 1772 'I called on Saturday morning on Miss Crisp and agreed for Patty to go to day school. £1.1s.0d entrance and £2.12s.6d for which she learns reading and working and has five dinners per week.' Patty was seventeen at the time. The school closed in 1795 (*VCH, Middlesex, VIII* (1985), and J A Shirren, *The chronicles of Fleetwood House*, London, 1950).

¹⁴⁶ Abbott's: possibly Lemuel Francis Abbott (1760-1803) the future portraitist of Lord Nelson (Kidson).

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Sumatra¹⁴⁷ he had sometimes lived a considerable time without the sight of an European – and had had at any time very little social intercourse – London was to him a new world – Dr Lyster and Ed. Crisp spent the evening with us – the latter a man of most invincible taciturnity but when known affectionate, honest and sensible.

11: Mr Wallis came to School and embraced his lovely daughter after a separation of 2 years – a meeting that almost overpowered both. They are both very interesting and their mysterious situation renders them more so. {Miss Wallis the actress now Mrs Campbell}.

12: Called upon my Mother to go to the Painters and brought her home with me – danced in the evening.

13: Dr Lyster spent the day with us and we read and talked of Lavater in which are many masterly and sublime passages particularly of Raphael, our Saviour himself, his Answer to Lichtenberg – his Introduction quoted from H.¹⁴⁸

14: Drank tea in the Adelphi with Mr C and went to see the West Indian – sat in the box next the stage Covent Garden – had a pleasant chatty ride home.

15: Went to Englehearts¹⁴⁹ and other places.

16: Walked to see my dear friends at Newington Green. {Mr Rogers}¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ Sumatra: it may be of relevance that the Joseph Hurlock who was probably the landlord for the Crisp's school in Fleetwood House, had been the Governor of Benkulen in Sumatra.

¹⁴⁸ H: may be intended to refer to Dr. Hunter – see 23 Dec 1787 entry below.

¹⁴⁹ Englehearts: George Engleheart (c.1750-1829) became court miniaturist under George III, working from Hertford Street, Mayfair.

¹⁵⁰ Mr Rogers: probably refers to Thomas Rogers (1734/5-93), the merchant and banker of the Hill, Newington Green. His wife Mary (1734/5-76), a daughter of Daniel

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in the morning – the scene of so many pleasures – and the habitation of so many friends – called at Mr Eade's.

17: Drank tea at Mr Eade's – a dull visit.

18: Mr Fenn dined with us. Mr Crisp supped.

19: Mrs Stratton and Mrs Foskett called. Danced –

20: Dr Lyster drank tea and supped with us – Talked on religious subjects. Dr L thought the death of our Saviour was intended to impress us with the heinous nature of Sin and the punishment which awaits it – but that we could not believe that Jesus Christ was offered up as a Sacrifice for our Sins without lessening in our opinions the Justice of the Divine Being – that nothing was so important to our Love of God and our respect for, as well as Belief in¹⁵¹ Religion as to preserve a strong sense of¹⁵² Equity and Integrity – that it must rest on our own Judgements – that we ought not to ascribe any action to him that could not be reconciled to our own Ideas of Justice according to the Reason God hath given us. Mrs Crisp thought that it was presumptuous to set aside every fact related in Scripture that did not exactly accord with our own judgement of Right and Wrong because such imperfect capacities were inadequate to the

Radford, was a descendant of Philip Henry. Thomas was at this time a Dissenting Deputy and a member of the Society for Constitutional Information. He was also active on the London Committee for the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. A friend of HL's mother, he may have been the source of their contacts with members of his London circles of Rational Dissent, and influential in the choice of HL's London boarding school nearby which his daughters had attended. HL seems to have been friendly with his sons Daniel, Thomas and Samuel – who wrote her an exuberant letter from Paris in 1802 – and with his daughters and their cousin Mary Mitchell who acted as an honorary governess to the motherless children (P W Clayden *The early life of Samuel Rogers* [London 1887]).

¹⁵¹ Belief in Religion: *of* is crossed out in pencil and replaced by *in*.

¹⁵² Sense of Equity: *his* is added in pen before *Equity*.

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comprehension of the motives from which the Deity acted – that she thought it her duty to understand the Scriptures in general in a literal sense – and that she received many things she could not reconcile to the Perfection of God with a full dependance (sic) on their Wisdom tho' she could not discern it.

Mrs Crisp thought the principal spring of action as the hope of happiness and the fear of punishment in a future world. Dr Lyster thought that in uncorrupted hearts there was a principle that took place of hope and fear – a natural admiration of good and abhorrence of evil – and that independant of any thoughts of futurity his innate Sense punished him by uneasy sensations when he did wrong and applauded him when he did right – that if he were certain of annihilation he yet should not be indifferent about his actions – but that he should prefer doing well were it to have no consequence – that in short, Conscience spoke louder to his heart than Revelation. This opinion¹⁵³ raised our idea of the dignity of human nature and makes it more worthy the hand that formed it. It renders Man a less selfish and more noble animal. We then spoke of that future existence of the Soul of which we all joined in, cherishing the hope and belief¹⁵⁴ and considered the continual acquisition of knowledge as to make a delightful ingredient of our future felicity – that it was of consequence to cultivate a love and desire of knowledge while on earth, that death only would make a pause, an interruption – and that looking forward to the perfection of our faculties, and their noble employment in a future world expanded the heart and made our labours here more interesting –

21: Dined at Mr Crisp's – profuse dinner – Played a tune then went to the theatre.

¹⁵³ Opinion: replaces a word scratched out and not now decipherable.

¹⁵⁴ Cherishing... belief: this phrase replaces words scratched out and not now decipherable.

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- 22: Went to Englehearts with Mr Crisp, Mr Dod. Saw Merlin's mechanical Exhibition.¹⁵⁵
- 23: Quite cozie at home. Mr Dod called.
- 24: Drank tea at Highgate.
- 25: Heard Mr Townsend again. Received the Sacrament.¹⁵⁶ Dr Lyster drank tea with us.
- 26: Went to the Tower – was affected to see the Scene of dear Miss Crisp's sufferings – Made some reflections in the Artillery room on the sight of such multiplied instruments of destruction – Mr & Mrs Bate dined with us. Danced in the Schoolroom.
- 27: Saw the King go to the Parliament House – a great number of splendid carriages – fine ladies and pretty men. {a philosophic little Miss}. Dr L and Mr C drank tea with us.
- 28: Spent in the School amongst my young friends. Mr Crisp supped here.
- 29: Mr C took us to the Painters, Romneys¹⁵⁷ &c.
- 30: Saw the British Museum where no knowledge or even amusement can be gained without more time than is generally allotted – Mr C and

¹⁵⁵ Merlin's Mechanical Exhibition: Merlin (1735-1803) encouraged private visits to his remarkable and popular showroom of mechanical instruments and furniture in Princes Street prior to the opening of his museum in 1788. HL may well have seen his Temple of Apollo, as well as other musical and mechanical creations (Anne French ed., *John Joseph Merlin, the ingenious mechanic* [London, 1985]).

¹⁵⁶ Sacrament: several words here scratched out and indecipherable.

¹⁵⁷ Romneys: visiting George Romney's studio was at this time a highly fashionable activity. He had a special room that the public visited, full of recent portraits which acted as publicity (Kidson).

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my Mother dined with us – Dr L drank tea and argued with Mr C on Religion – the latter has a sort of restlessness on the subject owing to the warfare in his own mind between his early impressions and his subsequent scepticism.

Decr: Mr Crisp confined to his bed owing to the cold British Museum – saw the Heiress in the evening. Mr L agreed with me in thinking Miss Farren too artful and stiff an actress.

Sunday 2nd: Prayed that God would preserve to my dear Sister H {In pencil: her wedding day} the blessings his goodness had bestowed. Heard Mr Townsend.

3rd: Danced all night – much company and many old acquaintance – Mr Marsden¹⁵⁸ {Secretary to the Admiralty} did not please me, always appearing to think it necessary to level his conversation to his Company and trifle with the Ladies. As he is a man of acknowledged abilities it was quite uncomfortable to see him take pains to make himself a fool to amuse me – and very offensive too.

4: Quitted my dear friends at Newington and called upon my Mother to take her with me to the Green where we had the kindest reception.

5: At home all day. Played cards in the evening.

6: Called at Hampstead upon Mrs Barbauld¹⁵⁹ – was much pleased

¹⁵⁸ Mr Marsden: William Marsden (1754-1836) FRS, FSA, a distinguished orientalist, he had become Secretary to the government of Sumatra, and had published his *History of Sumatra* in 1783. Then from 1785 he managed his East India agency business back in London. He was appointed Deputy Secretary and from 1795 Secretary to the Admiralty. In November 1805 he was the first recipient of the news of the battle of Trafalgar (*ODNB*).

¹⁵⁹ Mrs Barbauld: Mrs. Barbauld née Anna Laetitia Aikin (1743-1825), the eldest daughter of Dr. John Aikin. Brought up among the creative Dissenters at the Warrington Academy, she soon became famous as a poet and essayist. HL's mother

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with her chearful friendliness – read Vatheck in the evening recommended by Mrs B Castle of Otranto – Dialogue by Hayley comparing Dr Johnson & Lord Chesterfield – Atinoran & Hamet by Hawksworth – Tolyman and Atinena by Langhorne –

- 7: Transacted business in Town.
- 8: Dr Price¹⁶⁰ and family dined with us.
- 9: At home very happy. D. Rogers¹⁶¹ came.
- 10: Went to the Dance at Newington – danced with Mr Crisp – conversed with him for the last time – {last indeed for he too is gone}

was an early enthusiast for her poetry and in 1772 sent to her cousin Ann Hulton in Boston a copy of Barbauld's 'Pamphlets in Prose' (sic). This may have been an early draft of *Miscellaneous pieces in prose* published in 1773, ascribed on the frontispiece as by J and A L Aikin, and her *Poems* (the gift of Dr. Thomas Percival), which were received with appreciation: 'The young lady has a fine poetic genius indeed'. HL later quoted aphorisms of Mrs. Barbauld in her book of *Maxims*. Mrs. Barbauld had settled in Hampstead earlier in 1787, receiving visits from mothers and daughters like the Lightbody's. She produced from there her effective public campaigns for social reform. In 1802 the Barbaulds settled in Church Street, Stoke Newington (*ODNB*).

¹⁶⁰ Dr Price: Richard Price (1723-95), Minister at Newington Green and Gravel Pit Hackney; philosopher, theologian, mathematician and pamphleteer. His diary of this period refers to his ill health, but not to meeting the Lightbody family. See D O Thomas ed., deciphered by B Thomas, 'Richard Price's journal for the period 25 March 1787 to 6 February 1791', *National Library of Wales Journal*, 21 (1979-80). (Burman).

¹⁶¹ D Rogers: probably refers to Daniel (d. 1829), eldest brother of Samuel Rogers the banker and poet. Probably also referred to as D.R. on 16 Dec.

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Saw the Boddingtons,¹⁶² Brogdens,¹⁶³ Denisons¹⁶⁴ & many other old friends – was pleased with Mrs Bowles¹⁶⁵ – {John Bowles since famous or infamous} but not enough animated. Mr B did not come –

11: Spent at home reading as usual.

12: Ditto.

13: Mrs Barbauld and Miss Sotte drank tea with us – admired Romance of Real life. Read the Mine.

14: Read and amused ourselves at home.

15: Went to Drury Lane and saw Kemble and Mrs Siddon's in Julia and Mentevole – I thought the best acting I had ever seen – the Characters written on purpose for them.

¹⁶² Boddingtons: possibly Benjamin Boddington (1730-91), a Dissenting Deputy, on the Committee for the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, a West India Merchant in partnership with George Philips (whom HL was to meet in Manchester in 1788), treasurer and governor of the City of London lying in hospital. Maybe also Thomas Boddington (1736-1821), also a member of the Repeal Committee, a treasurer of the Dissenting Deputies' committee from 1793 to 1805 and a director of the Bank of England. Maybe also Samuel Boddington, the close friend of Thomas Rogers senior. See T W Davis ed. *Committees for repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts* (London Record Society, 1978), 107; and P W Clayden, *The early life of Samuel Rogers* (London, 1887).

¹⁶³ Brogdens: probably John Brogden, and family; he was a Russia merchant and Director of London Assurance 1767-83, who had been educated for the ministry at Doddridge's Academy at Northampton in 1737 (Wykes).

¹⁶⁴ Denisons: probably Joseph Denison (1735-1806), the banker and his family (his daughter Elizabeth later became the fourth and last mistress of George IV). Joseph Denison acted as the London agent and eventual partner of the Heywood banking business, as well as handling the accounts of other large-scale north-country merchants and bankers. By the 1780s he had made a very considerable fortune, the reward, it was said, of 'unabated industry and the most rigid frugality' (*ODNB*).

¹⁶⁵ Bowles: possibly John Bowles (1751–1819), barrister and author of *Reflections on the political and moral state of society at the end of the eighteenth century* (1800).

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1787

- Sunday 16: Mr D R came – heard Dr Towers.¹⁶⁶
- 17: At home – talked of Miss Wallis.
- 18: Went to Newington to the Breaking up night – saw the Lottery drawn. Dr Lyster there.
- 19: Walked to the Green with Miss Hughes and Miss Renny. {Teachers} Read Julia¹⁶⁷ and my Tour.
- 20: Went to London – read aloud.
- 21: Left Newington Green with great regret.
- 22nd: Dined in Bedford Square – a dull day.
- 23: Heard Dr Hunter¹⁶⁸ expound a Chapter of Revelations, he dined with us and talked of Lavater whose immense work he is translating – he had visited him in Zurich – said he was an amiable private character – full of fire and enthusiasm as his work evinces – I longed to make the work¹⁶⁹ {translation} my own – { I translated several passages}.

¹⁶⁶ Dr Towers: Dr. Joseph Towers (1737-95), biographer and Presbyterian minister, assisted Dr. Price at Newington Green where he was morning preacher at the chapel from 1778. In November 1788 he spoke at the London Revolution Society meeting at the London Tavern for the ‘great principles of public freedom, of just and equal liberty’ (*ODNB* and Albert Goodwin, *The Friends of Liberty* [London, 1979], 87).

¹⁶⁷ Julia: probably the play *Julia*. Printed texts were sold at the theatre for a shilling. (Burman).

¹⁶⁸ Dr Hunter: Dr. Henry Hunter (1741-1802), Presbyterian writer and preacher. While minister to the congregation at London Wall he undertook the translation of Lavater’s *Essaie sur la physiognomie*, which was published with 800 engravings between 1789 and 1798 (*ODNB*).

¹⁶⁹ *Work* is crossed out in pencil; *translation* is inserted in pencil.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 17867

24: Set off to Clapham but returned the snow fell so fast – called at Dr Kippis¹⁷⁰ – talked of the Barbauld's.

25: Went to Racquet Court to have a tooth drawn – had no resolution to get out of the Carriage, angry at myself for being so childish – called at Mrs Thellusson's for Martin {a French lady}.

26: Went to Newington in the snow – Dr L spent the day with us – had the toothache – deserved it. Miss Crisp poorly.

27: Miss Crisp took our profiles. Had a melancholy parting – feared it was final. {Miss Crisp declining}. Called upon Miss Clay. Dined at Mr Everett's.

28: Dined at Mrs Wagstaff's.

29: Left Mr Everett's and shopped all day.

Sunday 30: Heard Dr Price in the morning and went home in Mr Stone's Coach – returned to Aldermanbury¹⁷¹ at night.

31: Went to Clapham with the toothache. Called at Mr Thornton's,¹⁷²

¹⁷⁰ Dr Kippis: Andrew Kippis FRS, FSA (1725-95), Presbyterian minister and biographer, Professor of Belles Lettres at New College Hackney from 1786, and active in campaigns for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts between 1787-90. It may have been on this issue that he visited Dr. Currie in Liverpool in the summer of 1789 (Currie, *Memoir of Dr Currie*, II, 283).

¹⁷¹ Aldermanbury: the city ward where Pares & Heygate's had their London warehouse and residences (and later, their bank). It would have been convenient for HL as the coach to Liverpool left from the Swan with Two Necks nearby. (Burman).

¹⁷² Mr Thornton: probably Samuel, but possibly Robert, John or Henry Thornton. In a recollection of her early life with references to names and quotations from her diary recorded in note form by HL's niece, the names of Mr. & Mrs. S Thornton Clapham are recorded. Samuel, Robert and Henry were M P's and were on the committee for

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1788

Mrs Flower's,¹⁷³ {Mrs Shore} Mrs Stinton's¹⁷⁴ and Mr Brogden's – Went to Tooting. Slept with Parish & Martin. Wished to sit up to welcome the new year – but was tired with my day's work.

January 1st, 1788: Called upon Mrs Cairncross¹⁷⁵ {Dr C's sister} – was much interested and pleased – a lovely woman but not like her Brother. Parish and I walked to the top of St Paul's.¹⁷⁶ Went determined again to Racquet Court – sat down saw the Instrument and came back like a fool. Dined at Mrs Parish's.

2nd: Spent at Newington Green – a mournful Parting – Called in Moore Place on our return with Mrs H – saw Mr & Mrs Bowles.

3rd: Went to Mr Woofendale's¹⁷⁷ – still could not have my tooth drawn – will never try again. Parish drank tea with us.

4: Left London.

the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. John Thornton was living in Clapham but his son Henry did not purchase the Battersea Rise estate until 1792 (Hodgson family papers).

¹⁷³ Mrs Flower's: possibly the wife of Richard Flower, who was the father of the brewer Edward Flower and brother of the prominent radical, Unitarian provincial publisher Benjamin Flower (1755-1829), who was probably abroad at this period.

¹⁷⁴ Mrs Stinton: possibly the widow of Benjamin Stinton. Josiah Thompson (c.1724-1806), the early historian of Dissenting congregations, seems to have been part of the Stinton household, moving with them from Bury Street to Clapham (*ODNB*). John Disney called on Mrs Stinton on 7 May 1784 (D O Thomas ed., 'John Disney's Diary', *E&D*, 21 [2002]).

¹⁷⁵ Mrs Cairncross: Issobel, the eldest of James Currie's sisters, had married first a slave trader, and secondly the London surgeon Andrew Cairncross. They lived at St Pancras Lane.

¹⁷⁶ Several lines here completely erased.

¹⁷⁷ Mr Woofendale: dentist formerly of Liverpool, then based in London at Dover Street, advertised in *Gore's Liverpool General Advertiser* in February 1788 to remind his former friends and clients that he would be returning in the summer to see to their needs for false teeth etc.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1788

- 5: Arrived at Leicester.
- 6: Went to Chapel in the middle of Sermon owing to the Clock being too forward – Slept at Leicester being Sacrament day.
- 7: Returned to Grooby
- 8: Was ill with a cold.
- 9: Ditto.
- 10: Went to Leicester.
- 11: Went all together to Shardlow Sale – left Brother & Sister there – my Mother and I went forward to Liverpool.
- 12: At Knutsford.
- 13: Arrived at Liverpool – was not so much elated as usual at my return to Liverpool.
- 14: Many friends called – heard some suspicions of the loss of the Earl of Derby¹⁷⁸ {a ship with a friend on}. Had a letter from Miss Crisp.
- 15: Ill with a Cold.
- 16: Friends called.
- 19: Mr Smith and Yates called. Cold ill.

¹⁷⁸ Earl of Derby: a ship of this name was at this time on a voyage from Liverpool to Jamaica.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1788

18: Ditto.

19: Went to Park called at St Paul's –

Sunday 20: Heard Mr Yates from “Consider thy ways and turn to the Lord.’ Drank tea at Mr Lowndes¹⁷⁹ with the two Groomsmen.

21: Sat up with Mrs Lowndes to receive Company – was pleased with the simplicity and Enthusiasm of Mr T's¹⁸⁰ Character – Mr B very amusing.

23rd: Dined at Mr Lowndes' – Mr Yates took me home while the rest of the party went to Astley's¹⁸¹ – a great Storm – thought of the Earl of Derby – talked to Mr Yates of the misfortune of being deaf. {Mr Lowndes and Mrs Yates quite deaf} – always unlucky in my observations.

24: The party returned visits without me – dined at Mr Lowndes'.

25: Dined again there – read Sterne's *Sentimental Journey* in french – Mr Baldwin¹⁸² gave us the history of his Aerial tour – said he did not feel as if he were rising but as if the earth was sinking – said the intense

¹⁷⁹ Mr Lowndes: possibly Richard Lowndes, a friend of Roscoe and a signatory of the Paradise Street chapel trust deed.

¹⁸⁰ Mr T: possibly Mr. Tate – see 25 Jan. entry below and subsequent references.

¹⁸¹ Astley's: Brooke refers to a 'Circus in Christian Street, for the exhibition of equestrian performances' dating from 1795 and erected by Mr. Astley (Brooke, *Liverpool 1775-1800*, 88), but this reference may have been a more temporary site that preceded it. Astley's customers saw 'combined the comedic and acrobatic skills of the clown with the precision of military horsemanship'.

¹⁸² Mr Baldwin: Thomas Baldwin was a literary balloonist, having published *L'art de voyager dans les airs, ou les ballons* (Paris, 1784) and *Airopaidia* (Chester, 1786), giving descriptions and instructions for the increasingly popular sport. Balloonists had been attracting crowds at Manchester the previous year. On 20 July 1785 Lunardi was the first to ascend in a balloon in Liverpool. See Brooke, *Liverpool 1775-1800*, 383, for a description.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1788

solitude and silence after he lost both sight and hearing of the earth was more awful than could be imagined – I wished to be able to mount in a balloon that I might be supplied with ideas, the recollection of which would be food of entertainment the whole of one's life – but as I could not go up alone I should miss that novel sensation of Silence and solitude – which can never be experienced in perfection in the world – spent the evening at Mr Tate's¹⁸³ – saw several fine paintings of Wright's¹⁸⁴ and others – was particularly pleased with Virgil's tomb – had some very good Music –

Sunday 28: Heard Mr Yates discourse on African Slavery¹⁸⁵ from 2nd

¹⁸³ Mr Tate: probably William Tate (1750-1806), eldest son of Richard Tate, merchant and patron of art. William was a member of the Society for promoting Painting and Design; a painter, living mainly in Manchester (1787-1803), friend and pupil of Thomas Wright. (Wright had lodged with his brother Thomas Moss Tate in Liverpool 1768-71). In the 1784 Liverpool Art Exhibition William Tate exhibited some of his landscapes 'after Wright of Derby' alongside Wright, Reynolds, Sandby, etc. He owned more paintings by Wright than the other members of the family (Kidson, Burman).

¹⁸⁴ Wright: Joseph Wright between 1768-71 painted portraits of leading families in Liverpool, and then showed a version of his *Virgil's Tomb* at the 1784 Liverpool Exhibition (with 6 other pictures) and also exhibited in the 1787 Exhibition (5 pictures). There were five versions of Wright's treatment of *Virgil's Tomb*.

¹⁸⁵ Yates's sermon was a landmark in Liverpool, being one of the very few public attacks on the slave trade there in this period. He 'gave great offence to many influential members of his congregation' (S A T Yates, *Memorials of the family of the Rev. John Yates*, London 1890). This may be the only surviving summary of its contents. It was carefully timed. Following Clarkson's fact-finding visit to Liverpool in the autumn of 1787, the parliamentary and public campaign for abolition was getting under way, largely orchestrated by the London Committee. Petitions from Bristol and Manchester had been publicised. On 14 January *Gore's Liverpool General Advertiser* had carried an anonymous article attacking the slave trade and calling for reforms, as well as a letter from Dr. Binns inviting subscribers to join the Society for Abolition. Preaching in Birmingham a few days later on 4 February, Priestley used a range of different arguments against slavery, but came to the same conclusion as Yates: 'as we ought to feel for our fellow men we ought, to the utmost extent of our influence, to exert ourselves to relieve their distresses' (J Priestley, *A sermon on the subject of the slave trade* [Birmingham, 1788]; see also J R Oldfield, 'The London committee and mobilization of public opinion against the slave trade', in *The Historical Journal*, vol. 35, 2 [Jun. 1992], 331-343).

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1788

Malachi "Have we not all one Father? – and hath not one Lord created us?" – why do we then deal treacherously every Man with his own Brother" – he began by general observations on the equality of Mankind being all equally the Children of God, tho' distinguished by difference of lot, some being fostered in the lap of indulgence during their infancy – in youth amused with all the pleasures natural to the season – all the pursuits of their maturer years crowned with success – and their old age comforted by every alleviation of Infirmity – Others thro' every stage of life were alike unfortunately nursed in poverty, trained to labour, pursued by want, disease and Calamity – yet have we not all one Father – The Wise and benevolent Governor of all things intended the abundance of one Man to supply the necessities of another, the treasury of the rich to be the granary of the Poor, the Power of the strong to be the safeguard of the weak, the house of the wise to be the school of the ignorant – {Mr Yates formerly preached excellent Sermons – he wrote them carefully}.

What opinion were the poor victims of our Avarice to form of that Religion whose votaries practiced such inhumanity? – how would they abhor a system which they would suppose from the conduct of its professors gave a sanction to Cruelty. Did we but follow that short and comprehensive precept of our Great Master – Do to others &c. this inhuman traffic, this oppression of our brethren could never have taken place – he was unhappy to say that 2/3rds of the Slave trade carried on by Britons was by his Townsmen – 27000 he calculated were exported yearly by Liverpool Merchants.

In the afternoon he preached on the duty of Self Examination – said that those who were satisfied with their own conduct would find pleasure in receiving it – and those who thought themselves in danger could not set about it too soon.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1788

29: Drank tea and supped at Mr Smith's with whom I had a great deal of Conversation. African trade, Pathetic poetry, dreams &c.

30th: Sat by the Card table and conversed with Mr Tate on the comparative merit of Dryden and Pope – I contended that upon the whole the latter was much to be preferred as more equally great tho' he had occasionally been surprised by D. Mr T preferred the Meteor which darts forth a brilliant tho' inconstant blaze to the Sun which shines with equal brightness and dispenses daily light. He said a Man who could excel all others by any one [superior?] action must be termed the greatest – Dr C preferred the uniform tho' perhaps humbler efforts of equal and moderate talents. Read Parnell on Death. Lay awake endeavouring to recollect the Negro's Complaint.

31: The Octonian Society supped with us and Mr Baldwin and Mr Tate – Sat by Mr Rathbone who generally forms a tête a tête with his next neighbour.

Feby. 1st: Spent the day happily at Park.

2nd: Sat at Mr Currie's – wrote to Miss Cropper.

3: Very uneasy about Miss Crisp – Dr C thought she would die.

4: My Mother ill in bed. Mr E Smith died – Mr Hodgson much affected.

5: It was concluded the Earl of Derby was lost.

6: Went with Mr Smith to the Concert – Sat with him or Mr T all the evening – said what a troop of shallow brained fellows the young Men of

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1788

Liverpool were.¹⁸⁶ Engaged me to dance at the Assembly – had a very pleasant evening owing perhaps to a little gratification of vanity.

7: Mr Hodgson greatly affected at Mr Smith's funeral – was in good spirits – thought better of the Earl of Derby and other things – angry at myself at being so easily elated or depressed without much reason for either – drank tea at S Paul's with a grand party – supped at Mrs Tarleton's with a party of friends.

8th: Danced an uncomfortable minuet and wondered at my own folly for doing what I did not like – talked gravely about the great dearth of religious principle that prevailed in L.

9th: Spent the morning happily at Park – two agreeable engagements for the afternoon and evening did not take place.

10: Dined at Allerton – drank tea at Mrs Currie's – the Dr had just witnessed the expiring moments of Mr A and seemed much impressed.

11: Mr Yates preached from "It pleased God that in him all fullness should dwell". Stopt in St Peter's¹⁸⁷ to hear the burial service shamefully read – longed to have heard Henderson¹⁸⁸ read it { which I did in our divine Service } – Reflected on the many deaths I had heard of during the week – felt grateful that it had not entered our own family.

¹⁸⁶ Before *Engaged* HL had written *Mr T* which she then crossed out.

¹⁸⁷ St Peter's: the main parish church for Liverpool, consecrated 1704. The rector was Thomas Dannett. The mayor, aldermen and common council were the patrons.

¹⁸⁸ Henderson: John Henderson had been Minister at Benn's Garden until he seceded, becoming the Anglican incumbent at St. Paul's.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1788

- 11: Drank tea in Rodney Street with Mr Neilson¹⁸⁹ – supt at St Paul's with a strange party – looked forward to our settlement in Bold Street¹⁹⁰ with anxiety when we should have formal Company to entertain.
- 12: Supped at Mr Heywood's. Mr Brooks¹⁹¹ died. Passing bell very dismal.
- 13: Miss Cropper came – went to the Lecture.
- 14: Walked from Park in the rain. Supt at Mr B Heywood's.
- 15: At home – Played and wrote all day.
- 16: Received Mr R's interest – very acceptable – will pay my debts on Monday. Supt. at Mr Birch's¹⁹² – a pleasant evening tho' rather stately.

¹⁸⁹ Mr Neilson: probably Currie's friend and compatriot William Neilson, merchant of 44 Castle Street (*Gore's Liverpool Directory*, 1790) who was an investor in slaving ships (House of Commons sessional papers of the eighteenth century, vol 82, 329-87; Thornton, *James Currie*, 230-1).

¹⁹⁰ Bold Street: it was on 19 Feb 1787 that HL's mother talked about them both 'coming to live in town'. The street was developed piecemeal by Jonas Bold from 1785/6, and became increasingly fashionable. Leading from Church Street out towards Toxteth Park, this had been the site of Joseph and Jonathan Brooks's rope works. Eyes's 1785 map shows the street laid out. The Lightbodys had no.7. Clayton Tarleton, Jonathan Binns and Henry Park, the surgeon, lived nearby.

¹⁹¹ Mr Brooks: Joseph Brooks (1706-88), merchant, of Hanover Street, had been a successful Africa merchant who retired early to devote himself to philanthropy. He was treasurer of the Dispensary, Trustee of the Bluecoat School, and a Councillor. Between 1768-88 as treasurer he was given credit for the improvements to the poor law administration in the town, and in 1770 he helped establish a new workhouse. Currie, Roscoe and others acted as his colleagues in this work. 'Favoured by providence with an ample fortune, he declined the gratifications of luxury and the pursuits of ambition and employed his time and talent in active exertion for the welfare of the town of Liverpool, particularly to the relief and support of the poor' (Wallace, *General and descriptive history of Liverpool* [Liverpool, 1795], quoting his memorial plaque). He was unmarried. His sister Anna had married HL's uncle William Lightbody.

¹⁹² Mr Birch: Joseph Birch (1755-1833), merchant of 89 Duke Street (*Gore's Liverpool Directory*, 1790) was listed among the signatories to the Paradise Street chapel trust

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1788

Sunday. 17: Wrote in the morning. Heard Mr Brooks' funeral Sermon in the evening. Mr Yates¹⁹³ read the 15th of Corinthians without a fault – Vital Spark was well sung – much affected –

18: Heard of the safety of the Earl of Derby – I took a coach to hasten with the good news to Everton. A high gratification to be the Bearer of good news – fortune and I are quits tho' no pleasant occurrence should befall me for a month to come.

19: Went out to pay my debts.

20: Played and read.

21: Went to the Assembly – danced with T.L.

22: Walked through the dirt to Park – went to the Concert at night, and talked more than listened. {more is meant than meets the eye often}

23: Readied my Book case. Lent Blair's Lectures to Mrs N.¹⁹⁴

29th: Mr T.H.'s¹⁹⁵ birthday – the wedding party supped with us in Paradise Street – had an excellent music from Mr & Miss T–.

deed 1791. An Africa merchant and an active but moderate Whig, he effectively toned down the response to an inflammatory anti-Jacobin petition in Liverpool in 1792, and again promoted the Whig cause in a petition for peace in 1795 (*ODNB* and Sanderson, 'The Structure of Politics in Liverpool, 1780-1807', *THSLC* [1959], vol. 111, 167). He went on to become MP for Nottingham, where Mrs. Gawthern, no friend of Dissenters, noted in her diary for 27 May 1803: 'Mr Birch arrived and his Jacobin crew, a most disgusting sight' (*The diary of Abigail Gawthern*).

¹⁹³ Mr. Yates had married Elizabeth Bostock, née Ashton, the niece of Joseph Brooks.

¹⁹⁴ Mrs N: possibly the widowed Mrs. Arabella Nicholson of Toxteth Park (1736-1815), who was descended from several of the oldest Nonconformist families in the area, a prominent member of the Kaye Street congregation and a signatory of the Paradise Street Chapel trust deed.

¹⁹⁵ Mr T.H: maybe Thomas Hodgson.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1788

March 1st: The day was bright and I may almost say my spirits high of course. Walked to Park and in my favourite dingles – Called at Dr C's and talked a great deal –

Sunday 2nd: Inattentive at Chapel – Supped at Dr Currie's with Mr Smith and Mr Tate – talked and read Poetry. Marratan and Adela.

3rd: Prepared for our journey.

4th: Went to Chester¹⁹⁶ – very low – spent the week in walking about and seeing our good friends and returned on the

11: and went to the Choral Concert with Dr & Mrs C..e and Mr Smith and had a very pleasant evening

12: Went to hear Dibdin – not much amused.

13: Drank tea at Mr Lake's.¹⁹⁷

14: A large party of Company to supper – Mr Powell a singular being.

15: Felt grateful for the happiness Sister P has enjoyed 7 years – a formal afternoon at Mrs Lowndes'.

Sunday 16: Miss C poorly at Dr Currie's – drank tea and supped there. Mr Trench¹⁹⁸ there – talked of the Wrongs of Africa.

¹⁹⁶ Chester: the home of generations of Tylstons, HL's mother's family.

¹⁹⁷ Mr Lake; possibly Thomas or Richard Lake, merchants at 73 Duke Street (*Gore's Liverpool Directory*, 1790).

¹⁹⁸ Mr Trench: probably Francis Trench (1757-1829?), merchant of 39 Church Street (*Gore's Liverpool Directory*, 1790), an Irish friend of Dr. Currie. Francis Trench was bankrupted in the 1793 financial crisis that hit Liverpool. John Trench, his nephew, married Currie's daughter in 1807. For a Mrs. Trench see 3 April below.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1788

- 17: Miss Tate called and played the Messiah for me.
- 18: Walked to Park.
- 19: Supped at Mr Wallace's with a pleasant party.
- 20: Mr Tate called – went to Everton. Good Friday – went to Chapel. Supt at Dr Currie's.
- 22: Blank.
- 23: Went to Park – chatted late with Miss C–.
- 24: Supped at Mr Yates' – electrified – was vexed.
- 25: Walked all day in Otterspool¹⁹⁹.
- 26: Returned to Paradise Street.
- 27: Went to the Assembly – danced with poor J Gildart²⁰⁰
- 28: Spent the evening at Mr Rathbone's very happily.
- 29: Had Company the [Carles?], Dr & Mrs C – went to view the Scaffold erected for the execution of the Convicts on Monday.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁹ Otterspool: an attractive coastal inlet near the Dingle in Toxteth Park.

²⁰⁰ J Gildart: probably James Gildart senior, the elderly Virginia merchant and alderman, Mayor in 1750, came from a powerful Liverpool family active in civil government. In 1774/5 he had acted for HL's relative Ann Hulton (Hulton, *Letters of a loyalist lady*, letters xvii and xx). James Gildart junior was the current Mayor of Liverpool and President of the Dispensary.

²⁰¹ Execution of the Convicts: *Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser* refers to the gallows and scaffolding as 'truly awful', giving 'such a solemnity to the scene'. The two men were caught in Bristol for a 'daring and almost unprecedented robbery committed in

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1788

- 30: Convicts prayed for in the Churches – much imprest
- 31: Dined at Mr Ashton's.
- 1st: April: Drank tea at Mr Humble's.
- 2nd: Went to Mr Kent's²⁰² ball – very pleasant.
- 3: Received a bad account of Miss Crisp – Mrs Trench²⁰³ supped with us – very like Dr Lyster in person.
- 4: Walked to Park with Mrs Currie
- 5: Paid visits, dined at St Paul's.
- Sunday 6: Very inattentive at Chapel – thought of Miss Crisp – had company at Supper
- 7: Party of Gentlemen dined in Paradise Street – B.A.H. talked of moving to Manr.²⁰⁴ Slept at Park.
- 8: Went to the Concert – talked with Mr Smith of the Vision of Theodore.²⁰⁵
- 9: Superintending Bold Street house

the house of Mrs. Graham, near this town'. The execution was the first in Liverpool since 1715. It was witnessed by 15-20,000 people.

²⁰² Mr Kent: probably Richard Kent, Merchant, Duke Street and Kent Street (Bailey).

²⁰³ Mrs Trench: this probably refers to Elizabeth Trench who was the daughter of Robert Robinson and Elizabeth Lyster. She had married Frederick Trench in May 1785. Frederick Trench who later became Lord Ashtown was the elder brother of Francis Trench, and also a friend of Dr. Currie.

²⁰⁴ B.A.H.: Benjamin Arthur Heywood, who with his brother Arthur and father Benjamin re-established Heywood's Bank in Manchester on 26 May 1788.

²⁰⁵ *Vision of Theodore* here underlined in pencil.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1788

10: Called at Dr Currie's. Read the Vision "Ocean of Life – quite a production of Genius – the descriptions admirably drawn – particularly of the poetical and military characters.

11: Drank tea in Bold Street. Mr Nicholson with me.

12: Mr T called – sat all morning.

Sunday. 13: Mr Yates preached from "Martha thou art careful and troubled &c" spoke of the Insignificance of everything but Religion and yet the world lived as if it was the only thing that did not signify.

14: Wrote in the morning. Slept at Park.

15: Could not go home – not well.

16: Slept at Mr Lowndes' – Read Johnson's Letters.

17: Came to live in Bold Street – felt very solemn – secretly prayed I might live a new life – determined to devote my time to more useful purposes than I had hitherto done, and with more satisfaction to my own mind – was much grieved to hear of Mr T Rogers'²⁰⁶ death.

18: Spent in reading and writing.

19: Ditto

20: Felt very comfortable to spend a Sunday at home after moving about so long.

²⁰⁶ T Rogers: Thomas Rogers (1761-88), already a capable partner in his father's banking business, a kinsman of HL and elder brother of Samuel (1763-1855) the banker and poet. His death was sudden and unexpected.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1788

21: Our friends called to welcome us to our new habitation.

22: Wrote fully on two or three particular subjects.

23: It rained all day and was very dull.

24: Walked out and received letters.

25: Drank tea at Mr Yates' – talked about [Chattelan?]²⁰⁷

26: Spent in Paradise Street. B.A.H. there – looked at prints.

Sunday. 27: An ill spent day – very inattentive.

28: Mr Heywood drank tea with us & Mr Lawrence²⁰⁸.

29: Walked to breakfast at Park – went to the Concert with Mr & Mrs Smith and Mr Baldwin.

30: Spent at Dr Camplin's. Walked home.

1st May Dr C drank tea with us.

2nd: In passing through W. Square²⁰⁹ followed a Lady in deep mourning who sighed and talked to herself her head wandering – found it was Mrs T.

²⁰⁷ Chattelan: this word is not easily decipherable. It could perhaps be a reference to *Travels in North America* by the Marquis de Chastellux, translated into English and published in 1786.

²⁰⁸ Mr Lawrence: perhaps Thomas Lawrence, merchant of 21 Dale Street (*Gore's Liverpool Directory*, 1790).

²⁰⁹ W Square: probably Williamson Square.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1788

- 3rd: Walked through the Lodge fields to Park – much delighted with the Scene – Ever charming, ever new.
- 4: Mr Yates preached on Education – the Culture of the heart the first essential of Education – we have only to cultivate what Nature has planted.
- 5: Supped at Dr Currie's with the James' – pleased with Miss J's enthusiasm – Mr A.H not agreeable.²¹⁰
- 6: Spent at Garston.
- 7: Read a report of the Infirmary²¹¹ – knew it. {written by Dr C}
- 8: Express came from Manr. About Miss C's seizure.
- 9: A day of unrelieved and most painful anxiety with just hope enough to keep suspense alive – Miss Tate played the Messiah for us.
- 10: Dr Currie returned and brought a good account – drank tea at Mr Wallace's.
- 11: My Mother ill.
- 12: ditto.
- 13: Supped at Mr Heywood's – talked of balloons.

²¹⁰ A.H.: maybe Arthur Heywood. The phrase is underlined in pencil.

²¹¹ Infirmary: the major annual fundraising event for this important charitable institution was Infirmary Sunday, held on the second Sunday in May. In 1788 this raised £420-17-11, and a special appeal the following year raised £2147-14-1 (T H Bickerton, *Medical history of Liverpool* [London 1936]). It seems possible that HL was involved as a benefactor.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1788

- 14: Music for the Infirmary at St Nicholas' Church.²¹²
- 15: Walked about all day.
- 16: Read Cecilia to my Mother.
- 17: Rambled about and wrote letters.
- 18: Went to St Catherine' – tolerable account from Manchester.
- 19: Walked to drink tea at Dr Camplin's.
- 20: A Party to tea to go to the Concert – was affected to see E Pilkington, thought of my lost friend.
- 21: Had Company to dinner – a comfortless day.
- 22: Spent with Mrs Rathbone at her lodgings at Park²¹³ – a charming day and very happy – rambled about Otterspool – walked 13 miles.
- 23: Walked up and down Gr. Geo. St.²¹⁴
- 24: Dr Clayton came. Dr Brandreth's family supt with us – Read a letter from Mr Mc...e to Dr C.

²¹² St Nicholas: the old Anglican church situated near the docks was largely rebuilt after 1776.

²¹³ Mrs Rathbone: *Gore's Liverpool General Advertiser* had advertised Greenbank from 21 February 1788, 'to be let or sold, with about 17 acres. Three miles from Liverpool... well adapted for the residence of a genteel family'. The Rathbones had agreed to rent, moving there on 13 March 1788 (Hannah Rathbone's Diary in Rathbone Papers [RP VI], Sidney Jones Library – University of Liverpool).

²¹⁴ Great George Street: at this time only partly developed, lying on the southern fringe of the town but elevated and offering views out. Brooks refers to the west side as 'open to the fields and completely unbuilt, the east side as partly built' (Brooks, *Liverpool as it was 1775-1800*, 486).

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1788

- 25: Called at Dr C's – was treated with a sight of the manuscript – drank tea at Mr Boardman's²¹⁵ with Mr Smith, Dr Clayton²¹⁶ – talked of Abraham's Sacrifice.
- 26: Drs. Currie, Clayton, Mr Roscoe, Smith, Hodgson sat with us till 1 o'clock in the morning.
- 27: Spent at Mr Hodgson's. B.A.H. &c. talked on difficulties in Morals – laughed at my treating about the sale of my harpsichord.
- 28: Mr Cropper, Smith, Heywood &c. supped here.
- 29: Heard of my dear Mrs Welman's²¹⁷ {of Somersetshire} death – much affected – had different company at dinner, tea and supper.
- 30: Dined in Paradise St. Engaged to sup with a party at Dr Currie's – lost Dr Clayton – looked everywhere for him – after waiting supper for him found him sat quietly at Mr Smith's – he had forgot his engagement – wrote a list for him to keep in his pocket in future.
- 31: Dined at Mr Earle's.

²¹⁵ Mr Boardman: Samuel Boardman, agent and colleague of Wedgwood and Bentley. His warehouse in King Street, Liverpool, is described in Bailey's 1787 *Liverpool Directory* as 'Manchester & Hosiery Warehouse, Wedgwood, Queens ware.' He had married Mary (1748-1833), the sister of Matthew Nicholson of Richmond Row.

²¹⁶ Dr Clayton: Nicholas Clayton (1730-97), educated under Dr. Doddridge at Northampton Academy, he became a minister and in 1763 moved to the new Octagon Chapel, Liverpool. In 1765 he married Dorothy (Dolly) Nicholson (1741-85) – and so was a brother-in-law of Samuel Boardman. He later moved to Benn's Garden. In 1781 he succeeded John Aikin as divinity tutor at Warrington Academy. In 1785 Clayton joined High Pavement Chapel, Nottingham, but, plagued by ill health, self-doubt, and the financial situation of the chapel, he resigned late in 1793. He returned occasionally from 1785 to Liverpool and settled to live with Matthew Nicholson (1746-1819) at Richmond Row, Everton (*ODNB*).

²¹⁷ Mrs Welman: perhaps a reference to a member of the prominent Somerset family resident at Poundisford Park.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1788

1st June: Dr Clayton preached in the morning from “Rejoice evermore” – Called at Noon upon Miss Potter.²¹⁸ Dined at St Paul’s – went to Bens Garden in the afternoon. Dr C again preached from “If you are good who is he that shall harm ye?”. Went up into the Vestry and joined Dr Clayton and Mr Smith who were going to walk to Richmond.²¹⁹ Mr Smith and I took a long round in coming home and had much interesting conversation – spoke of the strong and delightful impression made on our hearts by early friendships – I observed that when death deprived us of those most dear it was a pleasing though perhaps a fanciful consolation to imagine our friends continued to watch over us with the same affection they had blessed us with in life and were even perhaps permitted to direct our destinies and become our guardian Angels – Mr S did not allow the probability of this, not believing that there is any separate state, but that the Whole Man arose only at the General resurrection – I thought this a cheerless supposition with respect to survivors²²⁰ though to our deceased friends it was a matter of indifference, as the first moment of regaining their consciousness was to them immediately after their death – the lapse of time being as nothing to them – Mr S said it deprived us indeed of the comfort of thinking they were in the actual enjoyment of happiness – but that it appeared more congenial to our reason – and was more simple and easy to comprehend than the other –

Conversed on the advantages of Contemplation in rural Scenery, as more favourable to pious affections – you feel the Presense of the Deity more sensibly amidst his more immediate works, you behold yourself in fit temple for his worship, and your heart is elevated through the medium of

²¹⁸ Miss Potter: maybe the Miss Potter who advertised as a hat maker (*Gore's General Liverpool Advertiser*, 1789), though perhaps unlikely to be meeting a customer on a Sunday.

²¹⁹ Richmond: the district lying between the town and Everton. Perhaps signifying Richmond Row, home of Matthew Nicholson and his brother-in-law Nicholas Clayton.

²²⁰ *Survivors* replaces the crossed out word *ourselves*.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1788

the Senses whereas in a town you are surrounded by the works of Men's hands – your mind is chained down to surrounding Cares, and distracting business – a Cloud of interfering objects hides the Deity from the mind's eye – In tranquillity of the Country your thoughts rise without interception to the Creator of that beauty so liberally spread before you – every surrounding object is an Auxiliary to their assent, and you throw off for a time the incumbrance of a connection with the world. Rural Scenery is likewise favourable to Benevolence as well as Piety, while you admire with enthusiasm the splendour of the setting sun, or the beauty of the woods and water you reflect with transport that these simple though heartfelt pleasures are at the command of all your fellow creatures, that Poverty cannot exclude them, that even Grief²²¹ is not inaccessible to them, that they suit every situation of the Mind and every station of life – and are still beyond compare superiour to those artificial delights which only the Rich and fortunate can enjoy. How useful to People immersed in worldly concerns is occasional retirement from the despotism of care to refresh the mind with solitude and tranquillity – to give the mind air to breathe as well as the lungs. So far do I carry these opinions as to think it our duty to live in the Country.

2nd: Drs Currie and Clayton sat with us in the morning. Walked in the evening.

3: Went to Larkhill.

4: Went to Manchester, found Miss Cropper better than I expected – Dr & Mrs P always kind and friendly.

²²¹ *Your fellow, Poverty and Grief* are underlined in pencil.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1788

- 5: Mr B.A.H. and Miss Kennedy²²² supt with us.
- 6: Walked to Mr Hatfield's.²²³
- 7: Spent some hours tête a tête with Miss Kennedy – was very happy.
- 8: Called upon Mrs J Hibbert and Mrs Gaskell.²²⁴
- 9: Rode out with Miss C & Miss Kennedy.
- 10: Arrived at home. Mother still at Chester. Dr C called and looked anxious and distressed – went to see my Sister H. She told me of Mr Hartley's failure,²²⁵ and their consequent distress – was much shocked –

²²² Miss Kennedy: Rachel, daughter of William Kennedy, Manchester fustian manufacturer from Dumfries, whose children had been friends of Currie in his youth there. Currie seems to have confided in Rachel and she later cared for him in his illnesses and probably also for Anna Cropper. Rachel lived in Manchester with her father and her widowed sister Elizabeth Riddell. All had known Burns. Rachel remained unmarried (Currie, *Memoir of James Currie*, vol. 1, 366-9; Thornton, *James Currie*, 160-1, 236, 299).

²²³ Mr Hatfield: probably Jonathan Hatfield (1756-1812), a trustee of the Cross Street Chapel who had married Ann Nicholson (1757-98). Ann's brother Thomas Nicholson, (1753-1825) had married Jonathan's sister Mary Hatfield and these Nicholsons were probably living in Manchester, seeing HL on her next visit to Manchester in November. Thomas is described as 'of Liverpool and Manchester' (Axon, *Memorials of the family of Nicholson* [Liverpool, 1928]).

²²⁴ The Gaskells and to a lesser extent the Hibbert family supplied generations of trustees to the Cross Street Chapel (Thomas Baker, *Memorials of a Dissenting chapel* [London, 1884]).

²²⁵ Mr Hartley: he was referred to on 8 January and 26 April 1787. Samuel Hartley appears to have been a slave trading partner investing with Hodgson and others. The 1792 list of companies trading from Liverpool to the coast of Africa for the purpose of purchasing slaves in the three previous years includes 'John Hodgson and Thomas Hodgson Junior & Samuel Hartley & Isaac Capstick as executors of the will of Richard Capstick' (House of Commons sessional papers vol. 82). On this occasion the Hodgson family feared significant losses; hence HL's shock. A memoir written at the time by Elizabeth to calm herself reveals the agony of anxiety ('four days have I spent in the most cruel suspense') and her dread of having to tell her mother and sisters. (Hodgson family papers made available by Jenny Smith).

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1788

Returned home having left B Nicholson²²⁶ there who had been with me at Manchester and not at liberty to mention my horror. Mr & Mrs Smith called. Lost my voice.

11: Sat with my Sister H all day – much charmed by her behaviour – called upon Dr Currie in the evening.

12: Bros. Pares and family came – all happy again. Sent for Mother from Chester.

13: My Mother came. Read Johnsons's Sermon for the funeral of his wife.

14: All our friends called.

15: Went to Chapel and dined at St Paul's.

16: Saw more paintings at Mr Tate's – Paradise family drank tea in Bold Street.

17: Wrote to Dr Camplin, T Percival & c.

18: Rode to Park in a gig²²⁷ with Bro'r P.

19: Read the Socratic Discourse in french. The Bright's and B Heywood supped with us.

20: Went in the morning to St Domingo²²⁸ – Dr & Mrs Currie and J Lightbody supped with us.

²²⁶ B Nicholson: probably Arabella Nicholson of Toxteth Park, known to her family and friends as Bella or Belle.

²²⁷ Gig: replaces the crossed out *Whiskey*.

²²⁸ St Domingo: a large mansion and estate built in 1758 at Everton by George Campbell, a West India Merchant. It was named after the capture of a prize ship off San Domingo. By 1788 the estate was owned by John Crosbie, another major merchant and treasurer of the Liverpool Council.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1788

- 22: Miss Leigh and Miss Brown drank tea with us. Sister P and I walked.
- 23: Dined at St Paul's. Miss Tate supped with us.
- 24: Drank tea in Rodney Street.
- 25: Went to the play.
- 26: Went to see Mr Tate's paintings with Sister P.
- 27: Bros. & Sister Pares left us
- 28: Spent in Paradise Street.
- 29: Dr C sat an hour reading my Extract book.²²⁹ Sent it home to him. Miss Cropper and T Percival came.
- 30: Mrs Brooks called²³⁰ – took a long walk.
- 1st July: Sister H went to Grooby. I walked to Park. Went to the Concert with Miss Riggs – Mrs Smith dined with us and talked abundantly. Mr Heywood supped with us.
- 2nd: Spent at Park. Received a letter from Dr Clayton – Dr Currie drank tea with us.
- 3rd: Breakfasted at Everton. Supped at N Heywood's.

²²⁹ Extract book replaces the words *Commonplace book* which are crossed out.

²³⁰ Mrs Brooks: probably Frances, the sister of Anna Cropper and Arabella Nicholson and the wife of Joseph Brooks jnr. Joseph was the son of Jonathan Brooks and a prominent Africa merchant and at the time a Director of the Liverpool Assurance Office (Bailey, 1787).

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1788

- 4: Dr Currie dined with us. Went to the Play.
- 5: Spent at Park.
- 6: Mr Edwards²³¹ at Kaye Street. In the afternoon at St Ann's. Mr Truell preached.
- 7: Breakfasted at Mr Wallace's. Dined at Park and drank tea at Greenbank – a very happy day.
- 8: While we were reading Gillies' History of Greece – Dr Currie came in – looked much distressed and then told us of Mrs Brooks' sudden death – he wished me to hasten to Miss C who was composed and tolerable in the morning, but in the evening she was attacked with violent pain, Dr C came. Miss C desired we would be generous enough not to lament her, as she must, she apprehended, hold her existence on the hard alternative of infirm health or impaired faculties – the former though preferable yet very mournful.
- 9: My Mother and T Percival came to spend the day – was very glad. Miss Cropper tolerable in the morning but ill as ever in the evening.
- 10: My Mother came again. T.P. and D.N.²³² at our house making mourning. Saw Mr Yates. Dr C did not come till late. Slept in the house.
- 10:²³³ Ditto. T.P. had staid all night.
- 11: Mrs Currie came frequently. Mr Cropper and my Mother came. Miss C rather better.

²³¹ Mr Edwards: assisted Dr. Yates, Minister at Kaye Street Chapel.

²³² D.N.: possibly Dorothy Nicholson (1760-1817), a niece of Mrs Brooks.

²³³ This entry is also dated 10 (July); the error perhaps a symptom of the anxiety felt at this time. There are also two entries for the 19th of the month.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1788

- 12: Went home. Miss C better.
- 13: Went to Park early – and drank tea there.
- 14: Miss C better. T.P. went to Everton. Mr & Mrs Smith called – talked of our journey.
- 15: Went to Park with Dr & Mrs C – and supped at Dr C's.
- 16: Spent the Evening at Mr B Heywood's.
- 19: Drank tea at Park with Miss Sandys.
- 19: Dr C called – had a bad Cold.
- 20: Very poorly, sent for Dr C.
- 21; Many callers – always serious on birthdays.²³⁴
- 22: Mr Smith called – went to the Concert.
- 23: T. Percival poorly – very uneasy
- 24: Mother went to Chester. Dr C supped with us.
- 25: Spent at Park.
- 26: Ditto – had a long conversation with Miss C in which she shewed all her usual judgment, feeling and friendship for me.

²³⁴ HL's twenty-second birthday.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1788

- 27: Went to Park with Miss Sandys.
- 28: Wavertree.
- 29: Breakfasted at Park – had a comfortable conversation with Miss C – Mr Roscoe, Dr Currie, Miss Capstick &c drank tea and supped with us.
- 30: Very ill with sore throat. Dr C came.
- 31: Ditto. T.P. read Emmeline to me.
- 1st August: Read Gillies' History of Greece.
- 2: Sister H came home. Mrs Lowndes came.
- 3: Dr C called and said tranquillity must be my Motto – of which I had always been sensible but incapable.
- 4: T.P. went to Park. I was better.
- 5: Drank tea at Park.
- 6: Ditto. Sent Emmeline to Dr C.
- 7: Had a party to Supper – Hayhursts',²³⁵ Croppers, Lightbody's, Mr Neilson &c
- 8: Walked about and got Cold again.

²³⁵ Hayhurst: Thomas Hayhurst, nephew and heir of James France was a signatory for the trust deed for the new Paradise Street chapel in 1791 with France and others. He was a merchant of 8 St. Anne's Street who also invested in slave trading (*Gore's Liverpool Directory*, 1790; House of Commons sessional papers, vol. 82).

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1788

- 9: Ill at home.
- 10: Much better. Miss Riggs drank tea here.
- 11: My brother came home.
- 12: Ill and stupid all day with Cold.
- 13: Working tambour all day.
- 14: Read Reid on the Active powers –
- 15, 16: Ditto, ditto.
- 17: Spent in Paradise Street.
- 18: At Park.
- 19: Rode to Wavertree and Park. Read Hume's Essay on Taste at Dr Currie's.
- 20: Mrs Mitchell and Miss Rogers' came.²³⁶ T.P. walked to Park.
- 21: Shewed the Lions to our friends.²³⁷

²³⁶ Mrs Mitchell and Miss Rogers: after the death of Thomas Rogers' wife, Mary Mitchell who was a Radford cousin of hers helped to bring up his children. She was 'a capable and cultivated person whom the children looked up to as almost a second mother' (Clayden, *Early Life of Samuel Rogers*, 27). HL probably refers to Martha Rogers (1765–1837), an elder daughter who may have been a near contemporary of HL's at Fleetwood House school in Stoke Newington.

²³⁷ Probably a menagerie: a few years later Thomas Nicholson recorded taking his family 'to see the Lyons' (E Axon, *Memorials of Nicholson family* [Liverpool, 1922], 92).

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1788

- 22: Went to the Play. Mr T Heywood called.
- 23: The Hodgsons, Curries, Bents²³⁸ at Supper here.
- 25: T.P. better. Miss Heywood & Mr T.H. here.
- 26: Walked on the Sea Shore – went to the Choral Concert with our dear Guests.
- 27: At the Play.
- 28: Wavertree Assembly.
- 29: Park – took leave – bad account from Grooby.
- 30: Friends called.
- 31: Stayed at home with Miss Rogers.
- 1st Sept. My Mother and I set off to Leicester. Miss Rogers and T.P. proceeded to Manchester.
- 2nd: Arrived at Grooby. Happy in the Country.
- 3: Walked about – wrote letters.
- 4 & 5: Ditto and read to Sister P.

²³⁸ Bents: both Ellis Bent and Robert Bent were in partnership with Thomas Hodgson in a slaving ship (House of Commons sessional papers, vol 82). Ellis Bent is listed in Bailey's *Directory* (1787) as an Agent in Warrington. He was the auctioneer responsible for the sale and dispersal of the contents of the Warrington Academy (*Manchester Mercury*, January 1787).

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1788

- 6: Mr Goore²³⁹ and T Pares came.
- 7: Went to Leicester with Mrs Heygate.²⁴⁰
- 8: Enjoyed the lovely weather in the Country – learnt Poetry – my happiness only clouded by my Sister's illness. ditto till the
- 15: Heard of my beloved Miss Crisp's death. Sat up all night with my poor Sister.
- 16: My Sister delivered of a dead Child.
- 17: Thankful to see my Sister easier.

**Hannah Lightbody's Diary**

vol 2 Inscribed in pencil: [removed unto](?) Liverpool 1788.

- 18: Mr R.C. and Mr Peake with us.
- 19: Mr Hartopp²⁴¹ and Mr Foster { Sir Ed. Hartopp }

²³⁹ Mr Goore: probably William Goore, listed as a Merchant at 35 Paradise Street in *Gore's Liverpool Directory*, 1790.

²⁴⁰ Mrs Heygate: probably wife of Thomas Heygate, partner in Pares & Heygate, Hosiers at the Newarke. HL had stayed at Aldermanbury on 30 Dec 1787, probably at the Pares and Heygate London establishment.

²⁴¹ Hartopp: Joseph Bunney was a prominent Leicester hosiery merchant in partnership with his brother-in-law Edmund Cradock, living at the Newarke (When he died in 1782 John Pares took on the Newarke). Bunney's son Edmund had married Anne Hurlock in 1777 and at the behest of his uncle Joseph Cradock and mother-in-law Sarah Hurlock née Hartopp, Edmund took the name and arms of the Hartopp family. In 1795 he was created a baronet [Sir Edmund Cradock-Hartopp] (Billson, *Leicester memoirs*).

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1788

- 20: Read and wrote.
- 21: Read Stackhouse's Hist. Company.
- 22: Sister P dined with us.
- 23: Wrote and worked – cut out a shirt.
- 24: Ditto
- 25: Went to Leicester. Mr Coleman slept here.
- 26: Wrote letters – walked with Mr C.
- 27, 28: Went to Leicester.
- 29: Left Grooby. Got to Hopwell.
- 30: Walked about the grounds.
- 1st Oct: Rode to Ockbrook.
- 2nd: Saw Keddleston – got to Matlock by Moonlight.
- 3: Rambled all day.
- 4: Went to Matlock Church.
- 5: Came to Bakewell.
- 6: Arrived at St Ann's Hotel, Buxton.²⁴² Very noisy and disagreeable.

²⁴² St Ann's Hotel Buxton: this was at the very heart of the fashionable spa, a hotel newly built forming part of the Crescent, where the spa baths, assembly rooms and a ballroom adjacent had only recently been completed. Byng writing of his visit in June 1790 calls Buxton 'an uncomfortable dreary place, and the Grand Crescent better named the 'Devonshire Infirmary' (C Bruyn Andrews ed., *Torrington diaries*, vol. 2, 167).

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1788

- 7: Ditto. Sister P poorly. Mrs and Miss Markham of Leeds there²⁴³ – Mr & Mrs Rudge, Herts &c.
- 8: Mr Wallace and Earle drank tea with us.
- 9: Party drank tea with us from the Hall.
- 10: Mr Wallace ill – 11 ditto.
- 11: Mr Hodgson came and Mr Captsick
- 12: Mr Wallace²⁴⁴ and Dr Currie came.
- 13: Mrs Currie came. Mr Wallace worse.
- 14: Mr W given up. Had a note from Dr C.
- 15: Mr Wallace died – much grieved –
- 16: Bro Pares went – was not well.
- 17: Drank tea with Mrs Wallace and Mrs Currie
- 18: Mr Smith and Mr Yates came to Buxton to Mr W's funeral - called upon us.
- 19: Mr Wallace was buried. All the party went to Liverpool. We staid at Buxton and were very dull till

²⁴³ Markham: prominent Leeds merchant family. Richard Markham, partner in Tottie and Markham, had lived until 1776 in some style at Park Row, Leeds (R G Wilson, *Gentlemen merchants, the merchant community in Leeds, 1700 –1830* [Manchester, 1971], 198).

²⁴⁴ Mr Wallace: transcribed as written in the ms. This would make more sense as Mrs. Wallace.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1788

Nov. 7: Mother and Mr Hodgson went to Chester, Mr and Mrs Pares to Leicester and I to Manchester.

8: Mr Heywood and Miss Kennedy supt here.²⁴⁵

9: At home reading Don Quixote. Very happy.

10: Supped at Mr Heywood's at Marsden Square.

11: At home. Mr B Naylor²⁴⁶ and Mr Yates here.

12: Supped at Mr Kennedy's²⁴⁷ – met Mr & Miss Greg²⁴⁸ – was much pleased with the latter and surprised I should never have heard of him before – sat by him all the evening.

13: Went to the Assembly. Mr & Mrs G Philips²⁴⁹ made their appearance. Miss J. P fainted away – great confusion. Engaged to dance with Mr T. Philips. Mr Greg came and desired Mr P would let him dance with me – had a very pleasant evening.

14: At home – reading.

²⁴⁵ HL was probably staying with the family of Thomas Percival.

²⁴⁶ Naylor: *Gore's Liverpool Directory* of 1790 refers to a Thomas Naylor as a merchant at 68 Duke Street. He became mayor of Liverpool in 1796.

²⁴⁷ Mr Kennedy: probably William Kennedy, Scottish fustian manufacturer of Jet Lane, father of Rachel Kennedy and friend of Dr. Currie. He was a trustee of Cross Street Chapel and very probably doing business with Greg.

²⁴⁸ Mr & Miss Greg: first encounter with Samuel Greg (1758-1834) a prominent Manchester merchant, fustian manufacturer and since 1784, cotton spinning mill owner. Miss Greg: Margaret, an unmarried sister; see entry for 19 November 1789.

²⁴⁹ Philips family: George Philips (1766-1847) was a member of the Manchester Literary & Philosophical Society, a Trustee of the Infirmary and a radical, a friend of Thomas Cooper. His father Thomas was a prominent Manchester textile merchant. George Philips had married a Philips cousin on 16 October 1788. He advocated female suffrage, publishing *The necessity of a speedy reform of Parliament* in 1792. He became a prodigiously successful businessman and merchant, also trading in sugar in partnership with Benjamin Boddington, the West India merchant.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1788

- 15: Ditto.
- 16: At Mrs Nicholson's²⁵⁰ to supper.
- 17: At home. Mr B.N. and Miss Kennedy.
- 18: Reading at home and walking.
- 19: Ditto.
- 20: Supped at Mr Potter's²⁵¹ with a large party.
- 21: Went to Mr White's²⁵² route.
- 22: Mr Edwards preached.
- 23: Went to the optical Deceptions – Mr & Miss Greg, Miss White and a large party.
- 24: Supped at Mr Naylor's.
- 25: At home with company.

²⁵⁰ Mrs Nicholson's: probably Mrs. Thomas Nicholson, née Mary Hatfield (see footnote for 6 June 1788).

²⁵¹ Mr Potter: perhaps James Potter (d. 1795) a member of the Manchester Literary & Philosophical Society in 1790, Trustee of the Infirmary and of the Cross Street Chapel, a fustian Manufacturer of Fountain St; or possibly John Potter, of Ardwick Green, flax merchant and manufacturer, who was the father of the famous Dinting Vale calico printer, and grandfather of Beatrix Potter. A further possibility is John Potter, a Dissenter who later formed a little circle in Manchester pressing for political and religious reform.

²⁵² Mr White: probably Charles White FRS (1728-1813) the leading surgeon and obstetrician, and in 1752 one of the founders of the Manchester Infirmary where he was the surgeon for 38 years. He was a vice president of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society. He wrote about the contagiousness of puerperal fever and had much influence on John Aikin and Thomas Percival. He lived in grand style in King Street. See last entry in the Diary.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1788

- 26: Supped at Mr Kennedy's.
- 27: Walked – drank tea at Mrs Hamilton's²⁵³ with Mr and Miss Greg.
- 28: At home.
- 29: Walked – Mr Heywood supped here.
30. Drank tea and supped at Mr Greg's – saw the camera obscura and Prints – not a pleasant evening.
- Dec 1st, 2.nd and 3rd: Confined with a cold.
- 4: Dined at Smedley,²⁵⁴ a very pleasant day.
- 5: Mr Capstick called.
- 6: Sat tête a tête with Miss Kennedy. Mr G called.
- 7: Mr and Miss Kennedy supped with us.
- 8: Read and worked at home.
- 9: Wrote cards for a route.[†]
- 11: Went to the Assembly – danced again with Mr Greg – very happy.

²⁵³ Mrs Hamilton: possibly a sister of Robert Hyde (d. 1782) and Nathan Hyde, and thus Samuel Greg's aunt. Robert Hamilton had been a partner of Hyde's from 1750 until 1762, establishing a successful textile merchant business in Manchester, mainly importing linen yarn from Ireland (Mary Rose, *The Gregs of Quarry Bank Mill* [Cambridge, 1986], 51, 146, n.7).

[†] Route: a route or rout was an evening social gathering, often with card games.

²⁵⁴ Smedley: then a village north of Manchester near Chetham Hill.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1788

- 12: Made calls.
- 13: A.H²⁵⁵ & Mr Nicholson supped here.
- 14: Took leave of Miss Kennedy – saw Mr G – had a note from him.
- 15: Left Manchester with much regret.
- 16: Friends called.
- 17: Spent at Park.
- 18: Supped in Paradise Street with Mrs Tarleton and Miss Tottie.²⁵⁶
- 19: At home busy working.
- 20: Ditto
- 21: Mr W Duncan²⁵⁷ with us – had a letter.
- 22: Spent at Park.
- 23: Answered letters – and worked all day.
- 24: Ditto.

²⁵⁵ A.H.: probably Ann Hatfield (1757-98) accompanied by Thomas Nicholson, who was both her elder brother and brother-in-law (see footnote for 6 June 1788).

²⁵⁶ Tottie: see footnote for 7 October 1788.

²⁵⁷ Duncan: William Duncan (b.1772), son of Dr. Currie's cousin and countryman George Duncan, William was the first of that family to be welcomed in Liverpool; brother of Henry Duncan. By 1796 he was established as a Liverpool broker: see footnote for 18 March 1789.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1789

- 25: Went to Chapel and dined in Paradise Street.
- 26: Went to spend a few days at Greenbank.
- 27: Sat and conversed with Mrs R..e.
- 28: Ditto – and letters.
- 29: Mr Rathbone talked a long and most excellent dissertation on a future state.
- 30: Came home – found Mr Greg had been at Liverpool – much mortified. Went to the Concert – very uncomfortable – a trial of temper ill-sustained.
- 31: Snowed all day. At home with company.
- 1st January 1789: Went to Chapel and to the Assembly. Sent some Cloaths to poor people at Park.
- 2nd: Made calls.
- 3rd: Had a pleasant little dance at home.
- 4: Went to Bens Garden.
- 5: Wrote to ²⁵⁸ Manchester – and was much affected.
- 6: At home.
- 8: At Park with a Party – very jovial and happy.

²⁵⁸ *Mr G* : a faint insertion, has been crossed out.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1789

9: Ditto.

Miss Capstick and I conversed.

11 A busy Sunday. Mr K and Mr Goore.

18: After a still week at home went to sleep at Park.

19: Miss Percival {Mrs N.H.²⁵⁹} came to stay with me.

23: Mr N Heywood's ball – talked with Mr Smith and was unseasonably affected.

26: Went to Park and had a long conversation with Miss Cropper.

29: Long explanation in my room – was much distressed. Dr Currie supped with us and his Conversation raised me a little above those cares. I had too much suffered to oppress me. He read old papers of my mother's – talked of the Doctrine of Sacrifice – of Dr Lyster's opinion – he admires Temora more than any other of Ossian's poems – Approves Dr Price – does not like Stackhouse.

30: Had a route – blamed myself for my inordinate anxiety about Company.

31: Spent at Park.

Feby 1st: Heard Mr Smith in the afternoon deliver an excellent sermon on Providence – was all week engaged with Company – was happy to go to Park.

²⁵⁹ In 1791 Ann (Fanny) Percival married Nathaniel Heywood.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1789

- 8: My Mother ill and low.
- 9: At Mr Ashton's with a Party.
- 13: Supped at Dr Currie's. Mr Smith called.
- 17: At Mr Wm James'²⁶⁰ –
- 18: Isaac²⁶¹ was taken ill – went to him. Dr Currie attended him – felt useful and happy. A.P²⁶² went to Park.
- 24: Went to Miss James's ball – was stupefied by a too sudden change of Scene from a sick chamber to a ball room.
- 26: Went to Paradise Street.
- 27: Adam was born – very happy.²⁶³
- 28: Paradise Street.
- March 1st: Mr Edwards preached – drank tea with Ms Currie.
- 2nd: Spent at Everton.

²⁶⁰ Mr Wm James: William James, Esq. lived at 5 Clayton Square and William James, jun., gent, at 32 Bold Street (*Gore's Liverpool Directory*, 1790).

²⁶¹ Isaac: Isaac Hodgson (1783-1847) – her nephew, elder son of Thomas Hodgson and HL's sister Elizabeth. Isaac became a merchant and banker, taking on his father's mill at Caton.

²⁶² A.P: probably Ann Percival who had come from Manchester to stay on 19 January.

²⁶³ Adam: youngest son of Thomas and Elizabeth Hodgson. As a young man he became an active abolitionist in Liverpool, supported James Cropper. He named one of his sons Wilberforce. He later published his *Travels in America*. An Anglican evangelical, he became chairman of the Bank of Liverpool. He died in 1863.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1789

- 3: Went to the concert. Dr C talked of old times.
- 4: Miss P had a Cold – quarrelled.
- 5: Miss Riggs with us.
- 6: Went to Mr Hayhurst's.
- 7: B.A. Heywood supped with us.
- 8: Stayed at home. Mr Aikin²⁶⁴ and Mr W. Duncan dined with us.
- 9: Engaged to Mr Truell's ball. I could not go having a sad cold.
- 10: Went to the choral concert. Mr T offended that I was not at his ball. Mr N.T did not speak to me.
- 11: Supped at Mr B Heywood's – vexed about Mr Dunstone.
- 12: Went to the Assembly – danced with Dr Parr²⁶⁵ and Mr Dunstone.
- 13: Supped at Mr Birch's.

²⁶⁴ Mr Aikin: probably John Aikin (1747-1822), Dissenter, physician and writer. He may have been in Liverpool to discuss with Currie and others their campaign for Dissenters' rights, culminating in Aikin's two pamphlets on this subject published anonymously in 1790 entitled *The Spirit of the Constitution and that of the Church of England Compared ...* and *An Address to the Dissidents of England on their Late Defeat*.

²⁶⁵ Dr Parr: probably Dr Samuel Parr (1747 – 1825), scholar, teacher and pamphleteer. An assistant master at Harrow from 1767, after being refused the headmastership he opened a rival school at Stanmore Hill, where Samuel Greg had been one of his pupils. In 1789 he was temporarily Rector of Wadenhoe in Northamptonshire. He was a friend and correspondent of Thomas Percival. It has not been established whether he had family links with Joseph Parr, the sugar refiner who founded Parr's Bank in Warrington in 1788 (*ODNB*).

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1789

- 14: Supped at Mr Earle's.
- 15: Went to Ben's Garden
- 16: At Mrs Tarleton's.
- 17,18,19: At home – very comfortable.
- 20: At Park.
- 21: In Paradise Street.
- 22: Miss Percival left us.
- 23: T Nicholson²⁶⁶ spent the day with us.
- 24; Went to the concert. Mr T Smyth²⁶⁷ came home with us. Mrs I Hinks²⁶⁸ came to stay with us.
- 25: Spent at Park.
- 26: Illuminations on occasion of the King's recovery²⁶⁹ – walked about

²⁶⁶ T Nicholson: probably Thomas Nicholson (1753-1825) of Manchester.

²⁶⁷ T Smyth: probably Thomas, banker and father of William, the banker, poet and future regius professor of history. He was a member of the Liverpool Council, a trustee of the Bluecoat School, Mayor in 1789. He lived at his farm in Toxteth Park.

²⁶⁸ Mrs I Hinks: probably a Chester friend of HL's mother, as Ann Hulton refers to their mutual friend Mrs Hincks in her correspondence with HL's mother (20 March 1771 in Hulton, *Letters of a loyalist lady*).

²⁶⁹ King's Recovery: King George III had been ill since the summer of 1788 with what is now thought to have been porphyria. In February 1789 a Bill had been passed appointing the Prince of Wales as regent. The King's sanity then returned, suddenly and unexpectedly. There were widespread celebrations in March. A contemporary account records the centre of Liverpool illuminated, a cannonade, and 'coloured lamps and transparent paintings' in front of the Exchange (*Gore's General Advertiser*, 23 April 1789, quoted in Brooks, *Liverpool 1775-1800*, 278-282).

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1789

till 12o'ck in great admiration – called at Mr A Heywood's and Mr Bold's.²⁷⁰

27: At Park.

28: Adam's Christening.

29: Mr Duncan with us.

30: Miss Spencers²⁷¹ drank tea. Dr C supt here.

31: Spent in Rodney Street.

April 1st: Had a letter of Dr C's to copy – very happy. Had company at tea.

2nd: Had a route. Finished the letter.

3: Went to Park. W. Currie ill.

4 & 5: At Park – walked in the Dingles and walked.

6.7: Copied another letter

9: Dr C. and Mr Roscoe drank tea with us.

Good Friday spent chiefly in the Dingles – very happy to be in the country – such a day.

²⁷⁰ Mr Bold: Jonas Bold was a merchant of 69 Duke Street (*Gore's Liverpool Directory*, 1790), previously mayor.

²⁷¹ Miss Spencer: Miss Ann Spencer was possibly the Lightbody's neighbour living at 1 Bold Street (*Gore's Liverpool Directory*, 1790).

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1789

- 11: At Mrs Wallace's
- 12: Walked with Mr Smith.
- 13,14: Friends called – went to Everton to Mr E Hodgson's²⁷² route.
- 15: Supped at Mrs Kenyon's.²⁷³
- 16: Grand Corporation Ball²⁷⁴ – was highly delighted by the splendour of the scene.
- 17: Mr Smith and Edwards drank tea.
- 18: Meredith's concert – very happy.
- 19: Went with Miss Cropper to Manchester. Mr & Miss Greg in London – Miss K met us at Warrington.
- 20: Company at Supper.
- 21.22: At home with Miss Kennedy.
- 23: Saw our Friends in King Street.

²⁷² E Hodgson – Everton: there is a record of Ellis Leckonby Hodgson as a partner with Thomas Hodgson and the Bents in a slaving venture (House of Commons Sessional Papers, vol. 82). He came from Everton. It is unclear whether he was related to HL's brother-in-law Thomas Hodgson.

²⁷³ Mrs Kenyon: perhaps wife of James Kenyon, a merchant in Pitt Street (*Gore's Liverpool Directory*, 1790).

²⁷⁴ Grand Corporation Ball: 'Eight hundred well dressed persons of both sexes, commodiously sat down to an elegant supper, *all* at *one* time, in *one* superb room, splendidly illuminated with ten thousand lights...The ladies wore bandeaux and favours, with devices and applicable mottos. The gentlemen had crowns, ciphers, mottos &c on their breasts and collars... The supper was announced at twelve and the company in general broke up at four' (*Gore's Liverpool General Advertiser*, April 1789).

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1789

- 24: Spent at Dr Percival's.
- 27: At Mrs Johnson's.
- 28: At Dr Percival's.
- 29: Dr Percival's family supped with us. Mr Holme²⁷⁵ – Mrs N Hyde's²⁷⁶ little Girl died.
- 30: Walked to Miss Tipping. Mr Roberts came home with us. Went to Booth²⁷⁷.
- May 1st: Mr Johnson and Heywood drank tea with us – T Percival came home.
- 2nd: Mr & Miss Greg came home.
- 3rd: Dined at Dr Percival's.
- 4: Mr Hodgson, Miss Cropper and Mr Greg called. Went to the Play. Mr G with us.
- 5: Miss Cropper and Mr Greg supped here.
- 6: Supped at Mr Bell's.

²⁷⁵ Mr Holme: possibly Edward Holme, who had published his *Directory of Manchester and Salford* in 1788.

²⁷⁶ Mrs N Hyde: Margaret, wife of Nathan Hyde, who with his brother launched the business career of their nephew Samuel Greg.

²⁷⁷ Booth: Boothstown was attached to Worsley.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1789

- 7: Walked to Oatsall²⁷⁸ with Mr & Miss G. Went to the concert with Mr Heywood &c.
- 8: Spent at Penbury.²⁷⁹
- 9: A long walk. Supt at Mrs Johnson's.
- 10: Went to Chapel. Mr & Miss G supt here.
- 11: At Travis Isle²⁸⁰ and the Play.
- 12: Mr N Heywood and Mr Greg with us.
- 13: Walked – and went to Smedley.
- 14: Chapel in Mosley Street²⁸¹ opened by Mr Turner²⁸² & ... very anxious. Mr Duncan came – went to see the college.²⁸³
- 15: Mr Yates breakfasted with us. Mr G dined. We supped at Dr Percival's.
- 16: Mr Duncan left us. Mr & Miss Greg supt.

²⁷⁸ Oatsall: spelled in the manuscript: thus possibly referring to Ormsell, but probably Ordsall.

²⁷⁹ Penbury: probably refers to Pendelbury, a district of Salford on the Irwell northeast of Manchester.

²⁸⁰ Travis Isle: the grand home of the Hatfields, planned and superintended by Matthew Nicholson of Richmond Row, and built 1787.

²⁸¹ New Chapel: Mosley Street Chapel was founded by a group breaking away from the Cross Street Chapel and its assertive Minister Dr. Barnes, in 1788. It prospered, and developed as an important and influential Unitarian congregation.

²⁸² Mr Turner: Rev. William Turner (b. 1761) assisted the minister at Mosley Street Chapel.

²⁸³ The College: Manchester New College or Academy was established on the closure of the Warrington Academy, opening in September 1786.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1789

- 17: Went to the New Chapel – heard a most beautiful discourse from Mr Hawkes²⁸⁴ on the occasion. Sat with Miss Cropper in the afternoon. Mr Greg sup't here.
- 18: Quitted Miss Kennedy and other friends with much regret.
- 19: Sister Pares and family came.
- 20: Bro'r Pares came.
- 21: All met in Paradise Street.
- 22: All dined here.
- 23: Family dined in Paradise Street. I came home to tea and met Mr G.
- 24: Mr Yates in the morning. Mr Duncan in the afternoon. Mr G supped at Dr Currie's.
- 25: My mother ill.
- 26: Went to the Concert. – company at supper – Dr C and Mr Duncan.
- 27: Went to St Paul's – took a walk.
- 28: A large party at breakfast at Park. I walked with Mr Greg and two Mr Duncans²⁸⁵ at a ball in the evening.

²⁸⁴ Rev. W Hawkes (1759-1820) was Minister of the new Mosley Street Chapel.

²⁸⁵ Two Mr Duncans: William Duncan was joined by his brother Henry (1774-1846). Both were under the wing of Dr. Currie, who arranged for Henry to work with Arthur Heywood and Co., the Liverpool bankers, until 1793. He then went to Edinburgh University, became a well known Minister and antiquary at Ruthwell in the Scottish borders. He became Moderator of the General Assembly and is remembered as the founder of the savings bank movement (*ODNB*).

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1789

29: We were in Rodney Street. Mr G supt at Dr C's.

30: Mr G went. We were at St Paul's.

31: Supped at Dr C's – Bro'r P offended.

June 1st: Went to Chester.

2nd: At Mrs Drake's – saw T Percival.

3rd: Came home in hard rain.

4: Ball at the exchange ²⁸⁶– very fine.

5: In Paradise Street.

6: All the family dined here and M Rhodes and Mr G came to supper.

7: Went to hear Mr Yates.

8: Party went to Wootton.

9: In St Paul's Square.

10: Miss Lem²⁸⁷ returned to Chester – Party at home – the Gentlemen at Mr Heywood's.

²⁸⁶ Ball at the Exchange: 'in the same grand and extravagant style as on the 16th April last. The band of the 40th Regiment contributed to the entertainment, and the officers seemed emulous to distinguish themselves on the occasion' (*Gore's Liverpool General Advertiser*, 11 June 1789).

²⁸⁷ Miss Lem: seems to have been a companion of Mrs Tylston, probably a widowed aunt of HL's. Her grandmother had died in 1767. Ann Hulton referred to the two of them in correspondence with HL's mother: 'Chester, Jan 1776: I suppose you have heard that Mrs Tylston talks of going up to London with Miss Lem towards the end of next month' (Hulton, *Letters of a loyalist lady*).

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1789

- 11: Mr Greg went.
- 12: Sister Pares and family went.
- 13: Breakfast at Park.
- 14: At home.
- 15: Called at Summer Hill²⁸⁸, Finch House²⁸⁹ &c.
- 16: Went to Park.
- 17: Mr G came – walked to Greenbank²⁹⁰ in rain.
- 18: Dr C supped with us and read Extracts.
- 19: Read History of England and wrote letters.
- 20: Mr & Miss Greg came.
- 21: Mr Greg low and poorly. Mr Yates dined.
- 22: Rode out and went to the play with Miss G. Dr Currie dined with us.
- 23: Walked about – was very happy.

²⁸⁸ Summer Hill: probably the home of the Case family, who are known to have lived there early in the nineteenth century.

²⁸⁹ Finch House: probably refers to home of Joseph or James Gildart, built 1776, by Richard Gildart. James Gildart jnr. was current mayor of Liverpool, President of the Dispensary and of the Bluecoat School.

²⁹⁰ Greenbank; the home rented by the Rathbones was at this time advertised for sale (*Gore's Liverpool General Advertiser*, 1789). The Rathbones eventually bought it.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1789

- 24: Mr & Miss G went – regretted Miss G much.
- 25: Rain all day.
- 26: Dined in Paradise Street with a party of Gentlemen – went to the Play with Mr Miller.
- 27: At home – Thunder and Lightning.
- 28: Dined at St Paul's.
- 29: Mrs Tylston²⁹¹ and Miss Lem came.
- 30: Paradise family and Dr C dined with us.
- July 1st: Went to sit at Mr Moreland's.²⁹²
- 2nd: A fine day – In Paradise Street.
- 3rd: Went to the Play.
- 4: At St Paul's.
- 5: At Ben's Garden – Joseph fell off the coach.
- 6: Mrs Hamilton and Mrs Pringle dined here.
- 7: Went to the Concert.

²⁹¹ Mrs Tylston: probably HL's aunt.

²⁹² Mr Moreland's: possibly Patrick McMorland (1741-c.1809) the Liverpool miniaturist who was among the supporters of the re-emerging Liverpool Academy and sometimes referred to as 'Morland'. Or alternatively Henry Robert Morland (1730–97), genre painter miniaturist and portraitist in pastel and oil. Exhibited at Royal Academy, 1771-92. Lived at Blenheim Street in London. (Burman).

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1789

- 8: Was ill.
- 9: Had a route.
- 10: Called at Wootton, Greenbank &c.
- 11: At home. Mr Greg came.
- 12: Went to Bens Garden and to Everton to see Miss Cropper.
- 13: Mr Greg and Mr Hyde dined and went to the play with us.
- 14: In Rodney Street.
- 15: Miss Cropper came – drank tea at Park and heard of Nancy Smith being drowned. Walked with Sister H to Mrs Smith's – found Mr G at home.
- 16: Mrs Currie drank Tea and supped here.
- 17: A very unhappy morning with S.G.²⁹³ Walked to park in the evening. Had a very pleasant walk, repeated Poetry and became easy and tranquil.
- 18: Mr G left us. Park family dined.
- 19: Miss Cropper stayed at home – Mr S...n drank tea with us in Paradise Street.
- 20: We dined at St Paul's and Miss C at Everton. Went at night to fetch her.

²⁹³ S.G: presumably Samuel Greg. Judging by the conjunction in the previous few weeks of visits from HL's aunt, Samuel Greg's uncle, and a portrait sitting, it is probable that the couple had by this time become betrothed.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1789

- 21: Very busy, made calls – and reflected on the ‘hasty foot of time’.
- 22: Wrote to Mr G – took Miss Cropper home. Hated the thought of travelling more than ever.
- 23: Got to Buxton. Walked about with Miss Capstick. No letter there.
- 24: Bathed and received a letter from Mr G. Went to Matlock²⁹⁴ and walked 6 miles with Miss C in the evening.
- 25: Dined at Mr Crompton’s²⁹⁵ and called upon Mrs I Crompton – Met Mrs Tylston and Miss Lem – arrived at Grooby. Found a letter from Miss G. Very happy.
- 26: Went to Chapel at Leicester²⁹⁶ – wrote to Mr G.
- 27: Worked and wrote at home.
- 28: Wrote two sheets to Mr G.
- 29: Ditto. Went to see Miss Linwood’s²⁹⁷ work.

²⁹⁴ Matlock: HL’s mother had taken the family to Matlock for its spa waters since 1776 when Ann Hulton wrote: ‘hope you will all reap benefit by it particularly that Miss L’s health will be confirmed’ (Hulton, *Letters of a loyalist lady*). ‘From Matlock Baths you go over Matlock Bridge, to the little town of Matlock itself, which, in reality, scarcely deserves the name of a village as it consists of but a few and miserable houses. There is, on account of the baths, a number of horses and carriages, and a great thoroughfare (K P Moritz, *Travels in England in 1782*, translated 1795 [1886 edn., London]).

²⁹⁵ Mr Crompton: possibly Samuel Crompton (1750-1810), banker in Derby and investor in the Evans cotton enterprise at Darley Dale, or his son Peter who became a well known physician. The family were prominent Dissenters and also friends of the Nicholsons.

²⁹⁶ Chapel: the chapel in Butt Close was known as the Great Meeting.

²⁹⁷ Miss Linwood: Mary Linwood (1755-1845), musical composer and artist in needlework born in Leicester: ‘Viewed Miss Linwood’s Exhibition of Needle Work;

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1789

- 30: Worked and read at home.
- 31: Received a letter from Mr G. Bathed.
- August 1st: Wrote letters.
- 2nd: Went to Chapel and was tired.
- 3: Mrs Tylston and Miss Lem left us.
- 4: Dined at Mr Davies – slept in Northgate.
- 5: Glad to return to Grooby.
- 6: Had letters from Mr G and Dr C.
- 7: Rambled about.
- 8: Dined at Mrs Bunney's with the Hartopps. Mr G came and rode home with us by moonlight.
- 9: Walked to Ratby in the morning.
- 10: Mr Hartopps dined with us – took a long walk after they went.

which might be mistaken for painting, but for the excessive deadness of the surface, and the stiffness and harshness of some of the contours.... After all this is a species of ingenious imitation which one does not wish to see prevail. The principal delight it affords, arises from the difficulty surmounted: the needle, though it may laboriously copy the effects, can never emulate the free, spirited, and masterly execution, of the pencil; and its productions are most grievously exposed to the molestations of moth and dust' (*Diary of Joseph Farington*, 11 July 1798). 'I now believe that Miss Linwood was a species of needleworking Hannah More; but at that time she was to me a tremendous myth – a tapestry-veiled prophetess – a sybil working out perpetual enigmas in silk and worsted' (A Sola, *Gaslight and daylight* [1859], 173).

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1789

- 11: Walked about a day.
- 12: Dined at Mr Carter's.
- 13: Set off on a tour.
- 14: Went to Birmingham – slept at Sutton Cofields – saw the Manufactures²⁹⁸ – was impatient to get to the Leasowes²⁹⁹ – almost dark when there.
- 15: Walked about Hagley³⁰⁰ park – much delighted with the Church – admired Lady Lyttleton's and Queen Chas 2nd pictures. Slept at Enville.³⁰¹
- 16: Went to the pretty church at Enville. Walked in the grounds – charmed with the Sheep walk and the Shrubbery – every single shrub a picture. Walked and quarrelled about venison pasty. Drank tea at Mrs Grey's.³⁰²

²⁹⁸ Birmingham: the manufactures. A visit to Boulton's Soho works was probably on the itinerary. As Mrs. Montagu remarked of her visit in 1771: 'to behold the secrets of Chymistry & the mechanic powers, so employed, and exerted, is very delightful' (31 Oct 1771 letter to Matthew Boulton in Birmingham City Archives, quoted in Jenny Uglow, *The Lunar Men* [London, 2002], 211).

²⁹⁹ Leasowes: the farm and estate planned and planted by Shenstone in a new naturalistic and romantic idiom. HL was a keen reader of Shenstone's poetry as well as a devotee of picturesque planting and of the more romantic style of gardening, of which the Leasowes was then the most fashionable example.

³⁰⁰ Hagley Park: by then one of the most visited parks in England and one that had not been extensively remodelled by Capability Brown. As one enthusiastic visitor noted: 'the place is the master piece of nature' (Letter of Lady Beauchamp Procter, 26 Aug 1772, *Garden History*, 35, supp. 1, 60). There was a monument in the park to James Thomson, and another to Shenstone.

³⁰¹ Enville: a seat of the Earl of Stamford, and a landscape park that was influenced by Shenstone. In 1777 J Heely had published *Letters on the beauties of Hagley, Envil and the Leasowes* and in 1789 a new guidebook had been published: *A companion to the Leasowes, Hagley and Enville*.

³⁰² Mrs Grey's: probably a member of the Earl of Stamford's family then residing at Enville.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1789

17: Walked about Enville – low and vexed. Dined at Walsall and laughed about the Venison Pasty. Slept at Lichfield – much pleased with the Cathedral yard.

18: Dined at Ashby and supt at Grooby.– very glad to get home.

19: Walked in the sun all morning with Mr G and held a long interesting conversation.

20: Spent the morning in Leicester. The afternoon in Bradgate Park³⁰³.– rode home behind Mr Woodland. The rest of the party sailed over the Pool. Was much alarmed about them.

21: Mr G went to Leicester with Mr T.P. Was very unhappy all day – and Mr G hurt.

22: Read in the Liverpool paper Dr C's paper on Public Charities.³⁰⁴

23: Mr Greg and Bro'r Pares went early. We passed the day at Leicester.

24: Dr C and Mrs Camplin came.

25: Mrs C told us of her adventures at Portsmouth &c. Received a letter.

³⁰³ Bradgate Park: an ancient deer park of 1100 acres in the heart of Leicestershire, with hilly countryside, outcrops of volcanic granite, the River Lin and a series of weirs designed to create fish pools.

³⁰⁴ Dr Currie's paper: probably refers to Currie's important letter to *Gore's Liverpool General Advertiser* printed on 29 August 1789, in which he referred to public charities, but concentrated on the case for a lunatic asylum in Liverpool. He ended the letter by stressing the needs of the insane – 'our honour will be increased, and the systems of our charities completed by an institution for the health of his immortal mind' (Currie, *Memoirs of James Currie*, 1, 457 ff).

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1789

- 26: Went to Leicester. Sat up at night to write to Mr G.
- 27: Rode to Bardon Hill³⁰⁵ on Mira – had a long conversation with Bro'r P. – on method of living etc.
- 28: Spent the day in Bradgate Park.
- 29: Walked, worked, wrote and played cards.
- 30: Spent at Leicester. Mr T Pares and I walked in the Garden, and had much conversation – returned in the Phaeton.
- 31: T Pares spent the day with us – had a letter from Mr G and wrote to him.

Sept 1st: Set off a tour. Rode double – dined at Oakham. Slept at Stamford.

2nd: Saw Burleigh House.³⁰⁶ The paintings and furniture very splendid. Miss Linwood copying 'Our Saviour Blessing the Elements'³⁰⁷ – a very fine painting – Jephthah meeting his daughter. Moses taken up by Pharaoh's daughter – The Witch of Endor and Saul – The Death of Seneca – a dead Christ – The Angel and Child by Peters³⁰⁸ – Left Stamford after dinner. Took leave of Dr & Mrs Camplin. Slept at Uppingham.

³⁰⁵ Bardon Hill: in Charnwood Forest, the highest point in the county of Leicestershire.

³⁰⁶ Burleigh House: one of the most magnificent historic houses, collections and parks in the Midlands. The 5th Earl of Essex had bought on the Grand Tour an outstanding collection of Italian seventeenth-century pictures including works by Caro Dolci, Luca Giordano and Carlo Maratta. In the second half of the 18th century the 9th Earl added a Veronese altarpiece and other pictures.

³⁰⁷ Elements: the capital E is ringed in pencil.

³⁰⁸ A postwar guide provides the following attributions, locations and catalogue numbers (only the *Portrait of Seneca* is missing): *Our saviour blessing the elements*, (265) by Carlo Dolci in the Jewel Closet; *Jephtha's vow*, (73) by Luca Giordano in the Chapel; *The finding of Moses*, (282) by Titian in the State Bed Dressing Room; *Saul and the witch of Endor*, (5) by Carlo Loti in the Chapel; *The Virgin Mary and dead body of Christ*, (46) by Guido Reni in the Ante Chapel, (another version [158] in the Purple Silk Dressing Room); and *Angel and child ascending* (288) by Peters in the State Bedroom (Anon, *Guide to Burghley House*, n.d.).

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1789

- 3rd: Rode double to Billesdon. Slept at Grooby – glad to get home again.
- 4: Had a cold – wrote letters.
- 5: Wrote – much hurt by letters received.
- 6: Stayed at home alone all day – made many good resolutions – always to think before I got up what I had to do the ensuing day – and at night to compare the ensuing design with the execution – to practice self-denial on trifling occasions that my mind might be more disciplined to make more important sacrifices cheerfully.
- 7: Mr T.P. dined with us – anxious and uneasy.
- 8: Went to Leicester. Low at parting.
- 9: Got to Hopwell.
- 10: Saw Derby China Manufactory – chose tea and breakfast set. Parted with Bro'r and sister P – very solemn. Slept at Buxton.
- 11: Met Mr G at Dishley – spent ½ an hour at Manchester – slept at Chorley.
- 12: Went to Preston with Mr G – he left us there – Slept at Caton. Miss Capstick very happy – found Sister H well.
- 13: Went to Caton Church.
- 14: Walked and worked. Received a letter.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1789

- 15: Had the tooth-ach – hard rain.
- 16: Dined at Mr Hudson's.
- 17: Walked about.
- 18: Company at tea.
- 19: Sad stormy weather confined us.
- 20: Went to Church.
- 21; Mr G came – had the tooth-ach all night.
- 22: Ditto – good for nothing.
- 23: Easy and happy – good weather.
- 24: Had a long painful conversation with Mr G.
- 25: Very low and uneasy.
- 26: Rode on – saw Mr Brayshay.
- 27: Went to church and heard Mr Ainsley.
- 28: Sat with Mr Greg and read Paley,
- 29: Danced at Moorplatt.³⁰⁹ Heard Mr Hyde was ill.
- 30: Mr Greg went – a great storm.

³⁰⁹ Moorplatt: Moor Platt is a seventeenth-century manor house lying just outside Caton.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1789

- October 1st: Wrote letters.
- 2: Worked hard at home.
- 3: Came home – had a Cold.
- 4: Went to Everton to see Miss Cropper. Mr Greg came – Dr C called.
- 5: Mr G spent a comfortable day with us.
- 6: Mr G went, was much confined and busy till
- 11th: Spent the evening at Everton.
- 12: Received letters – wrote.
- 13: Spent at St Paul's.
- 14: Miss Cropper dined with us.
- 15: Called upon Mrs Thornton.
- 16: Stomach ill all day.
- 17: Dr & Mrs Camplin dined with us.
- 18: Went to Chapel – dined at Paul's.
- 19: D. Nicholson³¹⁰ and [N.?] L. with us. Had letters.

³¹⁰ D Nicholson: probably Dorothy (1760-1830), a daughter of Mrs. Arabella Nicholson of Toxteth Park.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1789

20: Went to Everton.

21: Mr Yates called in the morning and conversed on the present reigning dissipation – and on the propriety of young people beginning life with moderation and economy – and of the poverty of those who with large incomes have every shilling appropriated before it comes, and by too expensive an establishment and have nothing to command in case of emergence, or any charitable claims on their riches – of the greatness of that Character which was frugal that he might be generous – and generous that he might recommend himself to God – thought Mrs Hardiman³¹¹ always evinced a greatness of mind in her donations that it was better to give larger sums to smaller number of people than scatter small sums amongst a multitude. That it was easier to prevent ruin than to redeem it and that money went farther in that service than the other.

22: Went to the Assembly – Mr G danced with Miss James – I danced with Mr T Smyth.

23: Spent at Wavertree – an agreeable day.

24: Miss Spencer sate with us.³¹²

25: Went to Chapel and stayed the sacrament. Mother dined in S Paul's – talked with Mr G on the neglect of religious duties – was grieved ...

26: Walked in the morning to Everton with Mr G. Mr and Mrs Rathbone and Mr Yates dined with us. Discoursed on the Jewish law – whether the appearance of our Lord did not entirely supplant the whole

³¹¹ Mrs Hardiman: probably a reference to Jane Hardman (1702-95), widow of James Hardman, Africa merchant; supposed to be one of the wealthiest women in Lancashire, living at Allerton Hall.

³¹² 10 words crossed out here and no longer legible.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1789

of the Jewish Law – Mr Yates thought the moral part of the code was only fulfilled and amplified, not superseded and the ritual part abolished.

27: Went to the Concert – was vexed – Miss Spencer drank tea with us and Dr C supped with us.

28: Went to the Lecture. Heard Miss Carver play at Miss Spencer's. Uncle's family drank tea with us.

29: Sat up very late. Conversed with Mr G on the objects of Charity – thought he expected too much of the Poor and that more allowance ought to be made for their bills than for the more trivial faults of those who have the advantages of good Education and good Society.

30: Sate all morning with Mr G. Had a long affecting conversation with him and was made very happy. Drank tea with Mr & Mrs Humble and Mr & Mrs Thornton.

31: Went to Everton. Disputed with SG about the Iliad – was vexed to be so warm about it and secretly vowed not to hold any Arguments on such sort of subjects when I was married.

Nov 1st: Mr G sat with me all morning – thought on the entrance of this month of the event that was to take place in its course and prayed that it might make both S.G. and myself both happier and better.

2nd: Cunningham Greg³¹³ came – fixed to be married on 6th. Dined at Paradise – it being Sister H's wedding day.

³¹³ Cunningham Greg (1762-1830), younger brother of Samuel Greg, said to be one of the most successful Belfast businessmen of his time (Thomas M Truxes ed., *Letterbook of Greg & Cunningham 1756-57, merchants of New York and Belfast* [Oxford, 2001]).

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1789

- 3: Mr & Mrs W Pares³¹⁴ came – made calls and presents.
- 4: Dined in Paradise Street with Mrs Camplin.
- 5: Made calls. Miss C was affected by the kindness of my friends. Mr N Hibbert³¹⁵ dined with us – signed the writings. Was married. May God bless with his favour this Connection and lead those who are engaged in it to more Virtue and Usefulness. Breakfasted at Park. Miss Cropper came from Everton to meet us. It snowed and rained very hard – fond congratulatory notes when we got home – answered them. Was very busy and uncomfortable all the rest of the day.
- 7: Mr Thornton's children called. Cut cake and answered notes all morning and dined in Paradise Street.³¹⁶
- 8: Went to Chapel – could attend to nothing that passed – was glad afterwards I had not, as there was a very extraordinary Sermon³¹⁷ I heard much spoken of.
- 8: Answered notes and dined at St Paul's.
- 9: Received company – very sociable and pleasant – the room generally full of both Gentlemen and Ladies, standing or walking about.

³¹⁴ W Pares; the third son of Thomas Pares I, William joined the Church of England, becoming rector of Narborough. He died childless in 1809.

³¹⁵ Mr N Hibbert: HL had called upon Mrs. J Hibbert in Manchester on 7 June 1788. Margaret, the daughter of Robert Hibbert of Birtles in Cheshire had married Samuel Greg's elder brother Thomas, who lived at Coles. It is a family tradition that the Cheshire and Manchester Hibberts were friends and trading associates with the Hydes and young Samuel Greg in Manchester. (Michael Janes). No connection has been established with the Hibbert family mentioned by HL on 4 January 1787.

³¹⁶ Paradise Street: the words *at St Paul's* precede this and are crossed out

³¹⁷ Extraordinary Sermon: this may refer to a version of Dr. Price's famous and inflammatory sermon, his *Discourse on the love of our country*, which he had preached in the Old Jewry Meeting House in London four days earlier.

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1789

Col Stanley called and several others little acquainted before – some new to Mr G – some so to me. Cousin Mary³¹⁸ with us. The little Brights and Thorntons spent the day with us.

Mr Thornton bespoke a Play – sent for my choice. Chose the Rivals.

19th: Mr & Mrs Thornton, Mrs Tarleton, Milnes and Goodwin³¹⁹ drank tea and supped with us. That day in the preceding year had never even heard of Mr Greg till in that evening had met him at Miss Kennedy's with his Sister Margaret. Felt ashamed tho' not so much as I ought to have done at the short acquaintance – formed also under the peculiar circumstances of neither of us having any mutual, intimate friend from whom we might acquire any previous knowledge of each others habits, tastes, and real character and never having seen each other till under the influence of mutual prepossession &c. Mr R Heywood alone could give any information of me and Miss Kennedy was a little acquainted with Mr G as an occasional visitor.

22: Dr Currie called in the evening – gave me many charges as to health &c, and evinced the most friendly interest in my welfare.

23: Left Liverpool – my heart sinking within me – my Cousin and me in our Chaise – Mr G and his brother on horseback. Dined at Warrington and could not persuade the Gentlemen to move after dinner till nearly dark and the road from Warrington to Manchester so very bad as to require 4 horses – we were 4¹/₂ hours upon it in the dark and in perpetual danger of being overturned – the extreme fatigue I had undergone in first finally leaving my dear home and then being mortified, disappointed, and

³¹⁸ Cousin Mary: probably Mary Lightbody (1765-1803), the daughter of HL's uncle Robert.

³¹⁹ Goodwin: possibly a reference to the Goodwins of Norris Green (see 9 June 1787).

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1789

terrified so overpowered me as to disable me from seeing Miss K and F. P.³²⁰ that evening – the only friends I had in Manchester.

24th: The Chambermaid gave me warning saying that she thought there were servants enough in the house without my bringing in more, (meaning my Maid who came with me) – I ought to have allowed here to lessen the number, but knowing she had lived there several years, dared not till I had spoken to her Master, who said he should be sorry to lose her and I had better keep good servants &c. My sister P's earnest advice then came to my remembrance and sunk deep into my heart viz: 'before I married not only to have the servants dismissed but the very house changed in which their Master had so long lived a Bachelor'. At 11o'ck Mr and Mrs B.A H. called – and my eyes were so swelled that I dare not for some time go down and when I did, the sight of one who had been an old acquaintance at Liverpool from infancy again nearly overset me. Miss K and Miss F.P. called – not pleased at having been refused admittance the evening before and I dared not wholly explain the reason lest they should read my disturbed mind.

Mr & Mrs Hyde³²¹ called – a very handsome woman but disappointing me by the formality of her manner as I had been taught to expect I had in her an affect friend who would assist and support me in my new and arduous situation. Mr G being warmly attached to her it seemed inconceivable that she should be cold to him, or to anyone belonging to him.

³²⁰ F.P.: The *F* could be read as a *T*. This may therefore refer to Fanny Percival. The alternative reading would be T.P. – referring to Dr. Thomas Percival.

³²¹ Mr & Mrs Hyde: Nathan Hyde (d.1795) was Samuel Greg's uncle. He had been a partner with his brother Robert in the successful Manchester textile business of Hyde & Co, which they handed on to Greg in 1782. Nathan is said to have had a reputation for drunkenness. When he died in 1795 Greg was an executor of his will. (Rose, *The Gregs of Styal*, 7. Will of Nathan Hyde in TNA prob 11/1290).

Hannah Lightbody's Diary - 1789

Tuesday: Mr G received Company. Miss K telling us how to follow the general custom – a long table in the Dining Room – covered with cold Meats, Turkey &c. a Great Bowl of Milk Punch &c, the Plumb Cake and Chocolate on a side table – all very new to me – the room full of Gentlemen all morning. And the large Hall, over which there was no painted cloth, very dirty with so many feet out of the dirty streets.

Wednesday: My Cousin, Miss K and I sate up for Company – very formal – no Gentlemen – and me not even knowing the names when we heard them – should have been much embarrassed if Miss Kennedy had not been with us.

Thursday: d..o –d..o

Saty: Returned visits in Mr Hyde's Coach. Mr Greg's footman refused to go behind the coach – but was obliged by his Master. Mrs Hamilton sent me a message 'hoping I would not do as they did at Liverpool on such occasions, viz leaving cards without enquiring if people were at home as it would not be thought right at Manchester'. I thought this very friendly and was observant.

Monday: Dined at Mr N Hyde's – was mortified and grieved at a comparison made between the children there (certainly very handsome) and 'those I had been used to' – depressed all day – and embarrassed to turn into a joke a ridiculous observation of Mr H's on his daughter Mary's grief at her Cousin's marriage.

Mrs Entwistle³²² (Mr G's own Cousin) the Hydes and a family party dined at our house – how much I lamented and repented my own folly in not

³²² Mrs Entwistle: perhaps a married daughter of Nathan Hyde. John Entwistle was an executor of Nathan Hyde's will.

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having invited Miss Margaret Greg to remain in England – whose presence would save me so many mortifications, private and public. Unable to promote conversation from a total ignorance of any current subject and a great fear of introducing any that might displease (general or literary subjects never being referred to in most of the parties I have been in) the day passed heavily tho' under such a consciousness on my part of the necessity of giving satisfaction as to oppress me with the deepest and most cruel anxiety.

Went to the Assembly and as Cousin G³²³ had returned to Ireland Mr G had no Groomsman, so requested a Mr Sedgwick to officiate in that character by dancing with me – His supercilious emptiness gave me a depressing prospect of the male society in general.

Spent the evening at Dr Percival's – where I was less free & Happy than before my marriage – partly from fear of my uneasiness being observed – and partly from Fanny having been hurt by my reserve³²⁴ on first arrival.

Came to Q Bank³²⁵ to stay all night but kept by Mr G's illness from sleeping in a damp bed – Being very Hysterical and feverish Mr Holland³²⁶ of Knutsford was sent for, whose family I found to have been always intimate with my Mother's – and of whom I had often heard. This was a comfort to me when I much wanted it, the nature of Mr G's illness having much surprized and terrified me.

³²³ Cousin G: perhaps Samuel Greg's brother Cunningham Greg.

³²⁴ Reserve: replaced the word *coldness* which was crossed out.

³²⁵ Quarry Bank: Site of the cotton spinning mill erected by Samuel Greg in the Bollin Valley at Styal, a few miles south of Manchester in 1784. It is likely that HL came to Quarry Bank early in 1790.

³²⁶ Dr. Peter Holland (1766-1855), physician, uncle of Mrs. Elizabeth Gaskell, had probably been employed since 1789 to examine and attend apprentice children at Quarry Bank Mill, providing the first recorded medical provision for factory workers. He had been apprenticed to the surgeon and obstetrician, Charles White of Manchester, and had developed a large and distinguished practice based in Knutsford.

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The romantic beauty of Q.B. delighted me and the possibility of occasionally escaping from Manchester to such a place renewed my hopes, vivacity and sanguine disposition – which the constant rain, confinement and constraint &c of Manchester (very heavy on one accustomed to Country Air and high bred Society) had for some time wholly discouraged.

Heard that Mr Greg of Coles³²⁷ would bring his sister Mary³²⁸ to Leics and Mr S.G was to meet them there – I was in delight to think I should have a journey to dear Leics – but astonished when told I should not go for fear of my health³²⁹ – which however, I felt would be greatly benefited by it. I was however forced to submit to stay in the house alone with insolent servants under a mortification of which however I feared to complain even to my Mother.

Mr Greg returned from Grooby with his sister Mary who was a great comfort to me.

Miss Eliza Nicholson³³⁰ came to visit me.

Mr Greg went to the [Archer ?] Club at Middleton – fell three times from his horse and at last was conducted home by Mr Bradburn,³³¹ a Methodist

³²⁷ Mr. Greg of Coles: Thomas Greg (1752-1832), eldest son of Thomas Greg of Belfast, brother of Samuel, by then a successful London broker and owner of the Coles estate in Herts.

³²⁸ Sister Mary: probably Mary Anne Greg (1748-1814), an unmarried sister of Samuel and Thomas Greg.

³²⁹ Fear of my health: HL being pregnant.

³³⁰ Eliza Nicholson: Elizabeth, (1766-1843), a daughter of Arabella Nicholson of Toxteth Park, Liverpool.

³³¹ Bradburn: probably Rev. Samuel Bradburn (1751-1816), who, after a conversion experience in 1769, joined the Methodists and became a travelling preacher in 1774. A popular though somewhat eccentric preacher, with a reputation as 'the Methodist Demosthenes', he was president of the Methodist Conference for 1799-1800. Henry D Rack, 'Bradburn, Samuel (1751-1816),' *ODNB*. See also W R Ward, *Religion and society in England 1790-1850* (London, 1972), 29-39.

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minister (to whom he took 5g's next morning which Mr B declined) – I was much terrified by the circumstances from not being confident how far such habits might be the consequence of joining old companions – in short of knowing nothing as to former habits &c. how much did my precipitancy and ignorance deserve should have proved so yet – tho' learning his character only from himself how impossible it seemed to me that I could be deceived.³³² His kind sister only laughed at my distress – for she knew better. My mortification was increased by the presence of a Liverpool friend.

My Br'r and Sister Pares passed thro' Manchester in their way to Liverpool to stay only one night – the Groom refused to bring in Coal – and was dismissed. I wished the footman had met the same return for repeated insolence.

My Mother visited me. Mrs Hamilton complained to her that I never called or seemed to care for Mr G's friends – a charge the most unjust that could have been found – for I should have pleased more had I cared less – my attempts being marred by the cruel consciousness of the importance of succeeding – one day she enquired when I had heard from my friends at Grooby – and on replying that all the family were now met there but me, which was very tantalizing to me, she very sharply observed 'I think you have no joy with us for you are always wishing to be somewhere else'. I retired as soon as I could – and always to depressing comparisons, and remembrances of the different treatment I had been accustomed to.

Went with Sister Mary to Liverpool where I had been afraid of going least I should not have resolution to return – I seldom ever wrote home without having my eyes swelled with weeping, and did it as little as possible. My Sister Mary angry at my going to Dr Currie's alone.

³³² Syntax as in ms.

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Mr G displeased at finding me in tears over a letter home. I assured him I only wanted his kindness and approbation to make me easy and happy and should have it if he would judge & feel for himself but not if thro' others who did not know me enough.

20: My Mother and Sister Hodgson came.

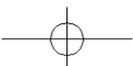
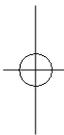
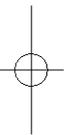
30th: My little Girl³³³ born – very ill after – Mr White³³⁴ hard hearted, foolish and ignorant (as a physician tho' not as a surgeon) – Happy to see Mr G so delighted more than with my own share of it.

Suffered much from nursing my own treasure. How easy to recount our sufferings – and how deep the impression they make compared to the sunny hours of our existence and how ungrate...³³⁵

³³³ Elizabeth was born on 30 August 1790. She was to become the wife of William Rathbone V and one of the most remarkable of the Gregs' children.

³³⁴ Mr. White: probably Charles White FRS (1728-1813) the surgeon and obstetrician.

³³⁵ This entry is in a steadier hand, on a new page.



APPENDIX 1

**Chronological list of Hannah Lightbody's concert
play-going and reading,**

The diary reference is cited in **bold**.

Date: **Publication referred to:**

1787

3 January **Milkwoman's Poems:** Ann Yearsley (1752-1806), a protégée of Hannah More (1745-1833), known as the Milkwoman. She published *Poems on several occasions in 1785* and *A Poem on the inhumanity of the slave-trade* in 1788. Yearsley's poems were in Liverpool library by 1792

11 January **Sidney Biddulph:** *Memoirs of Miss Sidney Biddulph* (London, 1761), a novel in the 'cult of distress' tradition, written by Frances Sheridan (1724-1766).

20 January **Rapin:** *Reign of Henry VIII*. Paul de Rapin de Thoyras (1661-1725), a Huguenot who joined the army of William of Orange, author of *Histoire d'Angleterre* (1723-5) translated by Nicholas Tindal (1725-31) and others subsequently. A popular Whig history. There was a copy in Liverpool library by 1792.

21 January **Blair's Sermons:** Hugh Blair (1718-1800), eighteenth-century Scottish thinker, minister of the High Kirk of St.

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Giles in Edinburgh and first professor of rhetoric and belles lettres at Edinburgh University. *Blair's sermons* (1785 edition) were in Liverpool library by 1792.

- 23 January **White's Bampton's lectures:** Joseph White (1745-1814) theologian and Hebraist. His Bampton Lectures of 1784, in which he compared 'Mahometism and Christianity', were recognized at the time as fine examples of Christian apologetics. A copy of the lectures was available in Liverpool library from 1790. White was eventually appointed professor of Hebrew at Oxford in 1804.
- 24 January **Mr Wilson's Poetry:** probably James Wilson (d.1787) (pseudonym: Claudero). Published *Miscellanies in prose and verse* (1771); and *Poems on sundry occasions* (Edinburgh, 1758).
- 25 January **Junius:** the *Letters of Junius*, published in the *Public Advertiser* anonymously from 1768 to 1772, are now thought to have been written by Sir Philip Francis (1740-1818). They were a satirical attack on the government of the Duke of Grafton, and the political influence of George III. A copy was in Liverpool library by 1792
- 2 February **Seward and Reeve:** in 1786 the *Gentleman's Magazine* had published an exchange of letters between the novelists Clara Reeve (1729-1807) and Anna Seward (1742-1809), the latter defending the right of women to choose and interpret literature.

Appendix 1

10 February **Observer:** Richard Cumberland (1732-1811), the sentimental dramatist, also published a collection of essays entitled *The observer: being a collection of moral, literary and familiar essays. ...* (5 vols. London, 1786-90). Liverpool library had copies from 1786 on.

Vision of Theodore: a copy of Robert Dodsley's *Preceptor* (2 vols., 1748), in which this allegory by Samuel Johnson (1709-84) appeared, was in Liverpool library by 1792. See entry for 10 April 1788.

11 February **Penrose's poems:** Thomas Penrose (1742-79) published *Flights of fancy* in 1775. Dr. James Currie (1756-1805) was to develop enlightened views on the treatment of the insane.

Mackenzie: Henry Mackenzie (1745-1831), author of the popular sentimental novel *The man of feeling* (1771).

Collins: given the context, more likely to be William Collins (1721-59), author of *Odes on several descriptive and allegoric subjects* (1747), than Anthony Collins (1676-1729), the philosopher.

Caroline of Lichfield: novel, *Caroline de Lichfield*, by Baronne Isabelle de Montolieu (1751-1832), published in Paris in 1786. Immediately translated by Thomas Holcroft and published in London in the same year. In Liverpool library by 1792 .

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Eloisa: *Eloisa: or, a series of original letters collected and published by J. J. Rousseau.* Translated by William Kenrick (1729/30-79). First published in 1761; many subsequent editions. In Liverpool library by 1792.

13 February **Cooper, Barnes and Materialism:** Thomas Cooper (1759-1839), Oxford educated barrister, moved to Manchester where he had joined a firm of calico printers in 1785. In the same year he became a regular member of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester. He was a vice president from 1786 to 1791, and gave several presentations on scientific, philosophical and historical themes to their meetings. These early papers show Cooper as a keen defender of materialist metaphysics, of liberal principles of government and of the freedom of speech. He emigrated to America in 1793. Dr Thomas Barnes (1747-1810) was minister at the Cross Street Chapel in Manchester from 1780 and the first principal of the Manchester Academy. A friend of Dr. Thomas Percival (1740-1804), and a reformer (*ODNB*).

16 February **Watts' improvement of the mind:** Isaac Watts (1674–1748) the prolific eighteenth-century divine, hymnist and author, long resident in Stoke Newington (for a time in Fleetwood House) was probably familiar to HL. The full title is: *The improvement of the mind: or, a supplement to the Art of Logic: containing a variety of remarks and rules for the attainment and communication of useful knowledge, in religion, in the sciences, and in common life [second part ... Also a discourse on the education of*

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children and youth]. It was published in 1741. The 1786 edition of *The improvement of the mind* was in Liverpool library by 1792.

- 25 February **Hawkin Brown:** Isaac Hawkins Browne (1705-60), poet whose principal work was a Latin poem on the immortality of the soul (2 vols. 1754). Browne was a country gentleman, M.P. (1744-54), barrister, *bon viveur* and friend of Dr. Johnson.
- 22 March **Beattie's Minstrel:** James Beattie (1735-1803) Scottish poet and essayist, published *The minstrel* (1771 & 1774), since noted as one of the earliest works of the Romantic movement.
- Thomson's lines:** James Thomson (1700-48), Scottish poet best known for *The seasons* (1726-30).
- 23 March **The Enthusiast:** William Whitehead (1715-1785) in 1757 succeeded Colley Cibber as Poet Laureate. The full title of this poem is *The enthusiast or the lover of nature*.
- 3 April **Gilpin:** "I've lost a day."— the Prince who nobly cry'd, Had been an Emperor without his Crown.' Lines from *Night the second. On time, death, friendship*, of Edward Young's, *The complaint, or, night-thoughts on life, death, and immortality* (1742-6). The poem was immensely popular and was incorporated into many anthologies.
- 4 April **Gerard's Essay on Taste:** Alexander Gerard (1728-95), minister in the Church of Scotland, attached to the

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Moderate party, and a university professor. His essay won the first gold medal awarded by the Belles Lettres and Criticism Committee of the Edinburgh Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Sciences, Manufactures and Agriculture in 1758 and was published in the following year.

Discourse on the Love of Praise: possibly Blair's Sermon, 'On the love of Praise. John xii, 43, "For they loved the praise of men more than the praise of God"'; alternatively Richard Cumberland, *The observer*, vol. 1 (1786), essay no. III, 19-26.

8 April **Interesting Memoirs:** probably Elizabeth Keir's *Interesting memoirs. By a lady. In two volumes* (1785) which was intended to inspire the young reader with 'juster sentiments and a more correct taste' than were derived from reading novels.

11 April **Original Love Letters:** *Original love letters between a lady of quality and a person of inferior station* (2 vols. Dublin, 1784), by William Combe (1741-1823) was published anonymously. In Liverpool library by 1792. Combe subsequently gained fame as the author of the humorous *The three tours of Dr Syntax* (1812, 1820, 1821), illustrated by Thomas Rowlandson (1756-1827). (Burman).

27/28 April **Miss Bowdler's Essays:** probably *Poems and essays* by the late Miss Jane Bowdler (1743-84). First published at Bath in 1786 in two volumes, it became a very popular work going into many editions. This was still one of the

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family's favourite books in Hannah's list of 1810 (Quarry Bank Mill archive).

- 12 May **Miss Williams' Ode to Peace:** Helen Maria Williams (1761 or 1762-1827), novelist, poet, Dissenter and abolitionist. *An ode on the Peace* of 1783 celebrated the end of the American War of Independence.
- 25 June: **Burns' Poems:** on 11 June 1787 Currie had thanked Graham Moore (1764-1843) for a copy of Burns' Poems (Currie, *Memoir of James Currie*, vol. II 99). First published in July 1786, this copy of the first (Kilmarnock) edition had been given by a London admirer to Graham Moore's father, Dr. John Moore (1729-1802), who was a literary Scottish physician then living in London, also an early supporter of Burns and later well known as the author of *Zeluco, Various views of human nature, taken from life and manners* (2 vols. London, 1789). Moore senior then gave his volume of Burns to his son Graham to pass on to Currie as a token of gratitude for Dr. Currie's kindness to Graham when the latter was stationed in Liverpool. See footnote for 1 July 1787 below (Thornton, *James Currie*, 259-60). Currie was Burns's first biographer.
- 26 June: **Clarissa:** Richardson's *Clarissa or the history of a young lady* was first published in 1747/8.
- 2 July **Pope's Douglas:** the Theatre Royal playbill for 2 July 1787 announced Mr. Pope playing the role of Young Norval. (Burman). *Douglas, or the noble shepherd*, a

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tragedy by John Home (1722-1808) first performed in Edinburgh in 1756, was one of the most popular plays of the eighteenth century. Alexander Pope (1763-1835), the Irish actor (and miniature painter) played many leading tragic roles at the Covent Garden Theatre from 1785.

- 4 July **Mrs Pope in Rosalind:** Mrs Elizabeth Pope (1744-97), one of the noted actresses of the day, usually in the part of ladies of title or fashion, she was buried in Westminster Abbey. She was the first wife of the actor Alexander Pope. The play was presumably *As you like it*.
- 10 July **Concert:** HL seems to have been a subscriber to the series of concerts at the Music Hall which frequently featured solos by Miss Harwood, Mr Henderson and Mr Nicholson on the flute (*Gore's Liverpool General Advertiser*, 1787-8 *passim*).
- 17 September **Miss Talbot's Reflections:** Catherine Talbot (1721-70), *Reflections on the seven days of the week*, published posthumously in 1770, became a popular work of pious devotion.
- 27 September **The Lounger:** this literary magazine ran from 6 February 1785, and continued weekly till the 6 January, 1787. Fifty-seven numbers were edited by Henry Mackenzie (1745-1831). In one of the later editions he wrote a supportive review of the poems of Burns which had been only recently published.

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13 November **Lavater:** Johann Kaspar Lavater (1741-1801) is remembered mostly for his book *Physiognomische fragmente* (1775-78), subsequently translated into French and published in The Hague in 1781-3 under the title *Essaie sur la physiognomonie*, which was shortly followed by the two English translations (*Essays on physiognomy*). HL admired his *Aphorisms on man* (published in 1788 by the rational dissenting bookseller Joseph Johnson [1738-1809] in a translation by Henry Fuseli [1741-1825] from Lavater's *Vermischte unphysiognomische regeln*) and would quote several in her book of *Observations and maxims*. Lavater's books of Aphorisms and that on Physiognomy were in Liverpool library by 1792 in 1788 editions.

Georg Christoph Lichtenberg (1742-99), in his *Anti-physiognomie*, took Lavater to task both for his objectification of human beings and for the tendency of physiognomy to slide into predestinarianism. Currie was also a critic (Currie, *Memoir of James Currie*, vol. 1, 514-21).

14 November **West Indian:** the play by Richard Cumberland (1732-1811), with the *début* of Miss Tweedale as Louisa. (Burman).

21 November **Theatre:** to see either *New peerage* by Harriet Lee (1757/8-1851) at Drury Lane, or *Robin Hood* by Leonard MacNally (1752-1820), at Covent Garden. (Burman).

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1 December **The Heiress:** a play by John Burgoyne (1723-92), first performed in 1786, and dedicated to Lord Derby, in which the affectations of the vulgar rich are satirised as they suffer the inconveniences of fashion while the young heiress expatiates on her imagined conquests in the polite world. John Philip Kemble (1757-1823) played Lord Gayville and Jane Pope (1744-1818) Miss Alscripp, while Miss Farren played Lady Emily.

Miss Farren: Elizabeth Farren (c 1759-1829), actress, first appeared on the stage in Liverpool in 1777, and was soon generally appreciated as one of the most accomplished actresses of her time, noted for her roles representing the fine ladies of comedies. She was a favourite with the nobility. In May 1795 she married the widower twelfth Earl of Derby, who is said to have been captivated years previously during his elocution lessons with her.

6 December **Vathek:** a Gothic novel as well as an oriental tale, written by William Beckford (1759-1844), published in 1786. By 1787 he was the subject of scandal, living abroad.

Castle of Otranto: *The Castle of Otranto: a Gothic story* by Horace Walpole (1717-97) published in 1764.

Hayley on Johnson: William Hayley (1745-1820): *Two dialogues: containing a comparative view of the lives, characters, and writings of Philip, the late Earl of Chesterfield, and Dr. Samuel Johnson*, first published in 1787.

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Atinoran & Hamet by Hawksworth: John Hawkesworth (c.1715-73), friend and disciple of Dr. Johnson, wrote *Almorán and Hamet* (2 vols., 1761). Mrs Barbauld wrote about this oriental tale, initially drafted as a play, in vol. 26 of the *British novelists*. A copy was in Liverpool library by 1790.

Tolyman and Atinena by Langhorne; Rev. John Langhorne (1735-79) published *Solyman and Almena. An oriental tale* in 1762.

13 December **Romance of Real Life:** *The romance of real life. A collection of tales* (3 vols. 1787) by Charlotte Smith (1749-1806). The tales were based on F Gayot de Pitaval's "*Causes célèbres et intéressantes*"

The Mine: probably *The Mine, a dramatic poem* by John Sargent, published in 1785, based on a true story of a nobleman condemned to mining quicksilver as a punishment for duelling. (Burman).

15 December **Julia and Mentevole** with Kemble and Mrs. Siddons: *Julia or the Italian Lover* (1787) by Robert Jephson (1736-1803) provided John Philip Kemble (1757-1823) with one of his early triumphs. Sarah Kemble Siddons (1755-1831) often performed with her brother.

1788

25 January **Sterne's Sentimental Journey** (in French): *A sentimental journey through France and Italy* by

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Laurence Sterne (1713-68) was published in 1768. A translation into French by J P Frénais was first published in 1782. Other editions followed.

30 January **Parnell on Death:** *A night-piece on death* by Thomas Parnell (1679-1718). Parnell's Poems were in Liverpool library by 1792.

Negro's Complaint: Possibly *Maraton and Adila* by Roscoe and Currie (see 2 March below) but more likely to be the more evocative poem of the same title by William Cowper (1731- 1800), first published in 1788. Cowper's *Poems* and a body of anti-slavery literature and tracts were in Liverpool library by 1792.

13 February **Lecture:** *Gore's Liverpool General Advertiser* advertised a variety of courses of public lectures, mainly on the natural sciences, at this time.

17 February **Vital Spark:** a hymn, words from Pope's ode *The dying Christian to his soul* c.1711; music by Edward Harwood of Darwen (1707-87) written 1786.

2 March **Marratan and Adila:** an early reference to Roscoe's and Currie's jointly written poem *The African* originally and confusingly entitled *The negroe's complaint*. The protagonists were Maraton and Adila. Currie arranged with Graham Moore for it to be published in London, anonymously, in March 1788. (Currie *Memoir of James Currie*, vol.1, 127-134; F E Sanderson: 'The Liverpool abolitionists', in Anstey and Hair eds., *Liverpool, the*

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African slave trade and abolition, THSLC Occasional Series Vol. 2, 1976).

- 11 March **Choral Concert:** a series of choral concerts at the Music Hall was advertised in *Gore's Liverpool General Advertiser* in March in addition to the orchestral series.
- 12 March **Dibdin:** Charles Dibdin (1745-1814) was a popular composer and writer. In 1788 he renounced the stage and began giving medley monodramas in London. Dibdin was recognized as a most successful seafaring and folk song composer. He published his *Musical tour* in 1788. A copy was in Liverpool library by 1792.
- 16 March **The Wrongs of Africa:** the anti-slavery poem by Roscoe. Part 1 was published 1787, part II in 1788. In 1787 Roscoe had also published *A general view of the African slave trade, demonstrating its injustice and impolity, with hints towards a bill for its abolition*. These actions made him into the leading public abolitionist in Liverpool (Sanderson, 'The Liverpool Abolitionists', 197-8, 201).
- 8 April: **Concert:** the fifth in the subscription series of orchestral concerts at the Music Hall.
- Vision of Theodore:** previously noted on 7 February 1787.
- 10 April the **Vision 'Ocean of Life':** 'The Ocean of Life', published in Samuel Johnson's *The Rambler*, no. 102,

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- Saturday, 9 March, 1751, This was re-printed in *The pleasing instructor: or, entertaining moralist. Consisting of select essays, relations, visions and allegories, collected from the most eminent English authors. To which are prefixed, new Thoughts on education. ...* (London, 1756), 171-176, and again in *The beauties of the Rambler, Adventurer, Connoisseur, World, and Idler. In two volumes. ...*(2 vols. London, 1787), vol. I, 194-96.
- 16 April **Johnson's Letters:** probably Mrs Piozzi's *Letters to and from the Late Samuel Johnson LL.D.*, published in 1788.
- 29 April **Concert:** this was a very grand choral benefit concert for the singer Mr. Meredith, with excerpts from Handel's *Judas Maccabeus* and *Athalia*, with words of the choruses available at the door to enable the audience to join in. (*Gore's Liverpool General Advertiser*, 17 April 1788).
- 14 May **St Nicholas:** 'In the course of the divine service a selection of sacred music will be performed' (*Gore's Liverpool General Advertiser*, 8 May 1788).
- 16 May **Cecilia:** Fanny Burney's novel was published in five volumes on 12 June 1782.
- 13 June **Read Johnsons's Sermon for the funeral of his wife:** published under the title *Sermons left for publication* by John Taylor, LL.D. in 1788.

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- 19 June **Socratic Discourse:** this probably refers to the educational booklet of the same title written by Thomas Percival in the form of stories, questions and answers. There was a French edition, which Hannah may have been given when she was staying in Manchester – almost certainly with the Percival's – ten days earlier.
- 25 June **The Play:** probably the *Beaux stratagem* by George Farquhar (1676/7-1707) which had opened the Theatre Royal season.
- 4 July **The Play:** the *Curious lovers* was then playing at the Theatre Royal.
- 7 July **Gillies' History of Greece:** *The history of ancient Greece, its colonies and conquests, from the earliest accounts till the division of the Macedonian empire in the East; including the history of literature, philosophy, and the fine arts*, (2 vols., 1786), by John Gillies (1747-1836).
- 22 July **Concert:** the ninth orchestral concert in the Music Hall subscription series.
- 31 July **Emmeline:** the novel by Charlotte Smith (1749-1806) published in 1788.
- 14 August **Reid on the Active powers:** Thomas Reid (1710-96) had *Essays on the intellectual powers of man* published in 1785 and *Essays on the active powers of man* in 1788. HL absorbed this in three consecutive days, probably as

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recommended by Dr. Currie, who was to write an article on this work for the *Analytical Review* which had been launched by Thomas Christie (1761-96) and Joseph Johnson in May 1788. Currie had written to Graham Moore in that same month to recommend that he study Reid on the intellectual and active powers of man. HL included a quotation in her 1799 book of *Observations* and seems to have been influenced by his thinking.

A copy of Reid's *Active powers* was in Liverpool library by 1790 (Currie, *Memoir of James Currie*, vol. I, 47; vol. II, 112, 115-6).

- 19 Aug **Hume's Essay on Taste:** *Of the standard of taste* by David Hume (1711-76) was first published in 1757.
- 21 September **Stackhouse History:** *A new history of the Holy Bible from the beginning of the world to the establishment of Christianity*, a compendium of stories from the Bible by Thomas Stackhouse (1681/2-1752). First published in 1733 it became a popular work of reference. On 29 January 1789 Dr. Currie tells HL that he 'does not like Stackhouse'.
- 9 November **Don Quixote:** picaresque classic by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra (1547-1616). Much admired and re-published in the eighteenth century. Tobias Smollet produced a popular new translation (1755), and Henry Fielding imitated it in his *The history of the adventures of Joseph Andrews and his friend Mr. Abraham Adams* (1742).

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23 November **Optical Deceptions:** possibly a reference to ‘Capital Deceptions’ the ‘philosophical experiments’ presented by Sieur Pinetti (Giuseppe Pinetti de Wildalle [1750-1800]), the famous Italian conjuror who is known to have promoted his show of that name at Liverpool in the autumn of that year general in: (*Gore’s Liverpool General Advertiser*, 11 November 1788). With Madame Pinetti he had pioneered the second sight trick.

1789

29 January **Temora:** *Temora; an ancient epic poem in eight books: together with several other poems* (1763), ostensibly by the ancient Scottish bard, Ossian, but in reality forged by James Macpherson (1736-96).

3 March **Concert:** the third concert of the orchestral series in the Music Hall.

10 March **Choral Concert:** this, the sixth choral concert in the subscription series, included a performance of Handel’s *Dettingen Te Deum*.

18 April **Meredith’s concert:** Mr. Meredith the popular soloist at many Liverpool concerts seems to have had regular benefit concerts. This concert programme included the first half of Handel’s *Alexander’s Feast*. (*Gore’s Liverpool General Advertiser* of 9 April 1789 referred to this taking place however on 14 April, with another Meredith concert on 18 April).

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- 4 May **The Play:** *King Charles the First* was playing at the Theatre Royal (*Manchester Mercury*, 28 April 1789).
- 19 June **History of England:** may refer to: Bishop Burnet's *History of his own time ... : From the Revolution to the ... Treaty of Peace at Utrecht, ...* To which is added the author's life, by the editor. (London: Printed for Thomas Ward, 1724-34) 2 vols. (fol.) Edited by his son, Sir Thomas Burnet. This is listed as being among HL's favourite books in 1810. But at this time there were many books published and promoted with similar titles.
- 22 June **Play:** John Philip Kemble was playing in *False appearances* by (or attributed to) General Conway.
- 13 July **Play:** Kemble was this time playing Norval in *Douglas* at the Theatre Royal.
- 28 September Read **Paley:** William Paley (1743-1805), at this time best known for his *Principles of moral and political philosophy* (1785).
- 28 October **Lecture:** John Knowles was advertising lectures in 'natural and experimental philosophy' in *Gore's Liverpool General Advertiser* at this time.
- 9 November **Play - Chose the Rivals:** play by Richard Brinsley Sheridan (1751-1816) where the heroine Lydia Languish, hopelessly addicted to romantic novels, prefers her suitor to be penniless rather than rich.

APPENDIX 2

Family Trees

Notes on family trees

The editor's aim has been to clarify some important relationships between individuals that are mentioned in Hannah Lightbody's diary. Those whose names occur in the diary are printed in **bold**.

The main sources for the information in the family trees are as follows:

Lightbody

Quarry Bank Mill archive.

Wills of Adam and William Lightbody in TNA (Prob 11/1043 and 11/1116).

Ernest Axon, *Memorials of the family of Nicholson* (Liverpool, 1928).

William Lightbody, *Lightbody history and records*, 1922 (typescript), in the ownership of Nick Lightbody.

Tylston

Quarry Bank Mill archive.

ODNB for Henry family.

Patricia Crawford, *Katharine and Philip Henry and their children: a case study in family ideology*, *THSLC*, vol. 134 (1984).

William Lightbody, *Lightbody history and records*, 1922 (typescript), in the ownership of Nick Lightbody.

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Greg and Hyde families

Quarry Bank Mill archive.

Mary B. Rose, *The Greys of Quarry Bank Mill* (Cambridge, 1986) and *The Greys of Styal* (London 1978).

Thomas M Truxes ed., *Letterbook of Greg & Cunningham 1756-57, Merchants of New York and Belfast*, (Oxford, 2001).

Will of Nathan Hyde in TNA (prob 11/1290).

Hodgson family papers: in the ownership of Jenny Smith and Dr Tim Paine.

William Lightbody, *Lightbody history and records*, 1922 (typescript).

Pares

Derbyshire Record Office (Pares Collection).

Hodgson family papers: in the ownership of Jenny Smith and Dr Tim Paine.

Nicholson

Ernest Axon, *Memorials of the family of Nicholson* (Liverpool, 1928). This includes a comprehensive family tree.

Hodgson family papers: in the ownership of Jenny Smith and Dr Tim Paine.

Percival and Cropper Families

ODNB for Christopher Bassnett and Thomas Percival.

Thornton, Robert Donald, *James Currie, the entire stranger and Robert Burns* (Edinburgh, 1963), for Anna Cropper.

Brooks and Ashton Families

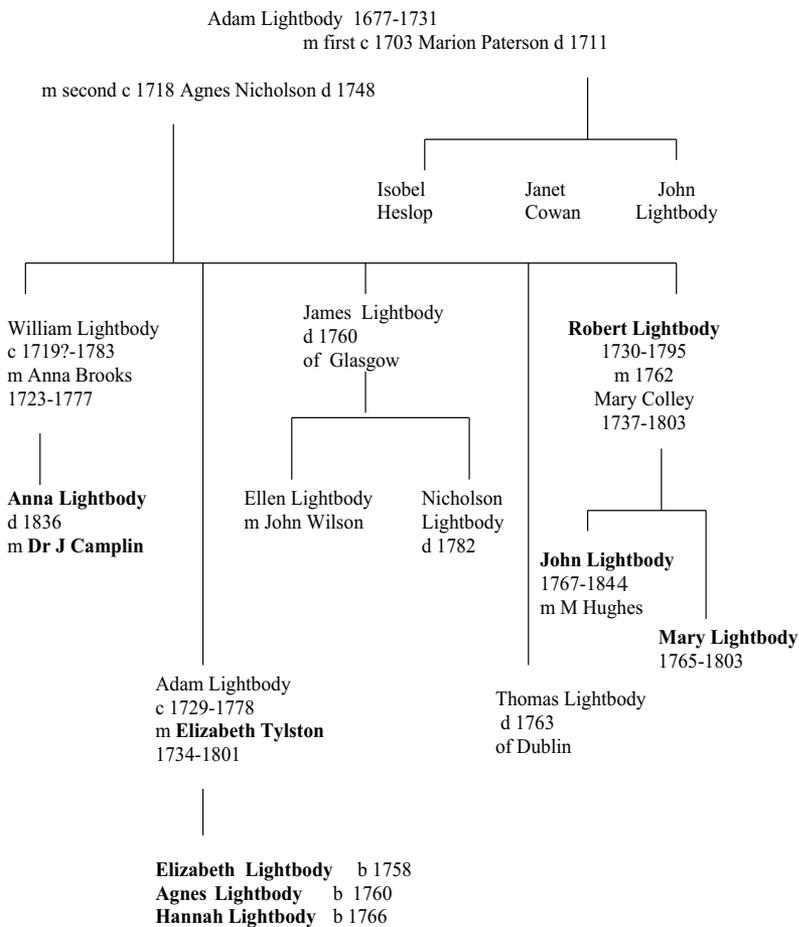
Brooke, R, *Liverpool as it was during the last quarter of the eighteenth century 1775-1800* (Liverpool, 1853), edition. 474/4 n.2 provides a useful table.

Will of William Lightbody.

Hodgson family papers: in the ownership of Jenny Smith and Dr Tim Paine.

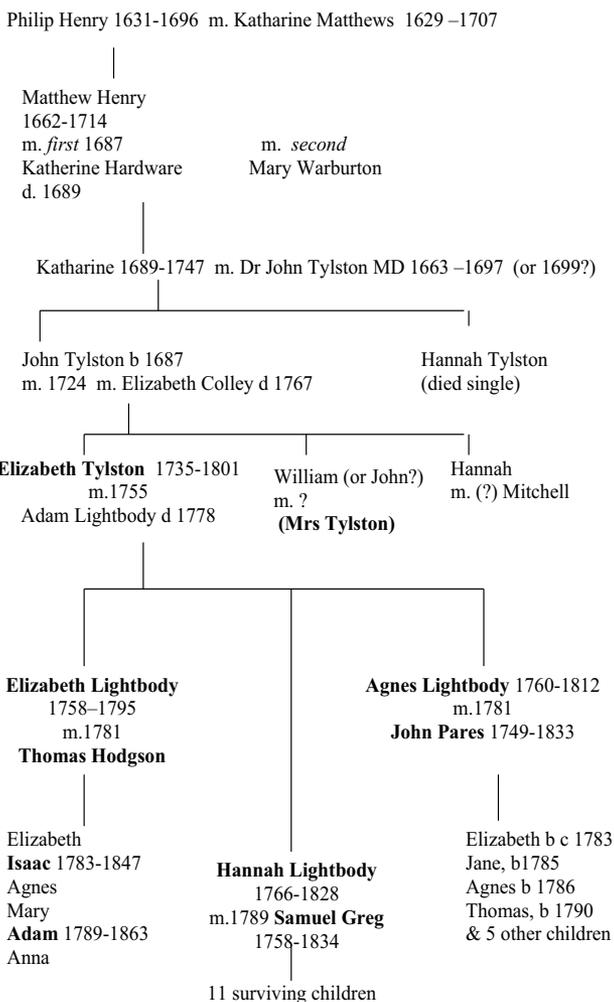
Appendix 2

Lightbody Family



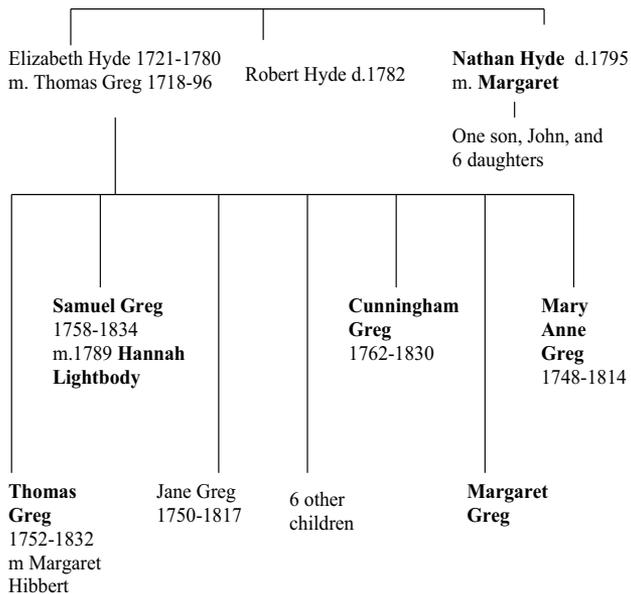
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Henry and Tylston Families



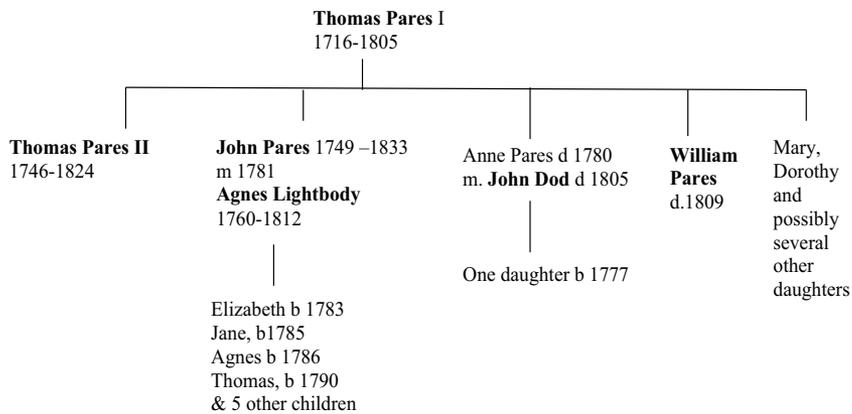
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Greg and Hyde Families



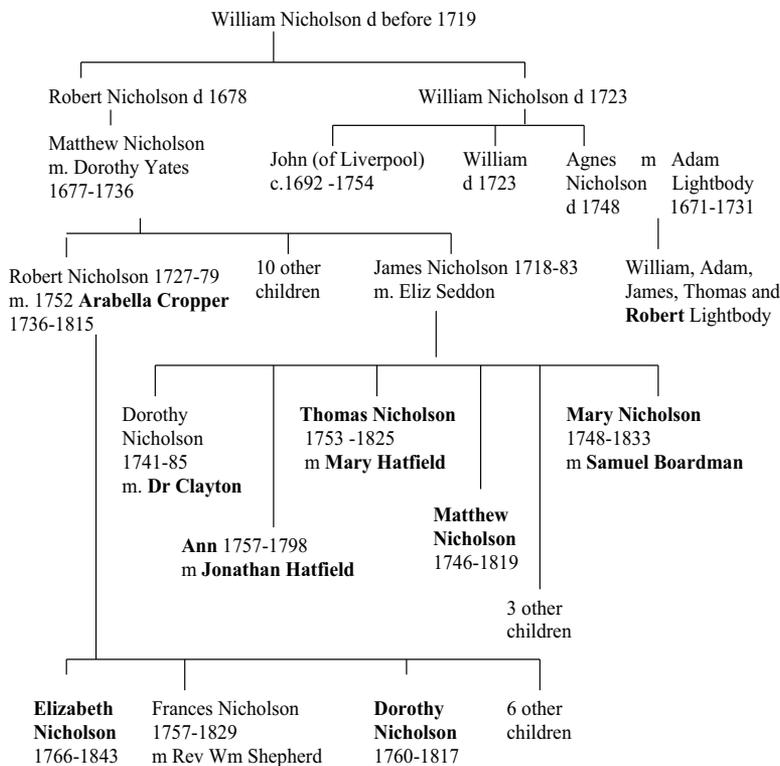
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Pares Family



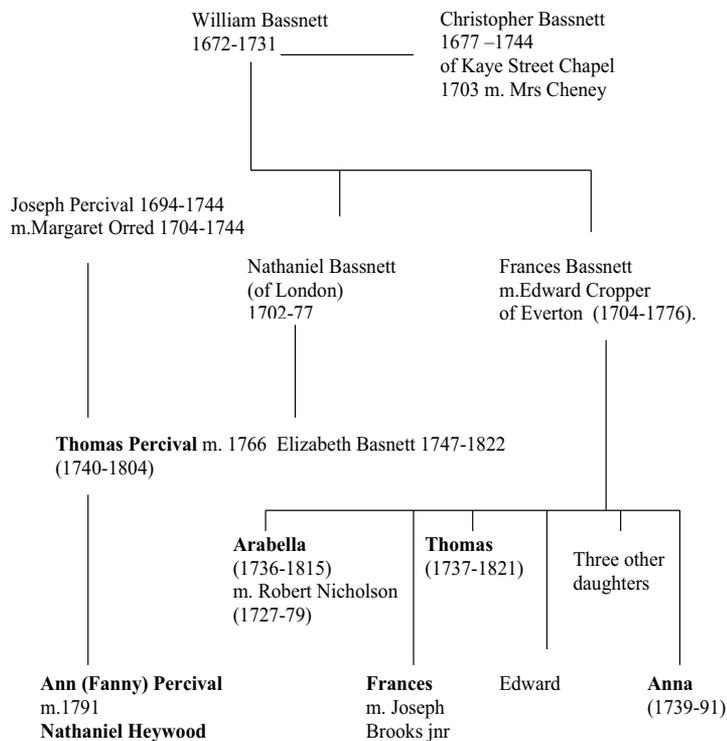
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Nicholson Family



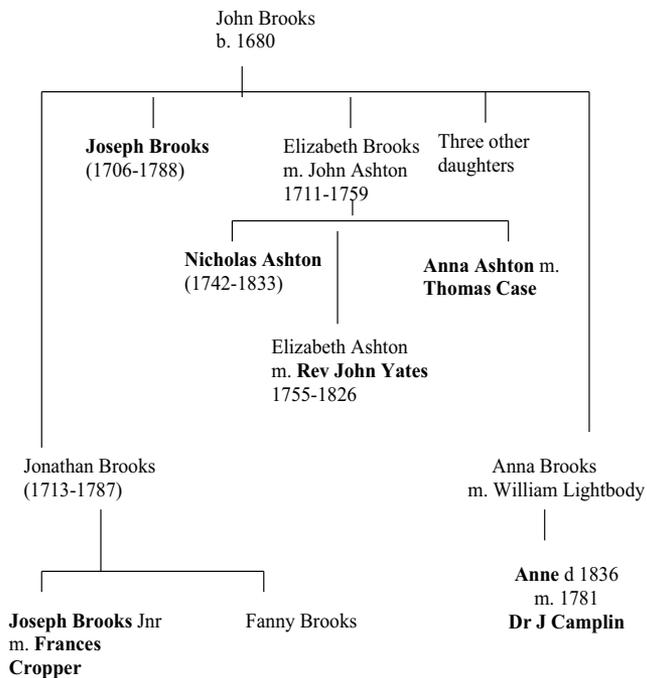
Appendix 2

Percival and Cropper



Appendix 2

Brooks and Ashton Families



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Liverpool University, Sidney Jones Library	Rathbone Collection
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Manchester City Library	Greg collection. Manchester Mercury Manchester Directories
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Quarry Bank Mill	Greg collection (The National Trust)
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Private Papers:

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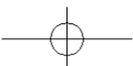
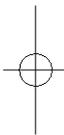
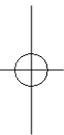
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EDITOR'S NOTES ON THE INDEX

- 1 **Pagination:** readers are reminded that the page numbers for the Introduction are in *italic*; note, too, that the references to footnotes are given to the page in which the reference appears in the text, even though the footnote may have been carried over to the following page.
- 2 All the **names** mentioned in the diary are included although in a number of cases they occur only once and we know nothing about them.

Where several members of the same family are listed under the family surname, they are indented and some attempts are made to define their relationship. Where possibly unrelated people share the same surname (eg Thornton, Hibbert), they are each given a line.

The abbreviation or abbreviations used by the diarist are noted first followed by the full attribution including title if appropriate (e.g. Dr. or Rev.) with a question mark added where the attribution is more conjectural.

- 5 **Places** are generally listed, without comment. The exceptions are odd spellings like Pembury (=Pendlebury).
Locations within London, Liverpool, and Manchester are listed as subheadings of London, Liverpool, Manchester etc. I have referred to Liverpool, Manchester etc. *and surrounding area* as I believe the official town boundaries at the time excluded some of the outlying communities visited and referred to
There are also other subheadings under Manchester; London, Liverpool, eg locations; institutions, events etc, which I hope readers would find useful .
Where locations are used by the diarist as shorthand for family or friends, I have indicated the connection: (eg St Paul's often implies the home of uncle Robert Lightbody and his family).
- 6 **Events and activities:** HL's are mainly relegated to Appendix 1; but Assemblies are listed under assemblies, rather than place, as they can be regarded as important collectively. Sermons reported are listed only when the contents are summarised.

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