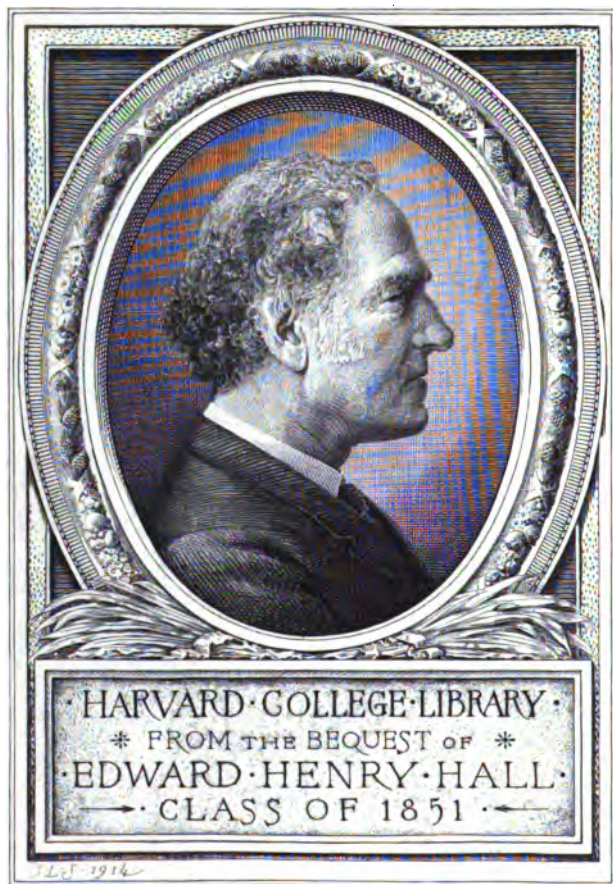
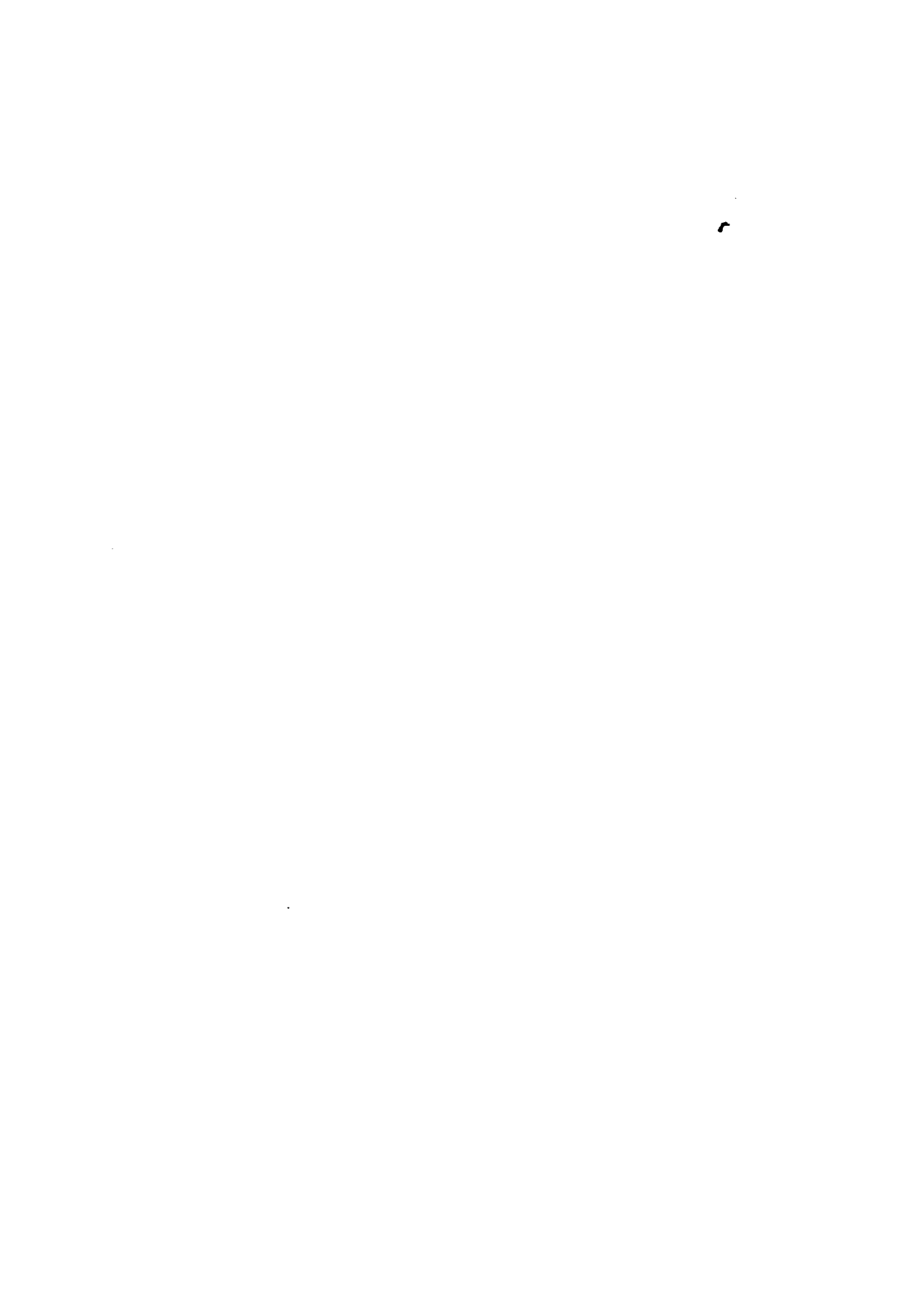


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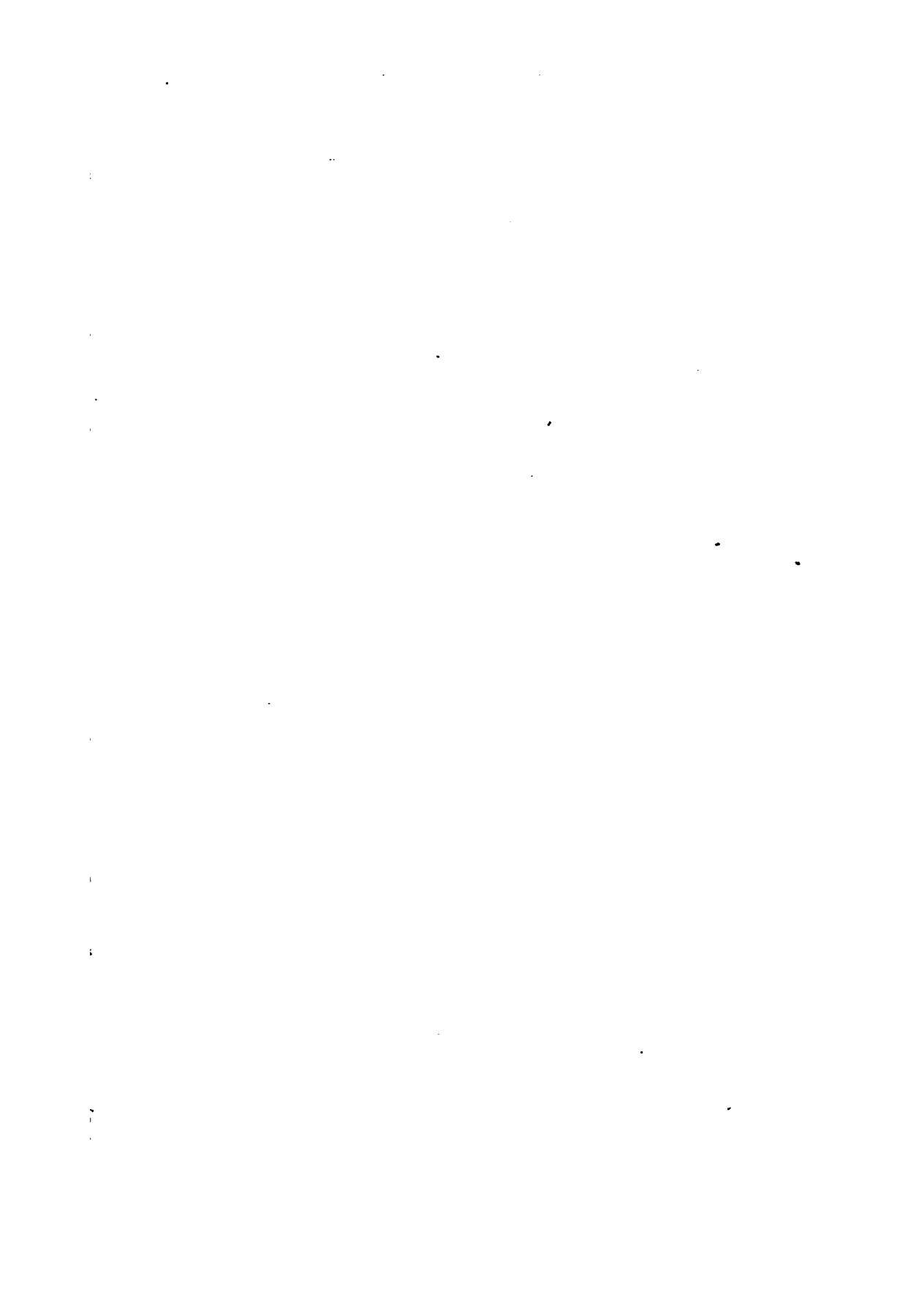
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THE  
LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE  
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THOMAS SLINGSBY DUNCOMBE.

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VOLUME I.

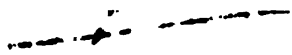
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Thomas Kingsley Duncombe, M.P.  
1840-1841





THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

# ALBERT EINSTEIN

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THE  
LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE  
OF  
THOMAS SLINGSBY DUNCOMBE,

LATE M.P. FOR FINSBURY.

EDITED BY HIS SON  
THOMAS H. DUNCOMBE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

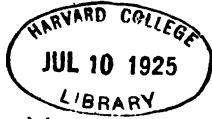
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THE Duncombes have contributed several of its members to the landed gentry of England who were descended from the family originally settled at Ivinghoe, Buckinghamshire. One received the now extinct distinction of baronet, and was seated in Surrey; another held an estate at Much Brickhill, in Buckinghamshire;

this branch has still its representative. In addition, there was a Duncombe, of Drayton, in the same county, whose eldest son was knighted, became Lord Mayor of London in 1708, and died in 1715. Sir Charles's younger brother, Anthony, left an only son—elevated to the peerage in 1747, by the title of Earl Feversham, Baron of Downton, Wilts—whose daughter, Anne, married Jacob Earl of Radnor, but the Lord Mayor's younger sister, Mary, inherited his fortune. Her husband assumed his name, and their daughter Mary married John, Duke of Argyll and Greenwich. The Earl leaving no issue, the title became extinct, but it was renewed in the person of his descendant, Charles, the eldest son of Charles Slingsby Duncombe, Esq., of Duncombe Park, Yorkshire. Lord Feversham's next brother, Thomas, of Copgrove, in the same county, married, in 1795, Emma, eldest daughter of Dr. Hinchcliffe, Bishop of Peterborough, whose eldest son, Thomas Slingsby Duncombe, born in the following year, is the subject of this memoir.

His immediate ancestors formed matrimonial alliances with the Earls of Carlisle and Onslow. Lord Feversham married Louisa, daughter of George, Earl of Galloway; one of his sons a daughter of Charles, second Marquis of Queensberry; another, the eldest daughter of Lord Cawdor, and the youngest daughter the Earl of Eldon. Members of the elder branch of the family were similarly connected with the Chandos, Kincardine, and Whitworth peerages. It may readily be imagined from such claims to lineage that the heir of Copgrove was brought up with decided aristocratic inclinations, which



were not likely to be lessened at Harrow, where he was sent for his education in the year 1808. Associated with him at this celebrated institution were generally the sons of noblemen and gentlemen, many of them belonging to what were considered "the governing families." Lord Byron had only just left, and had been preceded by a few years by Lord Palmerston; therefore traditions respecting both were fresh in the memory of their schoolfellows, some of whom were preparing to enter the arena in which they were then seeking distinction. Among young Duncombe's contemporaries were several who subsequently became competitors or supporters in the race he ran for distinction. The following is a list of the school, drawn up by himself a few months before he left it:—

## HARROW SCHOOL.

*Monitors.*—Lloyd, Gordon, Strickland, Grant, Graham, Fiott, Hedley, Mr. Percival, Knatchbull, Edridge.

*Upper Sixth Form.*—Jobling, Sperling, Sowerby, Long.

*Lower Sixth Form.*—Platt, Drury, Blake, Austin, Blackman, Markland, Ramsden, Tanno.

*Upper Fifth Form.*—Long, Welsh, Torlesse, Pennant, *Duncombe*, Spencer, Searle, Townsend, Stint, *sen.*, Ward, Gell, Cubitt, Wheatley, Northiste, Gilbert, Gossip, Cooke, *major*.

*Lower Fifth Form.*—Sowerby, *jun.*, Maclean, Thursby, Thompson, *sen.*, Hall, Wyndham, Windle, Lewis, *sen.*, Mr. Percival, *ma.*, Berridge, Smith, Rycroft, James.

*Upper Shell.*—Milbank, Thompson, *jun.*, Manners, *ma.*, Cocker, *sen.*, Windle, *sen.*, Mr. Percival, *mi.*, Sparrow, Cumberspeck, Leigh, Vivian, Yorke, *ma.*, Johnson, Gumston, *sen.*, Taslet, Hutton, Church, Buller, Franks, Mr. Phipps.

*Under Shell.*—Parkes, Chichester, Porter, Crooke, Crosbie,

Buckley, *sen.*, Evans, Henderson, Parry, Tait, Burket, Milbourne, Bosanquet, Quin, *sen.*, Northcote, *jun.*, Drummond, Callighan, Malcolm.

*Upper Fourth Form.*—Mr. Calthorpe, Cooke, *mi.*, Nicholson, Chandless, Lord Brudenell, Clutterbuck, Fairfield, Cooke, *mi.*, Murray, Lewis, *jun.*, Roche, *sen.*, North, Combe, Wimble, *jun.*, Rollock, Stapleton, *sen.*, Munro, *sen.*, Percival, *jun.*, Sturt, *jun.*, Baillie, Kelsall, Dewing, Talbot, Alcock, Hope.

*Second remove of Fourth Form.*—Buckley, *jun.*, Hornby, Lewin, Grimstone, *jun.*, Patterson, Munro, *jun.*, Yorke, *mi.*, Stapleton, *jun.*, Blackman, *jun.*, Phillips, Lawrence, Brooke, Carr.

*Last remove of Fourth Form.*—Isherwood, Taylor, Mr. Percival, *mi.*, Gordon, *jun.*, Causton, Fitzroy, Pritchard, Gray, *major*, Roche, *jun.*, Pearson, Preston, Harrington, Mitchell, Stanley, Ellis, Maclean, *jun.*

*Third Form.*—Macdonald, St. Leger, Marjoribanks, Bowen, Manners, *mi.*, Barker, Cocker, Cochel (*town boy*), Mr. Dundas, *sen.*, Layton.

*Second remove of Third Form.*—Platt, *minimus*, Mr. Dundas, *jun.*, Wade.

*Lower Third Form.*—Webb, Shepherd, Campbell, Hamilton.

*Unplaced.*—Lord Charles Murray, Charnock, Sir George Robinson, Coventry, Trevelyan, Gray, *minimus*, Midgeley, Daventry, Manners, *minimus*, Gray, *minimus*, Partridge; and the town boys, Loosly, Page, Deer, Hill, White and Knox.

In all, 175—a small number compared to its strength of late years.

Young Duncombe remained here till Christmas, 1811. A little before the term had expired, he was gazetted an ensign in the regiment of Coldstream Guards. He was then only fifteen, and, elated by his appointment, would not take the trouble to learn his lessons. The head-master, however, insisted on his

studying them as an imposition; and though the new-born dignity of the officer in the Guards, who could not reconcile himself to being treated as a school-boy, was, he fancied, lowered, he submitted.

He appears to have carried from Harrow a fair share of classical attainments, though probably not enough to have satisfied the great scholar who had superintended the studies of the school, and probably left behind him the influence of his politics.

With the other junior officers of the Household Brigade, Mr. Duncombe entered upon a career in which serious study was almost an impossibility. His enjoyment of the *agrémens* of town life were, however, soon disturbed by a summons from the Horse Guards to proceed with his regiment, which had been ordered to embark for foreign service. As the ensign has preserved a diary of his voyage and subsequent adventures during his first campaign, which possesses details of military service quite unfamiliar to the subaltern of the present day, it is here inserted:—

*Diary of Ensign Duncombe.*

1813. *November 21st.*—Marched at nine o'clock from the Birdcage-walk to Greenwich, where we embarked on board smacks for Harwich. I was on the rear-guard from London to Greenwich, and never were men more drunk than the major part of the Coldstreams.

*25th.*—On board the smack.

*26th.*—On board the smack; sick.

*27th.*—Arrived in Ouzely Bay, twenty miles below Harwich, and went on board the *Dictator*, Captain Croften, with whom we dined.

*28th.*—On board the *Dictator*; dined with the lieutenants,—a bad set, but a good dinner.

29th.—On board the *Dictator*. 30th.—Set sail for Holland.

December 1st.—On board the *Dictator*; bad wind.

2nd.—On board the *Dictator*; do.

✓ 3rd.—On board the *Dictator*.

4th.—On board the *Dictator*; a calm.

5th.—On board the *Dictator*, and anchored within six miles of Schevelinge.\*

6th.—Landed at Schevelinge at eleven o'clock, and then marched to the Hague, where we were most handsomely received by all; was billeted upon a Mr. Mirandole; a good house, and I had their state bed-room, without a fire,—what a bore! Dined at Lady Athlone's with Bentinck; eat an enormous dinner, and was much pleased with the Hollandois cooking; plenty of hock, champagne, and claret; got all my baggage safe; went to my billet; supped with my patron, and went to bed in state. John, my servant, says he "never seed" such people, that they would give him anything they had, but could not make them understand, as he could not speak Dutch.

7th.—Slept well, got up and went down to breakfast, and found my patroness and daughters, who gave me some thimble tea-cups of bad tea, and sweet plum biscuits; then went to parade at eleven, determining not to breakfast with my patroness again; after parade went with Gooch to the "Maréchal de Turenne" hotel, and had some chocolate and mutton-chops to make up for my bad *déjeuner*; passed the morning in looking about the place, and was much pleased by it; dined with my patron, who gave me a pretty fair dinner; played three rubbers of whist with that party, and won two of them; then supped and went to bed.

8th.—Breakfast in my own bed-room, and then went to the parade; went and ordered some dinner at the Maréchal de Turenne; bought a horse; took a walk with Cayler, and then dined with Walton, Shawe, Wigston, and Drummond at the Maréchal's; tea; went home to supper, and then to bed.

9th.—Breakfasted in my own room; went to the parade;

\* The orthography of the MS. is preserved.

we took a march to Schevelinge and back; took a ride with Cayler and Poingdestre; dined with my patron; went to see the bivouac of the Cossacks, a very curious sight; went to the comédie; saw given *Le Retour du Prince d'Orange, ou les Pecheurs de Scevelinge*; supped with my patron, and went to bed.

10<sup>th</sup>.—Breakfast in my own room; went to the parade; played a game at chess with my patron's son; saw sugar made from mangel-worsel; took a ride; pretty well pleased with my bargain; dined with my patron; a bad dinner; nothing but fish, so that I suppose they were Roman Catholics, and this was a fast-day, which did not suit me, so I went with Gooch and Cayler, and got some good dinner at the Maréchal de Turenne's; returned home to supper, and went to bed early, as we were to march the next morning to Delft. ✓

11<sup>th</sup>.—Marched at nine o'clock to Delft; sorry to leave the Hague; Gooch and I got a bad billet at a gin-shop, so we had it changed for one of the best houses in the town, and had a good dinner and supper with our patron, and a good bed.

12<sup>th</sup>.—Marched to Maynsluys; a very fine frosty day; but a bad town and bad billet; dined; then went and supped and smoked a pipe with Smith.

13<sup>th</sup>.—Marched to the Brill; had an uncommon wet march, and unpleasant crossing the Maze (Maas); had a tolerable billet; but unfortunately the patroness had her husband in the French service, as well as her son, so that of course she was not very agreeable; but we had a good dinner and a good bed; Brill is a very strong fortified place.

14<sup>th</sup>.—Marched to Helvoetsluys; a fine frosty day; and a very strong place; went out to see if there was any skating, but found none; the French had been here seven days before us; dined at the inn with Gooch; had a good dinner, and found some port wine; went home to my billet at a tallow-chandler's shop.

15<sup>th</sup>.—Stayed at Helvoetsluys; a stupid place; wrote to England; dined at the inn with Gooch, Powys, and ✓

Eyre, and Smith; went to bed at eight, intending to be called at three in the morning.

16th.—Got up at three o'clock, and got some tea, and went on board a smack to go to Williamstadt, where we arrived about two o'clock, after a very cold passage; marched the company to the barracks; got my billet; had a room with a fire and bed; went and bought some beef and fish; boiled them both, and made a good dinner; wrote this; went to bed.

17th.—Marched to Steenberg; a very long march, very dirty, and much rain. Crossed two ferries; got to Steenberg about three, on the rear-guard, and most of the old men were knocked up; got my billet at a tobacco shop; very civil people; gave me a good dinner of beef-steaks; had some coffee; went to bed on the ground, not having my bed with me (as all the heavy baggage was ordered to be left at Williamstadt).

18th.—Got up; had my breakfast; went to parade; we halted here for one day; went out shooting with Walton and Gooch; got one shot at partridges, but was driven home by the rain; read; got my dinner (fried beef); Gooch came and drank a bottle of wine with me; had some tea and went to bed.

19th.—We marched from Steenberg, to make room for the Thirty-third, to some farmhouses about two miles off; our company had two good barns; Talbot and I got a good dinner off two fowls, which we had just killed at an adjoining farmhouse, and eggs and bacon; smoked a pipe; Shaw and Gooch came and sat with us; gave them some tea, and went to bed with straw and sheets and greatcoats.

20th.—Remained here and got a good farmer's breakfast; went with Talbot to Steenberg to get provisions in a cart; brought home plenty of wine and meat; had a good dinner; Shaw came to sit with us and smoke a pipe till bedtime.

21st.—Got up; and at breakfast Bligh arrived with all our heavy baggage, to our great delight; went with him and Talbot in a cart to Steenberg for more provisions; had a good dinner; and found our own beds a great comfort.

22nd.—Had a famous breakfast upon veal kidneys ; went shooting with Smith ; we never saw a head of game ; his dog was worth nothing ; went home to dinner. Bligh dined with us ; got a letter from England ; had a good dinner, then tea, and bedtime.

23rd.—Breakfast ; Mills called upon us ; went out with him with my gun, hearing there was a covey of birds near us ; a very bad day ; remained in the farmhouse ; and at ten o'clock all our baggage was taken away, as the French were advancing ; and we were ordered to be ready to march at a moment's warning.

24th.—Got some boiled milk, and went to the village to hear the news, but heard none, excepting that we were about two miles from the French, and that the Coldstreams was the advance, as all the other troops had moved off to Steenberg and Williamstadt ; returned to my company, and found Loftus with orders for our marching to another farmhouse nearer Steenberg ; got the company out. Graham came by, and asked me where I was going, and a few questions about where the villages were, &c. ; marched to another farmhouse about a mile from Steenberg, and then got upon my horse to go there for provisions, and a few dressing things for myself and Talbot ; got home about five. We dressed our own dinner—hashed rabbit and fowl, and boiled leg of mutton and turnips ; Loftus and Mills dined with us ; Talbot got a bed, I got a mattress, and took the window curtains for sheets, and went to bed.

25th.—Slept well ; had a good breakfast upon the hashed mutton and boiled milk ; took a walk to Mills's ; I had some luncheon there ; we marched then to Steenberg, where I got my billet. It was refused at first ; but I sent to the Burgomaster to know whether it was good. He said it was, so I broke into the house with my servants, licked the patrons for their impudence, and made them give me a fire ; treating them *à la Cossaque*, as they were very much against the English, and said they wished the French back. I asked for a piece of bread, and the man showed me a baker's-shop, upon which I reconnoitred his

kitchen — found some bread, cheese and butter, and Geneva, which I made free with ; dined with Hawkins at half-past six ; there was Mills and Lake there ; came home and went to bed. One way of passing a Christmas-day ! Got all our baggage back.

26th.—Had some breakfast, and foraged the patron's kitchen for it ; I am on the main guard ; lunched with Talbot and Mills ; walked on the ramparts with Cuyler ; turned out the picquet to Graham [the general], and hashed a hare for dinner, with Cayler and Bentinck ; had a good dinner—soup, fowls, and the hare ; went to my old patron, and ordered my baggage to be packed up, and rowed him for his principles ; went home to Cayler's house, and sat there all night, as I could not go to bed, being on the guard.

27th.—At five o'clock turned out the guard to the picquets coming in ; we marched to Old Castel at ten o'clock ; I was on the rear guard ; we left Steenberg to its fate, and the people very sulky ; we had a good march ; arrived at Old Castel about four ; found a room without flue, but soon had the carpenter to make a chimney ; dined with Loftus ; came home, and had my own bed down.

28th.—We remained at Old Castel ; had the parade at eleven ; tried a pointer, and bought it ; went riding, and dined with Mills, Talbot, and Loftus.

29th.—Remained at Castel ; breakfasted with Cayler ; went to the parade, and mounted the main guard ; dined with Talbot and Mills ; and returned to the guard.

30th.—Was relieved by Powys ; went out shooting with Mills ; found very few birds ; came home and dressed for dinner ; passed a pleasant evening, and went to bed.

31st.—Went out shooting after breakfast with Mills ; killed a few birds, but too foggy to shoot ; so came home and had a good dinner with Perceval, and Mills, and Talbot ; we drank "the old year out and the new one in."

1814. *January 1st.*—Remained at Old Castel ; Loftus and Mills went out shooting with me ; much pleased with my pointer ; exchanged my single-barrel gun for Mills'



double ; we all got into the ditches, and had famous fun ; Mills and Talbot dined with me.

*2nd.*—Had a parade ; went out shooting with Perceval and Gooch ; I killed four ducks, one dog and one cat, one partridge—a good day ; dined with Cayler and Bentinck ; we went and roused up the doctors about twelve, and they turned out of bed ; we nearly got fired upon by the inhabitants, as they were convinced we were the French. ✓

*3rd.*—Mounted the main guard ; had my breakfast ; turned out to Cooke and Mackenzie ; sat with Jack Talbot ; went to dress for dinner ; we dined by ourselves ; went to the main guard, where I laid down.

*4th.*—At five o'clock went to breakfast with Bentinck and Cayler, who were going to the Hague (commenced acting as adjutant) ; went to Adams ; was relieved by Powys on the main guard ; had my breakfast ; went to Finart for pay, but did not find Jones ; heard the shocking news from Spain,\* and got a letter from England ; went to the orderly-room, and gave out the orders ; dined at home with Jack Talbot ; and went to bed.

*5th.*—Got up ; a rainy morning ; wrote to England, and began a letter to White ; breakfasted ; gave out the orders ; nothing but snow ; sat at home ; I dined with Perceval and Bligh, and went home to bed.

*6th.*—Had a parade ; went to Adams for orders ; went to breakfast ; gave out the orders ; went to Finart for pay with Perceval ; got it ; coming home we found the ferry overflowed ; obliged to go across in a small boat ; left the cart and horse behind ; drove down the stream a long way ; at last arrived ; waded through mud up to our knees ; found a couple of cart horses saddled on the other side ; got upon them ; and arrived at Old Castel to dinner at seven o'clock with Adams ; and went to bed, and slept sound after the fatigues of the day.

*7th.*—Had the parade ; went to breakfast ; went out shooting ; killed a leash of birds ; dined with Adams ; went to bed ; just going in Adams sent for me ; the French had licked

\* No disaster occurred at this period.

the Prussians near Breda; went and doubled all the picquets; sent patrols; and visited the outposts and picquets at twelve and three; did not go to bed; the battalion turned out at five; I stayed till eight, but nothing happened.

8th.—Had the parade at ten: got my breakfast; we had two courts-martial; dined with Talbot; and went early to bed.

9th.—Bentinck returned; gave up my adjutancy; we marched to Steenbergen; had quarters with Mills and Talbot; and Hawkins, Jones, and Barret dined with us; and went to bed.

✓ 10th.—We marched to Wouw—a horrid bad place; Talbot went to Tholen with the old men; got quarters with Cayler and Gooch, and dined with Bentinck; then returned home.

11th.—Remained at Wouw; was on the main guard; went to skate; rode with Cayler, and bought fowls; dined with Cayler and Gooch.

12th.—Remained at Wouw; had our breakfast; went and skated; called upon Mills; dined with Gooch; and went to bed early.

✓ 13th.—Called up at three with orders for marching; we got up and marched to Achterbrook, near Antwerp—a miserable hole; got quarters with Cayler by turning out the Deputy-Deputy's Postmaster-General, who was in a great rage; but we soon convinced him, by *vi et armis*, that His Majesty's Guards had a preference to quarters before him; had some dinner; and went to bed at eight.

14th.—Called up at three o'clock for a picquet on the Antwerp road; was relieved at nine by the Fifty-fourth; followed the battalion to Wouw; got my old billet; and Taylor gave me the orders for marching the following day to Steenbergen; Cayler and Bentinck dined with me.

15th.—Marched at nine to Steenbergen; got my old quarters; had my dinner; and went to bed early, not sorry to have left that barbarian country.

16th.—Remained at Steenberg; took Cayler into my quarters, as he was turned out of his; Lambert dined with us.

17th.—Remained at Steenberg; went upon picquet at Coveing.

18th.—Was relieved at four o'clock, and got home about six; dined with Lambert; and not sorry to get to bed.

19th.—Went to parade; skated and wrote letters; Lambert, Bentinck, and Talbot dined with us; did not sit late.

20th.—Remained at Steenberg; was on the barrack duty.

21st.—Duke of Clarence arrived, and inspected us; was sent on picquet towards Bergen-op-Zoom—a miserable hovel; was relieved pretty early the next morning.

22nd.—Was relieved by the First Guards, and went out shooting; Hawkins lent me his gun, but found no game; dined at home, and had a regular blow-up with the mistress, who wanted to turn us out, but we barricaded the house, and showed fight. The Burgomaster came; he went out quicker than he came in, and said he should speak to the General.

23rd.—Slept without being disturbed by the patroness; had a parade; went to church at one; went and skated, and wrote letters; dined at home.

24th.—We remained at Steenberg, and carried on the war with our patroness.

25th.—Remained at Steenberg; went out shooting; not much sport; dined with Hesketh.

26th.—Went on picquet, and relieved the Third Regiment; nothing extraordinary there.

27th.—Was relieved by the First Guards; went and skated; dined with Dashwood.

28th.—Still at Steenberg; we went out with Mills' troop, and charged some woodcutters to great advantage; dined with Talbot.

29th.—A monstrous bad day; no parade; nothing but snow; Loftus, Hesketh, Drummond, Perceval, and Cayler.

dined with me at my new quarters, which I have changed by turning men out and putting them in my deserted house; and we have much the best of the bargain.

*30th.*—Ordered to march; went in a carriage with Perceval to Esschen, and arrived about four o'clock; had pretty good quarters with Mills and Perceval.

*31st.*—Marched by daybreak to West Wesel; I was on the baggage guard; arrived there about three; a most wretched and deserted village, having been just romped by the French; got miserable quarters.

*February 1st.*—Marched to Westread, about four miles from Antwerp; a bad and wet march; arrived there about three; we got bad quarters.

*2nd.*—Marched at daybreak to attack the French at Merxham, about a mile from Antwerp; the light division attacked about eight o'clock, and we supported; and about twelve we drove them from their village into the town, taking a good many prisoners, and killing as many. I was on a covering party immediately after we arrived, and the rest began to erect batteries against Antwerp. They shelled us a good deal; I was then detached with fifty men to a post on the right of the village, to defend our right, and there I found a snug house; but the balls rattled about it a good deal.

*3rd.*—Jones visited me in the morning, and we went to attack an enemy's picquet in a wood, but we found there was treble our number, so we returned without firing a shot at them, though they kept up a brisk fire against us. I was relieved about two o'clock by the Twenty-fifth, and then marched to the cantonment, as we were fairly shelled out of the village; had some dinner; went to the top of a windmill to see the battering, which was very hot on both sides; and then laid down in my cloak pretty tired.

*4th.*—Went on picquet again under a very heavy fire; lost a few men; laid down under the bank; the firing ceased towards night; procured a cold chicken and some brandy about nine, and got through the night pretty well, but was excessively cold.

5th.—Was relieved about seven in the morning ; part of our village on fire, and some of our guns dismounted ; things going on very badly ; marched the men up to their cantonment ; the batteries were opened again, but they said to no use, as they never hurt the fleet. I was rather unwell ; sent for the surgeon ; he seemed to think it was a touch of the ague ; advised me to go to bed. As there was none to be found, Adams sent me to Breschat, to the baggage ; I relieved Cayler from that duty, and he went up to the battalion ; got some tea, and went to bed.

6th.—Much better by my night's rest ; had a row with some officers of Engineers and the Trotters, who wanted my quarters, but I told them they must burn the fleet first before they should turn me out ; they went off in the pouts, saying, "that the Guards always got the best quarters, and that nobody cared where they were." I told them I was sure I did not ; Worrell arrived, and said, "that the battalion was coming, and the siege was to be raised ;" about two o'clock Perceval, and Mills, and I, got our old quarters ; and went to bed very early after the fatigues.

7th.—Remained at Breschat ; Mills set off for England ; horrid stupid work.

8th.—Marched at five to Jundau (Jerensdam) ; a monstrous wet day ; got bad quarters with Perceval and Bentinck, and the young one came.

9th.—No parade ; rode over to Breda with Perceval, Bentinck, and Lambert, in about an hour ; got some luncheon, and made a few purchases ; saw the Saxon army ; a dirty town.

10th.—Marched at seven to Rosendaal ; a nasty foggy day, and bad roads ; got pretty good quarters to myself ; and dined with Perceval.

11th.—Parade ; took a ride towards Bergen-op-Zoom ; and dined with Bentinck, Adams, and Park, &c.

12th.—Remained at Rosendaal ; rode over to Steenberg ; water almost all the way ; saw Jack Talbot and Loftus ; dined with Cayler.

13th.—Remained at Rosendaal; wrote some letters; church; dined with Shaw.

14th.—Rode over to Nipsen; Adams, Bentinck, Perceval, and Bligh dined with me.

15th.—On a general court-martial at Rosendaal, on two men of the Third Guards; dined with Perceval.

16th.—The court-martial continued at Rosendaal; I was not quite well, having a sore throat; dined with Walton, our Acting Major.

17th.—Still at Rosendaal; the court-martial concluded.

18th.—Went over to Steenberg; dined with Talbot; and stayed there all night.

19th.—Returned to Rosendaal, and Jack Talbot came back with me to stay a day; we dined by ourselves; got rather beery, as usual.

20th.—Went to parade; then to church; we dined with Perceval.

21st.—Went back with Jack Talbot to Steenberg, and dined with him and Loftus, and then went to the ball; capital fun; the young lady shopkeepers affected fine; waltzed with some; and went to bed about one.

22nd.—Stayed at Steenberg; went shooting with Loftus; he killed three couple of ducks and I two; very fair sport; I was well pleased with my new purchased gun; we dined with Loftus, and Perceval and Hesketh came.

23rd.—Returned with Perceval to Rosendaal; dined with him; and found my cook dead drunk.

24th.—Went out duck shooting; killed a couple of mallards; the frost very severe.

25th.—Went out shooting with Cayler, but could get no shots; the ducks were too wild; dined at home by myself—something extraordinary—but I had refused two invitations.

26th.—Cooke inspected the Brigade; I went out shooting; only killed a teal; and dined with Bentinck.

27th.—Parade; wrote a letter home; went to church; and dined at home.

28th.—We moved from Rosendaal to Nipsen; pretty good quarters.

*March 1st.*—Marched about one to Kalmont; a very rainy day.

*2nd.*—Marched about two to Stabrock; was on the baggage guard; the French had been here this morning; dined at home; got a capital house with Perceval.

*3rd.*—Remained at Stabrock; took a ride; dined at home.

*4th.*—Still at Stabrock; went shooting; up to our necks in water, and killed nothing; the ducks too wild.

*5th.*—At Stabrock; rode out; Adams, Hesketh, Count Bentinck, and Barnet dined with us.

*6th.*—Got up early to see the working party go off to work at Fort Hendrick; was Acting Adjutant for Bentinck, as he had gone to the Barrosa dinner.

*7th.*—At Stabrock; rode up to Berendeith; dined with Hawkins.

*8th.*—Went on picquet at half-past three in the morning at Fort Hendrick; very bad fun; stayed there all day and night.

*9th.*—Not relieved; heard that Bergen-op-Zoom had been stormed with great loss.\*

*10th.*—Not relieved; very tired.

*11th.*—Not relieved; took the Burgomaster of Lille's papers; was sick of the picquet, as we had not been to bed or changed our clothes.

*12th.*—Was relieved, to our great delight; we marched to Putte, and remained there all night; very happy to have got into bed again.

*13th.*—We joined the battalion at West Wesel, and fired a *feu de joie* for the news of the allies.†

*14th.*—At Wesel; was Acting Adjutant, as Bentinck was Acting Brigade Major; in the place of Stohert, wounded; very bad quarters here.

*15th.*—At Wesel; Macdonell, our new Commanding Officer, joined us; and he dined with Perceval and me.

\* Sir Thomas Graham was repulsed.

† Victories of Craone and Laon on the 7th and 9th.

16th.—West Wesel; took a ride; dined at home with Perceval.

17th.—The Steenbergen detachment arrived; Jack Talbot dined with us.

18th.—Rode to Loenhout; a much better place than this.

19th.—At West Wesel; went out shooting with Barnet, but found nothing.

20th.—Perceval went to Brussels; wrote letters; and dined with Macdonell.

21st.—Rode with Bentinck to Breschat to see the work there; never was there so poor a fortification; came home, and set off with Talbot to Calmhout to dine with Sir T. Graham; we got there about seven. I was glad to find we were in time, as six was the dinner hour; the roads were terribly bad, the dinner rather dull, and Graham seemed low. We came home about one in a spring waggon and four horses, as we were afraid of going in the cart, being dark, and bad roads; we were nearly overturned in the waggon. We knocked up a bos at the first house, and made him wade through the mud with a lantern; luckily we found ourselves safe again at West Wesel.

22nd.—Went to parade, and then went out shooting with three beagles; had a good run or two; I shot only one rabbit, a plover, and a pigeon; dined at home alone; and went to bed pretty early.

23rd.—At West Wesel.

24th.—At West Wesel; sent for my portmanteau to Williamstadt; went out with the beagles; had a short run, but did not kill.

25th.—At West Wesel; went out shooting with Berkeley Drummond, but killed nothing; dined at home.

26th.—Stayed at home nearly all the day; turned out the battalion just before dinner-time, and marched up to the *chaussée*, but found that it was a false alarm. N.B. The greater part of the battalion was drunk. Dined at home.

27th.—At West Wesel; a bad day; dined with Hesketh; and wrote letters to England.



28th.—Still at West Wesel, though it had been reported that we were to have marched every day; wrote official letters to the Paymaster for Macdonell.

29th.—At West Wesel; nothing extraordinary.

30th.—*In statu quo*; went out with the beagles; had not much sport, being a hot day.

31st.—Went out with the beagles; had a large field; Macdonell was out with us; there was one or two bad falls; Perceval and party came home from Brussels; I dined with Jack Talbot and suite.

April 1st.—At West Wesel; a very bad day; had not much sport with the beagles.

2nd.—More rain; we fired a *feu de joie* for the news of the allies;\* dined with Hawkins and Barnet.

4th.—At West Wesel; rode over to the fort at Breschat, to see Perceval.

12th.—We gave a dinner party to Adams, &c.

16th.—Marched at six o'clock, to our great delight, to West Maarle—a nice village; dined with Adams.

17th.—Marched on to Lier—a good town, and was billeted at a priest's house, who bothered me with his too great civility.

18th.—At Lier; rode out towards Antwerp.

19th.—Saw the lace manufactory; was introduced to General Ferguson, and dined with him.

20th.—At Lier; rode out and dined with the General.

21st.—At Lier—a very bad, rainy day; played at billiards, and dined with General Ferguson.

22nd.—Rode down to see the Chateau de Buckhout, and dined avec le General.

23rd.—Joined General Ferguson at the Chateau, and like it very much.†

24th.—Took a ride out with Boldero; a large dinner party.

27th.—Sir T. Graham dined with us at the Chateau.

30th.—Went to see the Guards fire the *feu de joie* for the opening of Antwerp.

\* They had entered Paris.

† The General named him his aide-de-camp.

*May 1st.*—Rode over to Brussels with Boldero—a very good town; dined at the Belle Vue with Trench, and went to the play, which was miserably bad.

*2nd.*—Returned from Brussels to the Chateau, and lunched at Malines with some of the Guards.

*3rd.*—Drove to Leir with Webster, and from thence into Antwerp, without a passport, but got through without much difficulty; had some luncheon; saw the garrisons of Bergen-op-Zoom, Batts, Lille, &c., march in, and returned home to dinner.

*4th.*—Rode to head-quarters, and dined with Ferguson there—a very bad dinner.

*5th.*—Went into Antwerp in state with Sir T. Graham, &c.; rode round the ramparts, citadel, &c., and came home to dinner.

*6th.*—Rode out with Ferguson, and a large party at dinner at home, Generals Halkett, Gibbs, &c.

*7th.*—Went with General Ferguson to dine at General Cooke's, to meet the Austrian commissioner—a grand dinner; all the Bigwigs present.

*8th.*—Drove Ferguson's German waggon with my two Dutch horses, with Boldero, into Antwerp, and took Jones home with us.

*9th.*—Rode with Ferguson to Antwerp; saw a most beautiful collection of pictures, and bought a few books rather cheap.

*10th.*—Dined at home, and went to the play at Antwerp.

*11th.*—Stayed at Antwerp, and dined with General Cooke.

*12th.*—Rode home to Buchout, and dined there.

*16th.*—Went to a ball at Antwerp, which was rather gay.

*20th.*—Left Buchout, and went to Antwerp, and dined with General Cooke.

*21st.*—Set out at six o'clock by a Dutch schuyt to Flushing, where we arrived about five o'clock—a fair wind; and we saw Leivinsuch, an amazing strong fortress; got good beds and dinner; the party consisted of the General, Jones, Colonel Smith and his aide-de-camp, and me.

22nd.—Went round the ramparts and town—well worth seeing, but a wet day; went to Middelburg, where we dined and slept; rather a good inn and town.

23rd.—Looked about the town; went to Tarvere, but in consequence of the weather and a gale of wind, we could not put to sea, so returned to Middelburg, and looked into all the curiosity shops.

24th.—Still windbound at Middelburg, as it was blowing a most boisterous gale.

25th.—The weather had improved; we went to Tarvere, where we embarked for Bergen-op-Zoom, and arrived there about five o'clock; got our dinner, and went to bed early.

26th.—Walked round the town and ramparts; saw the different places of attack, &c., well worth seeing; went to Antwerp in a coach and four, and dined with General Cooke.

27th.—Set off to Brussels, and got in in time for dinner; then went to the play.

28th.—Got a pretty good billet, and went through the regular routine of fashion here; dinner at three; *Allée Verte* at five; play at eight.

The historian of the Coldstream Guards gives the following account of the campaign:—"While the first battalion was engaged in driving the French out of Spain, six companies of the second battalion of the Coldstreams had embarked at Greenwich for Holland, under Lieutenant-Colonel Adams, on the 24th of November, 1813, and landed at Schevelling on the sixth of December; from which place they marched to the Hague, and thence to Delft and Helvoetsluys. On the 16th they embarked and sailed to Williamstadt, and went to Steenberg, then moved into cantonments near Bergen-op-Zoom, and returned to Steenberg on the 9th of January, where they were

inspected on the 21st by his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence. They passed through Esschen, West Wesel, and continued their route through Rosendale, Staebroeck to Santoliet for the purpose of attacking the fortress of Bergen-op-Zoom."

After detailing the attack on this fortress, he adds: "The six companies of the second battalion of the Coldstreams were successively quartered at West-Wesel, Mechlin, Lippelo, and Dendermonde. They afterwards crossed the Scheldt, and took possession of Antwerp. On the 3rd of August they moved to Mechlin, and entered Brussels next day. On the 2nd of September the colours and four companies joined from England, completing the detachment to ten companies."\*

In the six companies there were two lieutenant-colonels, L. F. Adams and H. Loftus, six captains, W. S. Walton (acting adjutant), Thomas Bligh, Charles Shawe, John Talbot, G. H. Perceval, and W. G. Baynes; and six Ensigns, J. Mills, T. S. Duncombe, F. Eyre, T. Powys, H. Gooch, and A. Cayler; with Capt. C. A. F. Bentinck—and George Smith and Septimus Worrell, Assistant Surgeons.

The young soldier remained at Brussels, enjoying its gaieties with much zest. The campaign was over—his General was elevated to the British peerage, with the title of Lynedoch; but, with this exception, the march from Holland to Belgium had not been remarkable for results. Ensign Duncombe had, however, learnt something of the art of war, and had had the advantage of having been under fire. There

\* "Origin and Services of the Coldstream Guards." By Colonel Mackinnon, ii. 207.

seemed nothing more to do for the gallant Coldstreams, and they returned home. Napoleon was at Elba—Louis XVIII. at Paris—and there was a Congress at Vienna, in which everything was to be settled in the best possible manner for all concerned. Peace was firmly established in Europe, and the Prince Regent giving splendid entertainments in London, in honour of the Duke of Wellington, and decorating every officer who had distinguished himself. Heroes were never so plentiful in London society; but there seemed a probability of their being out of employment for the rest of their lives.

To be sure there was a war going on between Great Britain and the United States of America, both by sea and land; but it soon terminated, and the portion of the Household Brigade on foreign service went back to their ordinary duty.

Suddenly the news burst upon the lovers of peace, of the return of Napoleon to the Tuileries, and the flight of Louis to the nearest place of safety. The regiments of Guards were at once on the *qui vive*; the Coldstreams held themselves in readiness for a very different campaign to that of Holland; the Congress of peace were employed in making declarations of war; and England prepared for her final struggle with her illustrious enemy.

The company to which Ensign Duncombe belonged appears to have returned to England; at any rate they had no share in the glory obtained by their comrades for their gallant defence of Hugoumont that contributed materially to the grand victory of Waterloo. The ensign obtained his lieutenantancy on the 23rd of November, 1815, and thenceforth ranked with captains

in regiments of the line. Captain Duncombe obtained no higher promotion.

Since the disclosures created by Colonel Wardle's motion for an inquiry into the conduct of the Duke of York, military promotion had been arranged with a little more decency. Mrs. Clarke had ceased to be a medium for commissions for any one willing to offer her a sufficient bribe; and the Duke of York had learnt, at no slight cost, to conduct the business of the Horse Guards with a proper regard both for the interest and the respectability of the service. During the time Captain Duncombe performed subaltern duty with the Coldstreams, a commission in the British army, that had gained a European fame under the command of Wellington, was a distinction, to hold which it was thought none but gentlemen by birth ought to aspire. In some regiments this idea was maintained so tenaciously, that when any person of doubtful social rank contrived to become an ensign or a cornet, he was sure of systematic persecution from his more genteel brother officers. Practical jokes of the most offensive nature were continually played upon him; he became the general butt, and not unfrequently the general victim.

In one instance, as soon as it was discovered that an ensign who had lately joined was the son of a celebrated auctioneer, every day in the mess-room, after dinner, there commenced a mock auction, in which the peculiarities of the young man's parent were imitated so closely, that there could be no mistake about the intention of his comrades. The persecution became intolerable, and he sold out.

In another, the offender against aristocratic notions

was the heir of a wealthy wax-chandler. His brother officers invariably mentioned him as "Count Dip." This prejudice kept out of the service many young men of talent and enterprise, who, however, found a more promising field for their development in India. In the military service of the East India Company some of them rose to the highest rank, and eventually were raised to the peerage. Thus class prejudices were fostered; the officers of the regiments of the line being regarded as the inferiors of the officers of the same grade in the Guards, the cavalry looked down upon the infantry, and all in the royal service thought themselves above their equals in India regiments. Dandyism and exclusiveness were cultivated to an intolerable extent in the crack regiments, particularly in the Tenth Hussars. Their pretensions were brought upon the stage by Dr. Croly in his comedy of *Pride shall have a Fall*—after which the affectation became a little less obtrusive.

The officers of the Coldstream Guards never committed themselves to such follies. Officered almost exclusively by the sons of noblemen and gentlemen, many of whom had entered it at the age of boyhood, when most easily led astray by temptations close at hand, glaring instances of puppyism and profligacy were rare. This is the more to be commended as the facilities afforded to a young officer off duty to disgrace himself, were abundant. Moreover, what was then known as "life in London" was a conglomeration of cockfighting, pugilism, licentiousness, and rowdyism, into which it was expected that every young fellow of spirit ought to be initiated. We find no trace of a taste for the preva-

lent Tom-and-Jerry tomfoolery among Mr. Duncombe's papers.

He was not employed on foreign service after the campaign of 1813-14. For the following five years he was obliged to content himself with garrison duty, attendance at the Court, at the Opera, at inspections and reviews. By this time he had had enough of the life of a soldier in time of peace. He left the regiment on the 17th of November, 1819.



## CHAPTER II.

## THE BEAU MONDE.

Dancing—Fashionable assemblies—Etiquette—The Prince Regent and his brothers—The Marchioness of Hertford—The Duchess of Canizzaro—Mrs. Boehm—Lady Cork—Mr. Duncombe and the Ladies Patronesses at Almack's—Lady Jersey—Princess Lieven—The Misses Berry—Mrs. Hope—Holland House and Lady Holland—Tom Moore's snubbing—Pozzo di Borgo—Lady Blessington makes Mr. Duncombe the hero of her novel, "The Repealers"—Cause of the attentions shown him by Whig ladies—The dandies Brummell, Lord Alvanley, Lord Petersham, and Tom Raikes—Mr. Beckford—Count D'Orsay under difficulties—Nugee, the tailor—Studying appearances—Scandalous mistake in the *Court Circular*—Letter from the Duke of Beaufort—"Six Weeks at Long's."

At the period in which the youthful ensign of the Guards entered the gay world balls were frequent, but country dances and Scotch reels were the customary saltatory performances—a little variety in the way of hornpipes and minuets being occasionally attempted. When the waltz was introduced it met with a determined opposition. Lord Byron wrote his well-known poem on the subject, and other satires equally bitter were levelled against the captivating novelty; nevertheless, the handsome Germans and accomplished Frenchmen who had the *entrée* to good society in England were constantly seen whirling with the prettiest women of rank, and their example

encouraged the younger members of the English nobility, till the ball-room began to get filled with couples enjoying the waltz, to the utter discomfiture of all serious dowagers and strict chaperones.

The fair leaders of fashion held "assemblies," to which the *élite* of society were certain to be invited. The etiquette when the Prince Regent honoured such *réunions* was to allow a circle of the *crème de la crème* to gather round him and the hostess. He would arrive probably about midnight from a dinner, in which his Royal Highness, being the lion of the party, had evidently taken the lion's share of the liquids. In this circle were commonly found the Dukes of Cumberland, Clarence, and Cambridge, sometimes the Dukes of York and Gloucester, with one two of the Prince's more distinguished political friends. He often looked puffed and sallow, and a half-tipsy struggle between gaiety and gravity did not render his performance of royalty very edifying. The royal brothers laughed, and the entire circle were hilarious; but if the Prince became solemn, the whole company were as sedate as mutes at a funeral.

In this way the Prince Regent was in the habit of going from Lady Hertford's to Lady Derby's or Lady Stafford's, to the Duke of Devonshire's, and to other favourite places of resort; favoured guests forming an outer circle, intensely decorous, but ready to laugh on the slightest provocation.

There was a Miss Johnstone, whose musical assemblies were well attended. She was subsequently much better known as the Countess St. Antonio, more recently as the Duchess Canizzaro; and Mr. Duncombe

was partial to her society. Concerts, whether with amateurs or professionals, were sure to attract; suppers generally followed, to which the livelier portion of the company paid still greater attention. Breakfasts, too, often drew together a fashionable circle, though the custom of going masked to them was on the wane. In all these, ladies formed usually a majority of the guests; and the only object of these associations of the sexes was to render them mutually agreeable. Other parties were made for the advancement of political purposes—such were those held in the well-known mansion in Manchester Square. The Marchioness of Hertford is described as timid in character, while stately, formal, and insipid in manner; her son, Lord Yarmouth, was coming forward in political life as a negotiator, and there was, doubtless, a desire for government influence at the bottom of her intimacy with the Prince. Her fashionable friends did not trouble themselves much about her reputed designs, though they gossiped on the subject upon all favourable occasions. The great house in Manchester Square had unrivalled attraction as a place where the best company would be seen by them, and, as a natural consequence, where they could be seen by the best company. As long as the Prince Regent and his distinguished friends chose to honour this place with their visits, it could be of very little consideration to them what ideas Lady Hertford might entertain for the advancement of her family.

Among the ladies whose assemblies were most in vogue was Mrs. Boehm, who enjoyed much fashionable celebrity; the Prince Regent and one or two of

his brothers were to be seen at her parties in St. James's Square. In the same locality—the Belgrave Square of that time—lived Viscountess Castlereagh, whose *réunions* were attended by all the rank and fashion, foreign and English, in favour at the Foreign Office. Lady Cork, of Old Burlington Street, was content with a more miscellaneous collection of guests, and prided herself on attracting celebrities, particularly those in the literary world. She was a dowager of large experience, the second wife of the seventh Earl of Cork, and a daughter of the first Lord Galway. Lady Cork had always a prodigious flow of Irish spirits, and had been the patroness of Sydney Owenson (Lady Morgan), Maturin, and Moore; in short, of every person of talent that could put forward a claim on her patriotism. She survived till 1840.

The Assembly Rooms, in King Street, St. James's, were erected in 1765, then named in honour of the proprietor of a well-known club in Pall Mall, and the place has been called "Almack's" ever since. At first it was arranged that ladies should nominate and elect the gentlemen members, and gentlemen, ladies; but, after many changes during the next half century, it was managed by ladies exclusively. When the young Guardsman became a candidate for election, there were so many advantages in his favour that the result was soon decided. Captain Duncombe was one of the handsomest young men about town; as well as one of the best dressed; and heir to a considerable landed estate. He was already known personally to several of the ladies patronesses, as mixing in the very highest society, where he was regarded with general favour.

So exclusive were the patronesses, Captain Gronow asserts, that not more than two per cent. of the officers of the Foot Guards gained admission to the balls. If true, this affects materially the claims to consideration of the noblemen and gentlemen who officered those regiments; amongst them were much more than half-a-dozen desirable *partis*, the qualification most regarded by the council of eight, who, according to this authority, checked the advance of so many Peninsular and Waterloo heroes. This council consisted of Viscountess Castlereagh, wife of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, afterwards Marquis of Londonderry; Lady Cowper, subsequently the wife and the widow of the lamented Viscount Palmerston; Lady Sefton, one of Mr. Duncombe's most intimate friends; Mrs. Drummond Burrell, subsequently Lady Willoughby de Eresby; the Princess Esterhazy; the Baroness Lieven; and the Countess of Jersey—not the Prince of Wales's, but the fifth Lord Jersey's Countess.

She was possessed of quite as much beauty as her mother-in-law, and had the advantage of being about twenty years younger. As she felt the inconvenience of bearing the same name as this too celebrated namesake, she often neglected the invitations of the Prince Regent, much to his Royal Highness's annoyance. Captain Gronow describes her bearing as "that of a theatrical tragedy queen; whilst attempting the sublime she frequently made herself simply ridiculous, being inconceivably rude and in her manner often ill-bred."

Lady Jersey at this period had been ten years a wife, and was exemplary in her domestic relations.

Her society was much courted, and as she inherited the fortune of her maternal grandfather—Childs, the banker,—she was able to maintain a splendid hospitality, both in her town-house and at Middleton Park. Up to nearly the close of her life, which terminated only a few months back, the Countess was visited by the most distinguished of her contemporaries.

Mrs. Drummond Burrell entertained very fashionable company, royalty not unfrequently honouring her assemblies, especially the Duchess of York, with whom she was a favourite. Lady Cowper gave *ecarté* parties; but card playing was an attraction in some of the best houses. Lady Jersey was more of a literary and political turn of mind, and seemed desirous of entertaining the leaders of the Whigs; indeed this seemed the general ambition of the ladies of distinguished members of the Upper House of the same party. They were zealous partisans, and exercised all their social influence to gain recruits from amongst young men of family. In this zeal, however, Lady Jersey was far exceeded by some of her fair contemporaries, to whom we shall have to refer presently.

Baron Lieven, afterwards Prince, was ambassador from the Court of St. Petersburg, and extremely popular in English society during his stay in England. The Baroness appeared to be anxious to share the diplomatic fame of her lord. She had a distinguished appearance, and was unusually accomplished, particularly in music. The Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, and many of the higher nobility cultivated her acquaintance. She was one of the early patronesses of Almack's, where she exercised her authority with a

degree of harshness that was much complained of. She also played the part of an *intriguante* in politics, but not to favour the Whigs. Liberal politics were not held in any consideration in the Courts of Europe; in that of Russia they were totally discouraged. The Princess echoed the sentiments of the Czar, and seemed to share those of the English Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Among the ladies who had no pretensions to political influence were the sisters Berry, doubtless made familiar to the reader by the admiration of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford. Lady Donegal, in a letter to Thomas Moore, gives an amusing description of the manner in which they were made the fashion:—"The Pantiles were put into an uproar last Tuesday, by the arrival of the Princess of Wales on a visit to the Berrys. She brought Lady C. Campbell and Mrs. and Miss Rawdon with her, but not a man did she bring, or could she get here for love or money, except Sir Philip Francis and old Berry, who, egad! likes the fun of gallanting her about, and enjoyed himself more than the fair daughters did, who were in a grand fuss, and were forsaken in their utmost need by beaux their former suppers fed, and had to amuse her as well as they could with the assistance of a few women that she did not care about."\*

Miss Godfrey is equally lively:—"The Berrys give parties nobody else does; so they pick up all the curiosities they can lay their hands upon."†

Mrs. Hope distinguished herself among the fashion-

\* "Moore's Memoirs, &c.," viii. 119.

† Ibid. 209.

able ball-givers. Her husband was M.P. for Gloucester, and the son of the accomplished author of "Anastasius," by Louisa, daughter of Lord Decies, Archbishop of Tuam. The family had acquired wealth as Amsterdam merchants, and had intermarried with the Van Vlerdens and Van den Hoenens of that extremely mercantile city. Their representative now aspired to a higher social position, and to the possessors of Deepdene, Surrey, and Trenant Park, Cornwall, a reputed millionaire, this was readily accorded. The ladies of the aristocracy accepted Mrs. Hope's invitations, and envied her her diamonds. Mr. Hope's next brother, an officer of the 4th Dragoons, married a daughter of General Rapp; his youngest brother is Mr. Beresford Hope, of Piccadilly. By an entry in Mr. Duncombe's diary, we find that he attended one of Mrs. Hope's balls in the midsummer of 1836, during a week of heavy debating.

The head-quarters of the Whigs was Holland House, where Lords Grey, Lansdowne, King, and Grenville, Sir James Mackintosh, Tierney, Brougham, and other leaders in both Houses of Parliament, frequently assembled, with a sprinkling of literary men and artists, Sydney Smith, Moore, Jeffrey, and Allen. Lady Holland was professedly a patroness of intellectual merit, and encouraged discussions affecting both church and state. The dinners were extremely well served, Lord Holland being an epicure both in his wines and diet. He introduced, after the meal, the refinement of incensing his guests by means of a censer flung about by a page. Lady Blessington also attempted to establish an equally attractive house of call for the Opposition; both ladies were afflicted with a Napo-



leon mania. The former expressed hers by sending presents to the exiled Emperor, and requesting Moore to write philosophical pathos about "the captive on the rock;" the latter was satisfied with befriending the exiled nephew.

Lady Holland contrived to manage the conversation with something more resembling despotism than the liberalism she professed. She would not permit subjects to be canvassed that were uninteresting to her, and snubbed some of her guests who were not too high to be thus put down. On one occasion, Thomas Moore was recommending himself by a rather sentimental compliment, when she sharply exclaimed, "None of your Irish *blarney*, Mr. Moore!" The much-petted poet liked this *brusquerie* so little, that he refrained from preserving it in his diary; nevertheless, the snubbing was inflicted, and none knew better than himself that her ladyship was quite capable of repeating it upon the slightest approach to provocation. In truth, amiable as she was wont to be, Lady Holland could render herself extremely disagreeable upon little occasion—or on no occasion at all.

She was an intense Whig, and extremely dogmatic in her opinions, sometimes interposing in arguments in a way that generally stopped the discussion. Although indifferent to religion, she would have become a rank papist if the Tories had held out against Catholic Emancipation—just as she was an ultra-Bonapartist when the Government had disposed of Napoleon. Notwithstanding the general conviction of the return of the Tories to power in 1837, Lady Holland is reported to have said to Pozzo di Borgo, exultingly,

“Vous voyez, Monsieur l’Ambassadeur, que nous vivons toujours.”

“Oui, Madame,” was the diplomatist’s reply. “Les petites santés durent quelque fois longtemps.”

This lady had been the wife of Sir Godfrey Webster, from whom she had eloped; and, when divorced, married Lord Holland. His lordship died, after a brief illness, in October, 1840, sincerely lamented by a very large circle of friends.

Lady Blessington had commenced the manufacture of novels. Her resources had been dwindling as her extravagances increased; and as her name was marketable, she looked to the circulating libraries to supply the means of maintaining the great expenses of Gore House. She wrote a novel called “The Repealers,” and impressed Mr. Duncombe into her service as its hero. He was invited to her gay parties at Kensington, where all the men about town assembled, and sunned themselves in her charms; and where, for certain reasons, she was secure from the intrusion of rivals. There Count D’Orsay, tied by the leg with 120,000*l.* of debt, was sure to welcome his “*cher Tomie.*” Nothing could be more pleasant than the game of life played at Gore House, while it lasted: and Mr. Duncombe came and sat for his portrait, enjoying himself thoroughly, without being in the slightest degree sensible of his coming distinction.

A modern historian has put forward an idea that ought sufficiently to account for the frequent invitations Mr. Duncombe received from the ladies of the principal Whig leaders. “Incessant were the efforts made by the Whig party in the intervals between the close of the war and the passing of the Reform Bill,

to recruit their ranks with the most rising young men, of whatever side, by their attractions ; and to the success with which they were attended, the progressive rise in the strength of the Liberal party in both Houses of Parliament, during that period, is in no slight degree to be ascribed. There are Helens and Armidas in the political as well as in the military world ; and the charms of genius, the smiles of beauty, by withdrawing the most stalwart knights from their own side in the conflict, have prolonged or decided many other contests besides those around the walls of Troy or the ramparts of Jerusalem." \*

The dandies of that day were as various in character as in capacity ; they included persons of the highest rank, as well as individuals whose pretensions to gentle blood were more than equivocal. The Prince Regent was styled the first gentleman in Europe ; then came the Duke of Argyll (George William, sixth Duke) ; and the Marquis of Worcester (Duke of Beaufort) ; Lord Foley (the third baron) ; Lord Alvanley (son of Pepper Arden, first baron) ; Henry William Lord de Roos ; Bradshaw, who married Miss Tree ; the Hon. George Dawson Damer ; and Charles Standish—these were A 1. Brummell, though without family pretensions ; and Tom Raikes, though a member of the commercial community, contrived to belong to the same set. The pavement in Bond-street and in St. James's-street, and the bow window of White's Club House, in the latter fashionable thoroughfare, were their chief places of resort.

Many absurd statements have been published

\* Alison's "History of Europe from 1815," i. 530.

respecting Brummell; and a book has been written about him that on equally scanty knowledge of the subject professes to give his life. He was not of plebeian birth; his father was well off, and held a good position when George was born, in 1777. After a course of study at Eton, where he made influential friends, a cornetcy was obtained for him in a crack cavalry regiment; where his elegant manners and lively conversation, and handsome appearance, recommended him to the colonel, who was the Prince of Wales. The intimacy increased, till they became almost inseparables at Carlton Palace, at the Pavilion, on the race-course, and in the Park—in short, they were always together. Mr. Brummell not only moved in the best society, but his opinion in all matters of taste, of dress, and of fashion, became its law with both sexes.

The notoriously fickle disposition of the Prince terminated this close friendship.

Mr. Brummell became a frequent visitor at Watier's and Brookes's; and, as regarded royalty, contented himself with the society of the Duke and Duchess of York, who were extremely partial to him. At the club he commenced gambling, played high, and at first won large sums: but his luck changed, till he shared the fate of many of his contemporaries. He went to Calais to avoid his creditors, and maintained himself by the contributions of his friends. Here he got also involved in pecuniary difficulties, when the post of consul at Caen was given to him. At Caen the same habits involved him in the same embarrassments, till he found himself in a prison. This miserable condition the once autocrat of the

*beau monde* changed only for the much more lamentable one of a maniac.

Lord Alvanley was also something more than a dandy, more than a lord among dandies. His *bon mots* would have entitled him to rank as a lord among wits. His associates were generally proverbial for their *plaisanteries*; nevertheless, they were not precisely wits—*beaux*, though not *beaux esprits*. His lordship's impromptu sayings were in great vogue amongst them; consequently, he continued to enjoy a large amount of social reputation. He had travelled much, and was pretty well acquainted with the world, great and little; and his only affectation, the lisp—in much favour among the dandies—did not lessen the effect of his good nature. His round, somewhat jolly expression of features, florid complexion, small nose, dark eyes, and strong built figure, were easily recognisable either when in the club, or going across country. He prided himself on giving capital dinners; and Mr. Duncombe was frequently among the select eight invited to enjoy them.

Lord Alvanley was in general request at country houses, and, indeed, in town houses also; for his repartees were often extremely good. He was to be found at dinners, balls, and private theatricals, helping largely to increase the sociability of the party. Only once was it known that he exhibited any reticence in making himself agreeable; but it was done in his characteristic manner. Some friends were attempting to get up *Ivanhoe*, and asked him to take the part of Isaac. He declined, assuring them that he never in his life could *do* a Jew. There are scores of his sayings still afloat in society equally amusing; and

his manner of delivering them invariably added to their humour. This felicity of impromptu made him invaluable as a guest, and accounts for his success in society.

Lord Petersham, notoriously a connoisseur in dress, in snuff, and in everything that assisted in making a fashionable appearance, was also remarkable for a tall and graceful figure, an affected manner, and a lisping accent. The tailor he employed found much profit in his patronage, for he, like Brummell, D'Orsay, and other male leaders of the *beau monde*, possessed, or fancied he possessed, a sartorial genius. The overcoat he invented still bears his name, though the fashion has altered; but his equipage and liveries retain their peculiar colour and shape—the designer, however, has long ceased to require them. As a descendant of *the* Chesterfield, his lordship possessed a legitimate right to the dignity of *arbiter elegantiarum*. If he did not inherit that great man's talent, with his courtesy, he possessed more than his share of amiability. His ruling passion would not have been content at a last interview with saying, "Give Dayrolles a chair:" he would instantly have made a codicil to his will, and left his visitor a legacy.

Tom Raikes, though regarded by some of his aristocratic friends as a plebeian, and sometimes treated by them as a butt, had been educated at Eton, had travelled extensively on the continent, and though employed in mercantile affairs, was an accomplished gentleman. He wrote and published "Letters from St. Petersburg" and "Paris since 1830." Since his decease on the 3rd of July, 1848, in his seventieth year, there has been published "A Portion of the

Journal of Thomas Raikes, 1856," in four volumes, which contains abundant evidence of the estimation in which he was held both at home and abroad by the most eminent men of his time.

Other dandies, presently to be noticed, were equally well known at the west-end of town, but there was not one who was better dressed or made a more attractive appearance than the young Guardsman, occasionally seen in the company of the most distinguished of them—the most elegant of the fine gentlemen of that day.

Alfred Count D'Orsay was in the hands of the Philistines! He gave the most conclusive evidence in his own faultless appearance that he lived to please; but there existed many serious difficulties in the way of his pleasing to live. No one was better adapted socially and physically to enjoy life, as every one will readily testify who remembers the gay-hearted, handsome Frenchman, in those extremely agreeable parties that were held at Gore House as long as the ways and means of its fair possessor lasted; but during the later years of his reign as the *beau ideal*, he was very much pushed—mobbed, we might say, by duns—and the usual recourse under such circumstances to money-lenders, was in his case attended with increased difficulty in consequence of the increased risk in the transaction. We print from his own pen an illustration of the peril of borrowing:—

Saturday, February 12th, 1842.

MY DEAR TOMMY,—I know that you have been to C. Lewis, and that he told you that it was settled. It is not so; he expected that I would have signed the renewals at 60 per cent. which he sent me, and which I declined.

Therefore if you have a moment to lose, have the kindness to see him this morning, and persuade him of the impossibility of my renewing at that rate; say anything you like on the subject, but that is the moral of the tale. You must come and dine with us soon again.

Yours faithfully, D'ORSAY.

Mr. Duncombe sympathised thoroughly with his agreeable friend; he was not ignorant of the evils that afflicted him, and could have brought forward many sensible reasons for their mitigation or entire abolition. He was even then a reformer, and could not avoid noticing the necessity for a reformation in the law as well as in the legislature; indeed, it was not easy to see the use of the franchise to a voter under lock and key, and it could not but be intolerably tantalising to hear of the privileges allowed to free and independent electors, when the elector could not stir beyond the sanctuary of his own house without risk of being arrested by a sheriff's officer. Mr. Duncombe therefore readily lent his aid to those who desired to give the subject the benefit of Parliamentary consideration.

Thursday, April 6th, 1842.

MY DEAR TOMMY,—I see by the papers that Lord Campbell and Mr. T. S. Duncombe received a petition against the *Imprisonment for Debt*! It is the moment to immortalize yourself, and also the *sweetest* revenge against all our gangs of Jews, if you succeed in carrying this petition through. I have taken proper means to keep this proposal alive in the Press.

When will you come to dine with us?

Yours affectionately, D'ORSAY.

The handsome Count, in the summer of 1842, was still in the lamentable position of "a victim to circum-



stances." The reference in the following brief note to a luminous page in modern history probably was to a schedule of his debts; and an extremely dazzling column it must have been. Gore House was very gay, and the gay company that flocked to it could not but add considerably to the liabilities of their extravagant entertainers. The Irish Countess remained brilliant, but her pen was not—and after the attraction of her name had ceased, the worthlessness of her writings became more and more obvious. Mr. Duncombe was still one of her guests, apparently one of the most esteemed; and was quite as much in the confidence of her son-in-law, whom he consoled and advised, and assisted to the best of his power.

6th June, 1843.

MY DEAR TOMMY,—I send you this precious document; the only one I could obtain. It is a flaring-up page of the History of the Nineteenth Century! God is great, and will be greater the day he will annihilate our persecutors.

En attendant, I am always

Your affectionate friend,

D'ORSAY.

Nugee was the fashionable English tailor; and Moore gives an amusing account of his first interview with him; he, as he states, having been obliged to have recourse to his skill in consequence of the bankruptcy of the man who had previously made his clothes. After promising to dress the poet better than ever he had been dressed in his life, he added, "There's not much of you, sir, and therefore my object must be to make the most I can of you!" Moore declares that he was quite "a jewel of a man." This was in the midsummer of 1827.

Mr. Duncombe also employed Nugee for several years; and certainly the poet's jewel of a man set him off to the best advantage. This, and his constant association with the most elegant and accomplished men of that epoch, gave an air of grace and refinement to his appearance that contributed largely to his social success.

One of the great celebrities of that day was Beckford, the proprietor of Fonthill; but so completely was he out of the pale of society, that no one ventured on a visit of ceremony to the millionaire, without incurring public opprobrium. He possessed considerable satirical talent, and wrote a couple of fictions, "Agenia" and "The Elegant Enthusiast," in ridicule of fashionable contemporary romance writers; besides his better known Eastern romance, "Vathek." In the "Elegant Enthusiast" the climax is created by all the characters dying of eating stewed lampreys. Mr. Beckford's hobby was not dandyism, but an ostentatious style of living, which made him sacrifice a fortune in surrounding himself with evidences of a luxurious taste—all, in the end, to be sold by auction.

A novel called "Six Weeks at Long's," was published as a quiz upon fashionable society. In its pages figured Brummell, Lords Byron and Yarmouth, and other men about town. It was written by "An Officer of the Guards," and revised and increased by Jerdan and Nugent. Although the lieutenant of the Coldstreams was diligently cultivating a literary taste, there is no evidence in existence to prove his authorship of the work.

In October, 1842, the fashionable world was

startled by a paragraph published in the *Morning Chronicle*, referring to a Prince of the Royal Family and the daughter of an English duke, afterwards married to the representative in this country of the most influential of continental sovereigns. With both Mr. Duncombe was personally intimate; and being equally well known to the reputed proprietor of the journal, Mr., afterwards Sir John, Easthope, he at once attempted to stop the foolish comments it had excited. It was then ascertained that the names of these distinguished persons had been placed in juxtaposition by mistake. His good offices were thus recognised by the Duke of Beaufort:—

Monday Night.

MY DEAR TOMMY,—Many thanks for your kindness. After the matter has once been put straight by the *Morning Chronicle*, to-morrow, I hope that it will drop altogether, if the *Court Circular* will but insert the names correctly. I have no doubt, though, that the mistake was intentional on the part of the *Court Circular*, as they always have the names given them by the royal servants of the persons in attendance on their Royal Masters and Mistresses. Again thanking you, believe me, my dear Tommy,

Always yours faithfully,                      BEAUFORT.

“The Imprisonment Abolition Bill” did not proceed fast enough for the numerous waiters on Providence who were looking forward to it as a means of enjoying a stroll in the Park on other days besides Sundays. No one was a greater advocate for the liberty of the subject than the accomplished gentleman whose note we are going to print; but he found that liberty extremely difficult to obtain.

Among the distinguished men who sympathised with the Count was Mr. Henry Brougham. Like the celebrated legal contemporary to whom he refers in the reply printed below, he was a frequent visitor at Gore House:—

MON CHER TOMMY,—I think that we ought to try to ascertain how far the humbugging system can go. As soon that I received your note this morning I wrote to Brougham, and explained all the unfructuous attempts of Mr. Hawes.\* I enclose the first answer. *Now*, he has just been here, after having had a long conversation with Lyndhurst, who is decided to spur the Solicitor-General, stating, as the Parliament will last until Thursday week, there will be time enough to pass the Bill. See what you can do with Mr. Hawes. I am sure that if he will strike the iron now, when it is so hot, that we have still a chance. Lyndhurst, I assure you, is very anxious about it, and expressed it strongly to Brougham.

Do not be yet discouraged.

Yours affectionately,

D'ORSAY.

MON CHER A.,—Je suis *coléré* plutôt que *desespéré*. Il faut que je mette ordre à tout cela.

Je vais chez Lyndhurst dans l'instant.

H. B.

The preceding note seems to have been hurriedly written. Mr. Brougham's powerful mind though then engaged in the most important forensic, legislative, and literary labours, readily lent itself to the assistance of his *beau frère*. It is a trait of amiability that will do no discredit to the future Lord Chancellor, popular statesman, and celebrated author.

\* Member for Southwark.

## CHAPTER III.

## CLUB LIFE.

The "Beef Steaks" and Captain Morris—High Play at the Clubs—Duke of York—Marquis of Drogheda—Irish Improvidence—Losses and Gains at Goosetree's—Brookes's—Mr. Duncombe a member—Gambling at White's—Thomas Moore elected into Brookes's—Sir Francis Burdett's Letter to the Committee, complaining of O'Connell—Scene at the Club—Graham's Club—Trial of Lord de Roos for cheating at cards—Case of Mr. Spurrier—Crockford's—Mr. Duncombe a member—The distinguished members of the Club—Losses of Lord Sefton—Decline of Crockford's—Letter of Sir R. W. Graham—Mr. Duncombe's losses—Withdraws from the Club—Tom Raikes—His letters—Count D'Orsay—The Carlton—The Reform—Mr. Duncombe a member—M. Soyer.

It had long been the fashion for young men of family as soon as they commenced their career to get their names down for admission into one of the best clubs. There were several, but politics as well as inclination influenced the choice. Independently of the great Tory and Whig reunions there were clubs that seemed to exist only for the promotion of conviviality, and to the patrons of the drama the one known as "The Beef-Steak Club" had peculiar attraction. The taste for the kind of cookery which gave the association a name, was peculiarly that of the old school of epicures; but of this school princes and dukes, statesmen and philosophers,

were content to belong, and were as proud of the miniature silver gridiron appended to their button-hole as the insignia of membership, as they were of their stars or ribbons, titles or diplomas.

“The Beef-Steak Club” was enlivened by the wit of George Colman and the songs of Captain Morris. The former made the conversation amusing, while the latter contributed to the harmony as well as to the conviviality of the company. The Prince Regent and the Duke of York joined their jovial meals, and the first settled an income of 200*l.* a year upon the bard; the Duke of Bedford, who was very frequently present, and on whom the Captain had some claim, acknowledged the obligation by granting him a life interest in a small tenement on his estate. The meetings of the club were more than sufficiently jovial, sobriety not being encouraged by them, and every one feeling the influence of Morris’s Anacreontic “Ad Poculum:”—

“Come, thou soul-reviving cup,  
Try thy healing art;  
Stir the fancy’s visions up,  
And warm my wasted heart.”

In many instances, if the heart benefited the head suffered.

Captain Morris’s effusions have long been out of date, though a collection was made of them a few years back. They suited the time and the company for whom they were written. Many were more Bacchanalian than Anacreontic; such, for instance, as the verse—

“Then what those think, who water drink,  
Of those old rules of Horace,  
I wont now show; but this I know—  
His rules do well for Morris.”

The favourite of contemporary bucks ended with—

“ In town let me live, then, in town let me die,  
 For in truth I can't relish the country—not I.  
 If one must have a villa in summer to dwell,  
 O give me the sweet shady side of Pall Mall !”

The author was born in 1745, and his life was prolonged to July 11th, 1838, when he had attained the age of 93.

The Whigs when in office took care of their literary supporters to a moderate extent,—to an immoderate extent in one instance at least; but they abolished the 1000*l.* given by George IV. for the promotion of the Society for the Encouragement of Literature, and reduced by one-half the pension accorded to Captain Morris. Lord Lonsdale, an ultra Tory, immediately wrote a kind letter to the veteran lyricist, insisting, as an old friend, on his right to make up the deficiency.

Mr. Duncombe, like every other gentleman at large, paid a visit to these primitive epicures; but when he commenced his career, a better taste was coming in. He seems to have eaten his meal and drank his punch without being particularly edified by the symposia of the time-honoured institution. He had already sought admission into clubs of a higher *status*.

Discreditable gambling transactions in some of them were occasionally made public—few were worse than the pillaging of Lord Beauchamp, a boy of sixteen, by the Honourable Augustus Stanhope. On its discovery the offender, an officer, was dismissed the King's service. This occurred in the year 1816, and the circumstance must have been well known to

Mr. Duncombe, nor could he have been ignorant that play was carried on at nearly all these places to a fearful amount. It is scarcely possible to convey an idea of the reckless spirit of gambling that then distinguished young and old ; but every person moving in good society was expected to follow the pernicious example set by persons of the highest rank. The Duke of York was one of the most conspicuous of these untiring tempters of fortune—and one of the most unlucky. He rarely won, and constantly lost large sums.

There were some men of fashion who could not live without play. The Marquis of Drogheda ruined himself over and over again, till he was obliged to live upon a small annuity paid quarterly. As soon as he received his moiety he lost it at the gaming-table, and afterwards had to live in the greatest privation till quarter-day came again, when the allowance was dissipated in the same way. His countrymen, the Earls of Kingston and Blessington, were quite as extravagant, though in a different direction. The former drank himself into a madhouse, and the latter squandered a princely fortune and died insolvent. In truth, Irish improvidence had become proverbial long before that type of the fine old Irish gentleman, the proprietor of Castle Rackrent, had been introduced to the public by Miss Edgeworth ; but English improvidence had become equally glaring and equally obnoxious.

Mr. Thynne, having won only twelve thousand guineas, is said to have retired in disgust from the club where such poor pickings were to be obtained. This was "Almack's," afterwards "Goosetrees',"



in Pall Mall, of which Mr. Wilberforce was a member. Mr. Thynne did not retire till he had won sufficient to live handsomely for the remainder of his life, when he gave up gambling. This was in the year 1772, two years before another noble lord, a minor, had lost 11,000*l.* at one sitting, and then won it back again at one chance. It was then no uncommon thing to see 10,000*l.* in gold on the table, in wooden bowls, before the gamblers.

Brookes, a money-lender and wine merchant, succeeded Almack, and removed the club to a new house, in St. James's-street, in 1778. The proprietor is thus described by Tickell:—

“ And know I've brought the best champagne from Brookes',  
From liberal Brookes, whose speculative skill  
Is lasting credit and a distant bill,  
Who, versed in clubs, disdains a vulgar trade,  
Exults to trust, and blushes to be paid.”

The building of the mansion exhausted his funds, and he gave up all connexion with it. The same versifier in his “ Lines from the Hon. Charles Fox to the Hon. John Townshend, cruising,” thus describes the leading members:—

“ See Gibbon tap his box—auspicious sign,  
That classic compliment and evil combine;  
See Beauclerk's cheek a tinge of red surprise,  
And friendship gives what cruel health denies.  
Important Townshend, what can thee withstand?  
The lingering black-ball lags in Boothby's hand.  
E'en Draper checks the sentimental sigh,  
And Smith, without an oath, suspends the die.”

The gambling encouraged here amongst the leading Whigs was a complete mania, fortunes being lost nightly, and enormous sums by Fox, George Selwyn,

and their associates. The Prince of Wales and the Duke of York were also losers to very large amounts. The Duke of Devonshire, Lord Ashburton, Mr. Wilberforce, Alderman Carter, the brewer, the Duke of Queensberry, and Sheridan, were also members; nearly all had quitted the club before it was joined by Mr. Duncombe. The taste for high play had not left it; indeed, the new race of Whig notables were equally reckless with their predecessors.

Notwithstanding this dangerous attraction, every young man of the principal Whig families got himself balloted for, as a matter of course. If possessed of an ample allowance, and known to be heir to a landed estate, there could be no difficulty in his admission when properly proposed. Many of Mr. Duncombe's friends were members, and his election was quickly managed.

There is a tradition that Drummond, a member of the banking firm of that name, lost one night, at White's, to Beau Brummell the sum of 20,000*l.*, at whist. There is another tradition, perhaps equally trustworthy, that General Scott, in the same place, at the same game, won 200,000*l.*; Lord Thanet wasted a fortune of 50,000*l.* a year; many others did the same. Lord Robert Spencer, brother to the second Duke of Marlborough, won 100,000*l.* at Brookes's by joining General Fitzpatrick in keeping a faro bank. Lord Carlisle, Fox, George Selwyn, won and lost immense sums at the same place. The spirit of speculation ran very high, even after Mr. Duncombe had entered upon the dangerous scene; but though he belonged to both clubs, and to several others, he was seldom at either. When he became better known

in society, and had important claims upon his time, his attendance at such places became less and less frequent.

Lord Holland, in a note,\* asserts his belief that Mr. Pitt once was a partner in a faro bank at Goose-trees', and in the text states that he had been seen at a gaming-table. It is not improbable that, like Mr. Wilberforce, he tempted fortune for a short time. Fox was a confirmed gambler, and usually played high.

No doubt it was the example of his seniors and superiors that led Mr. Duncombe to play; indeed, it was scarcely possible for him to avoid doing so, the practice was so general. Unfortunately the novice had very little chance of success, for all the clubs were haunted by men who were adepts in every game of chance and skill. Notwithstanding that they had a name, and sometimes a title, that ought to have been a reliable testimony of respectability, they were habitual gamblers, and as ready to victimize a friend as an enemy.

White's was a club in which gaming was carried on to a frightful extent. There Lord Carlisle lost 10,000*l.* at a sitting, and the Duke of Bedford 32,000*l.*, the bulk of which he won back. Sir John Bland, of Kippax Park, and Lord Mountford, committed suicide, having dissipated their estates. Their passion for betting was uncontrollable.

Brookes's was built by Holland, and White's, when removed to the east side of St. James's-street, by James Wyatt. The proprietorship passed from Mackreth to Martindale, and, in 1812, to Raggett, who made considerable additions and improvements.

\* "Memoirs of the Whig Party," ii. 32.

It was very aristocratic in character, originally of Tory politics, and gained much celebrity for the elegance and luxury of its *fêtes*. In the summer of 1814 the members gave a ball in honour of the allied sovereigns, and, a little later, a dinner to the Duke of Wellington. Mr. Duncombe joined the club about this time.

In 1829, Thomas Moore was elected a member of Brookes's, and Lord Essex immediately wrote him a letter of congratulation; but all the notice the poet took of the distinction is to be found in an entry under the date June 14: "Went to Brookes's to pay twenty-one guineas—a costly honour." A little further on there is another entry: "On my way home went into Brookes's, and was received with honours by those there—George Ponsonby, General Ferguson, &c. &c. Ferguson assured me that if the whole club could have been collected at my ballot they would have admitted me by acclamation." This attention appears to have reconciled him to the expense, and he visited the place frequently when in town.

A remarkable sign of the times was a letter addressed by Sir Francis Burdett to the members of Brookes's, asking whether the conduct of Mr. O'Connell was such as could be sanctioned by any assembly of English gentlemen. He referred to the agitator's repeated insults, and as frequent backing out of challenges, as well as to his negotiation with a Jewish member of the club to sell him an Irish borough, which, though passed over by a Committee of Inquiry in the House of Commons, was regarded by honourable men who had no interest in screening the offender, as a very bad case. These offences, Sir Francis maintained, rendered Mr. O'Connell unfit to

associate with gentlemen, and therefore unfit to remain a member of the club. At Brookes's, however, there were too many who looked upon "the big beggarman" as very useful in keeping out the Tories, and the letter of Sir Francis produced no effect there.

The scene that occurred at Brookes's after the result of a trial of strength for the Speakership had been ascertained, is described by Moore, who was present, in a very animated manner. The Whigs were immensely elated by the victory they owed to the Radicals, and after the wildest exhibition of mutual gratification, sat down to the number of thirty to dinner, with the victor, Mr. Denison, in the chair, supported by the Duke of Argyll and Lord Ducie, when they went to the extreme of jollification. "Denison himself was huzzaed, and hugged, and trailed about like a top, and the whole group gave one as little notion of a party of grave and mature legislators as can well be conceived."\* It is evident from subsequent entries that the poet's opinion of the party did not improve.

In Graham's Club there was also a good deal of play, and large sums were lost and won among the noblemen and gentlemen who were its members. An unpleasant rumour circulated in town in the winter of 1836, to the effect that a noble lord had been detected in cheating by means of marked cards. The presumed offender was well known in society as a skilful card-player, but by those who had been most intimate with him was considered incapable of any unfair practice. He was abroad when the scandal was set afloat, but returned to England directly he heard of it, and

\* "Memoirs," ii. 64.

having traced the accusation to its source, defied his traducers.

Thus challenged, they had no alternative but to support their allegation, and it took this shape:— They accused Henry William Lord de Roos of marking the edges of the court cards with his thumb-nail, as well as of performing a certain trick by which he unfairly secured an ace as the turn-up card. His accusers were George Payne, who had formerly kept a gaming-table; Mr. Brook Greville, also a professional gambler; Lord Henry Bentinck, and Mr. J. Cumming. Lord Henry appears to have taken no very active part in the proceedings; the other three had lost money in play with Lord de Roos, and, as unsuccessful gamblers have done before and since, considered that they had lost it unfairly.

Lord de Roos, instead of prosecuting the four for a libel, brought an action only against Cumming, which permitted the others to come forward as witnesses against him. The cause came on in the Court of King's Bench before Lord Denman. The plaintiff's witnesses were Lord Wharncliffe, Lord Robert Grosvenor, the Earl of Clare, and Sir Charles Dalbiac, who had known and played with him from between twenty to thirty years, as a very skilful but honourable whist-player. The evidence of Mr. Lawrence, the eminent surgeon,\* proved that Lord de Roos had long suffered under a stiffness of the joints of the fingers, that made holding a pack of cards difficult, and the performance of the imputed trick of legerdemain impossible.

For the defence appeared the keeper of the house and his son; two or three gamblers who had lived by

\* The late Sir William Lawrence, F.R.S., Serjeant-Surgeon to the Queen.

their winnings; one acknowledged to have won 35,000*l.* in fifteen years. Mr. Baring Wall, one of the witnesses, swore that he had never witnessed anything improper in the play of Lord de Roos, though he had played with and against him many years; another witness, the Hon. Colonel Anson, had observed nothing suspicious; but the testimony of the others went to prove that the aces and kings had been marked inside their edges; and one averred that he had seen Lord de Roos perform *sauter le coupe* a hundred times. The whole case wore much the look of a combination among a little coterie who lived by gambling to drive from the field a player whose skill had diminished their income; nevertheless, the incidents sworn to by some of them wore a suspicious significance, and a verdict was given against Lord de Roos; which he only survived a short time.

One of the most melancholy cases of ruin by gambling was that of Mr. Spurrier, who was victimized at Graham's Club of everything he possessed, including an estate that sold for 28,000*l.* The place had got a bad reputation since Lord de Roos's exposure; and the parties who made a set at Spurrier lived by play. Waltier's was at least equally bad; Brookes's was in higher repute, but since Lord Cholmondeley with three associates had set up there a faro-bank and ruined scores of men of fortune, extravagant play had been the order of the day and night. Mr. Paul, who had realized in the East Indies about 90,000*l.*, was drained of all. Lord Cholmondeley and his associates were reported to have pocketed about a quarter of a million apiece; his daughter married Mr. Lambton. He was in the habit of giving stately dinners in the old style of heavy hospitality, but was niggardly with

his wines. General Scott was extremely fortunate—and a daughter of his, with a large portion of his winnings, married George Canning.

One of the most brilliant of modern clubs owed its existence to an adventurer, who commenced a singularly unhazardous career in the tranquil occupation Hamlet assigned to Polonius; but the profits on salmon and turbot did not content him. He opened a gambling-house with a coadjutor, with whose assistance he attracted men of large fortune, who lost enormous sums in the house. Of these "the Golden Ball" was one; the Earl of Thanet and Lord Granville were also victims. With two other players they are said to have lost a hundred thousand pounds in one day, which became the profits of the proprietors of the establishment. This is only one instance of the reckless spirit of gambling that prevailed in society when Mr. Duncombe became one of its celebrities. He had also been elected into the new club.

The successful speculator secured the leases of two or three houses in St. James's-street, threw the buildings into one mansion, caused it to be rendered as much like a palace as possible, furnished it in a very costly style, and having secured the services of the most famous French cook in England, opened it as the St. James's Club. The magnificence of the style of living to be enjoyed there caused it to be thronged by the most distinguished peers and the richest commoners. If the prudent Duke of Wellington could not resist its fascination, it was not to be expected that young men of fashion, most remarkable for their avidity in going to the other extreme, could keep aloof. If they had money to lose they possessed a sufficient recommendation; and *recherché* suppers, under the super-



intendence of the renowned Ude, never failed to bring together the representatives of the noblest and wealthiest families in the kingdom.

Heroes, statesmen, dandies, and wits associated on the most pleasant footing; and the delicacies provided by the incomparable *cuisinier* having been done justice to, including a liberal supply of wines of the rarest quality, there was an adjournment to an apartment expressly provided for the occasion. In a particular corner at a desk sat the well-known figure of the ex-fishmonger, literally in the pursuit of custom; whilst around a table, specially prepared for either playing a great game or a little one, sat a group, containing some of the most distinguished men of their time in the world of fashion, of politics, and of literature. Sir S. Vincent Cotton (Lord Combermere), Lord Fitzroy Somerset (Raglan), the Marquis of Anglesey, Sir Hussey Vivian, Wilson Croker, Disraeli, Horace Twiss, Copley (Lord Lyndhurst), Lords Sefton, Alvanley, and Chesterfield, George Anson, and George Payne were pretty sure of being present, many of them playing high; whilst among the distinguished foreigners might have been recognised the Princes Esterhazy and Talleyrand, the Duc de Palmella, Count Pozzo di Borgo, General Alava, and Count D'Orsay—some of them equally reckless in the amount of the sums they staked.

The first families in the kingdom were impoverished by the attendance of their representatives at this green table, and the heirs of large estates burthened with an intolerable load of debt for the remainder of their lives. It was this sequence of feasting and bad luck that caused Theodore Hook, somewhat profanely, in reference to the proprietor, to repeat—"He filleth the hungry

with good things, and the rich he hath sent empty away.”

Mr. Duncombe being one of the *habitués* of the club, and an influential member of the Committee, was besieged with applications from friends anxious to seek the same Road to Ruin. There are before us a number of documents of this nature, proceeding not only from persons already enjoying a high social position, but from others to whom “a local habitation and a name” in St. James’s-street might be considered to have been more covetable. Among the latter are several who have subsequently become eminent as diplomatists, statesmen, commanders, and the like, who might not like to see in print these evidences of their desire to patronise the enterprise of its flourishing Polonius. To convey, however, some idea of the earnestness with which the distinction was sought, we give an extract from the note of a meritorious public servant whose name we prefer withholding.

Old Palace Yard, February 16th, 1817.

I wish you to write to ——, who is one of the committee at Crockford’s, and ask him to use his interest in getting me in when I am brought up. My name has been down for some months. I was proposed by Bridgeman and seconded by Greville; but others tell me that unless one of the committee exerts himself it is of no use. Sir H. Vivian said he would beg Lord Queensberry, and one or two more, to exert themselves for me. I should not have thought of getting in, but Bridgeman proposed it to me; and, now I have once tried, I of course should not like to be thrown over, and as I have not the pleasure of being acquainted with —— I should be *much obliged* if you would write to him. Sir W. Knighton is loth, they say, in consequence of —— speech, which is very much talked of and approved.

Among the great losers at Crockford’s was William

Philip, second Earl of Sefton in the Irish and first Baron Sefton in the English peerage. Captain Gronow, in a series of anecdotes, has stated that he was victimized to the extent of 200,000*l.*, and that, after his death in 1838, Crockford contrived to obtain from his successor in the peerage the sum of 40,000*l.* for a bill of exchange accepted by his father. An article in the *Edinburgh Review* affirms that at the hazard bank superintended by the proprietor, four noblemen, sitting from midnight till 7 a.m., lost 100,000*l.* a piece, and other noblemen and gentlemen less sums. At this rate the duration of the club was only a question of time; the number of the members left to be ruined grew "fine by degrees and beautifully less"—the lame ducks waddled away, and very few that could stand came afterwards to the decoy.

Whether the card losses of the members acted disastrously on the subscriptions has not been ascertained; it is certain that the original ardour to get admission greatly abated, and was succeeded by a desire equally ardent to leave. Mr. Duncombe had suffered severely by his connexion with the club, but had too long been a member to regard with indifference the symptoms of its dissolution which now displayed themselves. It will be seen by the accompanying note that its days were numbered:—

131, Park-street, December 24th, 1845.

MY DEAR DUNCOMBE,—It is all over with Crocky's, and the place is to be closed on the 1st January; and it appears there is no intention to form another club out of it. In fact, it is such a motley set that there would be great difficulty to do so. You cannot imagine the state of excitement London has been in; but all sides agree that Lord Grey has acted very much the reverse of what he ought. The

opinion is, that it [the Reform Bill] will not pass the Lords ; and again, that Peel will qualify the measure by taking off many of the burthens on land, and so nullify some of his present opponents. For myself, I think agriculture is doomed, and many of us with it. Miladi is very near (alas!) her confinement. I am sorry if you are out of favour with her, as I am sure you acted the part of a friend towards her, as far as my knowledge goes ; but women are droll compounds. Bunn is going on flourishingly ; the house fills every night ; both play and ballet are very good. I have got one of the lower stage boxes (Bunn's own), and a very fine view of everything on the stage.

Believe me, always sincerely yours,

R. W. GRAHAM.

Luttrell wrote a poem called "Crockford House," and submitted it to Lord Sefton, Henry de Roos, and P. Greville ; but it does not appear to have been published. Sufficient information respecting the establishment and its proprietor has been given by eye-witnesses ; but of the incalculable mischief they did "he best can paint it who has felt it most." Mr. Duncombe was qualified to become an unrivalled artist in delineating such scenes. We have seen the signature of Crockford to a receipt for his play-debts and club-debts ; but this did not free him from obligations to some of his aristocratic associates, one of whom had contrived to win of him a sum that, as a debt, was likely to be a millstone round his neck for the rest of his existence. He paid dearly for his experience of club-life ; but the lesson it taught was not lost upon him. He gave up play, and withdrew from the establishment in which it was permitted.

Among club-men few were better known than Tom Raikes, one of the illustrious coterie of dandies, and a gossip of the first class. In society he could claim

intimacy with the highest; knew everybody's affairs, however private; and as he could render himself extremely agreeable, his company was in special request. A publication, purporting to be his recollections, was given to the public a few years back; but the volumes fail to convey a satisfactory idea of the pleasant companion who was so popular with his contemporaries. The following communication from his pen is more characteristic of "one of the Rakes of London," as he was delineated by a caricaturist:—

Wednesday.

MY DEAR T.—Many thanks for your invitation, though I fear for the moment I cannot come to Brighton, as I must act the family man. My daughter has a few dinner invitations in view; and as I do not like to be a bar to her amusements by leaving her alone in solitude, I cannot well get away. We both dined yesterday at Lady Glengall's; Foley, the King,\* and the Master of the Rolls. Dick in great force, and much fun. To-morrow we dine at Dudley's, &c.; in short, my friends are very kind to her, and *ça me fait grand plaisir*.

I called at Fenton's yesterday at five o'clock, but only saw the *mater*, as our H. was unfortunately gone up to dress. She begged me to call again, as she knew H. would be happy to see me. I shall probably look in this evening, and if I hear anything will let you know. No remarks have been made, except by Dick, who said last night that the old one was going to live with Bland, and the young one with you, as the devil would have it unluckily for D'Orsay. The second volume of Moore's "Byron" is come out, and generally talked of. He alludes to a journal written by French† during his last stay in England, where the society, and particularly the ladies, were very roughly handled; and as it was approved by the caustic Byron, it will not tend very much to improve his reception here.

\* Lord Allen.

† There was such a MS. written by the Count. "Old French" was the sobriquet of General Montrond.

The French *chargé d'affaires*, Count Montrond, left town this morning on a visit to Mr. T. Duncombe, of Surrey. Old Keate came to Crockford's on Monday night, and won 1400*l.* The following night he came, and lost 4300*l.* ! (Paid your money !)

I am very glad if my Russian trumpery gave you a moment's amusement; it was written in a very slovenly manner—not fit for the eye of any but a partial friend. Its only recommendation is its tone. You can bring it with you if you come up at the end of the week.

I hear Brighton is very stupid, and the Pavilion filled with tag-rag of every description. You will have seen some relation of mine in Regency-square, from whom I just learn that my little wild niece (your friend at Newsell's) is going to be married to a Captain Davidson—a sort of lurking moustache without any money. *Comme on ne fait pas des soupes de merite, et des fricassees de vertu*, I am afraid they will not find—

“ The flame they are so rich in,  
Light a fire in the kitchen.”

It is always a bad thing to have too *early information*. The rascally sols. are moving up, in spite of all we know that ought to send them to the devil.

I beg leave to trouble you with the enclosed two o'clock list. As to your capital information about Mexican, I fear there is not much foundation for it, if you had it from a certain quidnunc yclept Bonham. He told me the same tale three months ago, when they were at 39.

There is no news here. I cannot but think that Lord Grey will be unwilling to go as far as some of his exalted comrades would wish; and that in a short time, when he can have provided for a few more poor relations, and done two or three jobs for himself, that he will dymoke and retire. The news from Ireland is very bad. Lord Stopford has been sent for express to Wexford. King Allen is as furious as Radical, and wants to hobble into Brookes's and lick him. It would make a very nice pendant to the Rakes and the brooms.

I think I shall try to egg him on. Adieu, *mon cher*.  
Mille amitiés.

T. T. R.

Tom Raikes was distinguishable by his tall, bulky figure and strongly-marked physiognomy. The small-pox had left on it so many indentations, that on his writing D'Orsay a humorous letter, the envelope pressed with a wafer stamp, the Count declared that the writer had sealed it with his nose. He was a constant attendant at the clubs; in truth, was as determined a loungeur as he was a gossip. He could be seen in one hour in close confabulation with a leader of the Tories—in the next, strolling leisurely along St. James's-street, as if enjoying the confidence of an eminent Whig—and shortly afterwards stationary in Pall Mall, as though absorbed in listening to the rank republicanism of a very decided Radical. Not that he had any particular sympathy with liberal opinions, for he had belonged all his life to a totally different school; but sought information from all quarters, and desired to be general newsman wherever he went.

D'Orsay, though a dandy of the first class, was a good deal more; with a singularly handsome face and figure were combined a refined intelligence and conversational powers of nearly the first order. He possessed considerable talent as a painter and modeller; and had he devoted himself to literature, might have proved the Grammont of his age. Up to a certain period of his career his society was much courted: moreover, he was quite as perfect a model of manners as of dress. His style perhaps was a trifle too showy; nevertheless the matchless coat, with turned-back linen wristbands, is far more worthy of imitation than the groom-like jackets, theatrical knickerbockers and gaudy stockings, that were some time since the rage. The Count flourished at Crockford's for a season or two,

but was not in a position to play high, and the manager knew the state of his finances too well to permit his increasing the amount of his obligations to him.

The Carlton was started in 1832, under the patronage of the Duke of Wellington, as a Tory club, White's having become not sufficiently distinctive. Lord Kensington's mansion was taken; but the subscriptions coming in plentifully, a magnificent structure was erected on its site, and it has ever since been reported as the head-quarters of the genuine Tories. A French cook was engaged who had been in the service of the Duc d'Escars when the latter was premier maître d'hôtel to Louis XVIII. During a déjeuner at the Tuileries, his majesty and his maître d'hôtel enjoyed a *pâté de saucisson* with such zest, that the Duc died of indigestion, and the King had a narrow escape of the same fate. They were both gourmands of the first order, and the *cuisinier* exhausted his talent in supplying them with tempting novelties. There is no evidence that the fatal *pâté* was ever served up to the members of the new club.

The Reform Club was established by the Liberal party, when the reform movement commenced in earnest, about the year 1830. Having moved from Great George-street, Westminster, and Gwydyr House, Pall Mall, it was found necessary to locate it with the principal establishments of the same nature. Barry's design was approved of, and a magnificent structure erected on the south side of Pall Mall, rivalling its neighbour, the Carlton. Mr. Duncombe was early elected into this great gathering of Whigs and Radicals, and there met all his parliamentary friends and political intimates. Notwithstanding the



democratic tendency of some, they appear to have soon got reconciled to the palatial luxury with which they found themselves surrounded, and to the epicureanism especially there established under the superintendence of Alexis Soyer, formerly *chef de cuisine* to Lord Panmure. Banquets were given in compliment to the Queen, to Ibrahim Pacha, to Lord Palmerston, to Sir Charles Napier, in which he produced for the occasion some novelty of high gastronomic merit. The principal members of the Whig Government were members—so were a little later the leaders of the Chartists; and when the aspect of affairs promised a collision in the House, a club dinner—especially when there was a possibility of the Tories coming in—readily disposed of all asperities.

Soyer was the most popular of modern cooks—being in more general request even than the famous Ude. To this his position in the Reform Club was mainly owing; but his “Shilling Cookery Book,” his sauces, his mineral water, spread his fame from one end of the kingdom to the other. Nevertheless, he has not escaped the imputation of quackery, and the things advertised in his name have lost their repute since his death. His best productions were invented for the Gore House banquets, during the first National Exhibition in 1851. Alas, poor Gore House! Its fascinating tenants fled, and their place knew them no more—that place of brilliant resort then for a time descended to the humble position of a restaurant.

## CHAPTER IV.

## POPULAR POLITICS.

Mr. Duncombe's ancestor and Francis Bacon—Sir Ronald Ferguson—Thelwall, Horne Tooke, and Dr. Parr—Distress in Yorkshire—Cry for Parliamentary Reform—Reformers in the House of Commons—Henry Hunt—Report of Secret Committee of the two Houses of Parliament—Manchester agitators—The Monster Meeting at Peterloo—Bamford's book—Debate in Parliament—Major Cartwright—Sir Francis Burdett—Lord Cochrane—Henry Brougham—Bribery—Prosecution of Sir Manasseh Lopez—Lord John Russell—Three Resolutions—The Cato-street Conspiracy—Trial of Queen Caroline—Mr. Duncombe unsuccessful as a Parliamentary candidate—Returned for Hertford—Congratulatory Letter from Lord Essex—Mr. Duncombe in the House of Commons.

MR. DUNCOMBE'S ancestors had filled responsible situations in their counties, and some had distinguished themselves as legislators. In the reign of Elizabeth a namesake of his, famous for his adventurous motions, but rather a popular character,\* got up in the House to protest against a member who was a law officer of the Crown, sitting amongst them. The lawyer thus opposed was the illustrious Francis Bacon. Mr. Thomas Duncombe moved, "Whether the Attorney-General might be elected, in respect there was no precedent that such an officer of the Crown could be chosen member of the House." The

\* Lord Campbell's "Lives of the Chancellors," ii. 335.

members compromised the matter by deciding "That Mr. Attorney-General Bacon might remain in the House for this Parliament, but never any Attorney-General to serve in the Lower House in future."

Sir Ronald Ferguson, under whom Ensign Duncombe served, was not only a brave general officer, but a consistent Liberal, avowing such principles when it could only be done with risk. It is not at all improbable that the young Guardsman owed not merely his first honorary step in his profession to Sir Ronald, but his choice of a political career, for the General was as earnest a politician as he was a good soldier. He was favourably known in town, in other places besides the Horse Guards; and his late *aide-de-camp* must have constantly met him in society, fashionable as well as political. Before, however, his opinions were formed, he seems to have reviewed the career of the popular politicians of his age.

Thelwall was one of the reformers of the last century, and the notoriety he acquired in consequence of his having been committed to prison for high treason, made him worthy of a place in Lady Cork's social *omnium gatherum*. He subsequently became a teacher of elocution, and thenceforth did not apparently take any decided interest in political agitation.

Horne Tooke was for some time a clergyman, and attempted to become a barrister. Having been expelled from two public schools, there was a stigma upon his name that all the ability he evinced in "The Diversions of Purley" failed to remove. He was a declared enemy to aristocrats, and an earnest champion of reform in Parliament. As a patriotic orator, he contrived to get into Parliament by means

of its most notorious rotten borough. Exceptions were made to his sitting there, being disqualified as a clergyman. The question was fiercely discussed, but a compromise at last effected. He was permitted to retain his seat till the end of the session, when all persons in holy orders were declared ineligible to a seat in that House. His career, however, was far from being at an end, for his writings greatly influenced the rising generation of politicians, Mr. Duncombe among the number.

Liberal scholarship was represented by Dr. Parr. He had the reputation of being the best Grecian in England; but owing to intemperate habits and a slovenly handwriting, society was little the better for his erudition. He generally spoke so thick that no one could understand what he said, and was so indifferent a scribe that very rarely could any one make out what he wrote. When his hearers became familiar with his peculiar utterance, he proved a most amusing companion, for he was as full of anecdote as of learning. He wrote Greek verses against the Regent; and if he had written them in English they would, in MS., have been equally Greek to the English reader. He might have talked atheism to half the bench of bishops with a certainty that, owing to his defective articulation, it would have as readily been accepted as orthodox. As a former head-master of Harrow, Mr. Duncombe could not help feeling an interest in the politician as well as the scholar.

The tremendous amount of social distress that existed soon after the termination of the war, was particularly felt in Yorkshire in 1816. Its numerous manufactures were almost stagnant: bad weather had

destroyed the prospects of the farmers; there was no employment to be had, and poverty and misery prevailed in what had hitherto been the busiest districts. The working-men felt that such a state of suffering was a wrong done to industry, and were easily led to lay the blame on the wealthy. To them it was intolerable that one class should indulge in every luxury, while another was unable to procure daily bread. The Government and the aristocracy, therefore, were readily condemned as the authors of the wrong; and the most popular idea was a forcible disgorging of the incalculable riches both had amassed at the expense of the people. Mr. Duncombe must have been aware of the existing distress in his own county, and could not have been quite ignorant of the proposed remedy.

That a Government should become unpopular because it turned a deaf ear to the agonies of the people, whilst lavishing the public money in various directions, was a matter of course. Starving men could not see the necessity of paying 35,000*l.* for the Elgin marbles. When they wanted bread, to offer the nation stones, even of such artistic value, seemed a bitter mockery. They were of course the less reconciled at the grants of 60,000*l.* for an outfit for the Princess Charlotte on her marriage, and of 60,000*l.* a year for the support of her establishment. Even the additional grant of 200,000*l.* to the Duke of Wellington (making a total of half a million) found no indulgence from starving workmen. Hence arose the animosity with which the popular leaders dwelt upon this and similar apparent instances of the indifference of Parliament to the distresses of the

country, and the consequent cry for Parliamentary Reform.

Hunt and Cobbett were stalwart fellows, each standing more than six feet high, and in general appearance affected the jolly farmer. Both had fine voices, and were fluent speakers, without any pretensions to eloquence. Cobbett was infinitely the superior in intelligence. Hunt was recognised by his white hat, blue coat, light waistcoat, kersey smalls, and top-boots; he possessed a fair complexion, rather prepossessing features, light grey eyes, thin lips, and wore his own hair. He was portly in person, with a jovial expression of countenance, and dressed in the style of his colleague, except that his linen seemed to have been got up with more care. The editor of the well-known "Register," then much patronized by the leading Whigs, and by all the Radicals, might have passed for a yeoman in comfortable circumstances. Both were in high repute as mob-orators, and were ardent and uncompromising patriots. They were, however, anything but disinterested, seeking to turn their popularity to the most profitable account.

In the House of Commons there were several influential speakers who had session after session advocated retrenchment in the public expenditure, and had brought forward important measures that had a similar beneficial purpose. Sir James Mackintosh, Henry Brougham, and Joseph Hume were practical legislators, who have left the impress of their genius upon the statutes of the country. Wilberforce and his supporters devoted themselves with the same earnestness of purpose to the suppression of the slave

trade and the extinction of colonial slavery. Burdett, Byng, Whitbread, and their associates, did good service in keeping popular subjects before the public eye, and by endeavouring to restrain the disposition of the executive for arbitrary and irresponsible government.

The people, however, were not content with the exertions of these their representatives : they wanted men of a different stamp, who were as ready to lead as they were to be led, and would make no secret of their desire to overturn an unpopular government, and felt no scruple as to the means by which it might be done. As the ministers would do nothing for them, language more and more intemperate was used at public meetings, and conduct more and more violent followed, culminating in the Spa-fields riot, in December, 1816, which the civil and military power combined quelled, after a gunsmith's shop had been plundered and the owner murdered at his own door.

These events were canvassed in the newspapers, and the Liberal press did not forget to mention the sufferings and wrongs which were supposed to have maddened the actors in them into outrage. Henry Hunt was the accepted leader of the discontented, and his inflammatory orations were published and circulated all over the country. He was the Radical of his age. The white hat he wore was regarded as almost as significant as the republican *bonnet rouge* in the Reign of Terror. He endeavoured to trade on his popularity by manufacturing patriotic blacking and democratic herb tea and coffee ; but either the boots of his followers would not take a polish, or the nastiness of his beverages prevented them becoming popular.

In 1817 a secret committee of the House of Lords and the House of Commons that had been empowered to inquire into an alleged wide-spread conspiracy to overthrow law and order, presented their reports to each branch of the legislature. These were said to establish the existence of a design in London, as well as in several of the great cities, for a simultaneous insurrection. It was in vain that the popular members of the House of Commons denounced the evidence as well as the report. Measures of coercion were advocated. Sir John Romilly and Sir James Mackintosh strove hard to alter the penalty of death to be enforced against all who remained at a public meeting after the magistrates had called on it to disperse; but strove in vain. The bill for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was passed, as well as the measure known as the Seditious Meetings Act. With these additional powers the Government at once went to work, and seized, tried, condemned, and executed Brandreth, Turner, and Ludlow at Derby. Other executions followed.

The spirit of the Radicals of Manchester may be gathered from the fact that, in 1817, a considerable body of them left their work to march upon London. By the time they had reached Macclesfield, they had thinned off nearly one-half. The greater number went home the next morning; about twenty reached Leek, and six only passed Ashbourne Bridge. Who was the last to give in has not been recorded. The objects of the expedition,—to seize upon the government and settle the National Debt,—were abandoned.

The mob orators in that part of the kingdom are thus described by one who knew them well—they



were generally working-men:—"He who produced the greatest excitement, the loudest cheering, and the most violent clappings, was the best orator, and was sure to be engaged and well paid; and in order to produce these manifestations, the wildest and most extravagant rodomontade would too often suffice."\*

From the same trustworthy authority we learn that after the failure of their absurd expedition to the metropolis, some of them entered into a conspiracy to make a Moscow of Manchester. In short, the maddest schemes were in contemplation—the offspring apparently of the grossest ignorance—for it was a district in which witchcraft was a general conviction, and where the manners of the lower classes were as coarse as their ideas. Notwithstanding this barbarism, there was here and there a sensibility to nobler impressions, in both men and women, which went far to redeem the mass. They were the easy dupes of professed reformers as well as of secret spies, and great numbers committed acts which sent them to prison, or caused them to be fugitives from their homes. Many of their leaders finding that there was a hue and cry after them, left the country.

The narrative of one of those who were taken to London, and carried before the Privy Council, is well worthy of perusal, as a faithful, though in some respects exaggerated picture of the condition of the working classes at this period. He was a weaver as well as something of a poet of some repute among his Manchester friends. He was not implicated in any act of violence or secret plotting against Govern-

\* "Passages in the Life of a Radical," i. 34.

ment. He declared to Lord Sidmouth that he was a parliamentary reformer, and expressed his conviction that sooner or later reform must be conceded. After a brief detention he was liberated on his own bail.\* While subsequently referring to the desired political measure, he frankly acknowledges "that the people themselves wanted reforming—that they were ignorant and corrupt."†

He returned to his own neighbourhood, and resisted efforts made by Oliver the Spy to inveigle him into treasonable proceedings. On the 16th of June Sir Francis Burdett brought before the House of Commons his motion relative to the conduct of this Government agent; and on the 6th of November three of the misguided Lancashire "reformers" were executed for high treason.

Midnight drillings were known to be going on nightly in the disturbed districts, and a monster meeting was announced. The Government prohibited such an assemblage, nevertheless it took place. The yeomanry suddenly made their appearance and charged the immense mass. In ten minutes not one was to be seen in the field. Bamford had a narrow escape, but was obliged to conceal himself. In his rambles he met with persons whose disposition towards revolt he thus describes: "Some had been grinding scythes, others old hatchets, others screw-drivers, rusty swords, pikes and wedge-nails,—anything which could be made to cut or stab was pronounced fit for service." This idea of retaliation, however, was soon abandoned.

Shortly afterwards Bamford was again taken into

\* "Life of a Radical," i. 147.

† Ibid. i. 54.

custody, shouting "Hunt and Liberty." He and his associates were subsequently tried. They were all liberated on bail till they received sentence, when, much apparently to his surprise, Bamford was pronounced guilty as well as Hunt, who was chairman of the meeting, and three others. Hunt was sent to Ilchester gaol for five years, and the others to Lincoln gaol for one year. At the termination of his imprisonment Bamford went home; he had become disgusted with his leader, and employed himself in drawing up his "Passages in the Life of a Radical," which he first published as a serial in a cheap form. It was subsequently, 1844, republished in London in two volumes. They came under the attention of Mr. Duncombe, while he was exerting himself to realize his own ideas on parliamentary reform, and their disclosures appear to have made a powerful impression on his mind.

The debate on the proceedings at Manchester, November, 1819, was a grand display of oratory on both sides of the House. There was the usual exaggeration between partisans and opponents, who look at an event from different points of view;—the popular aspect being a peaceable demonstration of the people arbitrarily put an end to, when hundreds were ridden down and sabred by an unprovoked attack from a brutal soldiery; the Government view—a disorderly mob, prepared by midnight drillings, marching with pockets full of stones, and with threatening and revolutionary banners and symbols, to a forbidden meeting, and then resisting the properly constituted authorities in the exercise of their duty.

On this memorable occasion so much was well said in attack and defence, as to astonish the more inex-

perienced auditors. The first discussion is thus graphically described :—

“ We have had a wonderful debate ; really it has raised my idea of the capacity and ingenuity of the human mind. All the leaders spoke, and almost all out-did themselves ; but *Burdett* stands first : his speech was absolutely the finest, and the clearest, and the fairest display of masterly understanding that ever I heard ; and with shame I ought to confess it, he did not utter a sentence to which I could not agree. *Canning* was second : if there be any difference between eloquence and sense, this was the difference between him and *Burdett*. He was exquisitely elegant, and kept the tide of reason and argument, irony, joke, invective, and declamation flowing without abatement for nearly three hours. *Plunket* was third : he took hold of poor *Mackintosh's* argument, and griped it to death ; ingenious, subtle, yet clear and bold, and putting with the most logical distinctness to the House the errors of his antagonist. Next came *Brougham*—and what do you think of a debate in which the fourth man could keep alive the attention of the House *from three to five in the morning, after a twelve hours' debate ?*”\*

The writer of this description was a member of the Opposition ; but, though warmly admiring the speech of Sir Francis *Burdett*, he, with all the moderate politicians in the House of Commons, voted with the ministers. Mr. *Duncombe* was equally sensible of the talent displayed in these expositions of popular sentiment ; but unless prepared to accept Mr. Orator

\* “Memoirs of Sir Fowell Buxton, Bart.,” edited by his son, p. 79.

Hunt as President of a Republic, had he been in Parliament he must also have supported the Government at this crisis.

Major Cartwright remained one of the shining lights of Liberalism, and, in 1819, the Honourable Douglas Kinnaird got up a complimentary dinner at "The Horns," Kennington, where he was styled "the Father of Reform." Scrope Davies, who had a reputation for saying smart impertinences, considered him better entitled to be called, "the Mother of Reform," as he was indisputably an old woman. The major wrote to Lord Holland, and exhibited his erudition by translating a passage in Prynne, "*breve à parliamentaria*," into short parliaments. There were many novel ideas on Reform—one was proposed to Lord Holland, by which three millions annually were to be raised by a general licence to vote for members of parliament; and a plan of a similar nature had been suggested by Horne Tooke. Major Cartwright was thin, tall, and pale, with a countenance venerable as well as benignant. He wore a long brown frock coat, and his aged features were surrounded by a brown wig. Sir Francis Burdett was unmistakably patrician—his tall, thin figure, his sharp, proud features, and careful attention to dress, looked out of place among more homely reformers. Another high-bred Radical of the time was Lord Cochrane, then a young man, of tall figure, and unaffected good-natured manner. He stooped a little, and had the unmistakable swing of the sailor in his walk.

All professed Liberal opinions, and all were Radical reformers. Henry Brougham was at one time quite

as much so as any of the above ; but in the year 1817, when such opinions were most rampant, he had relapsed into Whiggery. His prospects of professional advancement enticed him in that direction, and though an advocate of liberal legislation, he refused to occupy the same platform as the Hunts, the Cobbetts, the Cartwrights, and the other popular orators. His defection created considerable bitterness of feeling among some of the ostensible " Friends of the People," and it was more grieved over when the genius and liberality of the man made themselves manifest in his wonderful exertions for the abolition of the slave trade, and for the general diffusion of intelligence.

There were even then earnest-minded men labouring spiritedly for the amelioration of our severe and inconsistent criminal code. In this direction Mackintosh, Romilly, and Brougham had greatly distinguished themselves as reformers of the higher and best class. It was, however, Fowell Buxton who most forcibly exposed the anomalies of the law that inflicted the punishment of death. In one of his speeches in the House of Commons he said, " Kill your father, or a rabbit in a warren, the penalty is the same—destroy three kingdoms, or a hop-bine, the penalty is the same—meet a gipsy on the high-road, keep company with him, or kill him, the penalty by law is the same."\*

Here was urgent need of reform and of additional reformers ; but the principal necessity was a change in the system that had produced this, and obstinately maintained this and a hundred other legislative evils ; and Mr. Duncombe was willing to be a volunteer in the service.

\* " Hansard," May 23rd, 1821.

The Boroughmongers, as the proprietors of boroughs were ignominiously called, used parliamentary influence exclusively for their own interests. The governing families, Whigs as well as Tories, rivalled each other in accumulating votes, and any political adventurer who chose to invest largely in such property might depend on getting valuable favours from the minister. Bribery to secure a seat was very general; it could not, however, always be done with impunity. In 1819, the electors of Grampound had shown themselves so notoriously corrupt, that an indictment was preferred against a wealthy merchant, Sir Manasseh Massey Lopez, created a baronet in 1805, whose money they had taken for their votes; a trial took place at Exeter, when he was found guilty, and sentenced to a fine of 10,000*l.* and two years' imprisonment.

The fate of Sir Manasseh did not deter other aspirants for senatorial honours, and on a close scrutiny it might have been discovered that there were quite as many Grampounds as there were Lopezes. The chiefs of party were as eager as ever to maintain and increase, if possible, their political influence, which they were always willing to barter to the Government for a consideration. They kept a sharp look out for rising young men, whom they assisted in getting into Parliament, on the well-understood condition that their eloquence, their talent, their principles—if they had any—were to be devoted to their service.

We do not believe that Mr. Duncombe's opinions were at this period so advanced as they subsequently became. It should be remembered that there was a public reaction after the Queen's trial, when the evidence of trustworthy witnesses could be read im-

partially; and in the spring of 1820 was disclosed the atrocious attempt to murder the members of the Government while at dinner. It was from his regiment marched the small detachment that supported the Bow-street officers in their surprise of the conspirators at their rendezvous in Cato-street; and it was his most intimate friend and brother officer, Captain Fitzclarence, who led the thirty soldiers into the haunts of those desperate scoundrels.\* In Mr. Duncombe's native county disaffection was widespread; but the presence of a large military force and the activity of the resident magistrates, prevented a threatened insurrection.

It was on the 9th of May, 1820, that Lord John Russell in the House of Commons brought forward the three Resolutions that formed the foundation of subsequent reform legislation. Mr. Duncombe was not then in Parliament; but as it was proposed to transfer the franchise from the rotten borough of Grampound to his native county, he could not have been indifferent to the discussion that took place in both Houses. It was by the Upper House that Yorkshire was named as the recipient of the forfeited franchise, and though the Lower House had proposed to confer it on the manufacturing town of Leeds, they acceded to the amendment. The Reform party was organizing itself for a more important demonstration. They were content, in a session greatly disturbed by the Queen Caroline agitation, to put on record in substantive Resolutions brought before Parliament, first, that the people were dissatisfied with the existing representation; second, that boroughs convicted of corrup-

\* Alison, "History of Europe from 1815," &c., ii. 426.



tion must be disfranchised ; lastly, that the member or members heretofore returned by such boroughs should be returned by unrepresented districts with a large population.

The fate of Thistlewood and his gang was soon forgotten in the more absorbing interest of the trial of Queen Caroline. The death of George III. had elevated the Prince Regent to the throne, and, calculating on his unpopularity with the lower orders, her Majesty had returned to England, and insisted on sharing the royal dignity. As the King would not consent to this, the Government endeavoured to establish her alleged immorality by a public trial. The measure was extremely unpopular, both Whigs and Radicals joining heartily in opposing it. Its failure was a triumph to the Opposition ; but notwithstanding the cordial support given to the Queen by the people, it benefited her in no way. At her death there was a popular demonstration in her favour, and then her name shortly passed beyond the influence of party politics. Opinions respecting her had divided society into two hostile camps ; a few military men supported her cause, but neither Mr. Duncombe nor any of his brother officers appear to have been of the number.

The most impartial judgment that has ever been pronounced on her case, is a despatch sent by the American ambassador to his own Government :—

“ I add, that a large number of the peers who voted against the bill did not give their votes, as they expressly stated, on any clear belief in the Queen’s innocence, but voted on the ground of the unconstitutionality and inexpediency of the bill ; and I state

further, as a curious fact, that the parts of the evidence which had borne hardest against the Queen, and on which those who supported the bill were driven in the end to rely most, had come from witnesses called and examined in her defence.”\*

Notwithstanding the strenuous advocacy of the ablest of the Whig and Radical leaders, this impression seems to have been pretty generally adopted, when party animosities had ceased to have any influence on the subject; though Sir Francis Burdett publicly declared that for their participation in the odious trial, all the ministers deserved to be hanged. Both the Government and the King rose in public favour from the period of the Queen's death. Mr. Richard Rush, the American minister, was a shrewd observer of what was going on around him. He wrote: “The Whigs have lost their strong ground, the Reformers having taken it from under them. They are a party of leaders with no rank and file—accomplished men, but as aristocratic as the Tories.”\*

This seems to have been the conviction of Mr. Duncombe about this period or a little later, and he began to take a more lively interest in politics. He had become weary of the life of a subaltern in a period of profound peace, and desired to enter into the more exciting pursuits of a politician. Hence arose his inclination for a Parliamentary career. He first stood a contest for Pontefract in 1821; took an enormous deal of trouble in canvassing, and spent much money in bribery; but was unsuccessful. In 1823 he was again in the field as a Parliamentary candidate, and ventured to contest a family borough

\* Rush: “Residence at the Court of London,” i. 344.

† Ibid. i. 362.

with its proprietor. Hertford possessed a constituency that was open to conviction on political points, and a patron who was said to be open to conviction on none. He again failed, after spending much money.

At this period a contested election was not a business for a timid spirit or for a poor man to embark in. It was a saturnalia for the lower class of voters, as well as for the non-voters, in which they generally managed to do as they liked, engaging in the most fearful outrages, or forming combinations to set the civil authorities at defiance in their way of supporting the popular and destroying the chance of the unpopular candidate. Whether at Westminster or Weymouth, the mob were equally omnipotent—though in one place in favour of a Liberal candidate, in the other of a Tory. In the latter place, we learn from undeniable authority how the affair was managed:—

“This is the sixth day of polling, and there is every probability of six days more. The election is carried on with the utmost violence, and at monstrous expense. It is said that — spends 1500*l.* a day—his party confess to 1000*l.* He has nine public-houses open, and \* \* \* the whole town is drunk.”\*

The melancholy death of Lord Londonderry in August, 1822, made a vacancy in the Government, which was filled by Mr. Canning. From this period legislation began to assume a more Liberal aspect; and in the House of Commons, as well as in the public press, the expression of Liberal opinions became more decided. Mr. Canning's brief career as Prime Minister, though productive of no great political ad-

\* “Memoirs of Sir Fowell Buxton,” p. 160.

vantage to the people, permitted a more extensive development of popular principles. Mr. Joseph Hume renewed his attacks on the lavish expenditure of Government, and many noblemen and gentlemen in and out of Parliament were drawing public attention to the necessity of legislative reform: the diffusion of education among the masses, the diminution of taxation, the abolition of slavery, and important improvements in the poor laws, corn laws, game laws, &c. &c., had numerous and powerful advocates.

During the year of the Canning ministry, sanguine hopes were entertained of a course of liberal legislation. Mr. Hume, in April, proposed to bring before the House a bill for abolishing imprisonment for debt, which, as we stated in a preceding chapter, was regarded with intense interest by many persons moving in good society.

The general election of 1826 was a severe struggle for the popular candidates, as the most strenuous exertions were used in nearly all the constituencies to get rid of them. Cobbett was defeated at Preston, and Hunt in Somersetshire. One of the remarkable events of the year was the prosecution of Edward Gibbon Wakefield and some members of his family for the abduction of a heiress, Ellen Turner, a young lady of fifteen, whose father possessed property to the amount of 5000*l.* a year. He was found guilty, and sentenced to imprisonment in Newgate for three years; but he does not appear to have been materially affected by the verdict. He joined the Reform movement, and became one of its most active supporters.

The republicanism of Whiggery could sometimes

be sufficiently clear. Such was Lord Holland's approval of the conduct of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and his readiness to defend Arthur O'Connor—such, too, was the Duke of Bedford's toast, "The majesty of the people;" but these were merely demonstrations against the Tory Government to obtain popularity. Mr. Duncombe did not place much confidence in them. He had, however, made up his mind to take the Opposition side in politics, notwithstanding the ultra-Toryism in his family; and professing the most Liberal opinions, he again came forward as a Parliamentary candidate. Hertford was canvassed by him in opposition to Mr. Henry Bulwer, who was then commencing his political career. There were three claimants for the suffrages of the electors; the borough returned two, and the fight was for the second place.

Mr. Duncombe, having bribed handsomely, secured a majority. His exertions to emancipate the borough met with warm approval from the political opponents of the Marquis of Salisbury, among whom was George fifth Earl of Essex, a landowner in the same county. He professed a literary taste, and was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, but was better known as a musical connoisseur. He was for many years an ardent admirer of the accomplished vocalist, Miss Stephens, whose performances he attended with marked assiduity till the death of Lady Essex, when the sweetest of English ballad-singers became his second countess.

Norfolk-street, June 16th, 1826.

Allow me to congratulate you, which I do most cordially, upon your success. You have done a brave act in releasing the town of Hertford from its shackles; and I do

think that you will experience a grateful return for the same from the voters. I wont say a word about Catholics till you let me know that you have read over *all the evidence* given before the committee of the House of Lords; and when the day of voting comes on that question, you must look at the beauteous eyes of some fair Catholic, and exclaim, "By those eyes and lips, I cannot vote against thy Faith." In short, these are matters for future consideration. Now you are a Hertfordshire squire, I hope you will come and see me before the summer is over. I assure you I have been most anxious for your success; for *entre nous* you were not well used at first, so my opinion is.

Yours very faithfully,

Essex.

On entering the House of Commons, Mr. Duncombe appears to have followed the maxims of another popular member, who, however, moved in a totally different sphere:—

"Vigour, energy, resolution, firmness of purpose, these carry the day. Is there one whom difficulties dishearten, who bends to the storm? He will do little. Is there one who *will* conquer? That kind of man never fails. Let it be your *first* study to teach the world that you are not wood and straw—*some iron in you*. Let men know that what you say you will do, that your decision made is final—no wavering; that once resolved, you are not to be allured or intimidated. Acquire and maintain that character."\*

The new member chose to make himself familiar with the arena and the chief combatants before he entered into the fight; then he had to get acquainted with his weapon, for he was not then the master of fence at argument he afterwards became.

\* "Memoirs of Sir Fowell Buxton, Bart.," p. 142.

## CHAPTER V.

## THE MAN OF FASHION.

Mr. Duncombe patronizes the Turf—Lord Alvanley transfers a lost bet to him—Letter of the Duc de Richelieu—Count Batthyany—Mr. Delme Radcliffe—Lord Henry Seymour—Fate of Berkeley Craven—Squire Osbaldiston—Dispute with Mr. Hamer referred to Mr. Duncombe—Sir Harry Vane Tempest—Dispute between Mr. Bond and the Earl of Chesterfield referred to Mr. Duncombe and another—Dispute between Mr. Bond and Mr. Duncombe referred to the Hon. Colonel Anson—Mr. Duncombe's equipage—Sobriquets: King Allen, The Golden Ball, The Silent Hare, The Silver Ball, Kangaroo Cooke, Red Herrings, Monk Lewis, Old Sarum, The Sultana, The Lady, Penny Wise and Pound Foolish, Handsome Jack, The Governor of Finland.

MR. DUNCOMBE, having quitted the Coldstream Guards with the exception of his occasional appearance in uniform as an officer of the Yorkshire Hussars, led the life of a civilian. He was a good horseman, and as a matter of course had a great admiration for good horses. This led him to take a deep interest in the great races, most of which he made it a point to attend. He was one of the gentlemen jockeys who were then wont to distinguish themselves at Lambton races, where he established a warm friendship with Mr. Lambton, afterwards Lord Durham, and lived on the most intimate terms with his family. As a Yorkshireman, Doncaster naturally possessed his

preference, but he was almost as frequently seen at Goodwood, Ascot, and Epsom. He was on familiar terms with the principal members of the Jockey Club—indeed was well known to all the distinguished supporters of the turf, foreign and English. It not unfrequently happened that he was appealed to for assistance by friends who had lost money on a race, as in the following note :—

DEAR TOMMY,—I owe Miltown 130*l.* Let me transfer it to you. I will pay you after Ascot.

Yours, ALVANLEY.

Mr. Duncombe was marked down as a victim by the scoundrels permitted to infest the resorts of gentlemen for the enjoyment of a national recreation. They thought they had succeeded at Hampton races, 1827, when they contrived to make it appear that he had lost 2400*l.*; a stranger, who directed his letters from the doubtful neighbourhood of Blackfriars'-road, offering, with a wonderful show of disinterestedness, to buy the supposed debt for 200*l.*, he opened his eyes to both the transactions. There is no evidence that the gang got either the larger or the smaller sum.

Debts of honour were regarded as being invested with a peculiar claim for payment; but this did not always secure their prompt discharge. Among men of good social position, the creditor was rarely found obdurate to an appeal for an extension of time, a simple assurance of future payment, or frank acknowledgment of the obligation, being all that was required to complete the transaction. The fellow-feeling that is said to make us wondrous kind, influences betting men of the first class more readily



than more saintly individuals of no class at all. Mr. Duncombe was always ready to meet the slightest expression of a wish on the part of any of his associates in the clubs or on the turf. We select one from numerous examples of the same nature, preserved among his papers:—

MON CHER DUNCOMBE,—Je vous remercie bien de me permettre de ne vous payer les quatre cents trente livres sterling que je vous dois que dans six mois. Mille amitiés.  
RICHELIEU.

Newmarket, Octobre 28, 1828.

Count Batthyany, long familiar to English sportsmen as a patron of the turf, prided himself on giving dinners of a refined character. His wines were the choicest, his cook first-rate; therefore he was sure to collect around him the cream of English and foreign society. Anglomania was not then so common on the continent as it has since become, but among the few foreigners who had a passion for English horse-racing, Count Batthyany took the lead. He possessed horses and started them at the principal meetings, betted largely on others as well as his own, and cultivated the friendship of English gentlemen fond of the same pursuit. Mr. Duncombe was his guest; they had long been intimate at the clubs and other places of resort.

Delme Radcliffe belonged to the circle of Mr. Duncombe's sporting friends. Like Coke of Holkham he never varied in his costume, but chose to retain the dress of his youth, the most characteristic features of which were short boots with white tops, long breeches, and a single-breasted coat. He had been one of the *habitués* of Carlton Palace, was a first-rate gentleman

jockey, and filled the post of equerry to William IV. When amateur racing was going on at Lambton or Goodwood, Mr. Radcliffe was sure to be one of the competitors, with Fred. Lumley, Edward Petre, Mr. Duncombe, and others in the front rank as gentlemen riders. It was as much the recreation of a man of fashion as hunting or shooting, and when there was much speculation in horseflesh, or high betting, might become more expensive than either.

Lord Henry Seymour was one of the most eminent patrons of the turf in those days, running horses and betting as largely as the majority of his aristocratic contemporaries in the ring. He excelled in athletic sports; but cultivated his intellectual quite as much as his physical powers. He was as liberal to artists as to jockeys, and looked upon gaining a good painting as quite as desirable as winning a good race. He lived much in France, where he founded a jockey club, and established the taste for racing among the nobility and gentry that has recently developed itself into a passion quite as enthusiastic as that which has so long flourished in this country. The recent success of French horses, and the enormous sums won by their owners, are likely to maintain the popularity of the sport with Frenchmen. Lord Henry was one of Mr. Duncombe's most intimate sporting friends.

The spirit of speculation on a race leads some men to go far beyond their means of meeting their engagements should they be unsuccessful. They back the favourite or accept the odds to some extravagant amount, with a very doubtful prospect of success. An outsider comes in first, or the horse every betting man would have refused to back rushes in a winner,

and they are totally ruined. Many fly to Boulogne, or retrench and subsist in some out of the way place celebrated for the cheapness of the living; a few contrive to hang about with a tainted name, ignoring their obligations, and sanguine of some lucky chance occurring that will set them straight. But much too often the ruined man becomes bankrupt in soul as well as in purse, and takes the first convenient means of hurrying out of the world. Such was the fate of Berkeley Craven, in the Derby of 1836, when Lord Jersey's "Middleton" came in a winner.

Mr. Duncombe was well known to most of the celebrated characters connected with the turf. That his character must have been respected by them is evident from their desire to secure him as an umpire when disputes arose between two, which the cooler judgment of a third party only could settle. Among his sporting friends, with few he was more at home than with that long-familiar figure in the ring—short and awkward, shrivelled and shrunk, with round shoulders and a limping walk, ill-clothed in a brown frock-coat with velvet collar, loose grey trowsers, and cloth boots, who was recognised as "the Squire," from time almost immemorial the best cricket-player, steeplechaser, master of foxhounds, and sportsman in the three kingdoms—George Osbaldiston.

Some misunderstanding occurred early in the year 1839 between Mr. Osbaldiston and a Mr. Hamer, and it was referred for decision to Mr. Duncombe; but the parties could not agree as to the facts in dispute, and the arbitrator declined entering upon the case till they had done this.

The escapades of the Vane Tempests owe their

origin to their maternal grandfather, Sir Harry, who was a celebrated character on the turf in the first decade of the century. One Sunday he attracted general attention in the Park by riding a race-horse that a few days before had won the St. Leger. He is said to have made a bet at Doncaster that he would knock down the first man who entered the stand. As may be supposed, he was partial to pugilism. He was a fearless rider, a hard drinker, and a thorough sportsman. As he was of a handsome, dashing appearance, he captivated a wealthy Irish heiress, the Countess of Antrim, just as their only daughter was captivated by the *beau sabreur* Sir Charles Stewart, afterwards Marquis of Londonderry, whose second wife she became.

With a Mr. Bond Mr. Duncombe was fated to be brought into communication on a disputed debt of honour; but not on his own account. It was in August, 1840, that an action at law was pending between the Earl of Chesterfield and Mr. Bond, when both parties agreeing to refer the case to friendly arbitration, Mr. Duncombe, Lord Lichfield, and Count D'Orsay were named, and they were to meet at the Junior St. James's Club-room for the purpose of settling the disagreeable business. The particulars of the dispute have not transpired, but it was most probably a play debt contracted at the club.

During Mr. Duncombe's connexion with the turf he lost and won, like his friends, but had settled all his betting accounts, as he believed; nevertheless, in June, 1850, this well-known betting man put forward a claim upon him for a bet alleged to have been made in 1842. Having no recollection of the transaction, he suggested that the settlement should be left to arbi-

tration, and it was referred to the Hon. Colonel Anson. The horse "Wellington," the alleged cause of the dispute, had belonged to him the previous year. The colonel, then suffering from an attack of the gout, could not attend to the case; but as soon as he was able to move he had an interview with the claimant.

Hill-street, July 23rd, 1850.

MY DEAR DUNCOMBE,—I saw Bond yesterday at Tattersall's. He told me his story, and showed me his book—that in which the bet was made—his comparing and his settling books. It does not appear possible that he should have invented this claim upon you; and it is therefore simply a matter of assertion between two parties. You have no recollection of it, and consequently no memorandum of it. In such cases there is no possibility of coming to a decision as to who is right or wrong. It evidently arrives from a mistake. I told him that I did not think you would pay the bet, as you entirely disavowed having any transaction of the sort with him. He said that he was more annoyed at the tone and manner of your refusal than at the loss of the money.

So the matter rests; and as far as I see, so it must rest.

Ever yours truly,

G. ANSON.

Mr. Bond chose to affirm that the arbitrator had given an award in his favour. The latter was appealed to, and wrote:—

Hill-street, August 7th, 1850.

MY DEAR DUNCOMBE,—Bond had no right to assume I had given a decision in his favour. I told him that, when statements were so opposed to each other, it was difficult to say what ought to be done; and that I could not believe that either of them was wilfully incorrect. I felt that I could not decide arbitrarily in such a case in favour of one or the other; but as you both expressed a wish that I should be the arbitrator, I will endeavour to do so fairly to both parties. I therefore recommend that the sum in dispute

should be divided—that is, that you should pay half what Mr. Bond claims—25*l*. I hope this will settle the business.

Yours very truly,

G. ANSON.

T. S. Duncombe, Esq.

Both parties agreed to this suggestion; the money was paid to Mr. Bond, and a receipt given.

Mr. Duncombe continued to take an interest in racing matters till too great an invalid to venture in the ring; but he had long given up betting, and confined his riding to a shooting pony. For many years his taste in horses was made evident by the animals harnessed to his handsome equipage. A glance was sufficient to satisfy the connoisseur that it belonged to a man of fashion. Few persons regarded it with more interest than the principal West-end tradespeople, for its stopping at their doors proved a first-rate advertisement. Indeed, the ardour of this class to secure his patronage looked like a return of the Brummell influence. Mr. Duncombe was known to be the constant associate of the most influential men of their day—not only of the greatest celebrity in the higher circles, but the leading spirits of society, whether statesmen, sportsmen, patriots, or speculators. Those whose notice was the foundation of a fortune were sure to be found in his company.

Few men ever obtained so thorough a knowledge of the fashionable world of both sexes, and he seems to have studied their characteristics with genuine interest. Many sought to distinguish themselves by a peculiarity in dress, in speech, in something; if not marked out from the common herd, some *sobriquet* was pretty sure to be given them which had the same effect. Very singular were some of them; but each

name was a sort of social Hall-mark, by which their owners were enabled to circulate in good society.

“King Allen” was Joshua William, a viscount in the Irish peerage, who succeeded his father in 1816, after having distinguished himself at Talavera when serving under Wellington as a subaltern in the Guards. His ancestor, a Sir Joshua, had been Lord Mayor of Dublin, and completed a mansion a few miles from the city, at Millynaback, which was styled “Allen’s Court;” but the young Guardsman appears to have succeeded to nothing except a house in Merrion-square. The Lord Mayor’s fortune in business had been dissipated in pleasure, in the way in which the Coleraines and Blessingtons, and numberless other examples of the same aristocracy, were then rapidly diminishing theirs; and the last of his race, notwithstanding his regal pretensions, found some difficulty in maintaining his position as an Irish nobleman. Nevertheless, he dressed so well as to merit the title of “King of the Dandies,” and during the season was sure to be found at the clubs to which he belonged—White’s and Crockford’s—where he contrived to find the means for keeping up appearances. In this he succeeded, flourishing in London between Bond-street and St. James’s-street among the best dressed of his contemporaries for more than a quarter of a century. He became so habituated to town noise and bustle, that he could not endure existence without them. It has been stated that Lord Alvanley, aware of his predilections, finding him moping miserably at a watering-place, where the quietude rendered him sleepless, engaged one man to drive a hackney-coach constantly

past his lodgings, and another to sing the hours in the tones of a London watchman. It was attended with the happiest effect: "King Allen" deluded himself into the belief that he was still in his own dominions, and slept like a top.

Unfortunately, an empty exchequer had inconveniences that could not be endured for ever. Like other monarchs in difficulty, he abdicated, and expatriated himself. The tall, stout figure, in the capital hat and admirable boots, was seen no more in his old haunts. He was missed among the old familiar faces. At last intelligence reached England that "King Allen" had died at Gibraltar, in 1843, when his viscountcy died with him.

"The Golden Ball" was an officer of the 7th Hussars, to whom his uncle, Admiral Hughes, left a fortune estimated at forty thousand pounds per annum. He added the admiral's patronymic to his own, and commenced living in a style corresponding with his income. As he was handsome, well-bred, dressed well, and was extremely good-natured, he readily gained access to the most fashionable society and the best clubs. He found no difficulty in spending his money. It was lavished with such extravagance as to acquire for him the sterling prefix by which he was afterwards invariably known.

He did not find it so easy to spend his time. This made him an habitual gambler; but his craving for excitement was so great, that he would join in the most ordinary and the most eccentric games of chance or skill, with heavy bets depending on the result. Pitch and toss was had recourse to with any one; and he and Lord Harrington maintained a



contest at battledore and shuttlecock that lasted from evening till daylight.

In these follies he lost a great deal of money ; at last having resolved on going in for matrimony, he paid his addresses to Lady Jane Paget, daughter of his colonel—that *beau sabreur*, the Marquis of Anglesey. But after his acceptance, Lady Jane changed her mind. Her example was followed by two ladies of title to whom he transferred his affections ; and as if fearing he might be ridiculed as a “ Solicitor-General,” or an unsuccessful author of “ Rejected Addresses,” he determined to look for a wife in another direction. He gave up pitch and toss, he refrained from battledore and shuttlecock, he absented himself from the green-table, where he had already dissipated a large portion of his income, and became a constant attendant in Fops’-alley, and one of the privileged loungers behind the scenes at the Italian Opera.

Early in the season of 1823, the *première danseuse* was missing, and in a few days it became a subject of club gossip that Lord Fife had parted with the fascinating Mercandotti to “ The Golden Ball,” who had purchased Oatlands of the Duke of York, with the intention of there commencing life as a Benedict. It was presently ascertained that Lord Fife, the manager of the lady, and Mr. Ebers, the manager of the Opera, had been present at the marriage. Some small jokes were perpetrated respecting the very appropriate association of a *danseuse* with a ball, and the happy pair were left to their own resources.

“ The Silent Hare ” was a distinguished scholar, remarkable as an unlimited talker. As he was well read and possessed a fine memory, his conversational

powers were rarely exercised without advantage to the listener; but as he had a peculiar utterance, that made it difficult for the latter, however attentive, to master his meaning, he was sometimes regarded as a bore. Marvellous tales have been related of his talent as a linguist, as well as of his astonishing powers of memory; while practical jokes of an astounding description have also been attributed to him, the worst of which was deceiving a priest at an Italian confessional, by accumulating horrors till the worthy man fled from the spot in terror of so diabolical a penitent. If his speech was so inarticulate as has been represented, the good father-confessor could not have so readily understood his penitent.

"The Silver Ball" was a Mr. Haynes, who was readily recognised by wearing a suit of a peculiar verdant tint, which procured for him the additional *sobriquet* of "Pea-green Haynes." He was a young man of good fortune, and, like "the Golden Ball," sought consolation behind the scenes for the ill-success that followed his devotion to the fair sex before them. He paid his addresses to the celebrated Miss Foote; and when he attempted to back out of his engagements, on the 21st of November, 1824, she brought an action against him for breach of promise. The details of the trial excited considerable interest, and the jury returned a verdict for the plaintiff, with damages 3000*l*.

"Kangaroo Cooke" was an officer, with the rank of Colonel. Whether his marsupial prefix originated in his pouching propensities, or from a particularly jumping way of getting on in the world, has not been decided. As the brother of General Sir George Cooke and of the Countess of Cardigan, he had ready

access to the best society, and the better to show his pretensions for such association, dressed in the extreme of the mode. Kangaroo Cooke was to be found everywhere between the Horse Guards and the house of Weston the tailor, of Bond-street. He was aide-de-camp to the Duke of York, and is reported to have made visits on his own account to the house in the King's Road, Chelsea, long inhabited by Mrs. Clarke. His resemblance to the Australian quadruped was never challenged, and he continued in his career as Kangaroo Cooke as long as he lived. When dining on board the flag-ship off Lisbon with Admiral Galton, he was much surprised by hearing an order, "Make signal for the Kangaroo to get under weigh;" but his fears that this was a nautical form of dismissing him were allayed, when informed by his next neighbour at table that the Admiral was merely directing the immediate sailing of one of the vessels of his squadron.

"Red Herrings," this somewhat vulgar nickname was fixed upon Lord Yarmouth, partly from the fishing town whence he derived his title, partly from the colour of his whiskers and hair. He was very intimate with the Prince Regent, and equally so with Mr. Duncombe.

"Monk Lewis" was popular as a member of Parliament, as the author of "Tales of Wonder," and the great sensational play of that day, *The Castle Spectre*. He acquired his *sobriquet* from having written a romance of doubtful morality called "The Monk." He was a favourite of the Princess of Wales and the ladies of her equivocal court. He was a good deal quizzed, and very sharply handled in "The Pursuits of Literature."

“Old Sarum” was an appellation conferred on the late dowager Marchioness of Salisbury, from her having the proprietorship of the rotten borough of that name. This lady had been a distinguished horsewoman, constantly going across country with the Quorn Hunt. Her sky-blue habit and jockey-cap were equally familiar to the field that attended the meet when the Hatfield hounds threw off. Her ladyship also drove four-in-hand with the same fearlessness she displayed in going over her fences. When at an advanced age, on the 2nd of December, 1835, she called for an additional light—two wax candles not affording her sufficient to write by. A short time afterwards a conflagration broke out in the old mansion (Hatfield) and consumed the wing in which her apartment was situated. The flames left scarcely a trace of her. Lady Salisbury was completely one of the old school, and kept up the stately customs in fashion in her younger days to the end of her long career.

“The Sultana” was the title conferred by the court upon the Marchioness of Hertford, Lord Yarmouth’s mother, as suggestive of her alleged position in the affections of that grand Turk, George Prince of Wales.

“The Lady” was the name by which the Marchioness of Conyngham was mentioned by the officers of the royal household, when she was living with the King (George IV.) at the Cottage, near Windsor. The happy pair amused themselves with fishing in Virginia Water, and driving in a pony-carriage about the ornamental grounds.

Political nicknames were as common as fashionable ones: a popular economical reformer and a chancellor of exchequer somewhat notorious for profuse expendi-

ture were coupled together as Penny Wise and Pound Foolish. Joseph Hume was a fellow labourer of Mr. Duncombe in the vineyard of reform, and the thorns he pulled up there he seemed always throwing in the way of the treasury. Vansittart (Lord Bexley) suffered from them most. Lord Sidmouth, "the Doctor," son of Dr. Addington, contrived sometimes to have his lines fall in pleasant places: for instance, he secured the White Lodge in Richmond Park as a gratuitous residence; but occasionally came in for favours he did not expect, for on one occasion paying a visit to a prison during meal-time, and accepting the place of honour, he was unpleasantly made aware of the unpopularity of the governor by a shower of penny loaves aimed at his head. The prisoners were dissatisfied with this portion of their diet, and careless of the distinguished visitor, made a simultaneous demonstration of their displeasure.

"Handsome Jack" (Mr. Spalding) was long a fashionable celebrity.

"The Governor of Finland" was a *sobriquet* applied to General Edmund Phipps, third son of the first Lord Mulgrave, because his right arm, from a stroke of paralysis, hung by his side like the fin of a turtle. He died at Venice in the year 1837, aged seventy-seven.

We have by no means exhausted the catalogue; there yet remain Poodle Byng, Hat Vaughan, Fish Crawford, and Elephant Buxton. The last was the brewer and M.P.: he stood six feet four, and was bulky as well as tall. In addition, there were "The Castle Spectre," Mr. Elliot, the thin Irish secretary; and "Old Glory," Sir Francis Burdett. All were well known to Mr. Duncombe, and many were his constant associates in the fashionable world.

## CHAPTER VI.

## MEMBER FOR HERTFORD.

Career of a young man of family—The Heir of Copgrove—Mr. Duncombe adopts extreme Liberal opinions—Reform—The Canning Ministry—Accession of William IV.—Mr. Lambton raised to the peerage as Lord Durham—Mr. Duncombe reelected—Letter from Lord Durham—Lord Grey's Ministry—The Reform Bill—Letter of Lords Durham and Harrowby—Political unions—Mr. Duncombe denounces Lord Lyndhurst in the House of Commons—The Reform Bill passed—Letters from Rt. Hon. Edward Ellice, Lord Melbourne, Lord Durham, and Lady Cowper and Poodle Byng—Mr. Duncombe defeated at Hertford—His prosecution by the Marquis of Salisbury—Letter from Messrs. Joy, Q. C., and Creavy—Presentation piece of plate to Mr. Duncombe—His reply—Letters of Lady Cowper, Poodle Byng, Lord Durham, and Lord Melbourne.

THE career of a young man enjoying the advantages of a good social position, commenced at this period under much the same circumstances that would affect it now. Society opened its arms to the possessor of a good name and the inheritor of a good estate. Pater-familias and materfamilias rivalled each other in endeavouring to make things pleasant in their households for his particular delectation, especially if they had grown-up daughters; hospitable hosts invited him to dinner; fashionable matrons to balls; political leaders sought to secure him as a partisan; *débutantes*

of the season endeavoured to attract him as an admirer; tradesmen thronged to his doorsteps for his custom; and his table was daily covered with written applications for his patronage.

But this is only one phase of the estimation in which young men like Mr. Duncombe were held. He was expected to do as young men of family and fortune were reported to him as having invariably done: he must undertake the employments, enjoy the recreations, exhibit the extravagances, and share in the follies of his class. He must be seen at Tattersall's as well as at Almack's; be more frequent in attendance in the green-room of the theatre than at a *levée* in the palace; show as much readiness to enter into a pigeon-match at Battersea Red House as into a flirtation in May Fair; distinguish himself in the hunting-field as much as at the dinner-table; and make as effective an appearance in the Park as in the Senate; in short, he must be everything—not by turns, but all at once—sportsman, exquisite, gourmand, rake, senator, and at least a dozen other variations of the man of fashion; his changes of character being often quicker than those attempted by certain actors, who nightly undertake the performance of an entire *dramatis personæ*.

The heir of Copgrove found himself compelled to follow the same course. There were soon as many demands on his time as on his fortune; and it became as impossible to economize one as the other. He must go in for dress, and, with Nugee's assistance, became as perfect a dandy as Alvanley, Petersham, Esterhazy, or Raikes. Brummell had become *passée*, and his "fat friend" had ceased seeking notoriety in

that direction. He went in for equipage, and his carriage became as familiar to the loungee in Bondstreet as the curricule of Romeo Coates had been a few years before. He went in for horses, and with as much spirit rode the best hack in the Park as he backed the favourite at Newmarket. He went in for politics, and was shortly a popular member, whose smallest speech was considered worthy of reappearing in the daily papers. His vote and interest were required as a patron of the drama; and he became constant in his attendance on the nightly assemblies of the principal performers, behind the scenes and before. He went in for fashion, had the *entrée* to the most exclusive coteries in the neighbourhood of St. James's-square, and opened accounts with all the leading tradesmen of the West End. The men of the clubs had claimed him, and he had become a leading member of several.

✓ In all these gratifications he associated with the aristocracy of birth and wealth. Nothing, therefore, could be less anticipated than his undertaking the advocacy of extreme Radical opinions in politics. But it should be borne in mind that so far from standing alone as a politician of this stamp, there were members of the patrician class whose declared sentiments were quite as advanced—in particular, Lord Ebrington, and his personal friend, the Hon. Mr. Lambton. There may also have been some inducement in the expectation of sooner gaining a position of high importance through the popularity of the principles he now adopted. Apparently with such view, he closely attached himself to the future Lord Durham.



It is a remarkable fact that, notwithstanding Mr. Duncombe's co-operation with a section of politicians frequently in bitter hostility to the Whig as well as to the Tory Government, he remained on very friendly terms with several of the Whig leaders while associating on the same terms of cordiality with members of the opposite party. His confidential correspondence will be found, therefore, singularly varied, ranging from the exponents of absolute government to the reddest of red republicans. This apparently arose from the benevolence of his disposition. He did not wait to be introduced if he saw a worthy man sinking under the waves of adversity. Without stopping to inquire into either his political or religious creed, he pulled him out. He prepared himself for a political career by reading the speeches of the great orators who were pioneers in the work of liberal legislation, copying passages that he particularly admired. Grattan, when advocating concession, had asked, "Will you then go down the stream of time, the Roman Catholic sitting by your side, un blessing and un blessed; or will you take off his chain, that he may take off yours? Will you give him freedom, that he may guard your liberty?" But Sheil, in defending the Catholic Association, indulged in one of those oratorical displays with which Irish politicians carry away their hearers and themselves:

"An Irishman," he said, "may forget his country; a soldier may be dead to his honour; a minister may be blind to his interests; but a nation cannot be insensible to her rights. What, does he [the Duke of Wellington] imagine that we, who have raised the

mind of Ireland up; who have organized her priesthood, her aristocracy, and her people, and brought our question, in all its dreadful urgencies, with seven millions to uphold it, before him; does he think that we will play the part of political undertakers, and bury our country and her great demands, in order to accommodate ourselves to his aspirations? Stop the Catholic question! Arrest the tide of public emotion! Bid seven millions hold! Cry 'Halt!' to a nation! Tell the torrent not to rush, and bid the cataract to stand frozen in its fall!"

He added, after the cheering had subsided which marked the conclusion of the last sentence, as if addressing the minister, "Wellington, there are three counsellors whom it behoves you to consult, and they are better advisers than any in your cabinet. The first is *justice*; and justice will tell you, *you are bound* to grant Catholic emancipation. The next is *expediency*; and expediency will tell you, you *ought* to grant Catholic emancipation. The last and chief is *necessity*; and necessity will tell you, you *must* emancipate the Catholics of Ireland."

The Duke had suggested that the Catholic question should be buried in oblivion for a time.

The idea of reform in the representation had already taken different forms of expression, but the most popular, if not the most patriotic, was that stated to Sheridan by one of his constituents. "Oh, sir, things cannot go on in this way; there *must* be a reform. We poor electors are not paid properly at all." Such ardent reformers invariably made as much as they could of the franchise, and the experience of bribery committees goes far towards proving that,

wherever practicable, the sale of votes was systematic. It has been affirmed that a considerable extension of the suffrage must render such corruption more difficult; but the extension would be in favour of those to whom an additional source of income might be found more attractive than a conscientious discharge of a public duty. The introduction of the ballot was said, also, to be certain to injure independent voting, but it could be no security against taking bribes from both candidates.

Another passage in one of Grattan's speeches Mr. Duncombe greatly admired. It commences, "Self-legislation is life, and has been fought for as for being. It was that principle that called forth resistance to the house of Stuart, and baptized with royalty the house of Hanover, when the people stood sponsors for their own allegiance to the liberty of the subject; for kings are but satellites, and your freedom is the luminary that has called them to the skies. May the House of Commons flourish, but let the people be the sole author of its existence, as they should be the great object of its care; and however it may please the Almighty to dispose of princes or of parliaments, may the liberties of the people be immortal!"

One of the first occasions on which the member for Hertford created an impression on the House of Commons was on the 31st of January, 1828, during a debate on the naval victory of Navarino, when he made an able defence of Sir Edward Codrington, though, like the Duke of Wellington, he regarded it as "an untoward event." His prepossessing appearance, admirable delivery, con-

ciliatory manner, and sound sense, produced a most satisfactory effect.

Mr. Canning's Government and his promises inspired confidence in several of the leaders of the Liberal party. Brougham, Burdett, Tierney, and Sir R. Wilson at the commencement of the session took their seats on the ministerial benches, and the political world were on the tip-toe of expectation for the changes that were about to take place. Unfortunately these ideas were not to be realized so soon as had been anticipated, for the Liberal premier died early in August of the same year, and Lord Goderich succeeded him. In the new ministry Tierney was gazetted Master of the Mint. He was brought in with the Grenville party; not one of the advanced Liberals having been invited to accept office. But the Government soon proved itself too weak to last, and in a few months was superseded by one under the Duke of Wellington, of a totally different character, and with as different a policy.

The second important occasion on which Mr. Duncombe addressed the House was in the session 1828, and referred to the mysterious change in the administration. He spoke at greater length and was evidently more at his ease. Indeed he treated the Government with so little consideration, and, what perhaps was more important, was listened to with such marked attention, that Sir Robert Peel was roused into making a reply. The matter as well as manner of the speech attracted general attention. Tories and Whigs felt equally interested in the probable career of a new Liberal speaker so well capable of holding his own, and apparently so likely to loosen the hold

of placemen present or prospective. The Radicals hailed him as a powerful ally, though some of them seemed disposed to doubt that one so well dressed and so well connected could be in earnest in his hostility to the aristocracy.

The following note from the present Lady Palmerston refers to his election for Hertford in 1829 :—

July 1st, 1829.

Thank you very much, dear Mr. Duncombe. Lord C. is not at home, but I will show him your letters to-night. I think he will be of opinion that Fordwich should declare himself directly, should your reports prove true. It seems very odd that Byron should choose this moment for vacating. I am going to Almack's, and hope I may meet you there.

Yours very sincerely,

E. COWPER.

The Duke of Wellington's administration, though distinguished by conceding the Catholic claims, which carried O'Connell into the House of Commons, and several Catholic Peers to the Lords, did not seem inclined to favour legislative reform. The agitation, therefore, broke out afresh ; and though a motion on the subject, brought forward in the House by the Marquis of Blandford, June 3rd, 1829, was negatived by 491 to 118, and Parliament shortly afterwards prorogued, the Reformers continued to gain ground. In the following May new motions were made on the subject by Lord John Russell and Mr. O'Connell, but the death of George IV., on the 26th of June, closed the session. At once political agitation became more violent and more general than ever ; the disposition of William IV. was known to be Liberal, and

Liberal candidates were returned for important constituencies; among them Hume for Middlesex, and Brougham for Westmoreland.

Mr. Duncombe began to entertain hopes of political advancement; his friend, Mr. Lambton, had been raised to the Peerage as Baron Durham in 1828, and his social influence and great ability were considered certain to obtain him a post in the next Whig cabinet. Trustworthy evidence can be referred to to establish a reputation for extreme political opinions in an early stage of Lord Durham's career. He was one of the original "friends of the people," and Sir Philip Francis, when employed to draw up their programme, asserted, that Mr. Lambton declined adding his signature on the plea that it would not be republican enough for him. It was the ambition of those young politicians, Lambton, Whitbread, and Tierney, that compelled the Government to raise the alarm of revolution.\*

Mr. Duncombe had taken up the same opinions. In short, it was impossible for two politicians to be more completely in harmony, and their friendship of long standing seemed strengthened by their union of sentiment.

In the general election of 1830, Mr. Duncombe again contested Hertford in the Liberal interest, and made a good fight. With revolutions following each other in rapid succession on the continent, the exciting nature of the daily intelligence was sure to produce an effect on the public mind at such a period. Speakers on the hustings could not always restrain themselves

\* Lord Holland: "Memoirs of the Whig Party," i. 13.

from making suggestive allusions; and some politicians, in their correspondence, did not attempt to disguise their admiration. The political atmosphere, therefore, was unusually democratic, and candidates found no surer road to popularity than the expression of ultra-Liberal opinions. Mr. Duncombe increased his popularity, and succeeded in securing his return. The congratulations of his friends were as hearty as they were general. Lord Durham writes:—

Lambton Castle, August 6th, 1830.

MY DEAR DUNCOMBE,—I was delighted to see you returned; but how came the cornet to bolt? Another time I hope you will bring in another. All has gone on well here. Michael Taylor is returned triumphantly; and one of the Londonderry opposition—Sir Gresley. What glorious people the French are! I fear the English have not one-millionth part of their public spirit.

Ever yours, D.

The House of Commons of 1830 found the predominating Tory element diminishing. Croker was ejected from Dublin University, and three members of the family of Mr. Secretary Peel were equally unfortunate; in short, there was so large an access of Liberal interest in the house, that in a few days the Government, finding themselves outvoted, gave in their resignations. Then, in November, was organized the first Reform Ministry, under the leadership of Earl Grey. The composition of this Government, notwithstanding its popularity, was singularly aristocratic; out of thirteen of its principal members eleven were peers, or possessed courtesy honours; a similar preponderance of titles prevailed in those who were not in the Cabinet. Among them were several of Mr.

Duncombe's personal friends. The most cordial, Lord Durham, was appointed Lord Privy Seal, and Henry Brougham became Lord Chancellor and Lord Brougham and Vaux. The member for Hertford was, of course, friendly to a Government with such professions, and among the most conspicuous debaters on their side of the House in support of the measure for Parliamentary Reform brought forward early in the next year. The Opposition, however, proved too strong for them, and the Parliament was dissolved on the 22nd of April. A general election took place in the ensuing month, and the result was a House of Commons of a far more Liberal character than its predecessors had been. Mr. Duncombe was again returned. Immense was the excitement all over the country, the Whigs vying with the Radicals in the freedom of their opinions. "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill!" was the rallying cry. When the new House assembled on the 14th of June, Reform was again the subject of lively discussion; but large majorities in favour of ministers attended every reading of the Bill, and it passed in September with one of 109.

In the previous month, during one of the debates, some severe comments on the extreme opinions advocated by Lord Durham, caused his friend to stand up in his place in Parliament, and enter upon his defence; how effectually, may be seen in the following note:—

Norwood, Wednesday morning, August 10th, 1831.

MY DEAR DUNCOMBE,—Having very imperfectly heard last night what occurred in the House of Commons, it was not until I this morning read in the papers an account of the debate, that I became sensible of the extent of my obli-



gations to you. Your generous, manly, and uncompromising notice of the "base and unfounded calumnies" directed against me by the Opposition in the House of Commons, demands my warmest thanks. I have only to hope that on a similar occasion you will oblige me by stating that you are authorized by me distinctly to apply the same observations to any member who may indulge in charges or insinuations of the same nature as those you so promptly repelled. I assure you again, that I feel the deepest gratitude to you for your vindication of my character, and am

Ever yours most truly,

DURHAM.

The change that had taken place in April, 1831, excited both the great parties equally. In the Commons, the speech of Sir Robert Peel was interrupted by the sound of the cannon announcing the approval of the King, every report eliciting a burst of cheering from one side, and of yells and groans from the other. In the Lords, the scene was equally extravagant, Lord Mansfield in his anger doubling up his fist, elbowing Lord Shaftesbury into the chair, and hooting Lord Brougham as he left the House. The new ministry carried the country with them when their programme was announced, but whatever claims Lord Grey or Lord Melbourne might have as leaders of the movement, there can be no doubt that Lord Durham was its directing spirit, and that the provisions of the Reform Bill were entirely his composition.

Moore, who ought to have known the Whigs well, states of them, in July, 1831, "I am convinced that there is just as much selfishness and as much low party-spirit among them generally as among the Tories, without any of that tact in concealing the offensiveness of these qualities, which a more mel-

lowed experience of power and its sweets gives to the Tories.”

In the following year, at Lord Essex's, he ventures to add a statement that the cause of liberty had suffered more than it gained by the Whigs being in power.

Thus early in his political career, Mr. Duncombe found it necessary to obtain a considerable fund to defray the expenses he had incurred. He had consulted Lord Essex, but his reply does not appear encouraging. It appears that the design was to raise a subscription in the county.

Belgrave-square, November 22nd, 1831.

MY DEAR DUNCOMBE,—I am sorry to tell you that I have tried Watford, and it does not succeed; but I am more concerned to say that I have *tried myself* with as little success. The fact is, I cannot feel disposed to give the *larger sum*, and I do not think I ought to give one *much smaller*. I fear the sum you have to raise will not be practicable in a county like ours. Probably Lord Salisbury will sit down with the loss of his money. With all my heart,

Yours faithfully,

Essex.

The political principles of Sir Francis Burdett had recently undergone so decided a modification, that his Liberal friends began to entertain misgivings of his sincerity as a reformer. To put his conduct beyond a doubt, Mr. Duncombe, who had long been one of his staunchest supporters, on the 3rd of May addressed to him a letter requiring an explicit declaration of his sentiments. Getting no satisfactory answer, he joined the committee for the election of Mr. Leader. The prospects of the Liberals brightened so much that Moore, during a visit to Lord Lansdowne, says,

“ We both agreed that the next change would be in the Radical direction.”

Perhaps there never was a more exciting scene enacted in the lower House of Parliament, than when the House was discussing the position of the new-formed Tory Ministry and the extraordinary policy they had announced. The King had prevailed on the Duke of Wellington to endeavour to form a popular administration with a popular measure, and the most intense curiosity was excited to know who were to be his colleagues, and what was to be the measure his grace intended to bring forward. It oozed out that the chief members of the last Tory Government were to hold the principal places in this—that was a matter of course; but the world was startled by the announcement that this Tory Government intended to bring forward the Reform Bill, and use all their influence to get it passed. This appeared to be an outrage in the eyes of reformers of all grades, and a remarkable discussion ensued.

There was a strong antagonistic feeling in the House of Lords, but there was a moderate party who, though scarcely in favour of the proposed measure, were not its implacable enemies. They desired that the country should have more time to reflect on the nature of its provisions. Amongst this section the following communication to Lord Jersey was privately circulated:—

January 27th, 1832.

MY DEAR LORD,—When last we parted I think we agreed that we were each still at liberty to take our own line; but as you may be anxious to hear how I find matters on my return to town, and how the question appears to me to

stand, I hasten to give you, and as time presses, to urge upon you, my principal reasons for thinking the Reform Bill ought to be read a second time in the House of Lords. The increasing majorities in the House of Commons, the unabated desire for reform evinced at all public meetings, and above all, *my positive knowledge* that Lord Grey has received *carte blanche* from the King to create peers at any stage of the bill.

Now if peers are created before the second reading of the bill, the Whigs become masters of the House of Lords, and no amendment can be introduced with success, and which Lord Grey might be justified in doing were we not fully to convince him that the bill shall go into committee; but were they to be created during the progress of the bill, so great would be the disgust felt against them I think he dare hardly do it, and which is confirmed by the knowledge we possess of the feelings of some members of the Cabinet, as also the determination of a large body of the Commons, to support our amendments; and who admit they are driven to vote for *the whole bill now*, from the means that have been taken out-of-doors to intimidate and misrepresent any votes given in favour of amendments; which they admit they think would be most beneficial.

But supposing the bill was again rejected on the second reading; what is to happen? Would ministers resign? I believe they would not; but, by proroguing Parliament for a week, they would take those steps which would enable them to *consummate their act of destruction*.

But admitting they would resign; what is to be done with the present House of Commons (and I don't think a dissolution would mend it)? Who is to carry on the Government? I am convinced no one can do it, unless he is prepared to bring in a bill for reform, and which Peel and the Duke of Wellington will not take the responsibility of doing. Nor *are we able now* to propose a bill that can meet the views of all parties; for on investigating the feelings of "*moderate men*," we find *each has his own bill*, and the result is nothing but a general declaration in favour of

reform. Therefore, I contend it is better to let the bill go into committee; there to be amended, and *its venom extracted*. For instance, Schedule A must pass; but great parts of *Schedules C and D must be omitted*; and also the qualification raised. These alterations *we know* would be accepted by the Commons, and are congenial to the feelings of a part of the Cabinet.

This once done, reform being once disposed of, the door is again open to Peel and the Duke of Wellington, and others of the Conservative party, to rescue the country and its affairs from the hands of the Whigs, who are permitted to direct them now merely from being instruments of reform, and who, you may be sure, are *unsupported by anything* like the *esteem* or *veneration* of the country.

But peers once made, they are masters of the Lords, and it will be totally impossible for ancient influences ever to regain their former weight. I am not sanguine enough to believe, however much I may wish it, that these reasons will have the same weight with you that they have with myself—(I have just shown this letter to Lord Wharncliffe, who has been indefatigable in his exertions, and he desires me to say he concurs in every syllable of it);—but whatever may be your decision, and painful as it will be to us, it is necessary for ulterior purposes, that a portion of the anti-reformers should separate themselves from the 199. I hope you will bear in mind that such separation will be but of short duration; and therefore never can or will alter or diminish that friendship, and I trust I may add that esteem, which has so long subsisted between us.

&c. &c. &c.,

HARROWBY.

The moderate party were not much influenced by this document, for on the second reading of the Bill in the House of Lords it was rejected by a majority of 41.

The creation of a batch of peers was pressed upon the Government early in 1832; but the Whigs hesi-

tated. The aristocratic portion could not reconcile themselves to showing to the entire political world, that—

“ A breath can make them, as a breath has made; ”

but Mr. Duncombe and the other Radical leaders were urging them to advance with the times. Lord John Manners had not then published his famous couplet, in which he professed a desire to sacrifice everything most worthy of preservation, so that England's old nobility might be preserved. The Tories were not permitted to have a voice in the matter, and the prejudices of the titled Whigs were obliged to succumb to the fear that the Radicals would supersede them in the affections of the people. They threw out a bait to the popular leaders, by appointing one of the Members for Westminster (Sir J. C. Hobhouse), Secretary-at-War, *vice* Sir Henry Parnell, dismissed. The King when required refused to create the Peers, and Ministers resigned. The commotion at Brookes's was intense, especially among the displaced and the disappointed. The speeches were very violent; and there was a Radical meeting the next day in St. John's Wood under increased excitement. The Duke of Wellington found himself unable to form a Government, and Lord Grey insisted on the creation of Peers. The dead-lock continued, till some of the Tory Peers were induced to refrain from voting on the last reading of the Reform Bill.

Lord Althorp, after the Bill had been thrown out in the House of Lords, May, 1832, spent the day in buying flowers, and the evening in studying where they should be placed in his garden, writing

directions, and drawing plans for his gardener. Then he commenced oiling the lock of his gun, evidently designing to retire into country life.\* But he had to defer these enjoyments; the Government resumed office in a week, and he was forced to send away his plants and put away his fowling piece.

Public excitement rose to fever heat when it was announced that the Reform Bill had been thrown out of the Lords. The Peerage, especially the Bishops, were generally abused. In Bristol and different parts of the country serious riots took place, and meetings were held that began to assume a more democratic character. A Society called the London Political Union had one at the Crown and Anchor, Sir Francis Burdett in the chair; but when an intention was expressed to open the association to delegates from the working classes, the veteran reformer became alarmed and withdrew from its direction. It was proposed to have a more popular demonstration in White Conduit House, Thomas Wakley in the chair, which Mr. Duncombe promised to attend; but the programme put forth attracted the attention of Lord Melbourne, the Home Secretary, and the meeting was prohibited as seditious. It did not take place; the Government then followed up their advantage by issuing proclamations declaring the illegality of affiliated societies.

Although Mr. Duncombe was allying himself with a party that threatened the most serious opposition to the Government—notwithstanding the liberality of its declared intentions—nothing can be more easily estab-

\* Lord Cockburn's "Life of Lord Jeffrey," i. 332.

lished than the countenance he received from several of its members. Possibly this was to secure the support of himself and his Radical friends to the Reform Bill brought forward for the third time on the 12th of December; and the first and second readings having been carried by considerable majorities, the House was adjourned.

After the reassembling of Parliament in the following spring, the progress of the Bill advanced a stage or two; but the public dissatisfaction grew daily more violent, the London Political Union received an accession of 2000 members, and a great public meeting took place at Manchester for the purpose of putting pressure on the Ministers. They were at variance among themselves and resigned.

An eye-witness gives an animated picture of the House of Commons when the Government was about to change from Whig to Tory. At this moment Mr. T. Duncombe announced to the House that Lord Carnarvon had just stated in the House of Lords that the new administration was formed, except in some minor particulars. And now followed a scene of exasperation, rage, and disappointment on the part of the late ministry that almost baffles description. Mr. Duncombe commenced with a furious diatribe against Lord Lyndhurst.

We quote the passage:—"Where he (the Duke of Wellington) had found ministers to fill his Cabinet I know not; but we all know who was the noble and learned individual first employed to compound the administration, and we now find that this administration is about to adopt the very Bill which it denounced only a few hours ago as revolutionary. I



must say that the formation of such an administration could not have fallen into hands more worthy of the task. I do not deny the noble lord's learning or talents, but his whole life has been one continued scene of political prostitution and apostacy."\*

This, it must be admitted, was rather strong language; but the provocation appears to have justified it in the eyes of the speaker. That a band of consistent Reformers should have battled for years with a political party who opposed their measure inch by inch, and now, when the latter saw that they must surrender, undertaking to take it out of its supporters' hands and bring it forward themselves, was particularly aggravating. Mr. Duncombe's indignation was poured out upon all who were likely to assist the Government in their misappropriations.

"The angry orator," observes the same reporter of the debate, "attacked the whole bench of bishops, quoting from their lately delivered speeches strong and solemn declarations of political faith by those right reverend persons, garnished, as is their wont, with sanctimonious appeals to the name and attributes of the Divinity. He asked, very naturally, whether the bishops were prepared to change and support the new administration. 'Are they of a sudden,' he demanded, 'to fling up their mitres and halloo for the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill?'"†

The opposition to the Duke of Wellington in the House was general, both with Whigs and Radicals. The great commander had certainly perpetrated a manœuvre for which both were totally unprepared;

\* "Mirror of Parliament," 1832.

† Roebuck: "History of the Whig Ministry of 1830," ii. 316.

and, having been taken by surprise, they felt annoyed and humiliated. The press echoed the cry against the Government, the opposition outside the House presently exceeded the opposition in, and the King found himself obliged to have recourse to the ejected Whigs. But Lord Grey would not again accept office without a pledge from his Majesty that the bill should be carried. Ministers resumed their functions, everything went on as usual; and the Reform Bill passed through all its stages and received the Royal assent on the 7th of June.

Another general election was now made necessary, in which the provisions of the new measure had to be carried out; and Mr. Duncombe was again in the field as a popular candidate. His parliamentary services were not likely to be overlooked; but, knowing that a tremendous effort would be made to prevent his return for Hertford, he sought the co-operation of his Ministerial friends. For a time he had an intention of contesting the City, and his address was prepared. Lord Durham had been appointed British ambassador to the court of the Czar, but did not sail for his destination till the 3rd of July. Friends equally influential were, however, ready to assist him. He received from the Treasury the following, written by the Secretary:—

MY DEAR D.,—I cannot tell you when I have been so much annoyed and disgusted as on opening your letter this morning to Wood, in his absence. The nominations for the metropolis are to take place to-morrow, so that it is too late to think of the Borough or Lambeth, in either of which you would have been quite safe; and I know not how to advise you, in the absence of all information here, except to start directly from Hertford for Manchester, to find out Heywood, the late member for Lancashire, who will tell you what is going on in the new boroughs, and who was of opinion a week

ago that half-a-dozen good and known candidates might be yet provided for in the district. You may rely upon my getting up a little subscription here, to assist any good citizens who may take a fancy for you; and if you establish a committee *anywhere*, with (in your own opinion) a good chance of success, I will answer their demand for 500*l.* I say this offhand, without communicating with any one else; but you are to consider me responsible for the fulfilment of the engagement.

I am obliged to set off in the mail to-night. Write either to Poodle Byng or Young, at the Home Office, if you have any commands in time.

Yours ever,

EDWD. ELLICE.

Communications passed between Lords Melbourne and Durham:—

MY DEAR DURHAM,—I quite agree with you, but I do not know what to do with Cowper. I do not know that my speaking would do any good. But if Tom Duncombe wrote himself to Lady Cowper it might have some effect; perhaps he has already done so. Alston is such a sorry blockhead, that it is impossible he can ever win an election.

Yours faithfully,

MELBOURNE.

Monday, Four o'clock.

MY DEAR DUNCOMBE,—Lord Grey has just written most strongly to Lord Cowper, and I trust effectually.

Ever yours,

D.

Encouragement came from another source:—

December 8th, 1832.

DEAR TOM,—East Surrey is said to be open to any Whig. Jolliffe offered to support young George Byng. You might be too strong for them. George had only 500*l.* to spend, and therefore declined, and has started to-night for Ireland. Lord Anglesey says to him that he has three boroughs which he might come in for—Downpatrick, Drogheda, and some other which I forget. If you go on to Lancashire, and dislike the aspect of affairs there, you might go on to

Dublin. Lord A. can be written to if you like it. No acrimony in Westminster or Marylebone. East Surrey might be done for under 1000*l.*; but I fear you would be thought too much of. Yours, F. B.\*

One of his Hertford opponents thus addressed him :

August 17th.

MY DEAR DUNCOMBE,—Many thanks for your letter of the 13th, which reached me this morning. I shall be most happy to accede to your proposition that no canvassing should take place on our part till after the dissolution appears officially in the *Gazette*. I will answer for Mahon; and I shall now therefore consider this point as settled. I write this from the hills, where, I am sorry to say, the birds are scarce. I hope you will have better luck in Yorkshire. I write to Mahon.

Yours truly,

INGESTRE.

A little later Poodle Byng wrote encouragingly :

Cle. Court, December 9th, 1832.

DEAR TOM,—You put me in spirits again. Stay and beat them by all means; for as the election with you is so late, you could not follow Ellice's advice, and go to Lancashire with any prospect of being in time. I see no reason why, if Ellice would produce the 500*l.* for a distant, why he should not apply it to a nearer and a more important victory. Of course you will not throw it away if your chance is gone. Success attend you, my dear Tom. I wish I had 500*l.* more to send you. Things go well in Westminster. We have no news of any sort to-day. Yours, F. B.

Mr. Duncombe's anticipations of unusual opposition to his reelection at Hertford were realized. He had represented the borough in three parliaments, but its acknowledged patron employed every possible method of withdrawing from him the support he had hitherto

\* Frederick, commonly called "Poodle Byng."

enjoyed; and succeeded so well, that the hitherto popular candidate was deprived of at least a third of his former votes. His failure drew down on the Marquis very sharp attacks from the Liberal press. The return was petitioned against; and Mr. Duncombe published so stinging a declaration of the unjustifiable practices to which his opponents had had recourse, that he received a visit from a gentleman who announced himself as the solicitor of the Marquis, and threatened legal proceedings. The result of his lordship's intentions of prosecuting him for a libel is declared in the following communications from Mr. Duncombe's counsel, and his learned friend:—

11, Great Queen-street, Westminster, Sunday Morning.

MY DEAR SIR,—I cannot return you Mr. Creevey's note on the Salisbury case without expressing my gratification on finding that a man of his astuteness has, upon further consideration, advised you to adopt the course I had suggested as the more prudent. I need not assure you that such suggestion was dictated solely by a due regard for the best interests of the client, without any solicitude to deprecate "the animadversions" which a different line of proceeding might have drawn upon the advocate.

Mr. Creevey naturally enough allows, in a legal matter, some weight to the high authority of the great Michael Angelo—that Ajax Flagellifer before whose rod all Chancellors but the present are wont to tremble.

I ought to add my best acknowledgments of the very kind and courteous approbation you have bestowed on the manner in which the case has been hitherto conducted. If the most anxious and zealous endeavours for its successful termination could have merited such a flattering testimonial, it would have put me less to the blush for its excess; but with whatever qualification it ought to be received, I accept it very thankfully as a proof of your too favourable construction of my humble services.

By-the-by, you have of course heard of the monstrous proceeding of an alteration—falsification—of the verdict, although handed in *in writing* by the foreman, who distinctly declared, in presence of all the jury, that they could and would give it in no other words than in those upon the paper—those words having been agreed upon after several hours' hard debate among them? And this, too, though the judge himself told me the next morning that he thought he ought not to have received it. Assuredly I should never have permitted it to be received without the strongest protest had I not perceived at the moment it was delivered that it was a verdict upon which no judgment could properly be pronounced, as it was substantially equivalent to—Not guilty.

Believe me, very faithfully yours,

H. H. Joy.

Richmond, Tuesday, January 28th.

DEAR DUNCOMBE,—When talking over your case with Mr. Taylor, he is decidedly against your stirring in your case. The longer Lord Salisbury is in moving that you be brought up for judgment, the more lenient the sentence of the Court must naturally be, because the delay is itself a proof of the prosecutor's sense of his own weak case. Then as to your liberty being in the meantime invaded, Taylor says it is impossible, or that if it were, the judges would bail you instantly. Now although our Michael is not an authority I would consult on many subjects, on *legal matters* I think he is a good one.

I am yours very truly,

THOS. CREEVEY.

The opponents of Mr. Duncombe at the last election for Hertford were Lords Mahon and Ingestre; but they were returned at a cost, it is said, of not less than 14,000*l*. The bribery was so barefaced, that, when the particular case came before a Committee of Inquiry on Mr. Duncombe's petition, both their lordships were unseated. The cost to the popular

candidate, during his contests with Lord Salisbury, from first to last, has been computed at 40,000*l*. The principal expenditure was created by the necessity of finding homes for the Marquis's ejected tenants—as his lordship only permitted them to hold their tenements for a fortnight, that if they gave votes contrary to his wishes, they might be the more easily punished. ✓

An exposure of bribery took place when a committee of inquiry in the House of Commons unseated the sitting members for Grimsby in 1832. The majority of the small boroughs were equally at the disposal of the highest bidder, and members owed their election solely to the ability of their purses to answer the appeals of the free and independent electors. The Reform Bill ought to have remedied this abuse of the franchise, but did not; nor will a hundred measures of the kind do it, as long as money can be made by the voter for affording assistance to the candidate. All succeeding election committees have only proved the sale of votes to be a matter of course wherever there has been a buyer in the field; and there is every reason for believing that an extension of the franchise will produce a corresponding extension of the abuse.

The value of a property, even in Scotland, that possessed the franchise to a considerable extent, may be gathered from the fact, that one producing 500*l*. a year was sold for 15,000*l*.

The Hertford people had not done with their member. The ladies of the borough subscribed for and presented him with a handsome piece of plate. It was forwarded to him in March, and he acknow-

ledged the compliment in language that proved how profoundly it was appreciated:—

13, Arlington-street, March 26th, 1833.

LADIES,—I hasten to acknowledge the receipt of your splendid present, and to assure you that I shall ever prize it, not merely on account of the beauty of the gift, or the exquisite taste displayed in the workmanship, but as an everlasting testimony of the feeling entertained towards me at this moment by parties uncontrolled by the political circumstances of your borough representation; and although my connexion with the ancient borough of Hertford has for the present ceased, this substantial and unexpected mark of your good opinion has more than compensated for the momentary disappointment I may have experienced, because while it records your approbation of my public conduct, it associates me in private life with the estimation of the ladies of Hertford. With reference to the most appropriate motto, "*L'ultima che si perde è la Speranza*," distinguishing your gift, permit me to add that Hope can never be lost which is founded on the esteem of the eight hundred donors whose fair names I find inscribed on this costly and elegant token of regard.

I have the honour to be, ladies,

Your most faithful and devoted servant,

THOMAS S. DUNCOMBE.

To Mrs. Henry Tisoe and  
The Ladies' Committee, &c. &c. &c., Hertford.

There is little doubt that the treatment Mr. Duncombe received from Lord Salisbury drove him nearer and nearer to the other extreme of politics. He declared war against Toryism, and threw himself into the ranks of a set of politicians from whom the Whigs generally kept aloof except when their assistance was indispensable to their obtaining or maintaining office. They were regarded with suspicion by both the great parties; and in their news-



papers were invariably mentioned as "Destructives." They were, in fact, the pioneers of the regiment of Reform, and their services were not unfrequently in requisition to clear the way for the advance of their less demonstrative comrades.

Although he had been defeated at Hertford, he still maintained friendly relations with some of the more influential of the Salisbury opposition. On one occasion he went there to support the favourite candidate, and received the following acknowledgments:—

Dimsdale Arms, Monday.

MY DEAR DUNCOMBE,—I am delighted you are coming. I am preparing to receive you in triumph with the band; so come by the Ware road, and we will receive you near the jail at *two* o'clock. Yours, W. COWPER.

Salisbury-street, May 23rd, Seven o'clock.

MY DEAR DUNCOMBE,—I have only had part of your letter. The post is going, but I cannot let it go without from my heart congratulating you on the occasion which you have so well and wisely seized to do great good at Hertford. The people shall know it; I hope the Government will feel it. My regards to your host. Leicester excused me, and I went to Denison's dinner at Dorking.

Always yours, J. EASTHOPE.

I'm just come to town.

DEAR DUNCOMBE,—I got the enclosed note yesterday, which I send you. When you return it, send the numbers of the division, &c., if they are known before post to-morrow. Yours truly, B. GILES KING.

George-street, Friday, May 24th, 1839.

DEAR MR. KING,—I must rejoice with you as an old friend at our Hertford success, and at the same time thank

you most sincerely for your exertions on William's behalf. It would have been a great triumph to the Tories if they could have beat him. How fortunate it was also that Mr. Duncombe should have been with you, and willing to give us the advantage of his old popularity. It is very long since we have met, and perhaps he may almost have forgot my existence ; still I should be obliged to you, when you do see him, to say how very much obliged to him I feel, and how handsome I think it is of him to have come forward so actively on this occasion, and done us so much real service.

Believe me, yours very sincerely, E. COWPER.\*

House of Commons, Monday, May 27th, 1839.

MY DEAR KING,—When you see Lady Cowper, pray thank her for the very kind manner in which she is pleased to acknowledge my exertions during the late contest at Hertford. I assure you I sincerely rejoice that under your hospitable roof I most unexpectedly had an opportunity of promoting the success of a cause which has given so much gratification not only to Lady Cowper, but, as it would appear, to the public generally. As to the senseless cry of inconsistency raised against me by the Tories and a few Radicals for the part I took, I greatly prefer incurring that charge to the more serious one of ingratitude towards former friends, among whom, from the kindness evinced to me during my connexion with Hertford, I used to have the pleasure of including Lady Cowper and her family.

The election for Speaker is just over. Lefevre, 317 ; Goulburn, 299.

Yours ever, T. S. D.

The ambassador to the Autocrat of All the Russias did not neglect the friend he had left in England. There could be no doubt that whatever interest he felt in advancing the interests of his colleagues in his present post, he was not insensible to the advantage of advancing his own towards one of higher influence.

\* Countess Cowper, afterwards Viscountess Palmerston.

Mr. Duncombe possessed his confidence, and was supposed to express his opinions; and it is easy to see that both awaited eventualities with a view to their mutual support. Lord Durham was eager for all the political news; in return for which he despatched the following note:—

St. Petersburg, August 29th, 1832.

MY DEAR DUNCOMBE,—I regret deeply not having the pleasure of your society here, but I think you have adopted the wisest course on all accounts. We start southwards in a week or ten days; stop at Berlin and Brussels; and hope to be in England in six weeks at farthest. I hope the registration has only failed in London; if it has in the country, this Parliament ought to meet again in October, and pass a bill meeting the emergency of the case. I earnestly hope that you will not be put at much expense at Hertford. As for Spalding, I know nothing of him personally. I doubt his being an “out-and-outer;” but of course you will come to an understanding with him. Everything goes on well here. I have been received, personally, as I could wish, and have every reason to be satisfied with the result of my diplomatic exertions. I cannot say that it is an agreeable *métier*, but one must learn to turn one’s hand to everything in this life. Adieu, my dear D., and believe me,

Ever yours, D.

The following is conclusive evidence that he possessed influence at Court:—

Whitehall, December 7th, 1832.

MY DEAR DUNCOMBE,—Why do you write up that my interest is against you? Who is there with whom I have the least influence? Point him out, and I will have him spoken to directly. I told you under the archway of the Horse Guards that I would do anything in my power.

Yours faithfully, MELBOURNE.

The Parliament was not dissolved till the 3rd of December. Lord Durham had returned to England for a short stay a few days before; and Mr. Duncombe having arranged to address the House on the foreign policy of the country, particularly with reference to the war between the Dutch and the Belgians, the ambassador sent him the following suggestions:—

Sudbrook Park, November 29th, 1832.

MY DEAR DUNCOMBE,—I send you some notes on the Dutch question. Copy them, and return me the paper. If there is a row on Saturday, and you are not well heard, don't attempt to go into these particulars; they will only be wasted. Speak generally. If England and France had *not* interfered general war would have ensued. Tories aid the Dutchmen merely that they may get into power again—would league with the devil to do so; Englishmen up to their tricks; know also that Tories hate the Belgian separation from Holland because it was effected by the *people* rising against their oppressor, William of Holland; that the real cause of their hatred of Belgians, Antwerp of more commercial advantage than Amsterdam—the Dutch would close the Scheldt against English commerce. In short, you may blow up the Dutchman as he blew himself up (Van Speyk). By-the-way, it is now known that he was beastly drunk at the time. Adieu.

Ever yours, D.

## CHAPTER VII.

## DUELS.

Affairs of honour: political—Letter of Mr. Lambton to Mr. Duncombe respecting the former's duel with Colonel Beaumont—Letter from Mr. William Locke to Mr. Duncombe respecting his duel with Lord Kingston—Leonard M'Nally—Pitt and Tierney—Howarth and Lord Barrymore—Letter of E. Lytton Bulwer, Esq. (Lord Lytton), to Lord Glengall—His Lordship's reply—Note of acknowledgment from Lord Glengall—Lord Glengall to Colonel Jones—Lord Glengall to Henry Lytton Bulwer, Esq.—The Duke of Wellington and Lord Winchelsea—Payne the gambler—Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Paul—Mr. Duncombe and Lord Stormont—Mr. Duncombe and Mr. Goulburn—Mr. Duncombe challenges the publisher of *Fraser's Magazine*—Lords Allen and Worcester, his friends—The Hon. Grantley Berkeley—Mr. O'Connell insults Lord Alvanley—Mr. Duncombe and Brookes's Club—Letters from Lord Alvanley—Duel of Morgan O'Connell and Lord Alvanley—Mr. Disraeli insults the O'Connells—Thomas Moore's opinion—Mr. Duncombe horsewhips the editor of the *Age*—Munro and Fawcett—The survivor appeals to Mr. Duncombe—Duels abroad—Capt. Hesse and M. Leon.

In the early part of Mr. Duncombe's career duelling was frequently had recourse to as the final appeal in disputes. Gentlemen who quarrelled in the fashionable world were necessarily obliged to exchange shots—rival politicians took to hair-triggers, and family feuds were terminated with a pistol ball. A preference shown by a young lady at a ball frequently led to an exchange of cards preliminary to a hostile

meeting; and an impatient exclamation during a game at whist imposed the heavy penalty of a bullet through the body. Fatal results arose out of the most trifling causes: two dogs snarling at each other in the street set their masters firing at each other at Chalk Farm; and in another melancholy case a woman of light character contrived to make one gentleman the destroyer of his friend.

In the year 1815 O'Connell called the municipal authorities in Dublin "a beggarly corporation." Mr. D'Esterre called him out for it, and was killed at the first fire. Mr. Scott, in 1821, was shot, not for writing an unfavourable critique, but for taking offence at one written by Mr. Lockhart; Sir Alexander Boswell, in the following year, suffered death in the same way for publishing a political squib. The same year the Dukes of Bedford and Buckingham, after a political difference, met at ten paces, and the former fired in the air. A political dispute terminated fatally in Dublin in the year 1826.

It was in this year that Colonel Beaumont, a gentleman of high social position, ventured to make some remarks during an election, that were considered insulting by the Hon. Mr. Lambton; friends were called in and a meeting arranged. Mr. Lambton thus records the result:—

Howick, Sunday.

MY DEAR DUNCOMBE,—As you will probably have seen in the papers an account of Beaumont's behaviour to me on the hustings on Friday, you may like to hear that we met yesterday, exchanged shots, when the seconds interfered, and the affair ended. It was a tedious business, in consequence of the interference of the magistrates. The first meeting was appointed for the same evening at nine.

We were interrupted, as also at four the next morning. At last, after a long drive across the country, we met near Bamborough Castle at four in the afternoon. General Grey\* was my second, and a Mr. Plunket† Beaumont's.

Ever yours.

Another "affair of honour," as these rencontres were usually called, came off the following year. The principals were Mr. William Locke, of Norbury, and George, third Earl of Kingston; and the result was equally harmless, as may be gathered from the following hurried account of the transaction written by the former:—

MY DEAR DUNCOMBE,—We exchanged shots, and he made an *ample* apology, which Brudenell‡ has signed on paper. I was within an inch of his foot, and knocked the mud up on his face. Nothing could have ended better, as my letter was so strong that I never would have believed *he* would have apologized. Brudenell managed it famously for me. Good-bye. Yours ever, WILLIAM L.

Twenty minutes past nine. We are just returned.

He also made an explanation about Kingston's apology to De Burgh, and a very satisfactory one denying the reports I had heard of his saying Kingston did not apologize.

There is a curious story of Leonard M'Nally, the Irish barrister, author of "The Lass of Richmond Hill," "Charming Clarinda," and other popular songs of the last century. He had been wounded in a duel, which subsequently gave a limp to his walk. A man with a similar infirmity pressed into the Court in

\* Sir George Henry Grey.

† Afterwards Lord Plunket.

‡ Earl of Cardigan.

Dublin and inquired of one of the barristers—"Did you see M'Nally go this way?" "By Jasus," was the reply, "I never saw him go otherwise." His mishap did not prevent him from answering another challenge, when a friend, *more Hibernico*, advised him to turn the other hip to his opponent, as a similar wound there "might make all straight."

One of the most remarkable political duels occurred on a Sunday: Pitt and Tierney were the principals. Neither possessed the slightest knowledge of the weapon placed in his hands. The former, on being warned to be careful in handling it, as it was a hair-trigger, held it up to the light, exclaiming that he could not see the hair. The place of meeting was a desolate heath, famous as the resort of highwaymen, and not far from them hung in chains on a gibbet the famous Jerry Abershawe. Mr. Pitt fired in the air, and General Walpole, Tierney's second, is described as leaping over the furze when he beheld the act. The great statesman, however, could not be induced to leave the ground till a thorough explanation had been gone into, and his opponent had declared himself satisfied.\*

One of the most absurd of these conflicts resulted from a quarrel between Mr. Howarth, M.P. for Evesham, and Lord Barrymore (Cripplegate) over their wine, during an interchange of tomfoolery. They were then at Brighton in the race-week, the place of meeting was the course, and the weapons pistols. There both appeared the next morning with their seconds, and the preliminaries were arranged,

\* Lord Holland: "Memoirs of the Whig Party," p. 141.



when Howarth gravely began to divest himself of his clothing, to prevent any portion of it, he said, being driven into a wound by a bullet. As he was a punchy old fellow, his appearance in nothing but his drawers and stockings was so ridiculous that all the parties burst into a roar of laughter. The farce, however, was permitted to proceed—each taking a random shot—missing, of course. The honour of both was declared by the jovial seconds to have been satisfied, and their rollicking principals went off the ground, arm in arm, singing together Barrymore's favourite song, with the *refrain* "Chip chow, cherry chow, fol-de-riddle-i-do."

When Mr. Duncombe was first returned for Hertford, during the after-dinner proceedings Lord Glengall imprudently uttered some offensive observations referring to Mr. Henry Bulwer, one of the candidates. The speech was reported in the local paper, and his lordship shortly afterwards received a communication from his brother Edward—since so deservedly celebrated as an author, an orator, and a statesman (the present Lord Lytton). His letter was as follows:—

36, Hertford-street, Mayfair,  
Four o'clock, Monday, August 28th, 1830.

MY LORD,—My brother, Mr. Henry Bulwer, being at this moment in Paris, I beg in his absence to inquire whether the following passage in a speech ascribed to your lordship, in the *Herts Mercury*, be correct, and whether I am to understand, in order to report to my brother, that it contains the spirit and bearing of your meaning. The passage is this:—"It is unfortunately a very common thing for a candidate to buy, give, or perhaps [sell] votes at an election, but it is really something new to buy or sell a candidate. It is really so new a barter, that I cannot find

words sufficiently strong to express my astonishment." If this passage be rightly reported, will you allow me yet further to inquire whether your lordship was aware, at the time of your speech, that Mr. Henry Bulwer had explicitly declared that he had not received, nor should at any time receive, any sum of money for resigning a contest at Hertford? As one so nearly connected with Mr. Henry Bulwer as to be implicated in his honour, your lordship will readily perceive the reason for my asking from your courtesy the reply to those questions which, were he in England, he would himself have the honour to make to you. Your lordship's reply I shall lose no time in forwarding to my brother; and with consideration,

I am, my lord, your lordship's obedient servant,

EDWARD LYTTON BULWER.

During an interview that took place between Mr. Edward Bulwer and Lord Glengall, his lordship denied any intention of giving offence. It was suggested to him to write an explanation in the local newspaper that had published his speech. To this he objected, as is apparent by his own note, the draft of which is in the handwriting of Mr. Duncombe, who may, therefore, be supposed to have been his lordship's adviser. His correspondent, as may be seen from the tenor of Lord Glengall's note of acknowledgment, was far from satisfied that his brother's honour had been sufficiently vindicated.

September 1st, 1830.

SIR,—On reconsidering our conversation of this morning, I do not perceive any of the objects you have in view would be gained by my writing to the editor of the Hertford newspaper; but I beg to assure you that I am the last person who would wish intentionally to increase that distress under which you say yourself and your family labour, in consequence of the idea that exists at Hertford that your brother's expenses of his canvass were reimbursed to him by Lord Salisbury on

declining that contest. Therefore I have no hesitation in stating to you that I was not aware of your brother's disclaimer of such reports when I made that speech the other day at Hertford.

I have the honour to be, sir, yours obediently, G.

To this Mr. Edward Bulwer promptly replied:—

Bangor, September 2nd, 1830.

Mr. E. L. Bulwer presents his compliments to Lord Glengall, and has forwarded his lordship's letter to his brother, who has already heard, through *another* channel, of Lord Glengall's speech, and is on his way to England. Under this circumstance—the more especially as the only course Mr. E. Bulwer could recommend has not been approved of by Lord Glengall, although Mr. Bulwer at the time of that conversation referred to by Lord Glengall perfectly understood that it would be adopted by his lordship—Mr. Bulwer feels that he must necessarily leave solely to his brother's judgment all further interference in the matter. On his *own* part only, Mr. E. Bulwer begs to add, in answer to an observation of Lord Glengall's, that mere electioneering reports do not occasion either to him or to his family "the distress" to which his lordship is pleased to allude.

"A friend" was called in, who appeared in the person of Colonel Jones, once well known as an advocate of Liberal opinions. The Colonel took a decided view of the case—his lordship had put himself in the wrong and must make an apology. Lord Glengall was now sensible of his error, and agreed to the proposition first suggested to him. He forwarded the following letters suggested by the Colonel, and the affair terminated without England losing the services of an Ambassador she could ill spare, or the world a dramatist to which it is *inappreciably* indebted for "The Follies of Fashion."

Lord Glengall admits the proposition of Colonel Jones, that in his speech at Hertford he was not justified in making the allusions he did to what had passed at the late election, and that he had no intention personally to offend Mr. Bulwer; and that his lordship does not object to write to Mr. Bulwer the following letter, with his leave to publish the same in the Hertford paper in which his lordship's speech was published. G.

September 7th, 1830.

SIR,—In reply to your communication of yesterday relative to the speech as reported to have been made by me at the dinner at Hertford, to celebrate Mr. Duncombe's return, I beg to say that such report is not very accurate, and to assure you I was not at all aware at the moment that any public denial had been given by you to the statement made of your having received any consideration from the Marquis of Salisbury on your withdrawing from the contest, when I alluded to it; that neither in that observation, nor in any part of my speech, did I mean to be personally offensive to you; and regretting that I should have occasioned you any uneasiness on the subject,

I have the honour to be, sir, &c.

To H. L. Bulwer, Esq.

Enclosed to Colonel Jones, 7, Upper Gloucester-street,  
Dorset-square.

A remarkable duel had just before taken place in Battersea Fields on the 21st of March, 1829. The Duke of Wellington, having heretofore opposed the Catholic claims, when placed at the head of an Administration thought proper to give them his support. This provoked from a Tory of the old school, the Earl of Winchelsea, a somewhat offensive observation. The duke placed the affair in the hands of a friend, and a hostile meeting was the result. The duke fired his pistol; the earl then exploded his in the

air, while his second produced a written apology for the incautious and unwarrantable statement. There were some curious features in this affair,—the duke being obliged to send a Government messenger with the challenge, and it arrived at Lord Winchelsea's country house as he was sitting down to dinner.

Payne, a witness against Lord de Roos, was an inveterate gambler—one of the set who frequented Watier's and Graham's, and passed the small hours at cards. Having thus been employed till five o'clock in the morning, he had to hurry to Putney Heath to fight a duel—and was then and there shot dead.

Sir Francis Burdett's duel with Mr. Paul, his opponent in Westminster, was remarkable from the fact that both were wounded; and there being but one vehicle in attendance they had to be placed in it, and conveyed to their homes.

Mr. Duncombe, on more than one public occasion, had exhibited that fearlessness of spirit which in the good old times invariably produced "an affair of honour." During the hot discussion on the original Reform Bill (1831), he was one of the most prominent in detecting the tricks that were played to save condemned boroughs. Aldborough, which possessed but one elector—the Duke of Newcastle—would have been transferred from Schedule A to Schedule B, had he not exposed the job. He expressed such severe strictures on the pretended constituency that Lord Stormont, apparently to provoke a quarrel, declared that Mr. Duncombe's brother was one of the electors, and inquired if he was to be included in the general charge of corruption applied to the borough. Instantly Mr. Duncombe answered, in such a style as

must have satisfied any one that his lordship would be met more than half-way, if quarrelling was his purpose.

But the nearest approach to a meeting was in August of the same session, when Mr. Goulburn brought an accusation against Lord Durham for interfering in an election. Mr. Duncombe pronounced it "a base and wicked calumny." There was a tremendous call of "Chair!" and the Chairman administered a mild remonstrance, saying that in Mr. Duncombe's calmer and more sober moments he would not use such terms. The latter answered undauntedly, "I am quite calm and sober enough, and mean what I say." Down upon him came Sir Robert Peel, Sir Henry Hardinge, Sir Henry Inglis—down upon him came the Parliamentary magnates from both sides of the House, threatening, advising, and insisting on an explanation; but the bold Reformer heeded not the menaces, cared not for the advice, and openly declared that he had spoken the truth, and meant to maintain it. His firmness conquered his opponents, and Mr. Goulburn pocketed the affront.

The uncompromising political sentiments sometimes expressed by Mr. Duncombe were not permitted to pass unchallenged. Though among the leaders of the party to which he was most opposed he had warm friends, some were necessarily bitter enemies. The part he had taken in helping to deprive the proprietors of certain boroughs of a valued portion of their possessions, caused them to be bitterly hostile to him: and they seem to have inspired one or two obscure political writers with a desire to annoy him with scurrilous attacks. No one was a greater adept

in this offensive scribbling than Dr. Maginn, who was equally clever and unprincipled. He was notorious for depraved habits, and his pen seems to have been at the service of any one who had a grudge to gratify or a grievance to avenge. A monthly magazine had been started, a feature of which was a caricature of any person of celebrity, accompanied by a written libel in the shape of a memoir. The portrait was drawn by Mr. Maclise, and the memoir written by Dr. Maginn.

In one of the numbers of this periodical for September, 1834, Mr. Duncombe found an effigy of himself, with an equally offensive description. He at once consulted with his friend, Lord Allen—the “King Allen” already referred to—and the Irishman’s advice was of course to call out the publisher. On this inspiration he wrote a letter, insisting on a complete retractation or immediate satisfaction. Mr. James Fraser was a bookseller in Regent-street, and no doubt felt greatly surprised when Lord Allen made his errand known to him, and presented the letter. He was an inoffensive, amiable man ; but forgot, while he was striving to make a profit out of such anonymous personalities, that he was rendering himself responsible for the offence they gave. Lord Allen drew up a letter in which he gave the substance of his interview, stating that Mr. Fraser refused to give up the name of the author, and intended to bring the affair before a magistrate. Mr. Duncombe, in consequence, had to appear at Marlborough-street police office, which he did in company with another friend, the Marquis of Worcester, where he was bound over to keep the peace ; after which Mr. Fraser wrote a note to Mr. Duncombe, informing him that the

pages of his magazine were open to anything he might forward in the shape of explanation or defence.

This was a way of advertising his periodical which might and did cause unpleasant results. A similar attack appeared on the Hon. Grantley Berkeley, which brought on the publisher a severe horse-whipping. It led to cross actions for assault and libel, that Mr. Fraser found anything but profitable. The last affair did some good, however, for it made the libeller come forward, and a duel took place between the Hon. Grantley Berkeley and Dr. Maginn. They fired three times without result. After this the attacks ceased.

During times of political excitement public speakers are often incautious in the use of expressions of an offensive nature against their opponents. Mr. Daniel O'Connell was more reckless in this way than ought to have been the case with a gentleman who, as he said, had registered a vow that he would never again be concerned in a duel, owing to the fatal termination of the one in which he had been engaged with D'Esterre. In one of his speeches he stigmatized Lord Alvanley as "a bloated buffoon." It induced his Lordship to write to Mr. O'Connell in a style that could leave no doubt of his intentions. The expression complained of was not only an insult, but was totally untrue. He received no answer. His lordship had placed the affair in the hands of his friend, the Hon. Colonel Dawson Damer, who wrote to the insulter; but with a like result. As both parties to the quarrel belonged to Brookes's, several of the members joined him in a requisition to the club to induce it to take judicial cognizance of the transaction. There



appears to have been some hesitation at first respecting this, according to the accompanying notes of Lord Alvanley :—

May 3rd, 1835.

DEAR DUNCOMBE,—I can say how gratified I have been at your gallant and friendly conduct. It is a pleasure in these times to find a gentleman running true. Call here at two or half-past.

Yours, AY.

May 5th, 1835.

The affair grows complicated. A letter from Dan.

DEAR TOMMY,—They will not call the meeting. Call when you come out.

Yours, AY.

The matter was pressed, and a requisition to the Committee agreed upon. Mr. Duncombe's name is fifth on the list, which contained the signatures of the Dukes of Norfolk and Argyll, Lords Sefton, Jersey, Tankerville, Stanley, Willoughby de Eresby, Villiers, and Lichfield, besides a dozen others. This was dated May 2. The club appear to have taken to the end of the month to consider the case, when half a dozen of them issued a declaration declining to call the proposed general meeting, on the ground that the matter in dispute was a difference of a private nature.

Still Mr. O'Connell gave no sign; but his son Morgan thought proper to take his father's place, and Colonel Hodges was deputed to arrange a meeting. It ought not to have been allowed. Colonel Damer permitted his principal to meet Mr. O'Connell, jun., in a field near the Regent's Park, and when there presented a written protest against the proceeding. This, of course, was not received; the ground was measured, and the pistols having been given, they were directed to fire. Lord Alvanley misunderstood, and

did not discharge his weapon. Though he received his opponent's fire, he was not permitted to return it. The pistols were again given, and both fired without effect. Colonel Damer then inquired whether Mr. O'Connell was satisfied, and received a reply in the negative; whereupon he declared that if a third discharge proved ineffective, he should walk his principal off the ground. They both missed, and Lord Alvanley was taken away by his second.

Mr. Daniel O'Connell then wrote a letter to Colonel Damer, affecting to turn the challenge into ridicule, and venturing to excuse his non-compliance with its invitation partly on account of his known determination against the practice; not forgetting to intimate that he ought to treat the communication as a breach of privilege. The concluding sentence, in which the writer professed willingness to atone for anything unjustifiably asserted by him, as well as the contemptuous reference in the postscript to the "meridian" of the London journals, were not likely to impress the reader strongly in favour of his sincerity. At the clubs the letter was sharply commented on, an Irishman's readiness to fight, when required or not, being a club tradition, left there by Fighting Fitzgerald and more than a dozen of his fire-eating compatriots.

What Sir Lucius O'Trigger might have styled "a mighty pretty quarrel as it stood," rose out of this duel; for Mr. Disraeli, who had been equally abused by O'Connell *père*, wrote to O'Connell *fils* to know whether he would be champion in his case; but the latter now chose to copy the parental reticence. He denied the right he had himself established, but called upon the writer to withdraw his communication.

This Mr. Disraeli not only declined, but published the correspondence, with a letter addressed to the insulter of a character to provoke the entire generation of O'Connells. Neither father nor son responded. The conduct of Mr. Daniel O'Connell in this quarrel did not escape animadversion. His countryman and coreligionist, Moore, complains "of his having set the example of exempting the practice of personal abuse from that responsibility to which the code of *gentlemen* had hitherto subjected it." The poet expressed an equally decided opinion against "the begging box" and the "mountebankism" of the agitation.

There was not a more vicious publication than *The Age*, Sunday newspaper. Its contemporary, *The Satirist*, came, however, close up to it. Their *specialité* was the publication of scandalous reports and insinuations, and the higher the flight of the arrow the more poisoned was the barb. No one was too high or too pure to escape being the target of such assailants, and ladies seem to have had the preference. These publications were in the hands of individuals totally dead to every sentiment of honour and good feeling, and they encouraged the very scum of society in maintaining this anonymous defamation. The editor of *The Age* ventured to assail Mr. Duncombe in this cowardly way, for which he was repaid by a severe horse-whipping the first time they met, which happened to be on the boards of Drury Lane Theatre.\* This might have ended in a terrific combat behind the scenes such as was rarely excelled before them, for Captain Polhill

\* He received the same chastisement from Charles Kemble, for maligning his daughter.

went into a rage in consequence of the regular performance having been stopped by the irregular one.

Among the duels that took place in the second quarter of the present century, there was none more painful than that between Lieutenant Munro and Lieutenant-Colonel Fawcett. They were brothers-in-law, and the superior so grossly insulted his relative, that as an officer wearing the Queen's uniform the latter felt compelled to call him out. They exchanged shots, and the lieutenant-colonel was killed. A prosecution followed, and the lieutenant was likely to be harshly dealt with, when he addressed to Mr. Duncombe a temperate statement of his case. This made so favourable an impression on him, that he brought the subject before the attention of the House of Commons. It appeared that several officers had concurred in the opinion that Lieutenant Munro had no alternative but to challenge the aggressor. More sympathy was excited for the survivor than for the victim, and Mr. Duncombe did all in his power to serve him.

Englishmen while travelling on the continent or residing in Rome or Italy, occasionally found it necessary to maintain the national honour by having recourse to the same institution. Signor Carletti, a chamberlain of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, was horsewhipped in the streets of Florence by Mr. W. Windham, our minister there, for having doubted his assertion. A duel was the natural result.

Sporting men fall out occasionally, but rarely with such a result as attended a remark made by M. Manuel after a steeplechase won by M. Vaublanc in the Vallée de Bièvre, near Jouy. It was to the effect that chance rather than skill had won the race. M. Vaublanc challenged M. Manuel, and the next

morning ran him through the body. His son was subsequently severely wounded in a contest with the husband of Madame Cinti Damoreau, for equivocal attentions to the fair vocalist, a few years later. In the year 1834 there occurred a still more striking illustration of French society. A matronly lady desired to enter the marriage state a second time; the idea was opposed by her unmarried daughter, who caused her own lover, among others, to circulate disparaging statements respecting her intended father-in-law. These reaching the ears of that gentleman, he called out the offender, but received a severe wound, and the slanderer danced with his *fiancée* at a ball the same evening. The amiable young lady did this as a public acknowledgment of his services, in endeavouring to destroy the lover of her mamma.

Among the encounters of which the fashionable world took most note, was one between General Moore and a discarded lover of his daughter, who had lampooned her in verse after his rejection. The offender was a Yorkshire gentleman of good position. He was instantly called to account, and literally received poetical justice, for he was disabled by a severe bullet-wound. This took place in the year 1832. In the same year, and about the same time, Captain Hesse, well known in society by his intimacy with Queen Caroline, won in Paris a large sum of money from M. Léon, a natural son of the Emperor Napoleon I. The latter, smarting under his loss, made insulting allusions to Captain Hesse's dexterity at play—a challenge ensued. The remarkable feature in this affair was that a notary was called in, and a legal acknowledgment given of the sum the loser had not paid. The parties then met with pistols, and Captain Hesse was killed.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## DINNER-GIVERS AND DINERS-OUT.

English dinners—Introduction of French cooks—Colonel Beaumont's cook—Improvement—Sir James Bland Burgess—Sir John Gerard—Lord Dudley—Mr. Twisleton Fiennes—The Duke of Devonshire—Lord Lichfield—Mr. Wilberforce—The Hon. Pepper Arden—Lord Foley—Lord Sefton—Lord Brudenell—Lord Melbourne—Lord John Russell—Lord Albert Conyngham—Earl of Wilton—Mr. Disraeli—Dog-cooks—The real domestic Institution—The Old School and the New—The Dandies' *fête*—The Duke of Beaufort—Invitations—Aristocratic dinner-givers.

ENGLISH dinners, up to the occupation of Paris by the Allies, bore the character they had maintained from time immemorial. The table was really a most hospitable board, and would have groaned under the substantial welcome it offered the company gathered round it, had not the mahogany of those days been a resisting medium that contrasted strongly with the veneer with which it has been superseded. No Englishman then was fastidious in his tastes; in truth he professed a national scorn of "kickshaws," and detested "foreign messes." He regarded a baron of beef as the noblest culinary object in creation, and a saddle of mutton as diet worthy of demigods. With marrow puddings, sweet-bread, chine, a neat's tongue, poultry and game in season, pigeon-pie, plum-pudding, and apple fritters, custards and blanc-mange, occa-

sionally preceded by soup and fish—he contrived to make a meal; and if a guest could not be content with his three courses out of such materials, he would be thought very difficult to please—probably be bluntly told that he might go farther and fare worse.

After some hundreds of English officers had enjoyed living in Paris, they came home with a distaste for English cookery. French cooks were imported by dozens, and the dinner-tables of persons of fashion invariably exhibited the latest achievements of the Parisian *cuisiniers*. Unless he had had the advantage of a trip to Paris, the guest was sure to be in entire ignorance of what was before him when the cover was removed. “The old familiar faces,” in roast and boiled, were entirely got rid of; the too solid flesh of the favourite joints had melted into *salmis* and *bechamels*; the noble sirloin had shrunk into a *fricassée*; the splendid haunch collapsed into a *vol-au-vent*. The Briton’s rich marrow pudding had been changed for a tasteless omelette; in short, the English had been translated into French, and lost all trace of its original meaning.

One great improvement has been effected in the art of dining; the moderation now general in drinking. It was the custom for the guests to sit round the table, after the departure of the ladies, and empty glass after glass of fiery port, or bowl after bowl of still more fiery punch, till one after another they tumbled helpless under the table, and the host was carried equally insensible, by his domestics, to his bedroom.

In this way three or four bottles of wine were swallowed by each of the company. It was a habit

so common amongst Mr. Duncombe's contemporaries during his career in the Guards, that a gentleman striving to avoid the excess was regarded as a milk-sop. The six-bottle men—for there were such—were looked upon with admiration not unmixed with envy, by the more moderate toppers. The improved means and better health of the present generation, are the best testimony of the value of this change in the service of the table.

The midsummer of 1814 was unusually gay in London. This was caused by the visit of the Allied Sovereigns, whom the Prince Regent, and indeed the leaders of society in the metropolis, *fêted* with the greatest cordiality. The Duke of Devonshire arrayed his pretty Chiswick villa in its highest attractions to do them honour; and White's Club, of which Mr. Duncombe was a member, opened their large rooms to two thousand five hundred guests, anxious to pay a mark of respect to the Czar, the King of Prussia, and the equally popular Blücher. The young Ensign of the Guards came in for an infinitesimal dose of the homage given to the heroes of the campaign, and was welcomed to dinners and balls in countless variety, where he had to recount the particulars of his encounter with the French.

Sir James Bland Burgess, Bart., took high rank among the givers of good dinners. Having once served as secretary to William Pitt, he fancied he had a prescriptive right to Government patronage at his well-served table. He was very often obliged to be content with a subordinate like the Secretary for the Admiralty; but knowing the Rt. Hon. John Wilson Croker's taste for literature, was sure to invite to



meet him the most distinguished authors then to be found in London. Sir James was himself a man of letters to a certain extent—preferring black-letter generally; for he participated in the taste for rare editions of old books, then known as bibliomania. His book-madness was tolerated by his guests out of respect for his merits as a host; indeed some of them would take the trouble to “cram” literary antiquities as a preparation for one they liked a great deal better.

Among Mr. Duncombe’s hospitable friends must be named Sir John Gerard, Bart., of Gareswood Hall, Lancashire, who had married in 1827 Monica, daughter of Thomas Strickland Standish, of Standish Hall, a family with whom he was also very intimate. Here too he met some of his Yorkshire neighbours when they came to town. Lady Gerard’s sister-in-law, Mrs. Charles Standish, was a kinswoman of the Countess de Genlis. The Frank Hall Standish who afterwards devised his pictures to Louis Philippe, belonged to the family of Standish, of Duxbury Park, Lancashire, and Cocken Hall, Durham. These provincial celebrities rarely affected much fashionable refinement in their style of dinner. The Yorkshire gentlemen in particular preferred the solid and nutritious, and their affection for turbot and haunch was as genuine as their devotion to Church and State.

John William Ward, Earl Dudley, was eminent among the givers of good dinners. He possessed unusual ability, and held the office of Foreign Secretary in Lord Goderich’s administration; but as he was notoriously one of the most absent men in the King’s dominions, the appointment could not be considered a judicious one. His peculiarities were muttering his own

thoughts loud enough to be heard by the person upon whom they reflected, while absorbed in pinching the bristles in his chin. This occasionally produced awkward *contretemps*; but his characteristics were too well known to give offence. Another of his peculiarities was a double voice, one of which seemed to come from the cellar, the other from the skies; the basso and counter-tenor changing so abruptly that some people imagined Lord Dudley must be talking to Lord Ward. He learned his speeches before delivery, which occasioned Luttrell's lines—

“ In vain my affections the ladies are seeking;  
If I give up my heart, there's an end of my speaking.”

Lord Dudley, however, could say clever things when he liked, equal to anything of Luttrell's. For instance, when a lady in Vienna observed, “ What wretchedly bad French you all speak in London ! ” he retorted, “ That is because we have not enjoyed the advantage of having the French twice masters of our capital.” In other respects he was an extremely agreeable host, and held in particular esteem by *gourmands*.

Lord Dudley did not long hold the responsible post he had undertaken; his eccentricities became exaggerated into mania, and at last he was obliged to be placed under restraint. He figures prominently in one of Theodore Hook's novels, and was the correspondent of the Bishop of Llandaff, in a volume of letters published by that prelate.

Lord Dudley possessed much higher recommendations than eccentricity. He was a sound classic, and improved an excellent education by foreign travel.

He had shown taste in many things besides giving good dinners. Possessing a remarkably good memory, and having mixed at home and abroad with the best society, his conversation was pretty sure to be copiously anecdotal. A satisfactory evidence of the excellence of his memory he gave when presented to Louis XVIII., at the Tuileries, before he came to his title. The King had heard of his attainments, and addressed him with a Latin quotation. Mr. Ward was familiar with Virgil, and continued the passage. The King selected another excerpt, and again it was continued. Immense was the astonishment of the attendants when their sovereign again addressed the stranger in, to them, a totally unknown tongue, and the Englishman once more went on where the King left off. Louis, evidently much gratified, courteously exclaimed — “Monsieur, je vous cède la palme.” Mr. Ward bowed and withdrew.

Decidedly one of the greatest connoisseurs of gastronomy then to be found in London, was William Thomas Eardley Twisleton Fiennes, who, in 1844, succeeded his father as Lord Saye and Sele. He was, in truth, an epicure whose refinement in the enjoyment of eating and drinking would have satisfied the classical epicures. The invention of his cuisinier scarcely satisfied his desires; with him delicacies must be rare and far-fetched, as well as enjoyable. Leo X. is said to have gratified his favourites with peacock sausages. Mr. Fiennes gave breakfasts to his friends in which eggs of the golden pheasant were dressed as an omelette. His guests at dinner were treated with the same culinary research; they were sure of *plats* not to be found in the *Almanach des*

*Gourmands*; his invitations were, consequently, in high favour with diners-out.

The Duke of Devonshire, though possessed of large territorial property, and an income that could have secured the highest state of social enjoyment, chose to devote the bulk of his time to the monotonous duties of a court official. He had intellectual tastes, noble galleries, a fine library, and the most princely residences in England; nevertheless, to serve the cause of his party, he would patiently stand for hours at the back of the King's chair, or perform some other wearisome function. He was twice Lord Chamberlain, and once Ambassador to the King of the French, under Whig Governments. His grace is still favourably remembered as the patron of Sir Joseph Paxton, whom he originally employed as a gardener at Chatsworth; where a conservatory he erected suggested the idea of the Crystal Palace, built by him for the first great exhibition in Hyde Park.

The duke cultivated a taste for literary society—at least he liked a *soupeçon* of literature to flavour his aristocratic assemblages. Moore was invited to Chatsworth in the January of 1815; where, as he himself states, he was the only "common rascal" among "the Harrowbys, Jerseys, Boringdons, Leveson Gowers, Morpeths, Cowpers, and Kinnairds." His songs were, as usual, in general request, but his politics were ignored. In general, among ladies of fashion, popular sentiments had gone out of favour. The Dowager Marchioness of Donegal, writing to Moore, after expressing her toleration of the Whiggism of Lords Lansdowne and Grenville, adds: "As for Sir F. Burdett in England, and Mr. B. and others I

could name in Ireland, I have a horror of them, and join heartily in the general feeling of contempt into which they have fallen.”\*

The duke remaining a bachelor, was naturally the observed of all female observers. Matrons with marriageable daughters took especial care to look him up whenever his grace appeared at Almack's, or any more private ball; but if he selected either of the beautiful girls then sure to be presented to him as his partner, nothing came of it. The duke preserved his celibacy with the severity of an anchorite. He proved insensible to unrivalled attractions and unsurpassed accomplishments; and throughout his honourable life remained “In maiden meditation fancy free.” He gave very gay parties in Devonshire House—not quite so brilliant, perhaps, as those over which his beautiful mother had presided, but attended invariably by the most distinguished personages, foreign and English, then in London. Mr. Duncombe was a frequent guest.

Lord Lichfield was another giver of dinner parties. Mr. Duncombe was also intimate with his brother George,† the member of Parliament, Equerry to the Duchess of Kent, and subsequently Groom of the Bedchamber to Prince Albert. He rose to the rank of General, and received the decoration of G.C.B. One of his daughters married R. Plumer Ward, Esq., M.P., the author of “Tremaine;” and his eldest son, the niece of Mungo Park, the African traveller. Lord Lichfield's parties were pleasant reunions, made up chiefly of accomplished men of the world, without

\* “Moore's Diary and Letters,” by Lord John Russell, ii. 72.

† See ante, p. 95.

reference to their politics: sportsmen and senators, idlers about town, and busy public men, with apparently half the world on their shoulders, found themselves equally at ease at his hospitable board.

The enjoyments of the table were not monopolized by men of the world; some of the saints chose to live well in a material sense. The cellar and the kitchen of a celebrated Member of Parliament were supplied with the rarest wines and the most perfect *batterie de cuisine* that money could procure. He must have entertained his anti-slavery friends in princely style. Possibly some report of these indulgences may have suggested to Sheridan the practical joke of telling the watchman who found him in the streets incapable of taking care of himself, and asked his name, that he was *Mr. Wilberforce!* All the elect of Clapham might have been feasted at once—and handsomely feasted too—with the assistance of the admirable culinary apparatus which this estimable gentleman had provided to enable him to put unexceptionable dinners before his unexceptionable guests at Grove House, Brompton.

Mr. Duncombe's fashionable friends in the country were as ready to proffer their hospitality as those in town. Invitations were frequent; among them, of much later date, the autumn of 1841, was one from Lord Cardigan, who had in the preceding February escaped by a technicality from condemnation by his Peers for his duel with Captain Tuckett. The bishops absented themselves; and the Duke of Cleveland, in giving his verdict, said, "Not guilty *legally*, upon my honour." We add the following from the brother of Lord Alvanley, dated from the well-known seat of his father-in-law, the Duke of Cleveland:—

Raby Castle, Darlington, August 25th, 1841.

MY DEAR TOMMY,—I have just written home to order a buck to be killed, and a haunch to be sent directed to "T. S. Duncombe, Esq., M.P., Albany, London," and it ought to arrive by the mail train on Saturday morning. I hope it will prove worth your acceptance. We are all anxiety to hear the Queen's speech, and then to know what all you fine fellows say about it. I have been so queer in the upper story that I have not fired my gun off once this season. Meyrick is on the moors to-day with Millbank, and to all appearance will have a fine day. The harvest in this part of the world will in all probability be later than ever was known, but as yet the crops have suffered very little. The partridges will have a fine time of it, as there can be no shooting for a long time. Fare thee well, my dear Tommy.

Yours very truly,      B. PEPPER ARDEN.

Among the dinner parties most frequently attended by Mr. Duncombe were those of Lord Foley. He was captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners, and Lord of the Bedchamber to William IV., and had married the sister of the Duke of Leinster. His liberality, and the prodigal hospitality he exercised, had made retrenchment necessary in his later years. He died, after only a week's illness, on the 16th of April, 1833, lamented by his numerous friends, and by no one more sincerely than by Mr. Duncombe. The sudden dropping out of the scene, of a *convive* who has helped to render it pleasant, cannot but make a serious impression on the survivor. However completely a man of pleasure he may seem, he is rarely insensible to the sudden severance of social ties. Lord Foley was much missed in the circle in which he had moved.

Lord Sefton was a cordial supporter of the Whig Government, and a warm friend of Mr. Duncombe. He was a member of the Jockey Club when William IV. invited the club to dinner, about the period of the dead-lock between the Whigs and Tories in the formation of a Ministry. Lord Sefton took offence at the king's treatment of his political friends, had his name removed from the list of members, and then excused himself from attending the royal banquet. In a day or two the Whigs were again in power, and Lord Sefton was lamenting his precipitancy. He attended with his family at the Queen's ball, probably in the hope of being able to make his peace with the good-natured monarch; but the latter had been made acquainted with his conduct, and turned his back upon him as he approached. The king had made Lord Sefton a peer, and subsequently showed that he would not pass over his inconsiderate proceeding. He gave excellent dinners.

Lord Brudenell (Earl of Cardigan) was also his host, and gave dinners of special merit. This was before his lordship had brought himself so prominently into notice as he has since done. That serious breach of discipline, "the black bottle," had not been perpetrated; and though his younger sister had married Lord Bingham (Earl of Lucan), the brothers-in-law had not found such an opportunity for showing that there was a difference between them as occurred some years later at the famous charge of the Six Hundred. Lord Brudenell entertained a warm regard for the ex-Guardsman, which, notwithstanding a marked difference in politics, continued for many years.

Lord Melbourne was his host in August, 1836, and



few public men of that day were so well qualified to achieve social popularity. At home his manner was singularly winning, whenever it became essential to him to win. His dinners were admirable, his company skilfully selected, and—no matter how the Cabinet differed or the Opposition pressed—his spirits were always high and his conversation brilliant. It was only a few weeks before he had been obliged to appear as defendant in a case of *crim. con.*: but if it had affected him at all, it was as a source of congratulation for his *bonne fortune*. He was a brilliant specimen of the man of the world—of the French world rather than the English—but for the post he soon afterwards filled, of principal adviser to a youthful queen, he wanted the most important qualifications.

Lord John Russell extended his hospitality to him when Secretary of State, in 1836. There are indications in Mr. Duncombe's diaries that his lordship was not a political favourite of his. He quotes Sydney Smith's opinion of his readiness to accept official duties of every kind, which his subsequent career has confirmed. It is probable, however, that his lordship's apparent incapability to adapt himself to the superior administrative talent of some of his colleagues had more to do with this want of cordiality. But without looking to such causes of difference, the ardent reformer was too much committed to progressive reform to endure patiently the sturdy attempts of Lord John to stop the way; nor could he be expected to see without some irritation the efforts his lordship was reported to have made to ignore the claims of Lord Durham as the principal author of the Reform Bill.

Lord Albert Conyngham was also one of Mr. Duncombe's intimate friends. He was the third son of the first Marquis of Conyngham, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Joseph Denison, Esq., "the lady" familiar to the old courtiers as the last favourite of George IV. Lord Albert was young and handsome, and enjoyed the reputation of having attracted the notice of an illustrious personage. A career of diplomacy opened to him when appointed Secretary of Legation at Berlin; and his marriage with a daughter of Cecil, Lord Forester, in 1833, put a stop to all *on dits* on the delicate subject. He gave good dinners, when Mr. Duncombe was frequently his guest.

Among the dinners to which he was invited were those given by Thomas Egerton, Earl of Wilton. Lord Wilton was more distinguished as an agreeable host than as a zealous politician. He had an excellent cook, but manifested no intention to apply his talents to catch votes or secure power. His table was as well attended as it was well served, and the diners-out thought themselves fortunate when they found themselves among the invited.

A more interesting acquaintance at this time was Mr. Disraeli, with whom he dined several times about the year 1840. As regards political opinions, extremes met; but no doubt it was of more than ordinary importance to both, to have this opportunity of comparing notes on the Government. He dined also frequently with the Duke of Beaufort, with Lords Gardner, Powerscourt, A. Fitzclarence, Chichester, Poulett; with Dennison, D'Orsay, G. Byng, and Sir George Wombwell—a Yorkshire baronet,

who acquired a reputation for the excellence of his dinners.

When a good "dog cook" was disengaged, he was sure of not long remaining unemployed. Mr. Drummond Burrell, afterwards Lord Willoughby de Eresby, had discharged his, when Lord Alvanley begged he would retain him a month, that he might create a vacancy and secure his services. His lordship, during his travels in the East in 1839, enjoyed a meal which he chronicled for the advantage of a brother *gourmand* at home:—"Certain lambs' tails as big as muffins, and heads as small as French rolls, broiled with Egyptian onions, and an *agro dolce* sauce of lemons and fresh sugar-cane, are beyond praise."

If there is a "domestic institution" of paramount importance it is the dinner; for, regarded either from a social or digestive point of view, it is supreme in its operation as an aid to happiness and health. The prime enjoyment of the day, and chief sustenance—the domestic or friendly reunion—the interchange of intelligence, of wit, and of amusing anecdote, it is usually the event of the four-and-twenty hours with the majority.

There are few persons holding any position in society who do not appreciate it as a promoter of power, charity, business, and pleasure. The statesman by it seduces his opponents and strengthens his supporters; there is not an establishment of a beneficial nature in the country that does not rely on its attraction as a sure means of support; men in every department of commerce trust to it for maintaining a good business connexion; and the individual in the upper ranks who desires to live well, either as patron

or client, must realize it by the number and excellence of his prandial invitations.

But there are two classes specially interested in the subject: dinner-givers and diners-out. In Mr. Duncombe's early career the former were usually men either in the front rank of society, or who possessed some peculiar Amphitryonic qualification: the latter, when due selection was made, were the pleasant fellows—the wits, the *bon vivants*—or the guest whom the host desired to honour while endeavouring to entertain. Some circles consisted almost entirely of *gourmands*, who shared the same tastes and interchanged a similar hospitality. This, before the conclusion of the war with the elder Bonaparte, was peculiarly English; after the continent was thrown open, peculiarly French; and has been of late years as peculiarly Russian. What will be its next nationality heaven only knows.

The first, as we have already intimated, was solid and simple: soup, fish, and joints, poultry, game, and pastry, with vegetables and liquids à *discretion*. Everything had a substantial aspect except the wine: the soup, the cod's head and shoulders or turbot, the haunch or sirloin, the fat capon and tongue, and the pies, seemed to have been constructed to stand a siege from an army dying of hunger; nevertheless, when well cooked, these banquets of our grandfathers were by no means to be despised, and the good fellowship that reigned around it was as cordial as it was noisy. Such were the dinners to which Fox, Sheridan, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, the Dukes of Norfolk and Bedford, and the other social magnates of that gross feeding

and drinking age sat down and contrived to do ample justice. Now and then a French dish was introduced; but John Bull's patriotism proved a stumbling-block in the way of any approach to epicureanism; and the banquets at Carlton Palace and the Pavilion, and at Devonshire House, bore a close resemblance to those at Guildhall or the Hummums.

After the restoration of the Bourbons the homely wits of our hitherto home-keeping youths acquired a continental polish, and they came home with a wonderful culinary refinement, derived from familiarity with the cookery of Paris, Brussels, Berlin, and Vienna. The stomach of Young England, and a good deal of Old England, would not tolerate the "solidarity" of the old dinner: the thick soup was superseded by a light potage; the eternal cod's head and shoulders with melted-butter gave way to *saumon à la Régence*, *sauce Génoise*, or turbot, *sauce Hollandaise et sauce homard*, *sole au gratin*, or any of a hundred different ways of serving fish; while the everlasting beef and mutton were changed for *selle d'agneau à la Dauphine*, *ris de veau à la St. Cloud*, with an endless variety of other meats so totally transformed as not to be recognised by untravelled eyes. The poultry, the game, the pastry were reformed to the same extent; and the bill of fare became a *carte* that, according to its variety and arrangement, testified to the refinement of the giver of the feast.

Mr. Duncombe had innumerable opportunities of indulging in these luxuries, as he was intimate with many of the culinary reformers. With them the substantial three courses and a dessert was changed to a succession of *potages*, *relevés*, *flancs*, *entrées*, *rotis*, and

*entremets*. Mulligatawny was declared obsolete, and the reign of *Julienne* commenced. Carving, however, was still retained, and the host and hostess set a good example in dispensing the contents of the several dishes to their guests: but drinking wine with the ladies of the party, a good relic of social gallantry, dropped out of usage.

Then came another change, and the table was spread for dessert: fruits and flowers made a feast for the eye, while the servants handed out each dish separately to every guest, and he had nothing to do but eat and talk, taking care that the conversation should be as light as the diet. Mr. Duncombe dined *à la Russe* as he had dined *à la Français*—with perfect content. He adapted his palate as easily as he adapted his knife and fork to the alterations in the *cuisine*; and was familiar with almost every change of table to be found between Finsbury and Mayfair, the popular member being obliged occasionally to exhibit his amiability to enthusiastic supporters who prided themselves on being as Radical at their meals as in their politics; but his appetite sympathized with his principles, and if the leg of mutton was tender and the port wine sound, he was not likely to complain.

Among the changes he witnessed was one in the dinner-hour. Every one must remember the distich of the epicurean Dr. Kitchener—

“Come at seven,  
Go at eleven.”

Mr. Duncombe's later experience as a diner-out found the arrangement deferred to eight and half-past eight. Then assembled the guests of Prince Ester-

hazy, Prince Talleyrand, Duke of Beaufort, Lords Dudley, Melbourne, Alvanley, Foley, Durham, Pembroke, Palmerston, Glengall, Wilton, Belfast, Hertford, Sir George Warrender, Sir George Wombwell, Sir R. Ferguson, and scores of other friends, foreign and English.

While treating of this subject we must not forget the entertainments occasionally got up by members of the *beau monde*. Among the most successful was the one given jointly at Boyle Farm, on the banks of the Thames, then Lady de Roos's. The expenses were defrayed by a subscription of 500*l.* each from Lords Alvanley, Castlereagh, Chesterfield, Robert Grosvenor, and Henry de Roos; and great taste was displayed in the arrangements. Pavilions on the bank of the river; a large dinner-tent on the lawn, capable of holding four hundred and fifty; and a select table for fifty laid in the conservatory. Gondolas floated on the water, containing the best singers of the Italian Opera; and in a boat Vestris and Fanny Ayton, the one singing Italian the other English. There were illuminations throughout the ornamental grounds, and character quadrilles were danced by the beauties of the season. This was long remembered as the Dandies' *Fête*. It was in every way a great success. Of those who so liberally got up the entertainment only one survives, and he can scarcely be said to appreciate his existence.

In the autumn of 1843 Mr. Duncombe proceeded to the West of England, where he was a guest at Berkeley Castle and other mansions. He remained a short time at the Royal Hotel, Clifton, with Lord Foley and Lord Marcus Hill, Mr. and Lady C. Maxse, and C. Grenfell, constant associates in town.

Lady Caroline Maxse was the daughter of the last Earl of Berkeley. Berkeley Castle and the estates had been bequeathed by him to his eldest natural son, Colonel Berkeley, whom the Whigs elevated to an earldom.

While in this neighbourhood the following reached him :—

Badminton, 19th, Sunday.

MY DEAR TOMMY,—You recollect that you owe us a visit. You promised to come to us last year, but went into Yorkshire instead. Make up for it by coming now. We shall be charmed to see you ; and you shall hunt, or shoot, or stay at home, or do anything you like best. Pray come and make us gay. I wish I had known you were coming to Bristol ; I should have tried to see you, and have laid violent hands upon you. The Duchess desires to add her invitation to mine, and her best remembrances at the same time.

Yours always,

BEAUFORT.

Mr. Duncombe's company was courted by his aristocratic friends with increased avidity. Among his engagements for dinner for one year, we find them coming from the Marquis of Hertford (he had married Marie Fagniani, the *protégée* of the Duke of Queensberry and George Selwyn, who had left her their wealth) ; Sir R. Ferguson ; her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent ; Lord A. Fitzclarence, son of William IV. ; Lady Aldborough, an eccentric dowager of singularly free and easy conversation ; Mr. Hope ; Lady Ogle ; Lady E. Thynne ; Lady Canterbury, sister of Lady Blessington ; Lord Stanley ; Lady Dundonald ; Lord Auckland ; Duke of Canizzaro ; Lady Blessington ; Mrs. Fox, &c. &c. Besides their balls, dinners, and concerts, he was constantly called upon to join parties at Greenwich and Richmond, to preside at



public dinners, charity-school anniversaries, to meet deputations, to attend committees, and to show himself at the various clubs of which he was a member.

Very few constitutions could have endured the wear and tear of days of labour and nights of amusement, till the end of the season left him at leisure to recruit at Copgrove, or recreate himself with the splendid hospitality of Badminton. His health finally gave way, and for the last ten or twelve years of his life he rarely accepted an invitation to parties of any kind.

## CHAPTER IX.

## THE GREEN-ROOM.

Patronage of the drama—The King's Theatre—Operatic favourites—Dress—"Le Jambe de Vestris"—Danseuses—Lord Fife and Mademoiselles Noblet and Mercandotti—Patent Theatres—Fashionable loungers—Sir Lumley Skeffington—Lord Glengall—Actors and actresses—Dramatic authors—Kenney's repartees—Morton's application to Mr. Duncombe—Reply from the Duke of Devonshire—Mr. Oxberry appeals to him—Lord — and Madame Vestris—Mr. Alfred Bunn—Expense of a pass-key—Madame Vestris at the Olympic—Letter to Mr. Harris—Letter from the Duke of Buccleuch—A younger son—Taking the benefit of the Insolvent Act—Letters from Madame Vestris—Account of her liabilities—Pressing applications for pecuniary assistance.

✓ It has already been intimated that, among the requirements of a man of fashion, was a partiality for dramatic performances. He was expected to give his patronage to the theatre by subscribing liberally. He took a box for the season, and his presence was considered an invaluable recommendation. The manager in grateful acknowledgment granted him the privilege of going behind the scenes, where he was pretty sure of making many pleasant acquaintances. To all establishments there was a place of rendezvous familiarly known as "the Green-room;" and here the chief performers, in costume,

were to be found every evening when not before the audience.

Much the same arrangement occurred at the Italian Opera, to which Mr. Duncombe also subscribed, as a member of a very select coterie.

"The King's Theatre," at the bottom of the Haymarket, as the Italian Opera was called in the days of "the Regency," was supported by the rank and fashion of the metropolis. The principal vocalists were Catalani, Banti, Grassini, Billington, Pasta, Naldi, and Ambrogetti. Respecting the former Captain Gronow tells one of his mythical anecdotes. He states that she had been invited to Stowe, and asked to sing. On quitting she charged the Marquis of Buckingham 1700*l.* for the pleasure she had afforded his guests. Of course, there is no reference to this unprecedented extortion in the voluminous correspondence of his family, recently published by the late Duke.

Madame Catalani was an accomplished musician, and extremely fashionable for many seasons. Her gains were considerable, but the terms for which she gave her services were moderate compared with the exactions of the prima donnas of half a century later. Her Susannah, in *Le Nozze di Figaro*, was one of her most attractive impersonations—never failing to fill pit, boxes, and gallery. In Portagallo's *Semiramide*, long since shelved with the majority of old lyrical favourites, she was equally effective. In *La Freschettata* and *Il Fanatico per la Musica*—favourable examples of the opera buffa of that day—she was quite as much admired.

The house was divided into boxes, pit, and gallery.

There were no stalls, the area of the pit being divided from the stage by the orchestra, which did not contain much above half its present force. A passage led from the entrance to the front seats, known as "Fops' Alley," from the throng of dandies who resorted there, partly to witness the performances, partly to see, and be seen by, the ladies in the lower tiers. On the stage, sunk considerably below its level, was a large box on each side, called "The Omnibus Box." In this Mr. Duncombe rented a seat for many successive seasons.

There were strict regulations in force respecting evening costume. Full dress in the days of the Regency consisted of a long-tailed coat with ruffles at the wrists; white cravat, with stand-up shirt collar; small-clothes, with gold or diamond buckles; silk stockings, shoes, a waistcoat open, to show the shirt-front or frill, and white kid gloves. A cocked hat, called a *chapeau bras*, because usually carried under the arm, and a sword at the side, completed the costume. The hair was always carefully dressed. Thus attired every gentleman was obliged to present himself, till trousers superseded breeches, and boots, shoes. The round was adopted instead of the cocked hat, and the sword abandoned to those who intended to make it a weapon rather than an ornament.

The renters of the Omnibus Box enjoyed the privilege of going behind the scenes, where, with a little knowledge of Italian and French, they contrived to become acquainted with the stars of the opera and the ballet. It was not unusual for the *dilettanti* amongst them to cultivate rather intimate relations with the reigning "favorita." It passed for admira-

tion of genius. The "protector" of the beautiful *cantatrice* or *danseuse* was certain of exciting the envy of his less fortunate associates, till the lady left him for a more liberal admirer.

This was so expensive a luxury that only an opera-goer with a handsome income could venture to indulge in it; but it was so fashionable that married men, and even elderly men, were proud of the distinction. Highly respectable grandfathers established themselves as patrons of the prima donna, while grave and reverend seigniors competed with beardless ensigns for the smiles of the *coryphées*. Occasionally there was a spirited competition for the distinction. This was particularly the case when the clever and fascinating daughter of Bartolozzi, the engraver, joined the Italian Opera company. Few actresses enjoyed such celebrity. Later, when on the English boards performing *Don Giovanni*, she was so much the rage that a modeller made a capital speculation by selling plaster casts of *le jambe de Vestris*.

The grand tier of the opera—indeed, the boxes generally—were in those days a most attractive exhibition of female beauty; the aristocracy usually carrying off the palm. Between the acts, and not unfrequently during the performance, they absorbed much of the attention of the exquisites below; and, when practicable, a move was made upstairs by those who enjoyed the privilege of *entrée*, where they lounged a short time, lisped a few commonplaces, and then made their way to the *coulisses*. Here they paid their devotions at the favoured shrine, lingered till the close of the ballet, then made the best of their way to their club, where they supped and played at

macao, lansquenet, picquet, or whist for an hour or two, and finally called a chair, and were carried home sometimes about as sober as usual, but often considerably the worse for I.O.U.'s.

These fashionable patrons were remarkable for their extravagance in this direction. Lord Fife, though born in 1776, was, and had long been distinguished for his admiration of attractive ballet dancers. Having gone through the Peninsular war with decided gallantry, his lordship chose to exhibit a gallantry equally decisive in a totally different field of enterprise. He had been a widower since 1805, and having been attracted during the occupation of Paris by the charming danseuse, Mademoiselle Noblet, he declared himself an admirer quite regardless of expense. Though this intimacy was carried on at an enormous cost, over 60,000*l.*, it continued till a similar preference was excited for another figurante of at least equal talent and beauty; this was Mademoiselle Mercandotti, whose dancing at the King's Theatre produced the most tremendous sensation remembered by the oldest frequenters of Fops' Alley. She it was who subsequently fascinated Mr. Ball Hughes.

Not unfrequently royalty competed for the smiles of the beautiful vocalist or the charming dancer; but with the exception of the King of Bavaria, who subsequently became infatuated with Lola Montes, no glaring scandal was the result. The Prince of Wales preferred English vocalists (Mrs. Crouch); the Duke of Sussex, Italian (Grassini); the *habitués* of the Italian opera had a choice of nationality, for the prima donna of the season was of any country. The

*première danseuse*, however, was almost invariably French, till the arrival of the Elslers, who were Germans. The inmates of the Omnibus Box ought to have been connoisseurs of both branches of art, from the opportunities afforded them of studying the individual merits of the most eminent *artistes*.

We must, however, be content here with the merest reference to the subject; Mr. Duncombe's papers affording no evidence that either before or behind the scenes at "The King's Theatre" he was more than a spectator.\* The Green Room of one or two of the English theatres had much more attraction for him; for here, especially in what were styled the patent theatres, he was in the habit of meeting many of his own circle, men of the highest rank, and of the first consideration in the world of fashion. Some testified their appreciation of merit with extraordinary liberality; others came only as idlers; a few turned their privilege of admission to account by becoming dramatic authors.

Among that generation of dandies was Sir Lumley Skeffington—a genuine Milesian, descended from Awly O'Farrell, King of Connereene, and no end of kings and princes of Ireland. Their royalty collapsed about the commencement of the last century into a collectorship of customs, and subsided into a baronetcy before the beginning of the present, with Skeffington Hall, Leicestershire, as a residence. Sir Lumley was tall and thin, and always a slave to the toilet. He was constantly using perfumes and cosmetics, and was so careful about his hair, that people imagined

\* See Lumley's "Reminiscences" for an account of the management of this celebrated establishment.

that one of his royal ancestors must have been married to the fishy female who is delineated in his armorial bearings combing her tresses by the aid of a hand-mirror.

Sir Lumley frequented the Green Room partly as a man of fashion, partly as a dramatic author. He wrote in 1805 *The Sleeping Beauty*, a spectacle that had a great run at Drury Lane. He followed it with the comedy of *Maids and Bachelors*, which was not published. He was shown up by Gilray and other caricaturists, and gained the further distinction of being mentioned by Lord Byron in his great satire. The slimness of his figure was made more apparent by his wearing the garment with which Dr. Cantwell, in the *Hypocrite*, threatens to defeat the heavenly aspirations of his revilers.

The poet says:—

“And sure great Skeffington must claim our praise,  
For skirtless coats and skeletons of plays  
Renowned alike.”\*

The Spencer was at one time as fashionable as the Petersham, but lost favour except with old beaux, faithful to the memories of their youth. Sir Lumley was known everywhere by it, quite as generally as he was known by his artificial complexion and superabundant perfumery. He professed immense admiration for attractive actresses, to whom he continued to pay tribute almost as long as he lived, by publishing complimentary verses addressed to them in the newspapers.

He hung about theatres and picture auctions, with

\* “English Bards and Scotch Reviewers.”



false hair and fictitious complexion, maintaining the characteristics of a fashion that had been dead and buried half a century, his limbs becoming thinner and his back more bowed.

Mr. Duncombe was intimate with this descendant of a royal race; indeed, Sir Lumley was well known to every man about town, and every woman too. They met him in the Parks, in the fashionable thoroughfares, at the clubs, in the Green Room, everywhere where the aspirant for fashionable distinction ought to be seen; and as his birth dated from a few years after the commencement of the reign of George III., he must have had in his recollection an abundant source of entertainment for the young Guardsman when he entered upon his career.

Sir Lumley, like many of his fashionable contemporaries, was for some time an inmate of the King's Bench prison, having far exhausted his resources. After a few years' incarceration, he contrived to effect an arrangement with his creditors, and attempted to renew the intimacies he had enjoyed in the sunshine of his fame and fortune. Many of his old friends, however, would not recognise him, though he had got himself up with the greatest possible care. The claims of royalty and the Skeffington Hall estate were now regarded as moonshine; and those who knew him best cut him most. It was this solemn fact that caused Lord Alvanley to pronounce him a second edition of *The Sleeping Beauty*, handsomely bound, and illustrated by *cuts*.

He continued to be recognised by his black ringlets, rouged cheeks, and obsolete costume, and to be talked of when seen as the once *bel esprit, l'aigle de la société*,

till the infirmities of age brought the superannuated beau nearer and nearer to the narrow house ; when, in the year 1850, Sir Lumley St. George Skeffington, of Skeffington Hall, Leicestershire, Bart., was seen no more. He died at the age of eighty-two.

Dick Butler was classed among the popular Irish gentlemen who visited the English metropolis about the termination of the Peninsular war. He was descended from the Lord Caher who suffered for his devotion to James II., though he subsequently succeeded in obtaining pardon. Mr. Butler's father was created Earl of Glengall in 1816, to which dignity he succeeded three years later. As Lord Glengall he was as favourably known at the clubs as he had been as Dick Butler ; he was also a frequent visitor to the Green Room, and eventually displayed his dramatic predilections in the perpetration of a five-act comedy that came out at the Haymarket Theatre, with the title of *The Follies of Fashion*. It was not considered equal to the similar or rather dissimilar productions of his celebrated countryman, Sheridan ; nevertheless for a time it attracted good houses.

In the Green Room the man of fashion made the acquaintance of the great dramatic geniuses of that highly histrionic age ; there were Kembles in those days, and *the* Kean, with Siddons, O'Neil, and other actresses worthy to perform with them ; while in genteel comedy and burletta there were clever men and handsome women in abundance. The dramatic world has not yet forgotten the merit of Irish Johnson, Liston, Power, Emery, Munden, Harley ; of Mrs. Glover, Orger, Nesbitt, Mardyn, Humby, &c. &c.

Great as were these attractions to the fashionable

lounger, there was another that was not without its charm to men of sense. In those days sterling comedies were written, and their authors were frequently to be found in the Green Room. Some of them were clever conversationalists—most had pretensions to wit; and the lively repartee and the quaint jest were sure to be greatly relished by their fashionable visitors, when the low comedian might have been voted slow, and the slow tragedian a bore. Some even were known to have turned from the sublimity of "Lady Macbeth," or the brilliancy of "Lady Teazle," to enjoy the gossip with which they were pretty sure to be entertained by Colman, by Morton, or Reynolds.

When some one mentioned Luttrell's "Advice to Julia," one of these chartered libertines gave his opinion that the poem was a great deal too long, and not half broad enough. This was Kenney, the author of *Raising the Wind*, and a number of other capital comedies and farces. He was a very little man, with an extremely nervous manner; but his blue eyes seemed to be always radiant with sly humour. Some of his sayings are far in advance of what had passed for wit among the Brummells, Selwyns, and their associates. Hearing of the decease of a dirty scribbler, who assumed the appellation of "Anthony Pasquin," he averred that the fellow had died of a cold caused by washing his face. This is as good as Charles Lamb's remark to Elliston, with whom he was playing at cards, "If dirt was trumps, what a hand you would hold;" or as Foote's to an equally uncleanly clergyman who talked largely of farming, "It's easy to see, sir, you keep your glebe in your own hands."

While the Canning Ministry were striving to establish themselves in the confidence of the country, Mr. Duncombe received one of many applications of the same nature that were constantly sent to him. As a Member, no matter what were his politics, it was believed that he had influence with the Government. He was, therefore, appealed to to get all sorts of places for all sorts of people. In several instances he wrote to the minister in whose gift the required situation was, and when the appointment was attainable obtained it. In the present instance his correspondent was a dramatist of established reputation, the author of some of the best comedies of that period. One of his sons has written several popular farces, including *Box and Cox*.

15, Store-street, Bedford-square, Dec. 5th, 1832.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your kind interference produced from the Duke of Devonshire a letter which said :—“ My letter expressed my regret that the number of those persons to whom promises have been given by me of appointments under my patronage as Chamberlain, that my adding your son’s name to the list, which I have had the pleasure of doing, gives only a distant prospect of my being able to promote him.” Though this communication holds out a very distant hope for my son, yet as it is all the Lord Chamberlain could with regard to previous promises undertake, my obligation to his Grace is great, as also to you, kind sir, for your zeal in the cause of

Your very obliged and obedient servant,

THOS. MORTON.

15, Store-street, Bedford-square, Nov. 29th, 1832.

SIR,—The kind wish you expressed to assist my efforts in giving employment to an unprovided son will I hope warrant my troubling you with the perusal of this letter.

The patience you exerted in the late theatrical investigation would I doubt not convince you that not only there is a theatrical world, but that the members of it are ill calculated for any other world. Dramatic writers (of which tribe I am the most ancient operative) have so limited a sphere of action as to shut them out from the actual business of life and its busy members, and perhaps for this, among other reasons, their claims or necessities have been listened to by the good and powerful. The names of Murphy, Cumberland, O'Keefe, Colman, Dibdin, and many others, are among the valued file who have received places or pensions; but though the days of pensions are gone, yet I hope the days are coming on when humble claims may find advocates, and that the oldest contributors to the stock of innocent and rational amusement may be successfully heard in behalf of a moral and educated son. I took the liberty of addressing his Grace the Duke of Devonshire on this, to me, important subject, but I believe I most ignorantly violated the unities of time and place in addressing his Grace when he was seeking relaxation from the discharge of official duties. Could you, kind sir, solicit his Grace's attention to my anxious application, you would essentially serve

Your most respectful and very obedient servant,

THOS. MORTON.

3rd December.

MY DEAR SIR,—Mr. Morton wrote to me in September, and I replied directly, but as he did not get my letter I conclude it was mislaid at Chatsworth. I have written to him this morning, and I am exceedingly obliged to you for enabling me to make my apologies to him for the apparent neglect.

Most truly yours,

DEVONSHIRE.

In a few years the British drama showed signs of having fallen upon evil days. Fitzball became more attractive than Shakspeare, and genteel comedy was superseded by screaming farce. The managers relied

for patronage on showy spectacles, in which one or more pretty women were put forward in splendid costumes. The Italian, and sometimes the German opera, as well as a company of French comedians, drew away many playgoers from the principal theatres, when a beggarly account of empty boxes and imperfectly filled pit and gallery forced the manager to curtail the salaries of his company. Mr. Duncombe was regarded as a friend to the distressed actor, as well as an active supporter of the best interests of the English stage: and in this capacity was appealed to by a meritorious artist whose talent in his profession he had often admired:—

Lyceum, and English Opera.

SIR,—I beg to be excused for the liberty I am taking with you by thus addressing you. Necessity obliges me. I write not for myself personally, but as a member of a profession now prostrate. I have written to Lord Mahon a list of grievances, burdens we now labour under. We are utterly unprotected by the law, and entirely ruined by the foreign performers, who all come together in the London season—cutting their own throats and ours also. May I hope you will lend us your powerful voice should anything be mooted next session for the relief of our miseries. With the greatest respect, I beg to subscribe myself,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

W. H. OXBERRY.

Mr. Duncombe contributed liberally to theatrical charities, forwarding handsome donations on benefit nights; he readily took the chair at public meetings, and gave his aid and personal attendance for any project that promised advantage to the profession. As a friend of the drama, he suffered in the same way that other wealthy frequenters of the Green Room have ever done where the attraction was special and the

demands it created difficult to satisfy. There was one popular actress who had the reputation of exhausting the resources of the wealthiest admirers. The Dives at the commencement of their intercourse invariably became a Lazarus at its conclusion; at least, she beggared him and then sought another dupe. The catalogue of her victims is a remarkable one, and includes men of high social position. We have only to do with a spendthrift of that time and a long time after, whose name we suppress out of respect to his noble family.

Mr. Duncombe's theatrical experience was dearly purchased. When such men as Bunn were managers of one of the patent theatres the patrons of the drama were pretty sure of having to pay high for the privileges he had it in his power to bestow. As lessee of the two patent theatres, he made as much profit as he could. Several of his communications to Mr. Duncombe at this time are before us, but the revelations they afford of theatrical management are anything but edifying. As he has thought proper publicly to record his experience as a manager, we may be excused printing the more private revelations with which he favoured his patrons. We, however, cannot avoid drawing upon them for a little information respecting Mr. Duncombe's contributions to his treasury. He tells him that he has a box to let at the rent of 420*l.* for the season, which rent has been paid by Lord Carrington for it for twenty years; and another, lately vacated by her Majesty, that possesses the advantage of having two ante-rooms. This, of course, would be a trifle more. Each was capable of containing eight persons.

As the fashionable patron was expected to be

equally liberal at each of the patent theatres, the drama must have proved an expensive luxury. Mr. Bunn strove to allure him by more than equivocal recommendations of the advantages he was ready to sell. The interests of the drama were never seriously considered by him; indeed, it is quite clear that he thought of no interests but his own. It is not surprising, therefore, that the noble establishment over which he presided should then have suffered so much degradation—that its career as a patent theatre ceased soon after. Having injured the English form of entertainment, the next step for the theatrical speculator was to destroy the prospect of the Italian or lyrical drama, by taking away as much as possible of the insufficient support given to Her Majesty's Theatre, and Covent Garden was turned into a second Opera-house.

The manager's benefit, and those of the favourite actors and actresses, were so many powerful appeals to Mr. Duncombe's liberality. If this formed the limit of his disbursements for the pass-key that enabled him to go behind the scenes and find his way to the Green Room, he might consider himself fortunate. Long, however, before this he had become aware that dramatic patronage was a serious expense.

The Olympic Theatre was opened under the management of Madame Vestris. Great merit was accorded to her for the manner in which she placed her novelties on the stage, as well as for the selection of her company. Her burlettas and genteel comedy were represented with the most careful attention to effect. She was supported by many men of fashionable repute, her Green Room being the nightly resort of



the Duke of Brunswick, who rented a box, Lord Chesterfield, Colonel Berkeley (Lord Fitzhardinge), Count D'Orsay, Lord Harrington, and their friends. The colonel's conduct to Miss Foote, who was a member of her company, caused him to absent himself from the theatre; and Liston having, in one of his absurd characters, worn a *fac simile* of the count's fashionable coat, he also withdrew; but there were always a sufficient number of satellites to every theatrical "star."

Notwithstanding that the presiding deity was *passée*, her shrine was still thronged. What the gains of this lady were it is impossible to ascertain; but it is well known that her extravagance wasted what her attractions and her talents acquired. In a memorandum now before us we find Madame acknowledging the receipt of the following sums from Mr. Harris:—

July 17th, 1833	. .	£3000	0	0
Nov. 29th, „	. .	989	18	6
March 13th, 1834	. .	4140	0	0
„ 15th, „	. .	900	0	0
April 23rd, „	. .	200	0	0
Sep. 15th, „	. .	1050	0	0

Circumstances, however, occurred that made her leave town hurriedly in company with a young nobleman who was then heavily in Mr. Duncombe's debt—indeed, was overwhelmed with pecuniary obligations. They appear to have both been in danger of arrest, and endeavoured to conceal themselves in Devonshire. The following note from him possesses some features of interest: it indicates that raising the wind was still possible; but whether Mr. Harris had any confidence in such representations the correspondence gives us

no means of judging. It is quite certain that both the fugitives were intent on a quarrel with Mr. Duncombe; but by the advice of judicious friends he refrained from taking any notice of their proceedings.

May 25th.

MY DEAR HARRIS,—I am glad to hear from you that there is some chance. I have received my letters; among them many from our one-eyed friend. But yesterday I was much surprised at receiving one (through Hartley of course) dated the 21st instant, urging that, having written several letters without getting any reply, he would be obliged if I would send a *positive* answer, as it was keeping himself and Barret in suspense, and preventing the 16,000*l.* from being employed. The money was *quite ready* for me. The only thing he must do would be to apply to the acting trustee, Mr. Astell. Now it strikes me that if you could contrive to *SEE* him, or write to him if you cannot, and say that I am willing to receive the money (do not for God's sake doubt me) on the securities of the marriage settlement; but unless he can and will do it without any previous application; for the moment it is done he *may give* notice to the trustee, which will suit his purpose equally as well, as it is of course to lay his claim before I could raise any more upon it, and also without my presence, as Hartley can bring the deeds for me to sign, and that I will of course insure my life *as soon as* I come to town. I think if you were to go to him once again—offer him another two hundred, and bribe Barret with whatever may be necessary—we should succeed; for they are evidently very anxious to lend it to me, though, good souls, their courage fails them. His direction, in case you have forgotten it, is 14, *Cross-key Square, Little Britain*. What can Tommy's plan be? All moonshine, I fear. I have sent another letter for you to London, in case you should be there. I have told her that I expect you in a day or two. Pray do not forget about the dogs. When are you likely to be in Exeter? We shall be very glad when you come; and the more glad the sooner you do so, and the

longer you stay. She desires me to say that you promised to write to her, which you have not done, yet she sends her love.  
Yours ever.

Should you write to the One Eye, you can do it in my name or not, as you choose ; but if you could see him it would materially advance the matter.

One of the parties applied for assistance to a nobleman whose character was as elevated as his rank. That he answered the appeal promptly, may be seen by his Grace's letter. The transaction, however, seems to have been open to question ; at least this is asserted in the communication that follows :—

17th July, 1833, Wednesday, Half-past Three.

MY DEAR ———,—I have this moment seen Mr. Lumley, and he has undertaken to arrange that the sum of 3500*l.* shall be forthcoming to-morrow. I believe that was the sum you mentioned to me. Of course you must take care to have the bond consigned to you, and the proper receipt given for the money before you part with it to your friend's creditor. Yours truly, BUCCLEUCH.

A communication from Mr. Duncombe throws some light on this unpleasant affair :—

Wednesday Evening.

MY DEAR H.,—I did not write, because I had nothing particular to say, and I have been so dreadfully busy with the political world lately that I have really had no time. I told Fitzroy about E.'s visit to me. He thinks and believes that you had the money, or a great portion of it, out of which ——— robbed him. I told him I thought not, and that you could produce the receipt of having paid it over to *Vestris*. He said *that* would satisfy him. ——— wrote and confessed the fraud (I suppose seeing it could no longer be concealed), and asked forgiveness ; said it was *your act*, and partly for *your* benefit, but never said that I had no part of the money. Send me, therefore, either a *correct* copy of the

receipt, as the date is of no use without the amount; and also a correct copy of the 3000*l.* that the Duke of Buccleuch was swindled out of, and I will set you right in Errington's opinion. It is really too bad that he could not be satisfied with robbing his friends and relations, but that he must also endeavour to blacken those to whom he is under the *greatest obligations*. But it wont do; he will fail in everything. A dissolution must take place if the Tories go on with their mad scheme of fancying they can govern the country. I shall *win* easily in Finsbury, though *everything* will of course be done to prevent me. You will perceive, therefore, that I take the same view of politics as yourself. — will not be outlawed before January. My answer goes in in about a fortnight. I have taken up and arranged *all* the bills excepting two thousand. — will have the satisfaction of having nearly ruined me, but I still fancy there is some elasticity left in me yet; and from one end of the world to the other it shall be used to expose him. As to his —, I think the Yankees will be too good judges to meddle with so cracked an old fire-ship.

Ever yours, T. S. D.

Write and send me the receipt.

The person thus referred to subsequently wrote a letter, dated "Queen's Bench, October 13th, 1837," offering his "sincere expressions of regret for any injury, trouble, or annoyance that I may have occasioned yourself or friends," and stating the probability of his taking the benefit of the Insolvent Act. Mr. Duncombe replied on the same day. Both letters were published in the newspapers. There was a thorough exposure of his lordship's affairs in consequence of his going through the Insolvent Court, but nothing transpired prejudicial to Mr. Duncombe, though he suffered heavily in a pecuniary sense.

The two following letters bring the correspondence

to a close. They are addressed to the same person, and apparently give a trustworthy account of the writer's position. The list she gives of her debts, in the expectation of getting them paid for her, is highly characteristic. Her subsequent marriage with a popular comedian is well known.

London, September 9th.

DEAR MASTER DEVIL,— — is writing to you at this moment. He is staying here a close prisoner. I believe he returns to Lady — at Hastings on Sunday next. He is quite unchanged, and perfectly happy where he is; but he still talks about cutting Richmond-terrace, &c. &c. . . . I say all I can to induce him to have patience, but he will hardly listen to me on that subject.

You ask me why I at first said I should want 600*l.* or 700*l.*, and then mentioned 1000*l.* The fact is I mentioned the first sum without looking at my book, which I did before I wrote again. The following is a list of all I owe:—

Stodart . . . . .	£47		
Nisbett . . . . .	100		
Pattison . . . . .	146		
			£293
Gattie and Pierce . . . . .	£87	Howell and James . . . . .	£141
Lauchnick . . . . .	9	Gunter . . . . .	20
Miller . . . . .	60	Marie . . . . .	26
Hall . . . . .	88	Ramsay . . . . .	29
Angus . . . . .	20	Lear . . . . .	30
Walker . . . . .	24	Adams, due Jan., 1834	176
Mortlock . . . . .	60	Ball next year . . . . .	200
	£348		£622

Duthie's I have not yet got—he is out of town. The amount of all, you will see, is 1313*l.*, therefore nothing under 1000*l.* would be of service to me. Adams and Ball

need not be paid until January ; that takes off 376*l.*, and I must have some money (and that soon) to go on with. I give you my honour that I have at this moment only between 30*l.* and 40*l.* in the world, therefore my funds *must go* before Saturday next. What is more, though you intend to tell E. about the money, pray let me a little into the secret, for fear that he should ask me some question which I might find awkward to answer. What do you think of the *Age*? I intend to see Westmacott to-morrow or next day, but money is of no use with him, unless a very large sum, which I have not got to give. I do not grumble at not playing at the Haymarket, but I think it a pity, under existing circumstances, to lose so much money. I thought you had too much friendship for me to make me a cat's-paw for your revenge. I don't half know you yet, and who does? E. has only seen Hooper twice for a short time after dinner, but the whole conversation happened to be about the Olympic. They shall not meet again. I fear your book of fate is a castle-in-air on too high an eminence for me ever to reach. I grow giddy with the thoughts of it. I was not born to so much good luck. D. is at Hastings with Lady E. and Miss M. What does your riddle mean in your letter to E.? It puzzles us both. Pray expound, learned Pundit! Pray write by return of post. All is going on well at the Olympic. W—— accepts the terms of 6*l.* per week, but altogether I am not pleased with him. I wish you were here, but it is of no use wishing. If I could leave town I would go down to you; I would give anything to have a good long chat with you; it would do me good. Do you intend to come when Mr. S. is ready? *Write! write! write!*

Yours sincerely,  
E. V.

Monday.

DEAR HARRIS,—In the name of all that is *mysterious*, what is become of you! It is now nearly three weeks since you wrote to me to say that you intended paying me a visit in the course of a *week* or a *fortnight*. I think you might have written a few lines to say when we were to see you.

Although you say that you do not receive any letters *now*, I will run the risk of this reaching you *somehow or other*. If I do not hear from you shortly, God only knows what I am to do, or what will become of me. My cash is getting very low; I have only between 20*l.* and 30*l.* *in the world*. My mother's quarter (50*l.*) was due the first of this month, my rent in Chesham-place was due the 25th of *last* month, and 500*l.* for the Olympic must be paid on the first of next month. You *clearly* and *DISTINCTLY* told me before I left town that I was to have the money to pay all these. If you had not done so, *nothing under heaven* would have induced me to come into the country. I could have made money enough to meet all these demands (and more, too,) in the country theatres during the summer. I cannot even stir from this place, which you know I *must* do before the end of next month, until I receive some money. Have you sent *him* any since he met you at Collumpton, or do you know if he has any? If he has, for God's sake send him a cover, and tell him to let me have some. Indeed your silence is very unkind; you surely might contrive to write a few lines. Hooper\* keeps writing to me for money, and I have been obliged to tell him to use what he receives from the French people, so that I shall find very little at Coutts's. I have written to him to know how much there is there, which I shall know in a few days. I fear I shall require very nearly 1000*l.* before I can open the Olympic, that is if I mean to keep out of debt, and I hope to God I shall never get into difficulties again. I hope you will receive this soon, and let me implore you to come here if it is only for one day. I have several things to tell you, which, as the destination of this is uncertain, I do not like to commit to paper; indeed, under *any circumstances I must have some conversation* with you, and that soon.

Sincerely yours,

E. V.

P.S.—Stanley and Erington have not yet paid their share for the box, which is 100*l.*

\* Stage-manager at the Olympic.

## CHAPTER X.

## THE MEMBER FOR FINSBURY.

First election—At the head of the poll—Letter of Sir John Cam Hobhouse—Changes in the Ministry—Their unpopularity—Lord Durham out of office—Proposal for a demonstration in his favour—Letters from Mr. Grote and Lord Durham—The King dismisses his Ministers—Second election for Finsbury—Again at the head of the poll—Letters of Lord Durham—Another general election—Mr. Duncombe returned for the third time—Doings at Southampton—Letter from Lord Durham—He is appointed Governor-General of the Canadas—State of that colony—Mr. Duncombe crosses the Atlantic—His opinion on the Reform Bill—Amendment on the Address.

THE degree of public attention Mr. Duncombe had by this time drawn upon himself, made it necessary that he should think of placing himself on a higher pedestal than Hertford. He was invited to stand for one of the metropolitan constituencies, and answered the invitation with his customary earnestness. He had earned the respect of men of high standing in the political world, who felt an interest in his success. The contested election for Finsbury proved the severest he had ever entered upon, but he permitted nothing to stand in the way of his success. A lavish expenditure and the most energetic canvassing carried him through; and in June, 1834, he was declared duly elected. At the close of the poll the result was thus given—

Duncombe . . . . .	2514
Pownall . . . . .	1915
Wakley . . . . .	695
Babbage . . . . .	379



The first two were returned, Mr. Wakley, the editor of *The Lancet*, a Radical Reformer, and Mr. Babbage, a gentleman of high scientific attainments, having been defeated by Mr. Pownall, known only as a respectable magistrate. One of the members for Westminster, even then high in the estimation of both the literary and political world, and favourably known to society as the friend of Lord Byron, wrote the following testimonial:—

Bovildon Park, June 26th, 1834.

MY DEAR METHUEN,—I see a paragraph in yesterday's (Wednesday's) *Times* stating that I had *declined the poll in Finsbury in favour of Mr. Babbage*.

Not so ; I never could decline what I never contemplated ; and moreover, what I did decline was not in favour of Mr. Babbage nor Mr. Anybody. The truth is some Finsbury gentlemen asked me whether I would consent to be put in nomination for that borough. On coming to London I found Mr. Babbage and Mr. Duncombe in the field, and I wrote to the parties in question saying that I begged no steps might be taken to bring me forward, for *both* the gentlemen who, it appeared, were candidates, were my friends, and I should not be induced to oppose *either* of them.

This was my answer, and I would thank you to tell Duncombe so, for he behaved in a very friendly way to me in Westminster, and I certainly should not like him to think I took any part against him in Finsbury. To Mr. Babbage I am under personal obligations, but under the circumstances of the case I shall not vote at all. I have a vote, strange to say. I hope Mrs. Methuen is well.

Very truly yours,

JOHN HOBHOUSE.

Do you know anything of Lydiard Park and mansion ? I see it is to be let.

The opening of the first reformed parliament has been described by an eye-witness—one of O'Connell's sons\*—who naturally strives to fill the foreground with the Irish agitator's "Household Brigade." He met for the first time Cobbett, returned for Oldham, of whom he has very little to report. Attwood, the member for Birmingham, whom he stigmatises as a Brummagem Lafayette. He describes the first Opposition bench as filled by Attwood, Duncombe, Fielden, Cobbett, and the principal English Liberals; the O'Connells occupied a considerable portion of the second bench; and the other Radicals were close at hand. He nowhere seems inclined to recognise Mr. Duncombe and his friends as labourers in the same vineyard; indeed his own countryman Feargus O'Connor is mentioned slightly. The secret oozes out; Daniel O'Connell's motion for repeal was negatived by 523 members, only 38 voting for it.

The reformed parliament commenced sitting on the 29th of January; but there were already signs of disunion among the Government. Their councils were far from unanimous, and there seemed a disposition in some of the ministers to cabal against their chief. Lord Grey was not qualified to maintain the position of Premier, wanting both force of character and comprehensiveness of intelligence to guide the helm of the State at so momentous a crisis. Some of his coadjutors were impatient of his rule, and others dissatisfied with the manner in which he disposed of his patronage. After professing intense horror of the old political system, they could not reconcile

\* "Recollections, &c.," by John O'Connell, M.P., i. 5.

themselves to the evident drifting into it of the First Lord of the Treasury in the disposal of places in favour of his relations. Lord Durham writes:—

Tuesday, June 25th, 1833, on board *Louisa*, off Ryde.

MY DEAR DUNCOMBE,—I write to you as we are cruising off Ryde, where we are going to visit Lord Spencer, and thank you for your letter. Pray continue to let me know what is going on. Yesterday we went out with our new sail and four tons more ballast, as it was discovered that some had been stolen last year. I had Corke on board, who steered her. Her trim was quite a different thing. The breeze was good, and we had a fair trial of her. She beat the *Arundel* “in a canter”—ran past her as if she had been anchored. I think we are now nearly right. Corke is steering her again to-day; he will not only be able to tell me if her trim is as it was, but also to give us some hints as to the management of cutter sails.

Don't expect me to talk politics—I am quite wretched about the state of things. If no one I cared about was involved in the disgrace which has befallen the Cabinet I should not mind, but alas, Lord Grey is there.

The Dutchman went off the next morning in a heavy squall from the N.W., which I trust had the effect of making him disgorge all his manifold abominations. Adieu.

Ever yours,

D.

A split in the Cabinet became evident in March by the resignation of Lord Durham. He had dissented so often from the opinions of his colleagues that he gained for himself the appellation of “the dissenting minister.” Mr. Ellice succeeded Charles Williams Wynn as Secretary at War; Sir John Hobhouse became Secretary for Ireland; the Earl of Ripon, Lord Privy Seal; and Mr. Stanley, Colonial Secretary. But the change did not add to the popularity of the Government. They were sinking so rapidly in the

opinion of the large constituencies, that Sir John Hobhouse felt himself obliged to resign both his post as Secretary and his seat as member. In the first he was succeeded by Mr. Littleton, in the latter by a Radical, Colonel De Lacy Evans.

The current of public opinion was setting in too strongly to be repressed. A meeting took place in Coldbath-fields on the 18th of May, which the police attempted to disperse, and one person was killed with a dagger. At a coroner's inquest that followed, a verdict of "justifiable homicide" was returned. A large meeting was held near Birmingham on the 18th, for the purpose of petitioning the King to dismiss the ministers.

Another split in the Cabinet became evident in June, and grew more conspicuous in July. This time it was not patched without the removal of the Premier. Lord Melbourne succeeded him—a far more popular man, but without solid pretensions to statesmanship. There were other important changes: Mr. Spring Rice, Lord Auckland, Lord Carlisle, Mr. Abercrombie, the Marquis of Conyngham, Mr. Poulett Thompson, Mr. Francis Baring, and Mr. Ellice, now filling the posts of Colonial Secretary, First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Privy Seal, Master of the Mint, Postmaster-General, President of the Board of Trade, and Secretary of the Treasury, and Cabinet Minister.

These alterations in the Government did not satisfy the Liberals; many promises were given in both Houses, and amendments of various kinds proposed, but no decided attempt made to check the Conservative reaction that had begun to display itself. Parliament was prorogued on the 18th of August, amid

a general belief that a more important change was impending.

Lord Grey was personally disliked by Queen Adelaide; he had caused the dismissal of her Lord Chamberlain, and though he subsequently reinstated Lord Howe, neither the Queen nor her Lord Chamberlain was to be conciliated. Her Majesty's sympathies with the Tories became more conspicuous than before, and Lord Howe declined the appointment, declaring that he would accept no favour from the Minister. The Earl of Denbigh received it, Lord Adolphus Fitzclarence taking his post as Lord of the Bedchamber.

A public dinner was given to Lord Grey at Edinburgh on the 18th of September, when Lord Durham bid high for popularity by avowing opinions in favour of the ballot, household suffrage, and the reform of all abuses. Lord Grey and Lord Brougham expressed more moderate ideas. Mr. Duncombe had some time advocated the views expressed by Lord Durham, which were those of advanced Liberals. They were familiar to the electors of Finsbury, as well as to most of the popular constituencies; but the Whigs professed a willingness to increase their measure of reform only after prudent deliberation. The Scottish Radicals were delighted with the more daring sentiments of the ex-Privy Seal; and though the ex-First Lord of the Treasury was the person then and there to be honoured, the former apparently received the greater share of applause. Glasgow, on the 29th of October, gave a public dinner to Lord Durham, when the whole city united to offer him an enthusiastic reception. As Lord Durham was out of

office, it was suggested that a public dinner should be given to him in London as a complimentary recognition of his qualifications as a statesman, and his high character as a friend of the people. Mr. Duncombe was requested to sound his lordship as to his wishes on the subject; and it is evident from his reply that he cared for such a demonstration only if it could be made sufficiently general.

Lambton Castle, October 16th, 1834.

MY DEAR DUNCOMBE,—I return you W.'s note. You ask me what I wish; I will tell you candidly. If the dinner was really desired by the great mass of metropolitan electors, and would be not merely well but warmly supported, and the attendance more than usual, I should like it much. It would do great good to the cause of real Reform, and it would be a gratifying compliment to me, who certainly did them more good than any one; and up to this hour I have never received the slightest acknowledgment for my exertions. Grote would be an excellent chairman. You must take care not to be too prominent, or they will say, from your intimate friendship with me, that the affair was got up from private and personal motives. But all must depend on whether the thing is really and generally wished.

I met last summer, at Grote's, Clay, the member for the Tower; he told me his constituents were very anxious to meet me and express their gratitude, &c. &c. I told him I should be very glad if a fitting opportunity occurred. They might consult with him. I start from hence for Scotland on the 24th, and shall be away a week or ten days.

Yours ever,

D.

The *Morning Chronicle*! How base!—especially after what Mr. Easthope said to me at your house.

As Lord Durham drew up the Reform Bill, and used all his influence to carry it through Parliament, such a distinction would have been natural

and appropriate. It does not appear, however, to have been entertained as cordially as his lordship desired.

As the Reform Government was daily becoming more unpopular with the masses, an attempt was made to get the metropolitan members to join in a declaration against their unsatisfactory policy. Mr. Duncombe readily lent his assistance to the proposal, and strove to obtain the names of other influential members. Some did not wish to lose their chance of ministerial patronage. On being written to, they either gave no answer, or declared their dissent. Sir Francis Burdett, Sir William Horne, and Mr. Byng, were among the former; Serjeant Spankie, Sir S. Whalley, Mr. Lyall, and Colonel Evans, among the latter. The two following communications describe the nature of the proposed declaration. The first is from the author of our best "History of Greece."

Threadneedle-street, Nov. 20th, 1834.

DEAR SIR,—The bearer of this note is my friend and partner, Mr. Prescott, who will show you the copy of an address, such as we think will be useful in the present political emergency. It is intended to be signed by all the metropolitan members who concur in the sentiments of it, and has been prepared with that view by Dr. Lushington, Mr. Clay, and myself. I trust it will meet with your approbation, and that you will be able with a safe conscience to affix your signature. Dr. Lushington, Mr. Clay, and myself have undertaken the task of applying to all the other metropolitan members. I have this morning seen Mr. Crawford, who approves and will sign it.

I remain, dear sir, yours truly,

GEO. GROTE.

T. S. Duncombe, Esq., M.P.

No. 62, Threadneedle-street, Nov. 21st, 1834.

DEAR SIR,—Since I saw you this morning some other of the Liberal metropolitan members have agreed to sign the paper I brought to you ; but Colonel Evans and Sir Samuel Whalley take a different view of it, and decline to give their signatures. Under these circumstances Mr. Grote and Mr. Clay have thought it best to delay the publication of the paper until they can see Mr. Hume, and obtain his concurrence. Mr. Hume is, I believe, at Brussels, or on his road home, where he is daily expected to arrive. There is reason to regret that the address, which has been prepared, cannot at once be published ; though, if it does not exhibit a *sufficient* union among reformers, it had better not appear at all.—I have the honour to remain, sir,

Your obedient servant,

W. G. PRESCOTT.

T. S. Duncombe, Esq., M.P.

Manifestations of Tory reaction made themselves more and more conspicuous, notwithstanding the outspoken sentiments of the Liberals. The fact was, that the Reform Bill was being regarded as a sham, none of its benefits having fallen to those to whom they had been promised. The supporters of the new Government were alleged to be just as greedy after “the loaves and fishes” as the supporters of their predecessors. Good things of all kinds were multiplied ; excellent commissions ; most attractive offices ; situations to suit any capacity, or none at all ; but a shoal of Greys and Russells snapped them up ; and the advocates of a more generous policy were elbowed into the background. A crisis was approaching, which made Mr. Duncombe’s friend anxious to have him nearer :—



Lambton Castle, November 9th, 1834.

MY DEAR DUNCOMBE,—What are your plans? Are you coming to the north? If so, why not go with me to the Newcastle dinner on the 19th? There will be no harm in your making acquaintance with our northern Liberals. If Finsbury should ever go wrong, a connexion in this part of the world would be no bad “string to your bow.”

If you remain in town a few days longer, will you be kind enough to arrange a little matter for me? I took a cook, called Martin, chiefly on the recommendation of Mr. Brook Greville (in a note to Stanley); he came *on trial*, was here a *fortnight*, had a brain fever (which it seems he had had twice before), and was obliged to be removed. I have said that I would give him whatever you and his patron, Mr. B. Greville, thought right. He has already received 10*l*.

I have been terribly knocked up and unwell since my Glasgow day; but am, I think, getting round again. Let me hear from you.

Ever yours, D.

L. C., November 20th, 1834.

MY DEAR D.,—Many thanks for gong and cook. The dinner “came off” yesterday, and to perfection, as well as the preliminaries with the burgesses and the working classes. You will see my answers to both, and that I have, as well as at the dinner, “put the steam on.” Nothing can be better than the spirit here. Surely it must be the same everywhere. The people cannot look quietly on whilst the Dictator is preparing to crush them under his iron heel. Can you be spared from town? If so, pray come north.

Ever yours, D.

The reason Lord Durham was not included in the Whig Ministry of 1834 was publicly stated to be incompatibility of temper. The Government organ, the *Globe*, stated that “No member who has been in

the Cabinet with Lord Durham is disposed to act with him again." The odium of the exclusion fell on Lord Brougham; but there can be no doubt that the Government were unanimous against his joining them. It is quite as clear that they were constantly bickering with each other; and they shortly afterwards went to pieces through their own want of cohesion.

The days of the Whigs were evidently numbered, though they retained their places for a short time. The following story was circulated at the clubs, as to the manner in which they were disposed of. It is highly characteristic of the Sailor King. His Majesty sent for Lord Melbourne, while at Brighton; and on the latter proposing to proceed to business, the King, with his customary *bonhomie*, exclaimed—"Come, come, we are going to dinner—let's talk of business afterwards!"

Nothing loth, the ever agreeable First Lord accepted the royal hospitality, and did justice to it, revolving in his mind the propriety of making political hay while the royal luminary shone. He did equal justice to the nautical jokes and anecdotes, and was preparing to profit by his opportunity, when the King bluffly interrupted him—

"Fill your glass—it's dry talking!"

Lord Melbourne filled his glass, laughed at the command, and drank the wine, fully appreciating its excellence. There then followed more nautical jokes, and more wine; and the Prime Minister enjoyed both, and was evidently in a disposition to enjoy everything—the sweets of office for an interminable tenancy included.

The dinner had been cleared, the dessert placed on the table, and the cheerfulness of his Majesty was only exceeded by the cheerfulness of his Minister. There could be no doubt at all that they were on the best possible understanding. The Premier was thinking on the main chance; while the Sailor King, appropriately enough, seemed to be thinking only of the main brace. So, fearful that he might lose his chance, after indulging in a thorough burst of mirth at the last contribution from the royal admiral's memory, Lord Melbourne was about to commence a request, when he was cut short by an abrupt change in the King's manner and speech.

"By the way," said his Majesty, "Lord Althorp's dead, I hear—so is the Government, of course; when the head's gone the body can't get on at all; therefore there's no help for it—you must all resign." Here, my lord," he added, as he took a letter from his pocket, and handed it to the astonished Prime Minister; "here's a letter I've written to the Duke of Wellington, directing him to form a Cabinet. Be sure you give it him directly you arrive in town."

Lord Melbourne took the proffered document and his departure almost simultaneously in rather a hazy state of mind—the anti-climax of the King's securing him as a messenger to bear the tidings of his dismissal to his successor, every now and then as he journeyed to town, making him have recourse to a habit he had of scratching his head, while uttering an involuntary exclamation that did not sound like a blessing.

All the political world were expecting something, but they did not expect the news circulated on the

15th of November. The King had dismissed the Melbourne Cabinet, and sent for the Duke of Wellington; after which, a special messenger had been sent to bring home Sir Robert Peel with all possible dispatch. It was evident that a Tory Government "loomed in the distance." As soon as there could be no mistake on this point, Sir Robert Peel had been announced as First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer; and a Ministry had been arranged.

Mr. Duncombe issued a stirring address to the electors of Finsbury, and at a public meeting made as stirring a speech to his constituents, full of determination to withstand any attempt of the new Government to undo the work of the Reform Bill.

The first Reform Parliament was dissolved on the 30th.

It was a critical state of affairs for the Whigs. In the summer of this year Lord John Russell had written to Moore—"If there is no hesitation or shrinking among us at the helm, we shall still pass through the straits in safety; but if there is, I see no sea-mark which can afford hope to the country."\*

The poet had predicted the end of the Government, and states a few days later—"How rapidly and truly they have confirmed all my worst predictions of them! But I cannot think they are yet out of the scrape. I have always said they were like Mazeppa—tied fast to the mad horse they had let loose, and must see its course out." In November he adds—"To my noble and right honourable friends, the Whigs, a most important event has happened—namely, their being

\* Moore: "Memoirs," vii. 34.

suddenly turned out of office by his Majesty, after four years of dominion, during which more has been done to unsettle, not merely institutions, but principles, than it will be in the power of many institutions to repair. The curious part of the case is, that in the process of converting the great mass of the nation into Radicals, they have most of them transformed themselves into Tories."

The year 1835 commenced with the most violent electioneering struggle ever witnessed in England. The Tories had appealed to the country, and it is but justice to acknowledge that the result proved they were justified in making the experiment. In the counties they gained considerably, but in the town constituencies were generally unsuccessful. Finsbury went through a tremendous contest. Serjeant Spankie and Henry, brother of Sir John Hobhouse, having been put forward in the Whig interest, Mr. Duncombe was associated with Mr. Wakley. The election terminated on the 10th of January, Mr. Duncombe being at the head of the poll with 4497 votes; Mr. Wakley came next, with 2359; the learned Serjeant only polled 2332; and Mr. Hobhouse resigned when he had obtained 1817. It was a signal triumph for the Liberals, and they made the most of it.

The second reformed Parliament, commencing its sittings under anti-reform influences, was not likely to effect much progress in liberal legislation. Care was taken that the Government should not retrograde; and Whigs and Radicals were determined to put on pressure to make it advance in the right direction. The two great political parties prepared to

renew the struggle, and a conflict of experimental legislation soon took place on the subject of the Irish Church. Ministers were found to be in a minority, and on the 8th of April they resigned. On the 18th another Melbourne government came into office. Lord Durham's name was not among the appointments; he had returned to St. Petersburg. Lord Palmerston was Foreign Secretary, and Lord John Russell took the Home Office. It was unquestionably a Whig Ministry *pur et simple*, with nothing particularly popular about it. The Radicals were not represented in it in any way. Nevertheless, the change was so far assuring—it had taken the executive out of hostile hands.

St. Petersburg, December 16th, 1835.

MY DEAR DUNCOMBE,—I was delighted to see your handwriting once more, and hope, when you are no longer afraid of the severe weather, you will let me see you in person as well as on paper. I do not find the cold as yet disagreeable; although it has been at one and two degrees of Fahrenheit—once below zero, I believe. It is a sharp, piercing, but bracing, dry cold—not like our damp, raw cold—and one is so protected by furs and wadded great coats, that the cold has some difficulty to find a spot in one's body to disport itself on.

I have been very well received by the Emperor and the grandees here, and have a very good house, warmed to a perfection of which you have no notion in England; a temperature of 64 degrees is always kept up night and day—no drafts of air—no burning faces and iced backs, as in some of our drawing-rooms at home, &c. There are constantly balls and parties going on; but I don't go much out. I neither dance nor play at whist; and besides, I have been, and still am, in the greatest anxiety and alarm about my poor daughter,\* who is very ill in Ireland.

\* Lady Ponsonby; she died very shortly after.

Thanks for the "paper," which I have put in the fire. I hope, when the summer comes, you will be able to pay me a visit. In seven or eight days you get here—by steam to Hamburgh; thence to Lubeck, and from thence by steam here. You would be much amused and interested; it is an extraordinary country, and little known. The palaces and establishments splendid, and the only court which is now left in ancient magnificence.

Yours ever, D.

*Pray write to me regularly* when you return to town.

The popularity enjoyed by William IV. and Queen Adelaide prevented any dangerous development of public opinion. O'Connell did as much as he could in that way in Ireland by his repeal movements, but as yet he had confined his agitation within the boundaries of the law. In England there were political adventurers quite as ready to make capital out of popular sentiments. Hunt and Cobbett had passed out of the sphere of conflict, but there were plenty of orators and writers ready to go further into the strife. Some of these, however, were little to be trusted. In popular constituencies "tall talk" became more and more a matter of course, and occasionally in Parliament democratic sentiments would be avowed; but the speakers, like the stump Ciceros across the Atlantic, were speaking for Bunkum. Our ambassador at St. Petersburg looked anxiously for news of the movements of politicians of this stamp:—

St. Petersburg, May 26th, 1836.

MY DEAR DUNCOMBE,—I see you have been presenting a petition against me, from your constituents. Do they know what monopoly means? Why, exclusive privilege of selling anything. Now, all Finsbury may go and open

mines and sell coals in the county of Durham. But the secret is, these speculators want Parliament to give them an advantage over private individuals, by being enabled to force their way through other persons' lands whether they will or not—an exclusive privilege denied to us. The senseless, false cry of monopoly is always raised to cover some city job. But enough of this. How are you, my dear D.? Shall you pay me a visit this summer? It would repay you the trouble. Ever yours, D.

If you know of a case of good *dry* champagne, pray send it me through the Foreign Office also.

St. Petersburg, June 4th, 1836.

MY DEAR DUNCOMBE,—I think there is no doubt of my being here, at any rate, all the summer. I have just taken a very nice villa, where we shall be very comfortable. You will find, I hope, a good bed. Pray tell Ben. King that I shall be most happy to see him if he accompanies you. You should come out as soon as you can; your constituents will give you a leave, no doubt, for the remaining period of the Session. The "*collision*" is probably over by this time, and the remaining questions cannot be of such a nature as to want one vote. There are really three unique sights for the summer here: the *fête* at Peterhoff, the Russian Versailles; the naval review at Cronstadt; and the great review of the army, 40,000 men.

Mr. Conyngham, my agent at the Foreign Office, will tell you all about the steam-packets by Hamburgh and Lubeck; on the eighth day you are here. I will give orders to the messengers to look out for you. Adieu.

Yours ever, D.

Michaeloffsky, June 22nd, 1836.

MY DEAR D.,—Many thanks for the Sillery. I trust in God you will assist in drinking it. You ask me when the Peterhoff *fête* is—on the 13th of July. If I may judge from the preparations, it will be one of the finest sights imaginable. Waterworks finer than those of Versailles!



Gardens with trees high as those in Kensington Gardens, illuminated by myriads of lamps to their very tops! Don't forget to bring a uniform with you; it is essential in this country. The military manœuvres begin in about three weeks, and will be very fine—30,000 men at least. The scene of action is in the immediate neighbourhood of this villa, which is close to Peterhoff, about fifteen miles from Petersburg.

Ever yours, D.

Mr. Duncombe could not be spared from his duties, and therefore lost the enjoyments of the Russian capital. He had arduous work in hand.

Public feeling never ran so high as at contested elections, but political animosities did not confine themselves to such contests. The conflict raged then, but whichever side achieved a triumph left a sense of hatred, as well as of humiliation, for the defeated to brood over. Class began to array itself against class, and the masses were taught to rely upon numbers in a conflict with the wealthy. "The greatest happiness of the greatest number," the favourite idea of Jeremy Bentham, was impressed upon the myriads engaged in toil, and they were advised to combine for the purpose of improving their social position. Tories and Whigs crimated and recriminated, and bribed and bullied, with equal earnestness of purpose.

Another general election forced Mr. Duncombe to go to the poll again. There were three candidates; but Mr. Wakley's supporters by giving him plumpers placed him at the head of the poll. Wakley, 4967; Duncombe, 4895. The defeated candidate was a brother of the murdered minister, Spencer Perceval. He came forward as a Conservative, and polled 2670 votes. We add a sketch of what was taking place at Southampton:—

Southampton, Sunday.

MY DEAR DUNCOMBE,—I think you managed gallantly and most wisely, and I cordially congratulate you on the result.

On Friday, win or lose here, I shall be at the Finsbury hustings to poll. I must return here at night if I win, as the return is made on Saturday. We have a *bitter set of devils* here; from their manner and temper it will not surprise me if I am obliged to be at close quarters with some one of them before I have done. One of the stupid Honourables is digesting a public apology for a most stupid lie; he tries to shuffle, but now finds it cannot do, and has consented publicly to eat his own words. Thank God, there are some great blockheads here, and in their fury and mismanagement I hope to gain a few points to help me on to the winning post.

Yours always,

J. EASTHOPE.

After the first appearance of Mr. Wakley in the House of Commons, some of the members appeared inclined to be social with him, but he repelled their good-natured advances. "In a little time," he said to them, "you aristocrats will be swept out of this, like chaff before a whirlwind." Mr. Wakley's whirlwind never came—his chaff did.

The House met on the 31st of January, and parties seemed to be nearly balanced, but not, as of old, into two distinct bodies. Each division was subdivided by shades of opinion that kept them distinct; each had its mild, moderate, and extreme politicians. On the Government side they stood thus:—

Whigs . . . . .	152
Liberals . . . . .	100
Radicals . . . . .	80

On the Opposition, thus—

Ultra Tories . . . . .	100
Moderate Tories . . . . .	139
Liberal Conservatives . . . . .	80

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There was an absolute majority of thirteen only when the entire Opposition should chance to be of one mind; but there were questions likely to be brought forward by Government for which their supporters were known to have no mind at all; and there were others expected to be brought forward by some of these nominal supporters which Ministers had a mind only to defeat. The tact of Lord Melbourne was favourably displayed in keeping such elements as much as possible together, and when conflicting experiments in legislation were attempted, by strengthening the administration with Opposition votes.

Mr. Duncombe, notwithstanding the numerous demands upon his time in other directions, was always in his place in the House of Commons for the despatch of business, and never missed an opportunity of supporting measures of practical utility. Whatever promised to advance civil and religious liberty was sure of his hearty co-operation. He followed promptly the boldest leaders; sometimes he himself took the lead, of which a notable instance was afforded when he submitted a resolution to the House on the 9th of May against the practice of peers voting by proxy when legislative measures were under their consideration. His speech on the subject, which he had evidently prepared with unusual care, was listened to with attention by all parties in the assembly, and

replied to by his political opponents without acrimony. The motion was seconded by Sir William Molesworth, supported by the votes of eighty-one members, and rejected by a majority of only forty-eight.

A list of ministerial appointments was published after the accession of the Queen ; but it did not differ materially from the Government as before constituted. The new Parliament was opened on the 15th of November.

Lord Durham had again returned to England. He had not been quite at his ease at the head-quarters of absolute power, and was desirous of making himself useful at home. His name, however, did not appear in the ministry ; but a promise of employment was held out to him. Lord Melbourne wished to avoid having him in Opposition, and kept him quiet till he could find another opportunity of removing him to a safe distance. He still corresponded confidentially with the member for Finsbury :—

Lambton Castle, October 15th, 1837.

MY DEAR DUNCOMBE,—I have not written to Easthope,\* as he is so much connected with the Foreign Office, for communications, *inspirations*, &c. &c., that one feels reluctant to engage him in any line that might not exactly tally with Government politics. What they are or will be we don't yet know. I hope for the best, as I have great confidence in Melbourne's sound sense. Our dinner is the day after to-morrow. Pray come here after you return, if you can. Ellice and Pow. come here on the 19th ; the Tankervilles on the 20th ; Frederick Fitzclarence about the same time ; Charles Grey and his pretty wife on the 22nd

\* He was still proprietor of the *Morning Chronicle*.

I shall give up my pheasants to their tender mercies. About the 4th I shall set off for London, as I have to dine with the Lord Mayor on the 9th. Yours ever, D.

A suitable appointment was found for Lord Durham in a portion of our North American colonies. The Canadas had for some time been in a disturbed state, and Lord Melbourne conferred on him the office of Governor-General and High Commissioner for the adjustment of the affairs of Upper and Lower Canada. On the 14th of January, during a debate in the House of Lords, the Governor-General elect stated what principles should guide him in the discharge of his arduous duties. Even the Duke of Wellington would have listened with approval to so sensible a programme, though Lord Brougham did not. His lordship disapproved of the colonial policy of the Government; but then the Government had just appointed Lord Cottenham to be Lord Chancellor.

No one of his audience listened with more gratification than the Prime Minister. If he had appointed a revolutionist to the responsible task of putting down a revolution, far removed from a sphere where his remaining might give trouble, he could not have felt more content.

In the year 1837 Mr. Duncombe was going through a course of political duty that carried him from an entertainment given by the Licensed Victuallers to a visit to Lambton Castle, from a jollification with the Lumber Troopers to a dinner with Sir William Molesworth in Eaton-square, and from public banquets at Finsbury and Lambeth to select parties at Greenwich and Richmond.

In the following year he was much occupied during

the Parliamentary session ; but contrived to find time to devote to fashionable entertainments given by Sir Sir George Wombwell, Sir William Molesworth, Mr. Easthope, Lords Belfast, Chichester, Durham, Wilton, A. Fitzclarence, de Roos, and Hertford, the Duke of Devonshire, Prince Esterhazy, and the Duke of Sussex, Ladies Blessington and Buller, and Mrs. Fox.

Serious attempts were made in and out of Parliament during the session of 1838, till its prorogation on the 16th August, to damage the reputation of Lord Durham, or cause him to get into difficulties. In the meantime Lord Melbourne's ministry kept losing ground. Lord John Russell attempted many great measures in the House of Commons ; but nothing of real advantage to the community came of any of them. The idea generally entertained of the Government by the English people, and of the Governor-General by his friends in the mother country, is clearly though humorously expressed in the annexed communication from a well-known parliamentary agent. It followed Mr. Duncombe after he had started to join his friend across the Atlantic :—

Westminster, 16th August, 1838.

MY DEAR DUNCOMBE,—I trust that you arrived safe and sound, and as little disturbed in stomach as might be reasonably expected of a landsman. Well, by the time this reaches you, tidings will have found you of new rumpuses about Canada : of the repeal of the Ordinances, of a dirty Brougham-Tory Act of Indemnity, &c. &c. It will go hard with the proper pride of our lord ; but for character sake, and to defeat the Machiavellians, he *MUST* stay and work out his commission. Return would be ruinous to his reputation. The dirt thrown at what Sir F. Head would call his *moral* appointments, and the informalities of the Ordi-

nances, make a mess curable only by his stay, and the conception and bringing forth of a sound and practicable plan of future colonial government—a representative system being the base. So say we his old and real friends, for he has got a number of false friends, worse than his declared enemies. He *can* achieve the real object of his provincial governorship, and that will bring all right and place him on a pedestal with the Liberals. It would be ruin, I write him, to take umbrage and return—exactly accomplish the object of his opponents, which was to disgust, drive, and bring him home with a raw between him and the Ministry. After all there is nothing in the past but mere breezes of sessional conflict. A month, and all the smoke and smut will pass away, both here and in Canada. The Liberal lords, on the Indemnity Bill in the Upper House, made a most sorry and despicable figure. In the Commons Ministers did better, and Lord Johnnie stood up gallantly for Durham.

All Lord Durham's best judging friends—those who look to *his* interest and future station—all agree and continue of opinion that he should at Christmas, or by February at latest, return with and defend his own plan. Faustus Brougham will then meet his match, as he did at Edinburgh. If Lord Durham stays as a mere governor of the Canadas, he will be involved in all the petty warfare of next session of parliament. His secondary acts will be the staple of attack and factious discussion. But God only knows how the Ministry, as constituted, can ride the storm of the next session! Never was there to a party a more degrading session, and the Ministry has sorely fallen both in and out of Parliament. It, in truth, now represents no party in or out of Parliament. I believe Lord Melbourne is well aware of this, but greatly perplexed how to tinker the thing up; I don't believe the Government capable of repair. The *nap* of the cloth is gone; and the rents, to use Charles Buller's private and confidential letter home, are *horrifying*.

If I had not been booked for a seven weeks' tour on the Continent past revocation, I should have put myself on board a United States packet and slipped over to you a

month. But I should break up a party (and my honour) if I abandoned my continental trip. Drop me a line; and I hope to hear from you that Lord Durham just treats the recent events as he ought, with contempt, and is pursuing his course—the framing of a “scheme of government,” to use Commonwealth language.

Yours ever, JOSEPH PARKES.

Easthope is very well and very big. I drank tea with him last night in Salisbury-street. There is nothing particularly new, Canada having absorbed every other consideration. I write this in Price's office, waiting that impostor's call, or you would not have had a line.

The appointment of Lord Durham induced Mr. Duncombe to endeavour to join him in an unofficial, if not in an official, capacity; and during the session of 1838 he made arrangements for the purpose of being able to turn his back upon Finsbury for a time. In the meantime the Governor-General was ably winning his way with the Canadians—the alarming rebellion gradually collapsed, and very shortly the provinces were restored to their ordinary footing.

In July, Mr. Duncombe found himself ready for a start. An account of his trip is given in a diary he kept till he returned home. It will be found in another chapter.

During the progress of the Reform Bill the member for Finsbury had addressed the House wherever there seemed an opening for supporting with effect its Liberal provisions; and after it became the law of the land, he was still more earnest in endeavouring to expand its principle. He maintained the views of his political friends and supporters in regarding it as merely a first instalment in the way of concessions to the people, and essayed to liberalize its rate-paying



clauses for the purpose of extending the suffrage. In all his motions and other speeches he was invariably listened to attentively by both sides of the House, for though his sentiments were far in advance of a large majority of the members, there was nothing in his manner of the overbearing rudeness or denunciatory clap-trap of the demagogue. If truths divine did not come mended from his tongue, startling announcements appear to have become tranquillized by his addresses.

The Reform Bill was regarded by the member for Finsbury as a beginning only, and he was among the first of the Liberal members who brought under the notice of the Whig Government the necessity that existed for their making another step in the same direction. He pointed out to the nation its shortcomings, and pressed for a more liberal measure. After the speech from the throne in 1839, he moved an amendment on the address, "That the amendment of the representative system enacted in 1832 is not and cannot be a final measure, and that it is the duty of the House to take immediate steps for its further improvement." This was a question on which the Whig and Tory parties were sure to unite, and they did unite, as was made sufficiently evident in the division, the ayes having but 88, and the noes mustering 426. Nothing daunted by this failure, he maintained the agitation till public opinion had endorsed his views.

## CHAPTER XI.

## DISTINGUISHED FOREIGNERS.

Mr. Duncombe every foreigner's ambassador—The Duke de Richelieu — Prince Schwarzenburg — Count Batthyany — General Count Montrond—Prince Talleyrand—Letter from the Duchess de Dino—Talleyrand's dinners—Opinions respecting him—His last moments—Prince Esterhazy—The Esterhazy jewels—Prince Polignac—Confined in the fortress of Ham—His appeal to the Chamber of Peers—Complaints of the severity of his imprisonment—Louis Philippe—Mr. Duncombe's representations to the House of Commons—Letter of the Countess of Tankerville—Mr. Duncombe's reply — Letter of the Princess to Vicomte Auchald—Correspondence of Mr. Duncombe with Sir Robert Peel—Speech of Mr. Duncombe in the House of Commons—Its effect—Letter of Comte de Peyronnet from Ham.

MR. DUNCOMBE appears to have been regarded by strangers with quite as much admiration as by his compatriots, every man of rank or influence at his own court who desired to be known here, seems to have sought his society as if he considered him a cosmopolitan ambassador. It is curious that just as generally as he was in favour with men of all ranks at home, was he a favourite with men of all ranks abroad. The representatives of absolute rule, and the apostles of freedom, were equally eager for his friendship. He was as much at home with the most aristocratic Frenchman as with the greatest democrat. "Mon cher Tomie," was the friendly appellation of

the Parisian and Vienna beaux ; while with the sagacious diplomatist of the Austrian empire, he was on the same familiar terms. With ambassadors and ministers he was hand and glove.

The Duc de Richelieu was an influential member of the Government of Louis XVIII. In appearance he was thin, handsome, gentlemanlike, possessed pleasing features, with gray hair curling all over his head. During the first republic and the empire he had been in the service of Russia, was at the taking of Ismail, and subsequently got appointed Governor of Odessa. After the Restoration he resided chiefly at Paris, and survived till 1821. His son was a friend of Mr. Duncombe, and while in England, being fond of the recreation of racing, they often met. Prince Schwarzenburg, who was high in the ministerial service of the Emperor of Austria, seemed also proud of ranking himself among the friends of "*mon cher Tom*." Count Batthyany distinguished him with marks of the kindest regard. They compared notes on thoroughbreds, and made calculations on the chances of the favourite.

There were few houses in London that possessed more attraction for the accomplished man of the world than that of the French embassy when presided over by the veteran diplomatist Prince Talleyrand. The prince had been in the confidence of every French Government since the era of the Revolution, when he first came to England as a negotiator. He had survived the first Republic, seen the Empire to its termination, beheld the restoration of the Bourbons, witnessed the Hundred Days, the second return and the second flight of the Bourbons, lived to behold another revolution, and was now representing

the "King of the barricades," as Louis Philippe had been styled. His conversation, when he chose to be communicative, was therefore wonderfully illustrative of memorable events and names, and as it was often seasoned with biting wit or pungent satire, was much relished by the cleverest men in London society.

His *salons* were rendered more brilliant by the presence of his niece the Duchesse de Dino, a *belle esprit*, charming and *spirituelle*. Nothing could be more agreeable than the reunions of French and English society over which this accomplished lady presided. The dinners of the ambassador were equally attractive, and an invitation was regarded as a most acceptable compliment.

Few persons who have had the honour of enjoying the Prince's hospitality can forget the exquisite skill which the famous cook employed there displayed in the production of the banquet: the most fastidious taste was satisfied with the *carte*: it proved in every way worthy of representing the advanced gastronomy of *la belle France*. Mr. Duncombe was frequently the guest of the ambassador. The invitations reached him in the following form:—

Mardi.

M. de Talleyrand me charge, Monsieur, de vous dire qu'en vous engageant à dîner chez lui aujourd'hui il s'était trompé de jour; et que c'était demain, Mercredi, le jour où il réunissait quelques-unes de ses amis à dîner chez lui. C'est, donc, demain qu'il espère avoir le plaisir de vous voir.

Mille amitiés.

D<sup>me</sup> DE DINO.

During Talleyrand's second embassy to London, his reputation for saying *bon mots* caused almost every word that dropped from his mouth to be circulated

among the clubs as social small change. At the Conference, 1832, France was excluded from discussing the question respecting the fortresses, with which he, as ambassador, was discontented. When accused of throwing obstacles in the way of a satisfactory treaty, he exclaimed—" *O donnez-moi le traité, je le signerai.*"

Mr. Windham, who saw a great deal of Talleyrand at the opening of his political career, said—"He is a two-edged knife: he cuts both ways. So dissolute, so profligate an instrument augured ill for the morality by which this regeneration of a government was to be effected; but then what was that system in which this same profligate man was a bishop."\*

The Bishop of Autun in his conduct did not show more of the episcopal character than Rabelais in his writings exhibited of the clerical. He was a creature of the revolution, made of such ductile materials that the pressure of expediency might mould him into any shape. In his composition there seemed to be everything on which he might rely, except religion—a remarkable deficiency in a prelate; but the bishop very shortly disappeared behind the diplomatist, for which *rôle* episcopal qualifications are not required.

Prince Talleyrand had in his household a culinary organization of the most complete kind that could be secured by a division of labour, for there were heads of four departments: *rotisseur*, *saucier*, *patissier*, as well as an *officier* for the dessert. He ate but once a day, to secure himself an appetite, and tasted every dish, taking wine after it to prepare his palate for the next delicacy. This establishment was kept up re-

\* Lord Holland: "Memoirs of the Whig Party," i. 17.

ardless of expense, and the fortunate guest knew that the greatest triumphs of French cookery would be placed before him.

The host proved himself a good listener, often embarrassing strangers by his prolonged silence; but to old friends he could be communicative, with a strong dash of sarcastic humour. He died on the 17th of May, 1838.

Mr. C. C. Grenville, a shrewd observer of character, and an accomplished member of the best society, wrote of Talleyrand:—"He was one of the last of that great school of politeness and social eminence which is now nearly, if not quite, extinct; and whatever he may have been in youth and middle age, his declining years have ebbed away with admirable tranquillity, and in the constant exercise of many very amiable qualities, as well as of a conservative wisdom and moderation, becoming to himself and beneficent to the world."\*

Lord Jeffrey, equally reliable for his judgment of men as well as of opinions, had an interview with him at Holland House (February, 1832), and reports of the ambassador as "more natural, plain, and reasonable than I had expected: a great deal of the repose of high breeding and old age, with a mild and benevolent manner, and great calmness of speech, rather than the sharp, caustic, cutting speech of a practical utterer of *bon mots*."†

It was long the prayer of his nearest female relatives that he would send for a priest and be reconciled to the Church; but he evaded compliance till

\* "Correspondence of Mr. Raikes," &c., 83.

† Lord Cockburn's "Life of Lord Jeffrey," i. 327.

the last moment, when he gave his consent. So edifying was his conduct, it was reported that he died in the odour of sanctity. The Duchesse de Dino, who had been so anxious on the subject, was charmed with his edifying repentance and the respect he showed for the priestly office and the symbol of redemption. Considering how little the ex-Bishop of Autun was prepared for a better world, his self-possession during the performance of the rite that closed his long and varied career, surprised the spectators, very much surprised his old friend and confidant, Montrond. It was he who, when reproached by a pious lady for maintaining a friendship for Talleyrand, exclaimed—"How can I help liking him, madam? He is so wicked!"

General Count Montrond was not an unfrequent combination of diplomatist and gambler. He had outlived the Reign of Terror, was held in some favour during the Empire, and got pensioned by "the citizen king." He was singularly fortunate at cards, and won money in England from everybody with whom he played, particularly from the Duke of York, Lord Sefton, and Lord Foley. He was frequent in attendance at the clubs, where he was known as "Old French." He passed for a wit, and his bald pate, bright complexion, blue eyes, somewhat sly, demure look, and corpulent figure, were sure to be recognised wherever the laugh was loud and the play high. Mr. Duncombe met him frequently, always in the best society—at Prince Talleyrand's more than anywhere; and it is to the niece of the French ambassador, the celebrated Duchesse de Dino, that he refers in the following note:—

MON CHER TOMMY,—Madame de Dino ne pourra pas aller à Brighton cette semaine. Elle me prie de vous remercier, et de vous dire qu'elle est très fâché de ne pas goûter le savoir-faire de ta bitch cook.\*

Flahaut est arrivé hier de Paris, et on dit par grave chose. J'irai demain à Pontanger (Panshanger ?) et je reviendrai Jeudi en ville. Je vous prévient le plutôt que je puis, afin de ne pas gêner vos mouvemens. Mille amitiés.

C. MONTROND.

Montrond is said to have been attacked with epileptic fits after dining with Prince Talleyrand. For a few minutes the latter watched the writhings of his guest, stretched at full length on the carpet, then exclaimed, with a sardonic smile, "*C'est qu'il me paraît qu'il veut absolument descendre.*" He however recovered, and presently returned to his avocation, won more money, told more anecdotes, and was again the leading star of all the dandies and wits about town. The General had married the Duchesse de Fleury, whose fortune in his hands did not last so long as her beauty. He was much in society, both in Paris and London, was very frequently to be seen with Talleyrand, and was evidently one of the sources on which the Ambassador relied for political information. Louis Philippe is said to have granted him a pension of 20,000 francs to sound his praises in the clubs.

Lord Alvanley has left a sad picture of the last stage in the career of the impoverished Beau Brummell, impoverished in wits as much as in pocket. He had grown slovenly and dirty, that once paragon of ultra-fine gentlemen! His sense of honour was equally in

\* The Count in the English Clubs had become familiarized with the term "dog-cook"—hence this characteristic and objectionable application.



the dirt, for he victimized his best friends as long as he was able to know his right hand from his left. Lord Alvanley was one of the generous few who supported him by a joint subscription. What a marked contrast does his lordship give in his notice of the closing life of Montrond! "He is wonderful; apoplexy and gout do their worst, but cannot subdue his spirits and *esprit*. He killed us with laughing at his stories about M. de Talleyrand's death, which, though it deeply affected him, has still its ludicrous side."\*

Prince Esterhazy entertained a select party at dinner on the 11th of February, 1837, of which Mr. Duncombe was one, and although he dined with Lord Sefton and Lord Melbourne in the same week, he could not but give the preference to the *cuisine* of the imperial ambassador. The Prince prided himself on the munificent spirit with which he represented the Emperor; his establishment, therefore, was on a more splendid scale than that of any of the ambassadors, and his French cook the best that money could procure. The *carte* was sure to be singularly *recherché*, and the wines superb, the produce of his own vintage taking a conspicuous place. The Hungarian wines had long been known to connoisseurs; nevertheless Imperial Tokay was exceedingly rare, and never in such perfection as at the Ambassador's table.

In June the following year Mr. Duncombe was invited to Prince Esterhazy's ball. The Esterhazy jewels were then the wonder of Europe. The income of the Prince was reported to amount to 400,000*l.*, of

\* "Correspondence of Mr. Raikes with the Duke of Wellington," &c., p. 86.

which he was obliged to invest 80,000*l.* annually in the finest gems that came into the market. If this be true the accumulation would become so enormous there would be nothing extraordinary in the fact that the Prince and Princess on state occasions made a display valued at a million sterling. After half a century this unparalleled exhibition of magnificence has melted like a snow heap under a fervid sun. The Esterhazys accumulated debts as well as diamonds to so enormous an amount that the first swallowed the family jewellery. The whole collection having been brought to London, after astonishing half the Courts of Europe, was catalogued and sold by auction.

Prince Polignac had fallen on evil times for despotic ministers. In the year 1804 he got into trouble with the French Government for having been mixed up in the treason of George Cadoudal, was condemned to death, but, after enduring a confinement for four years in the fortress of Vincennes, was liberated through the influence of Josephine. At the Restoration he came into office in the reign of Charles X., whose experiments on the patience of his subjects he has the credit of having suggested.

The duchess was an Englishwoman, a widow, Madame de Choiseul, *née* Parkyns. When the Bourbon king was cashiered, his ministers were imprisoned in the fortress of Ham, in Normandy, and reports of the rigour of their confinement circulated over Europe. At last they reached England, and excited as much indignation as commiseration. The Prince had made an appeal to the Chamber of Peers—from which we quote a passage—entirely without effect:—

St. Lo, August 17th, 1830.

I know not what steps the Chamber of Peers may take on this subject, or whether it will charge me with the lamentable events of the two days, which I deplore more than any man, and which, coming with the rapidity of the thunderbolt in the midst of the tempest, made it impossible for human strength or prudence to arrest. In those terrible moments it was impossible to know to whom to listen, or to whom to apply, and every man's efforts were required to defend his own life. My only desire is, that I may be permitted to retire to my own home, and there resume those peaceful habits of private life which alone are suited to my taste, and from which I was torn in spite of myself, as is well known to all with whom I am acquainted. Enough of vicissitudes have filled my days; enough of reverses have whitened my head in the course of the stormy life I have led. I cannot in any degree be reproached with having in the time of my prosperity preserved any vengeful recollections against those who have used their power against me in adversity. Indeed, in what a position should we all be placed (surrounded as we are by those continual changes presented by the age in which we live) if the political opinions of those who are smitten by the tempest become crimes in the eyes of others who have embraced a more fortunate side of the question! If I cannot obtain permission to retire quietly to my home, I entreat to be allowed to withdraw into a foreign country with my wife and children.

The complaints of the prisoners' friends, who contrived to obtain authentic information of their condition, became more and more serious. Their confinement was rendered so strict that their health had given way. The prince was between fifty and sixty, and not in a state to endure a rigorous imprisonment. One of the captives was reported to be showing symptoms of insanity, and the rest were becoming hopeless and

spiritless. The only gleam of light in their darkness arose from the possibility of another revolution, which might open their prison doors. The "citizen king" had been shot at; he was therefore losing his *prestige* as "king of the barricades." What was more provoking, he was being laughed at; and caricatures might possibly prove as effective as ordonnances in the way of provocatives to a revolution. Louis Philippe was engrossed with pecuniary cares for his family, and his Ministers with anxieties for their own positions.

The Prince and his fellow-prisoners were permitted few indulgences. The Princess, with their children and domestic establishment, found lodgings in the village, and was allowed access during the day till the drum beat at five, when the citadel was closed. Each captive was accommodated with a little room, and permitted exercise in a small yard guarded by a sentinel. All were jealously guarded, and only beheld each other occasionally.

Among the memorable things done by Mr. Duncombe in the session of 1836, none did him so much honour as his benevolent interposition in favour of the incarcerated ministers of Charles X. He lost no time in bringing their treatment under the consideration of the House of Commons. The appeal was listened to with marks of sympathy and respect, and a grateful response from the Countess of Tankerville speedily reached him.

Grosvenor-square, Sunday, February 28th.

DEAR MR. DUNCOMBE,—I must write to you a few lines to thank you for the kind feelings you expressed last Friday night in the House of Commons in favour of my poor uncle, Prince de Polignac. It gave me the greatest pleasure, and I think may afford him some hopes of happier days. The

House, I am told, showed such right feelings upon the subject, that I hope your question will be followed up ; and if I can be of any use in any way, you will always find me at home till four, and I shall be delighted to express to yourself my thanks.

Yours very truly,

C. TANKERVILLE.

He replied :—

Sunday, February 28th, 1836.

MY DEAR LADY T.,—It is a pleasure to me to learn, which I do by your note, that my humble exertions (made in concert with no one) on Friday evening should have afforded at least one friend some satisfaction. I do assure you that I feel so deeply for the situation of your unfortunate relation, and the other State prisoners at Ham, that it is not my intention to let the subject drop ; and if the Government do not take up the question in earnest it is my intention to take the voice of the House of Commons upon the subject ; and from the kind and indulgent manner in which the few observations that I made were received, I have not the slightest doubt that a large majority would consent to an address to the Crown in favour of my views. Should anything favourable occur that I think you may like to hear, I shall do myself the honour of calling and communicating to you in person, according to the kind invitation contained in your note, which I have just had the pleasure to receive. Yours faithfully, T. S. D.

The writer of the first note was Corisande, daughter of the Duc de Grammont. She had been married to the earl since 1806.

The report of Mr. Duncombe's notice, published in the newspapers, was read far and wide, and won him golden opinions from all classes of his countrymen and countrywomen. The Tories were averse to distinguished statesmen of high social rank being treated like ordinary malefactors, and had no objection to assist in bringing into contempt the popular govern-

ment that had made such a demonstration of its liberality. The Whigs could not lose such an opportunity of professing enlightened humanity; and the Radicals, though they entertained no feelings in common with the agents of an absolute monarchy, would not allow it to be thought that they encouraged oppression. The most agreeable communication he received on the subject was from the dungeon of the unfortunates:—

Ham, March 4th, 1836.

DEAR SIR,—Those alone who have experienced severe affliction can understand how more than consolatory, how gratifying, it is to learn that friends still remain who are not indifferent to our appalling misfortunes! It was under these impressions that I perused your generous and eloquent speech in favour of the prisoners at Ham, and learnt the flattering attention with which it was listened to by an enlightened assembly. Receive, sir, on this occasion my best acknowledgments. They will, however, be inefficient when compared with the secret satisfaction your own conscience must afford you for having made a courageous effort in behalf of those who linger in confinement. It is doubtless to the remembrance of having in days of prosperity contributed on various occasions to many philanthropic acts, both in behalf of his own countrymen and of foreigners, that Prince Polignac owes that serenity which has contributed to support him in adversity, and with which he now waits the farther decrees of Providence.

Allow me to subscribe myself, dear sir, yours sincerely,

LA PRINCESSE DE POLIGNAC.

T. Duncombe, Esq., M.P.

Mr. Duncombe sent the following reply:—

The Albany Court Yard, March 9th, 1836.

DEAR MADAM,—I beg to offer my acknowledgments for your most obliging and flattering letter. Whatever may be the differences subsisting in political opinions it must be

impossible for any man who is sincere in those he himself professes not to regret the sufferings of Prince de Polignac, under a sentence pronounced certainly during the excitement of popular feeling at a momentous crisis. Any interference of one nation in the internal transactions of another must always be a matter of great delicacy, and I may perhaps regard the occurrence as altogether fortuitous which enabled me to indulge my own feelings in calling the attention of the House of Commons to the mitigation of the Prince de Polignac's misfortunes. In the due appreciation of my motives by that assembly, I rejoice to think that I was not disappointed; but I experience a further and, if possible, a higher satisfaction in the thought that my humble endeavours to serve the cause of humanity are so kindly appreciated by those most interested in their success. I beg to assure you and the Prince de Polignac that nothing would have grieved me more than that any false or hasty step of mine should have excited the least jealousy elsewhere which could by possibility prejudice or retard the liberation of himself and colleagues. Impressed therefore with the necessity of the utmost caution, I shall take no step without first ascertaining how far it may be deemed prudent for his and their interests. I cannot help flatter myself there exists in this country a feeling of sympathy for their situation, which has only to be publicly expressed and it must put to shame those who would continue an imprisonment which no enlightened policy can ever justify. I venture to enclose you a copy of the notice of motion which it was my intention to have placed upon the books of the House of Commons, but I shall not take even this preliminary step while a hope remains that the French Government may come forward and itself put an end to those sufferings which I am confident every liberal-minded man in every country must lament and condemn.

I have the honour to be, dear madam,

Your most obedient and faithful servant,

THOS. S. DUNCOMBE.

The Princess de Polignac, &c. &c.,  
à Ham, France.

*Copy of Proposed Notice of Motion.*

That an humble address be presented to His Majesty, humbly to submit to His Majesty the propriety of His Majesty using his good offices with his ally the King of the French for the liberation of the Prince de Polignac, and of Messieurs de Peyronnet, Chantelauze, and Guernon de Ranville.

T. S. D.

The chivalrous action was the theme of general admiration. It was well known that Mr. Duncombe could have no selfish motive for moving in behalf of persons who not only were personally unknown to him, but whose political antecedents were entirely at variance with his own principles. There never was a greater proof that genuine philanthropy knows neither creed nor party than in this case; and public men, who had hitherto regarded him either as a mere man of pleasure, or a dangerous democrat, now gave him credit for being actuated by the noblest feelings of human nature.

We add a communication written by the Princess to a valued friend:—

March 20th, 1836.

MY DEAR VICOMTE,—The Prince is again, I am sorry to say, suffering from gout, from which he has hardly been totally free since the month of July; he requests me to thank you for your letter of the 12th inst., and for the additional proof it gives us of your friendship, of which he is persuaded, however, we did not doubt. Pray do me the favour to thank Mr. Duncombe for his obliging letter and enclosure of proposed motion. I quite agree with him that dissidence of opinion can never in any honest mind exclude the exercise of benevolent and humane sentiments towards those who suffer under appalling misfortunes. Prince Polignac and I are very sensible of Mr. Duncombe's considerate forbearance in suspending, at least for the present,



his motion. I imagine that before the Conservatives take the initiative themselves, or join in the impulse so nobly given by Mr. Duncombe, they will first ascertain whether Sir R. Peel will personally support them; if, on the contrary, he were to speak on the motion in the same terms in which Lord Palmerston will probably answer, viz., the impossibility for one Government to interfere with the internal affairs of another, and that thereupon a division of the House should be unfavourable to us, it might unfortunately be a pretext to continue our useless persecution here. What might, on the contrary, be an immense assistance to us would be if Lord Palmerston would encourage Lord Granville to speak officiously (not officially) here, and if Lord Palmerston and Lord J. Russell would at the same time explain to General Sebastiani that the sympathy excited in England was so strong that it would be good policy in France to prevent a further demonstration of it in Parliament, by opening speedily, as an act of justice, the doors of Ham, before it became one of necessity. This explanation could also be made officiously; and I have no doubt he would, as a matter of course, communicate the conversation to his Government. If this language could be held by Lord G. at Paris, and written then by General Sebastiani to the Foreign Department here, I do think that in order to escape further odium our long sufferings would be put an end to. It is but too true that the health of all the prisoners is more or less impaired—that of one of them, I much fear, irreparably so. Imagine, my dear Vicomte, that they have no means of exercise but on an elevated rampart over stagnant water; the walk is only eight feet wide and thirty paces long, exposed to the wind in winter, without any shelter from the sun in summer; the only tree within the precincts of the fortress is in the court, where they are not allowed to seek the shadow of its beautiful foliage, being literally barricaded on every side. During the Empire, the Duc de Polignac and his brother were already here, but they were allowed the use of the court and of the whole of the fortress, and at all hours, and were guarded by fifty men in the town. Now there are five

hundred! During the Restoration, the State prisoners had leave to go into the town on their parole. Now they have built a small prison in the fortress, where Prince P. and his colleagues have been confined almost *au secret* for the last six years!

We received here not long since a pamphlet (a present from its author), entitled "Reflections on the Trial of Prince Polignac and his Colleagues, by Wm. Shee, Esq." The Prince, who has read it with attention, tells me that the legal points are admirably discussed in it, and that it is impossible for any upright mind who has the smallest notion of the law not to agree with the writer as to the illegality of the trial in all its points, and of the condemnation. There are some facts related by Mr. Shee not perfectly correct; but it is naturally difficult that he should come precisely at the truth, as in the second page of his pamphlet he cites them from a work (*Procès des Ex-Min.*) which is only a prejudiced compilation of a variety of documents put together and published by one of the most ardent enemies of the monarchy. The Prince and I rely on you either to call yourself or have conveyed in some sure way the expression of our sincere acknowledgments for this kind effort in our favour, and to add how sensible we are that he must have devoted a considerable time to this humane intention, since the subject has been treated by Mr. Shee so elaborately and judiciously. Mr. Shee resides at Lincoln's Inn, and is barrister-at-law. Pray remember us most particularly and affectionately to Lady Essex and the Vicomtesse, and believe me ever truly yours,

LA PRINCESSE DE POLIGNAC.

To enable Mr. Duncombe to produce an effect favourable to his distinguished clients, it was imperative that he should endeavour to secure the support of the more influential members of the House. With that object he forwarded copies of the correspondence, with an explanatory letter, to Sir Robert Peel. We annex the communication and reply:—

The Albany Court Yard, March 31st, 1836.

MY DEAR SIR,—I beg to inclose the correspondence to which I alluded yesterday when you were kind enough to express an interest as to my intentions with regard to the State prisoners at Ham. When I first mentioned the subject in the House of Commons, I did so without any communication with them; and the first that I received was the Princess's letter of the 4th inst., which I take the liberty of enclosing to you, as also a copy of my answer. The next communication was by the Vicomte d'Auchald calling upon me with the letter of the 20th inst. addressed to him; when after due consideration, and from other circumstances which had come to his and my knowledge, we agreed that a *public* notice of motion would be more likely than any private application to stimulate the *Secretary for Foreign Affairs and others* to what the Princess terms, in her second letter, *official interference*. I have reason to believe, if the Government find you and your friends earnest in supporting such motion, they will not deem it prudent to offer any opposition, because they will know that in consequence of the support that I am promised on their own side of the House, all such opposition would prove ineffectual. Having but one object in view, which is the liberation of these unfortunate men, nothing will afford me greater pleasure than to find that you approve of my efforts, excepting that you could be induced to take the measure altogether out of my inefficient hands, and carry it, as you might certainly do, most triumphantly. Whatever countenance you may afford cannot fail to be highly appreciated by the sufferers themselves, as well as by

Yours most faithfully,

T. S. D.

Whitehall, April 2nd, 1836.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am much obliged to you for the transmission of the enclosed correspondence. There are certainly objections of no small weight to the establishment of a precedent for the interference of the House of Commons in any manner whatever in respect to a judicial sentence passed in a foreign country upon subjects of that country,

for alleged offences unconnected with international relations ; and I cannot but entertain some apprehensions that the success, or I should rather say, the carrying of your motion in the House of Commons, might interpose new difficulties, from feelings of national honour or jealousy, in the way of the release of the Prince de Polignac and his unfortunate companions in misfortune. I feel the deepest interest in their fate ; and though I cannot now pledge myself to any particular parliamentary course, for the reasons stated at the commencement of my letter, yet I shall cordially join you in the expression of sympathy for their sufferings, and the earnest hope that the French Government will without delay terminate their confinement. I assure you with perfect sincerity that I think the objection to the Parliamentary proceeding would be practically increased were I or any person of my political party to originate the mention of the subject in the House of Commons. The chances of success are improved by the very circumstance that the suggestions in favour of mercy are manifestly unbiassed by any party or political impressions in behalf of the sufferers ; and every consideration, therefore, of public and private feeling combines to discourage me from taking the question out of your hands.

Believe me, my dear sir, very faithfully yours,

ROBERT PEEL.

T. S. Duncombe, Esq., M.P.

The promised resolution was brought before a full House on the 30th of May in a speech the happiest Mr. Duncombe had ever delivered. It is impossible to exaggerate the attention with which it was received. The most cordial encouragement accompanied almost every sentence ; and though the practical statesmen on both sides the House were conscious that no action could be attempted to forward its object, they foresaw that the discussion and the sentiments that were likely to be avowed, pronounced in the English Parliament, must make an impression on the French Government.

The speech is worth preserving in a memoir of his public life; therefore we shall make no apology for reprinting it from a trustworthy report:—

In rising to invite the House to concur in an address to the throne, having for its object "To beseech his Majesty to use his good offices with his ally the King of the French, for the liberation of Prince Polignac and other incarcerated ministers of France," he said that he was too well aware of the delicacy and the numerous difficulties that surrounded the question not to feel sensible how greatly he stood in need of the indulgence of the House while he stated as briefly as he was able the grounds upon which he thought England might offer her mediation without offence, and France might accept that mediation without compromising either her dignity or her independence. (Hear.) When the House looked back to the political career and the past lives of these misguided men, he hoped that in advocating their release he should stand acquitted of being actuated by any party motive, or biassed by any political prejudices in their favour. (Hear.) He stood there to recommend their release on higher ground—he asked for it in the name of even-handed justice and humanity, and in order that, if their sufferings were only to terminate with their lives, it might not be said hereafter that England by her silence acquiesced in their captivity, or that no attempt was ever made to relieve or mitigate their afflictions. The hon. member said he might be asked (admitting this view of the question to be correct) what right did we possess to interfere with the domestic policy or the internal arrangements of another country, or what precedents were there that could be adduced in support of his proposition? These were the difficulties he knew he had to contend with—these were the obstacles that he would be expected to overcome. With regard to the right that we might have to interfere with the internal policy of another country, he must say that he thought such a question came rather too late; it was true non-intervention had been their precept, but how far it had been their practice—(hear, hear, hear)—he might safely

leave either to Spain to answer, France to illustrate, or the house of Bourbon to acknowledge.

It was now nearly six years since the British public heard with admiration and delight of the glories of July and the triumphs of the barricades—when the citizens of Paris rose almost as one man, and proclaimed that “the will of the people” was the only legitimate title to the throne. The successful struggle made by the French nation upon that occasion caused an excitement here which he thought those who witnessed it would not easily forget. They had then seen the tricolour flag, not confined to the walls of Paris, but triumphantly waving in our own streets among the fond acclamations of the people; and while addresses of congratulation were sent over to the “citizen king,” public subscriptions were entered into to console and assist the relatives and descendants of those who had fallen in the struggle. In short, from that day England seemed to feel that the liberties of France must thenceforth rest upon the same foundation as their own. But when the excitement began to subside, and the trial of the ministers to commence, Englishmen began seriously to reflect upon what description of constitution that was which would make the servants of a monarch deposed, of a power that had ceased to exist, responsible to those who had profited by the change. They had then to learn in what new charter this double responsibility could be found, whereby a king could be superseded and his ministers impeached. Many then began to suspect that either the advantages of that eventful revolution had been exaggerated, or the punishment of its authors was ungenerous and unjust. (Hear.) However, the trial proceeded, and whether that trial had been a legal or illegal one—whether the tribunal before which Prince Polignac was arraigned had or had not been legally constituted—he would not pretend to decide; suffice it to say, that the ministers of Charles the Tenth had been condemned, and were then in the dungeons of Ham, suffering for having only attempted that which their more fortunate successors had been able to accomplish with a severity and a force which he should leave to other and warmer admirers of

this citizen king's reign to palliate and explain. (Hear, hear.)

It was notorious that upon the first public occasion after Louis Philippe had ascended the throne he declared that "he wished his conduct to be judged by France, Europe, and posterity." If in that declaration he was sincere it afforded to England a favourable opportunity of communicating to him and to our gallant neighbours the feelings of sympathy and disappointment which pervaded this country at the protracted incarceration of those now harmless individuals. For the credit of France he wished most sincerely that she had listened to the counsel of a noble lord upon this subject. He alluded to the speech of Lord Grey, made by him in the other House of Parliament a short time previous to the trial. That noble lord had said, "I am far from wishing by any observations of mine to interfere unbecomingly in the affairs of a neighbouring country, but I believe I may say that there is not a friend of liberty in Europe who would not feel gratified if he could see mercy extended to criminals who may be thought by some least to deserve it; and that the revolution so nobly accomplished might be freed from any proceedings which can have the appearance of being dictated by motives and feelings of vengeance." (Loud cheering.)

He would ask any man (let his politics be what they might) to point out, unless vengeance were his object, what was to be gained by this imprisonment? What were the dangers to be apprehended from an immediate and generous remission of the sentence? For, if he had been correctly informed, if liberty were restored to Polignac and his colleagues to-morrow, age, infirmity, and disease generated by the pestilential climate of their prisons, had brought them so close to the brink of the grave, that all they could hope for—all they desired—was to be permitted to conclude in peace and charity, but in the enjoyment of liberty and of the society of friends, those few remaining days that belonged to their ill-fated existence. (Hear, hear.) And here the hon. member said he would wish to take the opportu-

nity of stating, that when he alluded to the subject on a former evening he did so without any communication, direct or indirect, with the prisoners themselves, and the only communication that had since been made to him was by a letter which he received shortly afterwards from the Princess Polignac, expressive of the gratitude of the prisoners at the kind manner in which the mention of their misfortunes had been received by the enlightened assembly he addressed.

Mr. Duncombe then read the letter of the Princess to him.

This letter was written, he added, by the Princess, Prince Polignac, being sentenced to civil death, not having been allowed to communicate with any one. The House was, no doubt, well aware that the fortress of Ham was situated in the most unhealthy part of France, in the midst of marshes and morasses; but to remain at large within the fortress seemed to have been thought too lenient a punishment; for within the fortress a small prison had been built, where these unfortunate men were confined almost in secret, without any means of exercise, excepting upon an elevated terrace, about thirty paces in length, and surrounded by stagnant water. At certain hours of the day a few persons were allowed to see them, but at five o'clock they were committed to their dungeons, where they dine alone, and after that hour, under no circumstances of domestic affliction or of sickness, is any friend or relation allowed to visit them to interrupt the cheerless solitude of their cells. He would ask if persecution like this could be necessary to the ends of national justice? Did it not savour rather of revenge? If so, surely the same right and the same feelings that prompted us to congratulate our ally in 1830 might permit us to plead for mercy in 1836, and to tell the French nation that we much fear that in the eyes of posterity the lustre of their far-famed revolution will be tarnished by such needless cruelty as this.

Before he sat down, the hon. member begged to observe that there were precedents for this motion. Similar addresses had been moved in this House in 1794 and 1796, by Mr. Fitzpatrick, for the liberation of General Lafayette and other Frenchmen confined in the prisons of our ally



the King of Prussia. He (Mr. Duncombe) had adopted the form of that motion—a motion, too, which had been warmly supported by all the leading Whigs of that day (as he hoped his would be by those of the present time); that motion had been supported by the present Earl Grey, by Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Fox; and Mr. Fox, when speaking in support of it, said—"The customs of civilized nations presented no obstacle to our interposition. In the case of Sir Charles Asgill, applications were made by this country to a court with which we were then at war. The good offices of the Queen of France were solicited, granted, and proved effectual, and America, the ally of France, yielded to an interposition on behalf of humanity. What, therefore, was to prevent his Majesty from using his good offices with his ally in the cause of humanity also?" True it was that the motion of General Fitzpatrick was not carried; but why did it fail? It failed in consequence of the disturbed aspect that public affairs were then assuming throughout Europe. War was kindling in every quarter, and the principles of Lafayette were not then quite so popular as they were at the present day, and therefore an opportunity was gladly seized to control their influence by the detention of his person. Now peace pervaded the continent, and were it not for the dungeons of Ham little would be left to call to recollection the confusion that was past. His motion also might fail, but he trusted its failure would not, at all events, take place on this side of the Channel, and that, let what might become of Polignac and his ill-fated companions, England might never be reproached with having beheld with indifference a persecution which neither justice, enlightened policy, nor humanity could approve.

The hon. gentleman, in conclusion, then moved the following address:—"Humbly to submit to his Majesty the propriety of his Majesty using his good offices with his ally the King of the French for the liberation of the Prince de Polignac and Messrs. de Peyronnet, Chantelauze, and Guernon de Ranville." (Loud cheers.)\*

\* *Times Journal.*

Among the speakers who took part in the debate, Sir R. Inglis complimented him for the bold and manly way in which the resolution had been brought before the House. Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell deprecated any attempt of Parliament to interfere in the domestic policy of a neighbouring nation ; yet intimated that the Government of Louis Philippe were likely to do what was required without any further expression of parliamentary opinion. Other members took the same view of the subject, but did not forget to do justice to the honourable member, who had so ably brought it under their consideration. Finally, in accordance with the sense of the House, Mr. Duncombe withdrew his motion.

He received another communication from Ham :—

Ham, 7 Juin, 1836.

MONSIEUR,—Vous n'avez certes pas besoin de mes félicitations, ni de mes louanges ; il vous en vient assez de partout ; aussi bien de votre Angleterre que de notre France. D'ailleurs, qu'est-ce que cela vous apprend ? Vous le savez, de reste, que vous avez bien fait : une âme comme la votre se connaît en bonnes actions. Mais les louanges à part, j'ai besoin moi, monsieur, de vous remercier, et je vous prie de souffrir que je m'acquitte de ce facile devoir. Je n'ai pas l'honneur d'être connu de vous, monsieur, personnellement. D'autres, plus favorisés, devaient naturellement exciter en vous de plus promptes et plus actives sympathies. Je ne vous en suis que plus obligé, et votre démarche n'en est, quant à moi, que plus généreuse, car elle est plus spontanée encore, et plus certainement provoqué par la seule commisération de malheur.

Agréez, donc, monsieur, cette imparfaite expression de ma gratitude, et croyez bien que je suis

Votre très humble et très dévoué serviteur,

C<sup>T</sup>E. DE PEYRONNET.

## CHAPTER XII.

## MR. DUNCOMBE'S CANADIAN JOURNAL.

Embarks in the *Gladiator*—Dangerous position of the ship—Arrival at New York—Albany—Troy House—Saratoga Springs—Snakes—St. John's—Meets Lord Durham at Montreal—Quebec—Attends the review on the Plains of Abraham—Restive horses—Anecdote of Lord Gosford—Regatta—Lord Gosford's apartments—A steeple-chase—The Falls—Papineau—A mixed jury—Public meeting—Arrival at Montreal—Hotel charges—Kingston—Horsewhipping Brougham—Niagara—An exhibition—Buffalo—The Mormons—Escape of Theller and Dodge—Canadian justice—Dinner with Sir J. Macdonnell—On board the *Inconstant*—Character of the colonists—Ship strikes—Fire at sea—Plymouth Sound—Arrival in London—Drawing by Lady Mary Lambton.

*July 9th*, 1838.—On Monday, the 9th, left town by the Southampton railway coach, accompanied by Norman and Easthope, who good-naturedly went to Portsmouth with me, where we arrived about seven o'clock in the evening; dined, wrote some letters, and went to bed.

*10th* and *11th*.—The *Gladiator* not arrived. Amused ourselves as well as we could at the fair, which was then going on; went over the dockyards and the biscuit factory.

*10th*.—Easthope, and Norman on the 11th, returned to town per mail.

*12th*.—The *Gladiator* arrived; went on board about two o'clock, and weighed anchor about four; fine evening; we soon lost sight of Portsmouth. After a long and tedious voyage of thirty-four days we anchored at the quarantine station, Staten Island, about seven o'clock P.M. on the 15th of August.

*August 15th.*—A beautiful evening; delighted with the approach to the land and bay of New York; the passage was smooth. We saw numerous whales, but the only adventure we had was on Sunday evening, the 12th, about five o'clock, when we found ourselves in a calm, close on Nantucket shoal. Dinner being over, and going as usual upon deck, I found passengers (steerage) whispering and evidently much alarmed. On inquiring the cause was told that the current would carry us on the shoal, unless more wind sprung up, and that nothing else could save the ship; the noise of the breakers on the rocks, a quarter of a mile off, was tremendous, yet we were in water as smooth as a mill-pond. The captain (Britton) evinced great anxiety, and was himself heaving the lead every minute: we had at one time not four fathoms of water.

This state of things lasted until about three o'clock in the morning, when we got clear of the shoal. A little more wind from the west enabled us to put about and retrace our steps. We lost about forty or fifty miles by this mishap, which I think was caused by the captain's anxiety to get in before the *Sheffield* (Liverpool line), with whom we had kept company three or four days, and could just beat her. Had our wind not left us when it did, there is no doubt that we should by our northerly course have got in twenty-four hours sooner; but as it turned out, she beat us by the same number of hours, to the great mortification of Captain Britton and crew. It is clear that we ought not to have incurred this danger; nevertheless, the coolness and the dexterity of the captain were most conspicuous in extricating us from it. The steerage passengers were dreadfully alarmed, women and children crying and bellowing most pitiably. On our coming to Sandyhook a news-boat came to us; the proprietor having proposed taking any passengers ashore from the quarantine ground, I left with two others, and was rowed seven miles in roughish hot-water and a leaking boat to the City, gaining a day by it. Tried to get rooms at the Astor-house and the American; found both hotels full, and went to Cowing's boarding-house, 5,

Murray-street, Broadway, a most comfortable house; Irish waiters and chambermaids.

*August 16th.*—Was glad when I awoke to find myself upon *terra firma*; walked about Broadway; was much pleased with the City. Called at the British consul's office for letters; found none, but was disgusted at the place where Mr. Buchanan has thought proper to transact his business on behalf of her Britannic Majesty. It is the dirtiest and worst house in New York that he could find; in it he has taken a small room on the ground-floor, and great complaints exist among the merchants as well as resident Englishmen respecting his fees. It is supposed that they produce above 2000*l.* per annum.

Dined at the *table d'hôte*; about forty persons; very good dinner. Breakfasted in my own room, as the house breakfast is at half-past seven, and the gong sounds at six for people to get up. I had a good dinner; violent thunder-storm all the evening. I went to the Franklin theatre to see *Jim Crow in London*; Rice's benefit; very crowded and hot, and he was rather complimentary than otherwise to England; returned to the hotel and went to bed; wrote six letters to England by *Great Western*.

Recognised by an old Hertford elector, who had settled at New York as a tailor: M'Laren. Called upon Mr. P. Astor with letter from Ellice; Pierpoint, to whom I also was to be introduced, died a few days before of apoplexy. Astor received me kindly, and invited me to call again upon him on my return.

*17th.*—Got my baggage out of the ship, without being examined or troubled by the custom-house. Dined at three at the *table d'hôte*; sat between the two Brittons—the captain of the *Gladiator* and the captain of *The Siddons*. Took a drive with Mr. Skenck, a merchant; he showed me his stores and took me round the best part of the town, Washington-square, &c., returning by Bowery, which is the part apparently devoted to the residences of the labouring classes and mechanics. A railway is constructed for carriages with horses, for about three miles, when they put on

a locomotive to go to Haarlem. Went over the New Exchange, which is rebuilding in consequence of the great fire. It is a fine building ; is to cost half a million of dollars, which sum was raised among the merchants of the city in a few hours. (Can the city of London say as much ? We were obliged to levy a coal-tax for the purpose.) Fifty-three acres of houses and property were destroyed by this fire, but the ground is all now re-covered by a better description of houses. In short, no expense appears too great, or undertaking too arduous, for the Americans to accomplish.

Went over the City-hall ; marble to the south and freestone to the north ; their bridewell or sessions-house is also very well arranged. Joined Captain Britton at seven at the Astor House ; had some mint julep—excellent drink ; went to the Park theatre, saw the Bedouin Arabs ; went behind the scenes ; the theatre is not large, but handsome—a little larger than the Lyceum. Saw Mr. Povey, who seemed to be the great man and factotum of the theatre ; had some mint julep at the theatre ; returned to the hotel and went to bed, much pleased with the city, the civility and hospitality of the American citizens, and much amused by their peculiarities.

18th.—Called at five ; went on board at seven the steam-boat *Albany*, to Troy ; about four or five hundred persons on board. Breakfast at half-past eight, and dinner at three, both very good ; found my *ci-devant compaignon de voyage*, Mr. Parsons, on board, with a connexion of his—a Captain Livingston, going to Rhinbeek, some way up the Hudson, where the latter has a villa. The beauties of the Hudson far exceeded anything I ever imagined—the scenery so beautiful : the high green mountains, and the rocky banks, and the gentlemen's seats, look so cheerful and comfortable one is induced to long to possess one, and become a citizen of the republic. The Catskill mountains and Westpoint struck me as the finest parts ; the State prison of Sing Sing rather disappointed me as to its external appearance.

Nothing very remarkable among the passengers in the

steamboat; only two or three tolerably-looking women, who seemed well aware of their charms. Had my leg much bruised and my ankle cut by the falling of one of the landing planks, and which would certainly have broken my leg had it fallen half an inch nearer to me.

At Albany you are put on board a smaller steamboat for Troy, seven miles from Albany. When we arrived, about eight o'clock, found the master of the hotel (Mr. Watson's, Troy House), civil; but the bed was so full of bugs that I slept upon the sofa wrapped in my mackintosh. On my telling him of my misery he could hardly believe it, as there was a standing reward, he said, of two dollars for any bug found in his beds; and that a permanent boarder of his—Mr. Vail, a member of Congress—had only just left the bed, and he had never complained. I suppose an M.P. is better eating than an M.C. — James said that they had given him an excellent and new bedroom.

19th, *Sunday*.—Left Troy per railroad at one o'clock, which commences opposite the hotel, for Saratoga Springs; at Balston you join the Albany and Schenectady trains; obliged to wait about half an hour for their arrival; while waiting went into a large Presbyterian chapel; I heard a broad Scotch sermon; about a quarter before one we arrived at Saratoga; went to the United States Hotel; walked down to the Spring; liked the taste of the water.

The village of Saratoga is small, and is merely a colony of large hotels; saw no one that I knew; dined at the *table d'hôte* of the United States Hotel; about 260 people; some pretty women present; sat next to a Mr. Hopkinson, of Philadelphia, who invited me to his house at Philadelphia; at three proceeded by stage to Coldwell, on Lake George; stayed half an hour at Glens Falls, a pretty, wild village; and arrived at the Lake Hotel, Coldwell, about half-past eight; a good inn; supped; and went to bed.

20th.—Breakfast at half-past six; went on board the *William Coldwell* steamer at seven; the following is a correct copy of a notice posted on the cabin door of this steamer:—

“*Snaix A. hawy!!!!*”

“There is thre livin live Rattil Snaix and wun beautyfull blak Snaik tu be sean in a bocks on this bote aul livin together for Sickspunts a site for groan foax and childron haff prise.

“Please tu call on Old Dick.

“P.S.—This curis carry van of Livin Varmints was ketcht on Blakk Mounting.”

Landed about a mile and a half from Alexander, a village on the estate of Ellice, so called after his father, Alexander Ellice, in the township of Ticonderoga; dined at 1; bad inn; pretty village; had some conversation with Ellice's agent, who complained of the manner in which the property was neglected, and the tenants dissatisfied; at two we proceeded by stages to the ferry on Lake Champlain, looking at the old ruins of the fort of Ticonderoga; crossed in the ferry-boat to Shoreham, where the Whitehall steamer picked us up, viz., the *Winouski*, at four o'clock, and landed us at St. John's at seven the next morning; Lake George is most beautiful, but only portions of Lake Champlain are worth seeing.

21st.—Breakfasted at St. John's at eight, and at nine took the railroad to La Prairie, seventeen miles, from whence a ferry-boat (steam) carried us across the St. Lawrence to Montreal about eleven o'clock; found Durham there for the races, and the town crowded to excess; got a room and luncheon at Madame Movendie's Hotel; dressed, and joined Durham on the race-course, where I found him in all his glory; rode his horse back; dressed at the hotel, and went on board the *John Bull* steamer to dine and sleep; went with Ellice and the ladies to the theatre; saw Ellen Tree in the *Hunchback*; returned to the *John Bull* and went to bed.

22nd.—We were under weigh for Quebec at four o'clock, and went the first forty-five miles in two hours and a half, completing the whole 180 miles from Montreal to Quebec in eleven hours. The St. Lawrence is not, in my opinion,



so fine a river as the Hudson, either in scenery or expanse, although it improves much in the former within the last ten miles of Quebec, which is beautifully situated on a high rock, and is well described as the Gibraltar of the St. Lawrence. Dined at six at the House of Assembly, where the Government was established; about forty present—the General Officer, Sir Colin Campbell, Macdonnell, &c., the Admiral (Sir C. Paget), and the captains of the frigates stationed here, also Sir C. Fitzroy, Governor of Prince Edward's Island; slept at the Globe; devoured by bugs.

23rd.—I removed to the Staff House; weather very hot—eighty-three; rode about the town and on the Plains of Abraham, race-course, &c.; rode C. Buller's hack; dined at the Chateau; and had good rooms and bed at the Staff House, 13, St. Ursule-street, with Dillon, Ponsonby, Cavendish, and Clifford.

24th.—Sir C. Campbell reviewed the brigade of Guards on the Plains of Abraham; Durham lent me "Ronald;" weather still very hot; dined with the Coldstreams at the Citadel; met C. Campbell, &c., and many old friends, all very kind to me—Tollemache, Shaw, Macdonnell, Clive, Barnard, &c. &c.; played at whist; supper; and went to bed *rather* late.

25th.—Rode about; dined with the Grenadiers.

26th, *Sunday*.—Durham ill; rode with C. Buller to Lorette, an Indian village; saw the beautiful Mdle. Zitti; it was the *fille* of St. Louis, and the village was gay with strange visitors, and dining going on; dined at the Chateau at seven.

27th.—Rode with Conroy to see the horses spurt for handicapping on the race-course; dined at the Chateau; Durham still ill; introduced by Conroy to the Jones's, Chamber-street, New York; Miss Mary J. pretty.

28th.—Went with Conroy to give Mrs. and Miss Jones a drive in his waggon; stopped at the Staff House for cloaks; the horses restive, and out jumped the ladies; Miss J. nearly fainted; wine-and-water brought her to; walked her home; explained to Mr. Jones the adventure; *he* said they were

fools for their pains, and ought to have sat still—well it was no worse! Got the horses to start after some time, and gave Lord Alexander and Sir John Eustace a drive; the horses restive again at a hill, but with the assistance of some soldiers I got them up; Conroy not able to drive in consequence of having his arm and hand much hurt in an attack made upon him and Alexander, on going home the night before, by some Canadians; dined at the Chateau, and went to bed early with a bad cold; weather very changeable, with rain, and the thermometer down from eighty-five to fifty-five; Durham better, and dined at table.

29th.—Fine weather, but cool; rode to Beaufort to see a horse with Conroy belonging to Mr. Ryland; dined at the Chateau; an American *soirée* given in the evening, at which twenty-five Americans and the Joneses were present; took them down to the steamboat at eleven, and saw them off for New York; Durham again too unwell to appear.

30th.—Rain; Conroy found Mary Jones's bracelet in the waggon; gave it to me to take care of; bad cold; dined at home with Ponsonby.

31st.—Rode with Conroy; tried horses; dined at the Chateau; Mr. C. told us an anecdote of Lord Gosford, who, it appears, when he walked or rode out shook hands with every one that he met. One day, walking with his A.D.C., he met a well-dressed man, who took off his hat to him. Lord G. immediately shook hands, and talked some time with him; upon leaving, he observed to his A.D.C., "I am sure I know that man's face *well*." "Yes, my lord, no doubt you do," replied the A.D.C., "you see him every morning on the parade; he is the *leader of the band*."

I was also, by Mr. Campbell (who lives near the race-course, a merchant), introduced to *Mr. Porter, Meadow Bank*, opposite to La Chaudière Bridge; we shot over his grounds; we found Mr. Porter a most liberal and enlightened man; having resided here about thirteen years, and having purchased a large tract of land, and built and created a very nice place; he is highly pleased with the present Government, thinks if emigration was encouraged

from England, or the union of the two Provinces the best and cheapest cure for the present difficulties; great contempt for *Papineau's* courage. On his ground on the shore of the St. Lawrence, there is a famous cave, where smugglers and pirates every night encamp and light fires: it was here that *Chambers*, a desperate brigand, who plundered churches, melted the plate that he stole. He was executed about three or four years ago.

*September 1st.*—Breakfasted with J. Lyster; went out shooting with him and Mr. Campbell; saw only one partridge; we killed an owl, nightingale, and snipe; J. Lyster shot a lynx; dined at the Chateau; went to sit with Durham; still very ill.

*2nd, Sunday.*—Rainy morning; rode with Conroy; dined at the Chateau; small party; sat with Durham, who was something better.

*3rd.*—Fine weather; races begun; dined with the Coldstreams; went with Conroy and Abbott to the theatre; Durham too ill to appear.

*4th.*—Saw several officers' servants taken up by police for tipping; fine, hot day; Durham attended the races; rode with him home; large party at the Chateau; a magnetizing *soirée* at C. Buller's; Ashburnham tried me; failed; Wakefield, sen. and jun., produced sleep, real or assumed, upon several women present; still sceptical; walked home with Daniels; heard that Dillon and Bushe were magnetized after we left.

*5th.*—Regatta; went on board the *Racehorse* (Captain Crawford); luncheon; ladies; Durham came on board; took a cruise; saw the Falls of Montmorenci; returned home about half-past five; took a drive in Ponsonby's drag; dined at the Chateau; the American *soirée* there; the Nichols and Smyths, of Washington-square, New York, were present; men running after them most absurdly; went to the theatre—nearly over; the Nichols and Smyths left by steamer; Conroy asked several persons to supper, but never appeared himself; bed about three.

*6th.*—Weather much hotter again; walked about the

town with Durham ; saw Lord Gosford's apartments—three small rooms and bed-room, not larger than a good-sized cabin ; drove out with Lord and Lady D. on the St. Louis road ; dined at the Chateau ; D. was to have gone to the theatre, but was too unwell ; the ladies went ; Miss Tree in the *Hunchback* ; gave Abbott, &c., supper ; a late night. (Abbott's trick : three pieces of bread under three hats on head.)

7th.—Weather warm ; drove to Montmorenci with Lord and Lady Durham and C. Buller ; saw the falls ; dined at the Chateau.

8th.—Went out with Campbell and Lyster to shoot snipes on the Isle of Orleans ; shot only a few ; crossed the river, and came home in a charrette ; dined with the Grenadiers.

9th, Sunday.—Went to lunch on board the *Racehorse* ; Miss Tree, &c. &c., there ; crossed over to Point Levy ; visited the Indian wigwams ; dined at the Chateau ; went to bed early. In the morning saw Dr. Douglas's specimens of moose deer, two very fine ones, shot by himself last year, seventeen hands and a half high ; saw also at Point Levy, at an aubergiste's, a young moose deer, a sheep with five horns, and a calf with three legs.

10th.—Here we find twenty English wharfs to one Canadian merchant's, showing great want of commercial enterprise among the upper as well as the lower classes of Canadians ; called upon Durham ; rode in the afternoon to the Coves ; saw various wharfs, Campbell's, Gilmore's, &c. ; and Holles Cove ; dined at the Chateau ; large Canadian party.

11th.—Fine day ; drove with Durham to Lorette ; dined at the Grenadier mess ; magnetism by Wakefield, Ashburton, and Co., at C. Buller's house ; Durham present ; and *failure*.

12th.—W. tried to magnetize an American lady, Mrs. Southmayd, of Connecticut ; he failed ; upon which she asked him (never having seen the effect of magnetism), "what effect he expected to produce?" he replied, "*sompolency*." After which, she gravely said in good Yankeeism, "Then,

sir, I guess you would fail, for I am always pretty considerably *wide awake*—so much so, that Mr. Southmayd is always complaining that he gets no sleep." Called upon Durham; agreed with him not to go to Niagara until after the arrival of the *Great Western*; he proposed a trip next week in the *Medea*, which had just returned from Halifax. rode out with Conroy and Villiers across the country; dined at the Chateau; Wakefield attempting magnetism on American party; I went to the play; Clifton and brother arrived.

13th.—Very rainy day; dined at the Chateau; supper at Schlooff's.

14th.—Rode with Villiers; dined at the Chateau; a command at the theatre; all went; Tree's last night; supper at Schlooff's.

15th.—Rode with Daniell to choose the ground for Monday's steeple-chase; dined at the Chateau; theatre; Clifton playing "Belvidera."

16th, *Sunday*.—Drove out with Lyster and Campbell to Charlelong; dined with the Grenadiers.

17th, *Monday*.—Attended the steeple-chase as umpire; won by Conroy; Cavendish having broken his horse's back at a fence going over which we had guarded him; Durham, &c., there; dined with the Coldstreams.

18th.—Rainy day; walked out with Durham; and rode with him in the afternoon; dined at the Chateau.

19th.—Drove to Cape Rouge; crossed the ferry, with Cavendish's drag; a beautiful drive; saw the Lake; very small; dined at the Chateau; first intelligence brought of the disallowance of the ordinances; went to Turton's and Buller's house to talk it over.

20th.—I went with D., &c. on board the *Medea*; Lambtons, Colonel and Mrs. Grey, &c.; landed about twelve o'clock at St. Anne's; rode and walked through the woods to the Falls, which are very beautiful, placed in a deep glen; re-embarked about four; dined on board the *Medea*, and got home about eight in the evening; went to bed, having had a severe attack of cholera all day.

21st.—Quebec much excited by the news from England, and Durham's intention of going home; the merchants, &c., evidently much alarmed; several hundred of the respectable merchants and persons in Quebec, of all shades of politics, left their names at the palace as a mark of respect and confidence in Lord Durham, and their disapprobation of the treatment that he had received at home; rode with Conroy; dined at the Chateau; Clifton's benefit; Durham went; a full house; and he was received with marked enthusiasm, in consequence of English news of his treatment at home.

22nd.—Rainy day; rode with Conroy; dined with the Grenadiers; Murray Greville arrived from New York, where he had left his packet, being unable to make Quebec.

23rd, *Sunday*.—Walked out with Villiers, Bushe, and Cavendish in the afternoon; dined at the Chateau; weather cold.

24th, *Monday*.—Drove out with Durham; dined at the Chateau.

25th.—Attended a public meeting of the Scotch Church, claiming equal rights with the Church of England: adjourned in consequence of the unsettled state of affairs; walked out with Durham; dined at the Chateau.

26th.—Drove out with Durham; and Grey and I returned to the wharf, seeing the steamer arriving; took the bag to Durham in Spencer's Wood; Bill of Indemnity passed; ordinances disallowed.

27th, *Thursday*.—The Attorney-General told me that he saw Woolfrid Nelson previous to his departure for Bermuda, he having asked him to come and see him. When he did, expected that he would thank him on behalf of himself and the other prisoners for the great clemency that had been shown him and the others by Lord Durham. He hoped to God that they should not be allowed to return until peace, good order, and harmony were restored; which he prayed God Lord Durham might effect, and this he thought he would be able to accomplish if he continued as he had begun; denounced Papineau as a coward; so did Bouchette, who was taken only by the deceptive statement of Papineau,

who told him that at a certain place he would find force, and there was none; which was done purely to get rid of him, in order that he might escape, as he did before from the rebels, when he told them he was going into the States to meet 12,000, and would return at their head; the character of a priest was implicated. A jury having been shut up three days and three nights, were dismissed; and it was composed of six Canadians and six British; the farce of a trial by a common jury; special jury ought to be permitted; admitted by the Canadians themselves. Rode to Theadon Bank with Durham, &c.; dined at the Chateau; the Attorney-General dined there; made acquaintance with Miss Grant, a great political French Canadian.

28th, *Friday*.—Drove with Durham to the Coves to meet Tilstone, Campbell, &c.; the merchants and their men—much pleased; the day beautiful; the ladies also went, and walked over all the rafts. Wrote letters to send to New York by Cavendish, who was to go by the *Great Western*, taking Durham's resignation. Dined at the Chateau; went down to the wharf to see Colonel Grey off by the *St. George* to Montreal; Tilstone and Murray Greville went also.

29th.—Finished my letters; Cavendish left about six by land; walked out with Durham; dined at the Chateau; *Great Western* bag arrived about nine; nothing occurred to alter Durham's determination to go home and resign.

30th, *Sunday*.—Fine weather; quite warm; drove with Durham and his family to Lorette; dined at the Chateau; walked with Buller and Turton on the platform till late.

October 1st, *Monday*.—Went to read the papers at the Exchange; rode down to the Coves; saw Campbell and Mr. Lemenuier; told me that he agreed with a writer upon Canada, that the character of the French Canadians was "*Jaloux et ingrat—haut et bas*;" I believe him to be partly right; offered my services to him and his friends if I could be of any use to them in Parliament; he seemed much pleased. Dined at the Chateau; an American party; Durham too ill to dine, confined to his bed all day;

Major Wharton, Mrs. W., and Miss Ballett, of Kentucky.

*2nd, Tuesday.*—Rode out with D., &c., to the agricultural show, at Mr. Anderson's farm; rode through the Coves and Lower Town; dined at the Chateau.

*3rd, Wednesday.*—Called on D.; attended the meeting at the Exchange, about five hundred persons present; rather flat; Andrew Stewart in the chair; bad speeches; mail in from England; heard from Parkes; dined at the Chateau.

*4th, Thursday.*—Left Quebec at half-past three per *Canadian Eagle* with Mr. Sadler (the tutor) for Montreal on my way to Niagara.

*Friday, 5th.*—Arrived at Montreal at four P.M.; met Sir George Arthur leaving for Quebec in the *Canada* steamboat; dined at the mess of the 7th Hussars, Grassett and Whyte; went to the theatre; stopped at Rosco's hotel; good.

*Saturday, 6th.*—Left Montreal at ten per stage for Lachine, nine miles; arrived about twelve, and took the boat *Henry Brougham*, Captain Whipple, intending to land at Beauharnois to see Ellice, but it blew so hard we could not make Beauharnois, and were obliged to go on to the Cascades, where we arrived at half-past four, twenty-four miles, but towing five barges, and the wind blowing, caused the delay. Took stage to Côteau du Lac, sixteen miles; arrived at eight, and went on board the steamer *Neptune*, Captain Ballett; it blew so hard and so dark night, he settled not to move until the morning.

*Sunday, 7th.*—Under weigh about four, and arrived at Cornwall, forty-five miles, at nine; went on per stage to Dickenson's Landing, twelve miles, but being Sunday, no boats go from thence to Prescott or Kingston; resolved to go on in waggons to Prescott, forty miles, in hopes of catching the Ogdensburg boat for Niagara, at six; but the roads were so bad, that at half-past four we had got no further than Williamsburg, eighteen miles, and finding it a good inn (the stage house), we decided to remain there for the night, and to be picked up in the morning by the Kingston boat; good bed and good dinner; charges preposterous:—



*Bill—Copy, for Sadler, Self, and James.*

Stage House at Williamsburg, Oct. 7th, 1838.

	£	s.	d.
3 Dinners . . . . .	0	15	0
3 Teas . . . . .	0	15	0
2 Pints of port wine . . . . .	0	10	0
3 Beds . . . . .	0	7	6
3 Breakfasts . . . . .	0	15	0
Sundries . . . . .	2	0	0
	£5 2 6		

N.B.—The dinners consisted only of beefsteaks, and eggs and bacon; at tea, nothing but toast; and the breakfast was tea, and eggs and bacon.

I remonstrated with the landlady, who gave as her excuse that she thought persons of my rank would be offended if we were not charged more than ordinary travellers; it ended by our paying 2*l.*, with which she was perfectly satisfied.

*Monday, 8th.*—Fine morning; a passenger told me that it was *here* that upon a judge passing sentence upon a man who was convicted of felony, he sentenced him to “*be transported from God Almighty’s land!*” But where to? he was asked. “Oh, send him *to Canada,*” replied the judge. The *Dolphin* steamer took us up at eleven (Captain Bennie), and we arrived at Kingston at twelve at night, ninety miles, touching Edwardsburg, Ogdensburg, Prescott, Brockville, and Conasaquoi, passing through the Thousand Isles, and went direct on board the *Commodore Barrie*, for Toronto. It blew hard upon the lake, and we were obliged to put into South Bay, near the Bay of Trinité, where we remained until ten o’clock on the following morning.

*Tuesday, 9th.*—On board the *Commodore Barrie*, where were fourteen parsons going to a convocation at Toronto; there was also Mr. Robert Gourlay, a celebrated Canadian agitator, who was imprisoned eight months by Sir Peregrine Maitland in 1822, and was afterwards, in 1824, shut up in

Coldbath Fields prison three years, for horsewhipping Brougham in the lobby of the House of Commons; he carries *the whip* about with him, which he exhibited on board the steamer; we raised a small subscription for him, as he seemed poor and ill-used—but not mad now, at all events. *Mem.*—The *Commodore Barrie* a bad boat, full of freight, cattle, and emigrants; avoid it; as also never leave Montreal on a Saturday; if you do, no boats going on Sundays, you will be detained that day, as we were, at Cornwall on the landing. When we proceeded, although it blew hard all day, we touched at Wellington and Coburg, and arrived off Toronto about eight o'clock on

*Wednesday morning, the 10th*; when we met the *Transit* steamer, Captain Richardson, leaving for Queenston, where we arrived about twelve o'clock; took stage to "the Falls," and arrived at the Clifton Hotel, eight miles, at two o'clock; dined at the *table d'hôte*, only five people; walked out and stared with wonder and admiration at the Falls until six; the sunset beautiful; the spray quite pink; seldom seen; had tea and went to bed; you see the spray twenty miles off in crossing from Toronto to Niagara. In our way from Queenston to the Falls we stopped at General Brook's monument, who was killed on the heights in 1812; went to the top of it, about 120 feet; splendid view.

*Thursday, 11th.*—Rain; drove to Navy Island, four miles off; 300 acres, one mile and a quarter wide; returned to the hotel; dined at one; crossed over the ferry to Manchester, intending to go by the railroad to Buffalo; found the train had just left; went to see Goat Island and the American Falls, &c.; went to the top of the observatory, near the Horse-shoe Fall; returned to the hotel; went behind the sheet of water to Termination Rock, 160 feet behind; very cold and wet; the negro's teeth, who was my guide, chattered dreadfully from the cold. Nothing to see; great noise, and very dangerous walking; difficult to keep one's breath; the dress they gave me was of no use, it was wet through and through. I returned to the hotel, and went early to bed; they show you the Rapids here, where

the *Caroline*, when she was burnt, first struck, and went to pieces; it is supposed that she never reached the Fall; but a few years ago the guide told me that he saw two old lake steam-boats which were bought by the livery stable-keepers and others, of Buffalo (with a view of having their horses and carriages used), viz., the *Michigan* and *Superior*, freighted with all sorts of birds and animals, turned into the Rapids, and they came down the Falls; and the only creatures that escaped or survived the shock were two bears. Thousands of people came to witness the cruelty; Goat Island was covered; and it is supposed the speculators made a good thing of it.

*Friday, 12th.*—Walked to the Burning Spring; crossed the ferry at one, and went by the railway to Buffalo, twenty-two miles; arrived at four o'clock; put up at the American Hodges'; got a good dinner; went to the theatre; saw the Ravel Family; a large, good theatre; and liked the town much; a large, rising, important commercial city; good shops and large wharfs, &c.

*Saturday, October 13th.*—Returned at nine to the Falls, took a waggon to Queenston, crossed to Toronto in the *Transit*, forty-three miles, that is, seven from Queenston to Niagara Fort, and thirty-six from Fort George to Toronto. Arrived at six; went to the North American Hotel (Campbell's); pretty good. A gale of wind springing up, and no boat to leave, decided to remain here till Monday, to avoid the *Commodore Barrie*; had some tea and went to bed, having got the Bishop of Quebec's rooms, which he had left until Monday.

*Sunday, 14th.*—Cold and wet morning; went to St. James's church, a large, fine church; Dr. Strahan preached; walked about the town, fort, and neighbourhood with Sadler; think Toronto a nasty, ugly place, flat, but has some good houses. Evans, my *compagnon de voyage* in the *Gladiator*, called on me; he had, or was going to settle at Buntford on the Ottawa; dined at six, and went to bed early.

*Monday, October 15th.*—Left Toronto at twelve for "William the Fourth;" fine weather, but the lake rough,

and arrived the next morning; heard an account of the new sect in Ohio, called the Mormonites or *Mormons*, 1500 strong and armed, under Joe Smith, who pretends to have had a vision, in which the Angel appeared and told him that he would find certain tablets of gold; they were part of the Bible, which he was to transcribe and reveal to the world; that in that part of the country Jesus Christ was shortly to appear and reign, and that all who were found there and believed, would be saved; he pretends to be inspired and to work miracles, but they are not seen excepting by a few elders who answer for him. The land upon which he and his followers have settled belongs to some friend of his, who sells it to the deluded people at a high price; some persons of education have joined him, but many have returned to their homes ruined and plundered of the property they took with them. He established a bank, issued a quantity of notes, got them exchanged to a large amount in Michigan for their notes, stopped payment, nearly ruined the other bank; and defends his conduct by saying that the Angel had again appeared, and had desired him not to pay his notes. His followers, &c. defend this inspired swindler.\* Three parsons again on board.

*Tuesday, 16th.*—Stopped at Will's Island, near the French creek, and inspected and boarded the wreck of the *Sir Robert Peel*, burnt the 29th May last by the pirate Bill Johnson and others; brought a bit of her away. Ladies were left on this island in chemises, some six or seven hours, until the *Oneida* steamboat came by. A few cloaks were saved by the stewardess, an intrepid Irish girl, which is all the ladies had to cover them. The men were made to leave their berths just as they were found at the time of the attack. About eight A.M. at Kingston, where we took the *Dolphin* for Dickenson's Landing, where we arrived about seven on the following morning, viz.,

*Wednesday, 17th,* and proceeded immediately by stage to

\* For an interesting account of the Mormons, see Mr. Hepworth Dixon's "New America."

Cornwall, twelve miles, thence per *Neptune*, Captain Ballett, to Côteau du Lac; arrived at two; thence per stage to the Cascades, sixteen miles; obliged to wait for the arrival of the *H. Brougham*; went on board at half-past five; too dark to proceed beyond Beauharnois, where we laid to; found Ellice gone to Quebec; slept on board the *H. Brougham*; and on—

*Thursday, 18th*, about five o'clock were under weigh, and arrived at Lachine at seven; thence per stage to Montreal; six in hand, well driven; breakfasted at Rosco's. Col. Ellison came in from New York; drove round the Mount with him, a magnificent view; dined at the *table d'hôte* at six; went to the theatre; no boat to Quebec this evening. Colonel Grey, whom I sat next to at dinner, related to me the following anecdote. He said they complain of Lord D.'s executive and special councils being ignorant of the state of feeling and social affairs of the Province; he maintained that Lord Gosford's and Sir J. Colborne's were worse, for, on the week preceding Lord Gosford's departure, they agreed to a general thanksgiving being proclaimed for the restoration of *tranquillity*, and the following week, when Sir J. Colborne came, they consented to a proclamation for *martial law*, although nothing whatever had occurred in the Province in the interim, thereby showing themselves either perfectly ignorant of what was going on, or the mere tools of the Government—perhaps both. Another proof of home ignorance was displayed during Lord Bathurst being Colonial Minister. The Government ordered a frigate to be built at Quebec; when nearly complete it was inquired on what service she was to be sent: they said—“*Lake Erie.*” Upon which it was suggested to them, that “*some difficulty* would occur in getting her up the Falls at Niagara.”

This was told me by Mr. Vigre, ex-maire of Montreal; and also that the Colonial Office of that day used to direct to Montreal, UPPER Canada!

Turton told me the following anecdote:

MEM.—The murderers of Chartraud were acquitted after

the clearest evidence of guilt, and the judge directing the jury that they must find the prisoners guilty. The jury were out three-quarters of an hour, not deliberating upon their verdict, but upon who was to carry in the verdict. It ended (when called upon as to each prisoner), in their *all* saying in chorus, "*Non coupable*;" so ashamed were they of their verdict and so conscious of their perjury. They did not mind doing in a body that which, it would appear, they shrunk from performing separately. So much for Canadian *justice, law, and cowardice!*

*Friday, 19th.*—Left Montreal by the *Eagle* at twelve; rainy day; Chambly barracks burnt; two officers—Carey and Roe—burnt; arrived on

*Saturday, 20th,* at Quebec, about nine o'clock at night; found the city in a great state of excitement at the escape of Theller and Dodge; had some difficulty in getting the gates opened, until I convinced the guard and the police that if I was Theller or Dodge they could not do wrong in admitting me *within* the walls; Dillon starting for England with despatches, Wakefield going also; went to bed tired, and although much pleased with the Niagara Falls, Buffalo, &c., yet I suffered considerably in discomfort by the badness of the boats, roads, and weather.

*Sunday, 21st.*—Called on Durham; rainy day; called at Lyster's; dined at the Chateau; small party.

*Monday, 22nd.*—Fine day; went to the Exchange to read the papers; went with Durham, &c., to view the *locale* from which the State prisoners had escaped; dined at the Chateau; large party; whist with the Lord Chief Justice (Stewart).

*Tuesday, 23rd.*—Rain; went on board the *Inconstant*; called on D., and spent the whole afternoon in going through the colonial despatches, his replies, &c. Dined at Chateau; whist, and bed.

*Wednesday, 24th.*—Went early to the Exchange to see the papers; walked with D. till dinner-time; whist till bed-time.

*Thursday, 25th.*—Walked out with D. until dinner-time;

dined with the Coldstreams at the citadel ; played at whist ; returned with C. Grey and Ellice, *rather* late.

*Friday, 26th.*—Walked round the town with Durham ; dined at the Chateau ; large party ; whist until bed-time, with music.

*Saturday, 27th.*—Rainy day ; dined at the Chateau ; whist ; Ellices left by the *Charlevoix* in the evening.

*Sunday, 28th.*—Fine weather ; walked on the battery with D. ; dined at the Chateau ; returned home, wrote, and went to bed.

*Monday, 29th.*—Went to the Exchange-rooms ; English mail in ; no news ; walked with D. ; copied Turton's case, &c. ; dined at the old Chateau with the brigade of Guards, dinner given to Durham on his departure ; about a hundred sat down ; all went off well ; returned home about half-past twelve ; Sir James Macdonnell presided. Hard frost and snow.

*Tuesday, 30th.*—Called on Turton ; Durham unwell ; Sir J. Colborne arrived by the *Canada*. Dined at the Chateau ; above forty present ; whist in the evening ; freezing hard.

*Wednesday, 31st.*—Exchange-rooms ; drove down to the Cove to take leave of Campbell ; luncheon ; called on Turton ; dined with Sir J. Macdonnell to meet Durham ; twenty-five sat down ; wind easterly ; supposed that we should not start to-morrow ; went home and to bed. Hard frost, and *very* cold.

*Thursday, November 1st.*—Frost—and snow had fallen rather heavy during the night ; wind due west ; embarked on board the *Inconstant* frigate, 36 guns, Captain Daniel Pring, at half-past two ; walked down to the wharf with Turton ; the streets lined with the Guards. Durham and Lady D. came down in open carriage with Sir J. Colborne and Sir J. Macdonnell, attended by above three thousand of the most respectable tradesmen and mechanics of Quebec, comprising the different societies and clubs of the place—viz., the St. George's Society, the St. Andrew, and the St. Patrick. It seemed a melancholy parting when the boat put off, and then the last loud cheer bid farewell to the last

hope these ill-fated colonists had entertained for a restoration of peace and tranquillity by his appointment. Many told me that perhaps upon our arrival we should hear that some of their worst fears were realized; and it was impossible to leave them without feeling that we were going from a kind, loyal, and enterprising body of men, who would perhaps in a few weeks have to struggle for their lives and property, all owing to the imbecility and cowardice of a Government stationed 4000 miles off, enjoying every luxury and comfort that home could afford them, but totally ignorant of the high qualities and energies of those they presumed to govern, and whose destinies were in their hands.

At half-past four the *Inconstant* was under weigh, amid a general salute from the city, citadel, and fleet, and we were towed by the *Canada* and the lumber merchant steamers about six miles, viz., to St. Patrick's Hole, they having volunteered their services for that purpose; we then anchored, and were not under weigh until about ten o'clock the next morning.

*Friday, 22nd.*—When we got within a short distance of the Brandy-pots, anchored for the night. Under weigh again about seven, and about eight the ship struck upon Hare Island shoal; she struck twice. Much alarm created by the carpenter reporting that she made two feet and a half water immediately; pumps at work; but she made little or nothing after; pilot blamed and suspected of doing it intentionally. I do not believe it; his manner convinced me he was innocent, as, if he had been so inclined, he might have done it much more effectually the night before. He attributed the mishap to the negligence of the man who heaved the lead, and told me that, in all the ships that he had ever had charge of soundings were never so disgracefully given, which, added to the snow on the shores, concealing their usual landmarks, caused the accident.

The sailor had given the soundings from forty-five to three at once, which was impossible. The fact was, he had given the forty-five wrong, and, having come to twelve, he



mistrusted his heave, and tried again when she was in three fathoms water, and she immediately struck. However, the pilot, "*helm down*," had her off directly; she draws between eighteen and nineteen feet. An investigation took place, and the different depositions were taken, but I feel satisfied "Old Papineau," as the gun-room mess called him, was innocent of intentional mischief.

On Saturday night Lord D.'s cabin lining caught fire, owing to the negligent lashing of a lamp; it was soon extinguished; a similar accident, I forgot to mention, occurred the first day of our sailing, in the baggage hold, owing to a candle falling upon some matted plate chests, which were in flames, but the mate, with great presence of mind, tore off the burning mat, handed it up on deck, and from thence it was committed flaming into the St. Lawrence. However, though twice on fire and once ashore, after twenty-five days' tempestuous weather and heavy gales, we anchored in Plymouth Sound on Monday evening, eleven o'clock, the 26th of November.

*Tuesday, 27th.*—Blowing so fresh we could not land; the admiral's yacht came out about one o'clock; Ponsonby and Villiers went back in her, and as it was moderating, a message was sent to the admiral to request she might return about six in the evening; the evening was calm, and the sea as still as a mill-pond, but that crusty old brute, Lord Amelius Beauclerk, never sent her back. The next morning,

*Wednesday, 28th,* it blew hard, and continued to do so all day, as well as the next, viz.,

*Thursday, the 29th,* when a shore boat trying to get to us was upset, and two men and a boy drowned. We did not land until

*Friday morning, the 30th,* in the admiral's barge, which we did safely; in the evening I got my heavy baggage out; dined with Sir John Doratt and James, the purser of the *Inconstant*, at Elliot's Hotel, and went to bed.

*Saturday, Dec. 1st.*—Hard rain; went at two with Durham to the Town Hall to receive the address of wel-

come from the inhabitants of Devonport ; a very crowded and enthusiastic meeting ; dined at General Ellice's, at the Government-house ; and on

*Sunday, the 2nd,* started by the London mail with Sir J. Doratt for London, where I arrived between eight and nine o'clock on

*Monday morning, the 3rd,* after having been absent barely five months, travelled nearly 10,000 miles, making a most agreeable trip, and having seen the most beautiful country—a country of which England has reason to be proud, and which never can be lost to her but through the treachery or pusillanimity of her Government. Found on arrival the news of the outbreak in Acadie and Beauharnois.

THOS. S. DUNCOMBE.

6, Albany Court Yard, December 3rd, 1838.

During their voyage home Lady Mary Lambton made a sketch in pencil of a cutter in a gale of wind, off Newfoundland, and presented it to Mr. Duncombe on board the *Inconstant*. He preserved it with great care among the memorabilia of his political life. Lady Mary was the sister of Lord Durham, and subsequently married the Earl of Elgin.

Lord Durham was considered by the Government to have committed an unpardonable offence—he had quitted his post without waiting for an official acceptance of his resignation. The late Governor of the Canadas thought that, as the circumstances which had caused his being invested with extraordinary powers had entirely ceased, his powers had ceased with them ; and as he was fully aware of the treachery of his colleagues, he felt impatient to get rid of the obligation which made him their dependent. The public journals indulged in severe remarks on their conduct, the *Times* taking the lead in denouncing it as

mean and dastardly. In the leading article for the paper dated August 28th, 1838, are the following sentences:—

"True to their base and selfish instincts, the time-serving Whigs, in deference to whom the noble earl had at great personal sacrifice placed himself in the van of their Canadian conflict, have at the first shot deserted, dishonoured, and dismissed him. It is in vain to pretend that their conduct towards Lord Durham has been otherwise than we have now described it; nor, on learning the public affront which they have put upon him by advising her Majesty to *disallow* his proceedings, is it possible that his lordship can retain their commission for a single day; unless, indeed, that proud and generous spirit, heretofore reputed as the very model of sensitive honour, shall now be so abased by contumely as to submit ignominiously to those freedoms with his character and coronet which formerly he would have perilled his life to resent."

## CHAPTER XIII.

THEIR ROYAL HIGHNESSES THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF  
KENT.

George the Third and Queen Charlotte—The Royal Family—The Prince of Wales and Duke of York—Prince Edward sent to Hanover under the control of a Governor—Removed to Geneva—Mercenary spirit of his Governor—The Prince quits Geneva and returns home—Anger of the King—He is sent to Gibraltar—German despots in favour at Court—Insufficient allowance—Debts—Prince Edward sent to North America—His military services in the West Indies—Created Duke of Kent, and receives a Parliamentary allowance—Appointed Governor of Gibraltar—Drunkenness and debauchery in the garrison—The Duke endeavours to enforce sobriety—Mutinous conduct of the troops, supported by several of their officers—The mutiny suppressed—The Duke recalled—His creditors left unpaid—Gazetted a Field-Marshal—Endeavours to liquidate his debts—The Duke's blameless life—Leaves England for Brussels—The Duke marries the Princess of Leiningen—Birth of the Princess Victoria—Discussion in the House of Commons—Retires to Sidmouth—Narrow escape of the Princess—His death—Account of it by the King of the Belgians—Mr. Duncombe honoured with the friendship of the Duchess—Regrets for the Duke's death—Accession of Queen Victoria—Conduct of the Liberal Party, and of the Duchess—Mr. Duncombe a friendly visitor to the Duchess.

GEORGE THE THIRD has long enjoyed the credit of having possessed the domestic virtues in an eminent degree; but the more closely the annals of his family have been looked into, the less cause does there appear for crediting his Majesty with the most common and

best appreciated of them—the love of offspring. He was certainly surrounded by one of the finest families in his kingdom, and both sons and daughters grew up distinguished with more than ordinary talent; but the system of education pursued in childhood and adolescence appears to have been singularly ill adapted for rendering them exemplary men and women. There is no evidence that either parent displayed a parental interest in the superintendence of their moral training. The elder sons were certainly brought up rigidly, with what were considered sufficient safeguards for their continuing in the right path; but clerical lessons, with even episcopal superintendence, did not secure in those days to such pupils a sufficient knowledge of the cardinal virtues.

We know that at Kew the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, however familiar they may have been made with the catechism, found abundant opportunities for outraging every right principle it inculcated. The paternal authority was better understood than appreciated, the control exercised wanting the reliable influence of personal affection; and as that control became weaker and weaker, more and more powerful grew the inclination for vicious indulgences. Their characters as men are sufficiently known.

With some of the younger sons a different system was pursued, but it was worse because it removed them entirely from the father's observation and put a stranger and a foreigner in his place. This "governor" was sure to be a German, and in one instance at least a compound of pedant, spy, and rascal, whose recommendation of the important charge with which he was entrusted, was the facility it afforded him of

following the advice of Iago, "Put money in thy purse."

The member of the royal family who suffered most by this pernicious arrangement, was Prince Edward ; at whose baptism (1767) the Marquis of Hertford acted as sponsor for the royal child-cousin, the hereditary Prince of Brunswick (with whose sufferings by the same system the reader will presently be made acquainted); his other godfather and godmother—from the same field of selection—being Prince Charles of Mecklenburg Strelitz, and the Landgravine of Hesse Cassel.

In the year 1785, then in his eighteenth year, he was sent to that dullest of dull German towns, Luneberg—a most gloomy neighbourhood in the eyes of a youth banished from the cheerful and affectionate intercourse of his family and friends, in "merry England," with almost the exclusive association of a stupid martinet, under whom the expatriated youth was to learn the military profession. An allowance of 1000*l.* per annum was granted for the use of the royal cadet, of which he was permitted the expenditure of a guinea and a half a week—a rigid economy being maintained with the rest, to enable his "governor" to follow out the advice referred to above. How he followed it will be seen.

In this region of damp and gloom, the Prince was drilled as nearly as possible into a machine. After a year, a slight change for the better was occasioned by his removal to Hanover; but drilling and parading were continued with merciless severity till May, 1786, when his Royal Highness was gazetted a colonel in the British army, and on the 3rd of June was honoured

with the Order of the Garter. Possessed of such military rank and with so proud a decoration of knighthood, it might be supposed that the Prince would have been allowed a little more indulgence. He was certainly permitted to turn his back upon Hanover, for which no doubt he was sufficiently thankful. He now enjoyed something resembling social intercourse at Geneva, with an allowance increased to 6000*l.* a year; nevertheless, so completely had the sensible counsel given to Michael Cassio taken possession of the soul of the Prince's German governor, that nothing beyond the weekly dole of a guinea and a half of that liberal provision reached his pockets. The Baron Wangenheim had studied Shakspeare to some profit; but he never studied the wants of the young man whose princely disposition he restrained up to the attainment of his majority.

It was not difficult for his Royal Highness at Geneva to procure means for maintaining his rank in the society in which he now moved. The Baron shut his eyes as he industriously followed the recommendation he had adopted as his rule of life, taking special pains to secure his advantage by private communications to St. James's. The King seems to have been content with these representations, and neglected the complaints of the despotically-treated and much-plundered Prince.

In the year 1790 his Royal Highness made up his mind, come what would, to terminate his most unsatisfactory pupillage, and to the intense astonishment of Baron Wangenheim (exclusively) he took French leave of Geneva. Smarting under the profound sense of wrong created by this stoppage of his zealous en-

deavours to respect to the end of his life the excellent advice he had so implicitly followed, it is supposed that he communicated to his Majesty an exaggerated account of the Prince's conduct; for when the latter arrived in London after an absence of five years, longing for the paternal embrace, the King would not see him. It was in vain that the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, after hearing their brother's narrative of his wrongs, interceded for him. George III. treated his fourth son as an unpardonable delinquent for having come home without leave.

It was nearly a fortnight after his arrival in England before Prince Edward received any communication from his father, except verbal messages of an angry import; then a letter reached him, containing his Majesty's commands that he should embark for Gibraltar on the following day. An interview was conceded on the same evening; it was singularly brief, and the reverse of affectionate; then with the inadequate sum of 500*l.* intrusted to Captain Crawford for his necessities, the Prince was again hurried out of the country. His Royal Highness set sail on the 1st of February, 1790.

When the unchecked career of his elder brothers up to their twenty-third year is remembered, the harshness of the king to Prince Edward, who had committed no worse offence than putting an end to an intolerable subjection, is only to be rationally accounted for by the supposition that the King's mind had already lost its equilibrium. It must, however, be remembered that both the King and Queen placed extraordinary confidence in their German *employés*. Miss Burney gave the public a portrait of a female despot



who was a favourite of Queen Charlotte; probably the Baron was as much in favour with King George.

Owing to the inadequacy of the small moiety of the Duke of Kent's allowance that was permitted to reach his Royal Highness, he had contracted pecuniary obligations at Geneva; but they were a trifle in comparison with the load of debt incurred before their twenty-third year by the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York. At Gibraltar, Prince Edward was compelled once more to have recourse to similar eager friends, when left there without sufficient funds, to defray his outfit, till he received a reduced allowance of 5000*l.* a year. He had been appointed colonel of the Royal Fusiliers, then forming a portion of the garrison under the command of General O'Hara, and was obliged to maintain an appearance before his brother officers corresponding with his social superiority. The difficulty he met with in doing this, and the injustice under which he suffered, probably rendered him irritable, for it was not long before complaints reached the Horse Guards of his over-strictness as a disciplinarian; as a strange mode of remedying this evil, the young colonel *and* his regiment were ordered to America in the summer of 1791.

If the men of the Fusiliers fancied themselves aggrieved by the severity of their commander's rule, his brother officers in the garrison evidently regarded him with very different feelings, for they subscribed liberally to give him a handsome entertainment at his departure. The Prince sailed for Quebec, where he entered into arrangements for paying his debts. In 1793 he received an order to join the force of Sir Charles Grey, then reducing the French West India

Islands. Martinique was captured before his arrival, 4th March, 1794; but his Royal Highness assisted in the reduction of St. Lucia and the capture of Guadeloupe. The young colonel not only obtained the commendation of his superior officers for his gallantry, but the thanks of both Houses of Parliament.

The campaign being over in 1794, the Prince went back to Canada. He had been obliged to have seven different equipments, which had either been captured or lost: and he returned to England in 1799 with heavy pecuniary embarrassments. It was not till this, his thirty-second year, that he was permitted, with a brother four years his junior (Ernest Duke of Cumberland), to receive a Parliamentary grant of 12,000*l.* per annum; and in 1799 he was elevated to the dignity of Duke of Kent and Strathearn and Earl of Dublin.

On the 7th of May his Royal Highness took his seat in the House of Lords, on the 10th he was gazetted a general, and on the 17th appointed Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in the North American colonies. This command, however, owing to ill-health, he retained only a short time, and once more returned to England, where he remained till promoted to the Governorship of Gibraltar.

It should be borne in mind that the Duke was of abstemious and regular habits when drunkenness and debauchery formed the rule, and sobriety and respectability of conduct the exception. He reached "the Rock" on the 10th of May, 1802, when the rule prevailed in the garrison to an extent totally unprecedented. Among officers and men a course of brutality was daily indulged in that would not be permitted to

exist for an hour in any garrison in her Majesty's dominions. The Duke of Kent courageously set to work to restore order, decency, and discipline. The idle officers were made to perform their military duties, and the sotting men were prevented making beasts of themselves.

So little were these attempts at reform appreciated by the garrison, that a mutiny broke out on Christmas eve, which was quelled with some difficulty. This was followed by another of a more alarming character a few days later, instigated, as was alleged, by officers to whose irregularities the Governor was endeavouring to put a stop. The principal object of the mutineers was to ship their commander to England with as little delay as possible. To get rid of him they determined—but did not succeed. The Duke had timely warning of the plot, and with the assistance of a few of the officers on whom he could rely, suppressed the outbreak; and discipline was restored.

The garrison went on in a creditable way; but the alarming events had been made known to the authorities at home, and instead of supporting an energetic commander endeavouring, at no ordinary risk to himself, to improve an almost demoralized force, he was recalled in the following March. He arrived in England on the 26th of May, and at once applied for a court-martial. This was refused, nor was he permitted to return to his government; and his successors increased those facilities for intoxication the Duke had diminished.

The Duke now pressed on the Government the urgent claims of his creditors, and received from Mr. Pitt, in July, 1805, 20,000*l*. His Royal Highness

was now able to cancel the bonds on which he had been paying interest since 1791. Promises were held out to him of an increased Parliamentary grant of 18,000*l.* a year. The Grenville Administration came in and proved less liberal, for though the grant was increased, the deductions insisted on made it no more than 16,200*l.* The Duke's various equipments alone had cost about 50,000*l.*, and as he had never been reimbursed their loss, he was answerable to the full amount, with accumulating interest.

On the 5th September, 1804, the Duke was gazetted a Field-Marshal; but his military career was over. Though infinitely the best general in the royal family, he was never after entrusted with any command. His civil career did not promise anything more brilliant, for there was evidently as strong a prejudice against him in Downing-street as at the Horse Guards. His Royal Highness had been heard to express very Liberal opinions; and notwithstanding the temporary assumption of Whig principles by his elder brothers, and the Whig Government of Fox and Lord Grenville, advanced ideas in politics were then regarded as a bar to employment.

Having ascertained, in the year 1807, that his debts had amounted to 108,200*l.*, he put aside half his income for their gradual liquidation. He had applied for assistance and for employment in vain, till at last, disheartened or disgusted, he resolved to live as privately as possible. In the year 1809 he took Sir Samuel Romilly's opinion as to the publication of his case, several unauthorized pamphlets having already appeared, and that eminent lawyer was decidedly averse to such an appeal.

The insurmountable obstacle to the Duke's obtaining military employment was the Duke of York ; but though the Commander-in-Chief resigned that post in 1809, in consequence of Mrs. Clarke's exposure, the Duke of Kent did not renew his application to the Horse Guards.

In the House of Lords he took part in the debates upon the Regency in 1810-11, and in the following year spoke in favour of removing the Roman Catholic disabilities. His Royal Highness, however, refrained from any public display of his political sentiments, contenting himself with taking the chair at anniversary meetings of important, useful, and religious institutions. His amiability rendered him extremely popular with all who enjoyed the privilege of his acquaintance. He lived a blameless and quiet life.

But misfortune had not done with him. His solicitor absconded with funds entrusted to his care, which forced him to renewed exertions for the settlement of his pecuniary obligations. In the years 1814 and 1815 he made earnest appeals to the Government and to the Prince Regent; but without the slightest result. He therefore reduced his establishment, sold his superfluities, and set aside three-fourths of his income; but this proving insufficient, the Duke, in 1816, left England and lived with great privacy at Brussels.

The case of his Royal Highness was much canvassed in military circles. It was one that could not fail of exciting the sympathy of Captain Duncombe; nor was he forgotten by others of his countrymen;

they made a public manifestation of their regard in November. They were the promoters of the various charitable institutions of which the Duke was a patron. He had presided at seventy-two in one year.

While his military friends were regretting the Duke's expatriation, he was intent on turning it to profit. While travelling in Germany he had been introduced to the young widow of the late Prince of Leiningen (sister of the Prince of Saxe-Coburg), and on the 29th of May, 1818, they were married at Coburg.\* They travelled to England, and were re-married in July at Kew in presence of several members of the royal family.

The union was one entirely of affection—particularly so on the part of the Duchess, who made important sacrifices when she quitted Germany. All the earnest admirers of his Royal Highness hailed it as the commencement of a new and more prosperous life for the ill-used Prince. The Houses of Parliament were cordial in their approval. A jointure of 6000*l.* a year was voted to the Duchess, and there was every appearance that fortune was about to make him amends for his long and severe trials, when, on the 24th of May, 1819, a daughter became the first fruit of that auspicious alliance.† She was hailed as an instalment of the hoped-for recompense.

\* Princess Charlotte, who loved tenderly her uncle, the Duke of Kent, was most ardently desirous of this union, and most impatient to see it concluded. "Reminiscences of King Leopold." See Appendix, "Early Years of the Prince Consort," i. 389.

† "The May Flower" of her German relatives. See "The Early Years of the Prince Consort," i. 11.

The burthen under which his Royal Highness had so long groaned was not likely to be lessened by this additional source of expense; and, as the only available plan for getting free of his embarrassments, the Duke petitioned the House of Commons in the following June to sanction a lottery for the disposal of his estate and effects at Castle-hill, Ealing. During the discussion that ensued, Alderman Wood detailed the Duke's case to the House. Mr. Hume also addressed the House at considerable length, when he stated that he had enjoyed the Duke's friendship for ten years, and also went into particulars of his Royal Highness's history. So long and intimate a connexion with a leader of the Opposition would alone have been sufficient to prejudice the Government. Lord Castlereagh opposed, and the motion was withdrawn.

It is not difficult to find a cause for the hostility of the Duke's elder brothers. The Duke of Kent was neither gambler, rake, nor *bon vivant*. His virtuous life was a standing reproach to their excesses: he was, moreover, daily getting more popular, a knowledge of his principles as well as of his wrongs enlisting many patriotic hearts in his favour; and what both the Prince Regent and the Duke of York seemed to fear—his being made the leader of a strong party—was every year becoming more imminent.

Notwithstanding the failure of his scheme, the Duke did not despair. With his Duchess and their infant daughter he retired to a modest residence at Sidmouth, where, near the close of the year, the Princess had a narrow escape. A boy with a gun, shooting at sparrows near the house, broke the windows of her nursery. The kind-hearted Duke would

not hear of punishment, and the culprit was dismissed with a reprimand.

In the Duke's retirement his mind was devoted to offices of benevolence. He was engaged in forwarding the interests of a charitable institution, when he caught cold in consequence of not changing his clothes, after having been caught in a shower. A fever followed, which on the 23rd of January, 1820, terminated fatally, to the profound regret of the many English hearts who had learnt to love his honest, manly, and kindly English nature. His friend, King Leopold, who was present at his demise, preserved the following brief record of the sad event:—

The Duke and Duchess of Kent came to Claremont after the Prince's return,\* and remained there till he went to Sidmouth, where the Duke hoped to escape the winter, which had set in with unusual severity, even in November, when thick ice was everywhere to be seen 1820. Prince Leopold was at Lord Craven's when the news arrived that a cold, which the Duke got at Salisbury, visiting the cathedral, had become alarming. Soon after the Prince's arrival, the Duke breathed his last. The Duchess, who lost a most amiable and devoted husband, was in a state of the greatest distress.†

To the Liberal party the Duke of Kent was an irreparable loss; for though he was no partisan, and as much as possible concealed his opinions, he was known amongst them as a reformer, and they had looked forward to the day when they might be able to make head against an unyielding Government, under his banner.

The Duchess of Kent as the widow of a soldier, and

\* Prince Leopold; he had been to Scotland.

† "The Early Years of the Prince Consort," Appendix A, i. 390.



the Princess Victoria as the daughter of a soldier, were objects of deep solicitude to many young officers. Among those of the Coldstream Guards they had few warmer friends than Captain Duncombe; and when he learnt how admirably the former had behaved, in administering to the will of the deceased Duke—surrendering to his creditors everything she might have retained, and caring apparently only for the proper nurture of his only child, his interest in both must have greatly increased. It was probably through Mr. Hume that he obtained an introduction to her Royal Highness, for that eminent reformer continued to the widow the friendly counsel he had afforded her deceased husband, and was one of her most esteemed Parliamentary friends. Mr. Duncombe, as soon as he obtained access to the House of Commons, was pressed into the same honourable service, and honoured with frequent invitations from the Duchess.

No member of the royal family was ever so deeply regretted by the people or so generally eulogized by public writers—in marked contrast to certain verses on the death of his grandfather, Frederick Prince of Wales, which disposed of the survivors of the family with even less respect than it mentioned the deceased. Had the audacious poet survived to this generation, he might have contrasted his royal subject with some of its immediate connexions, and produced an epitaph as much more honourable to one as more humiliating to the other. An able historian thus estimates the public loss:—"He possessed alike the respect of the nation and the warm affection of his personal friends. . . . Deeds of beneficence, or the support of institutions of charity, of which he was a munificent patron, alone

brought him (in his latter years) before the eye of the public."\*

The motive for his Royal Highness's reticence cannot be too highly lauded. He had not been awed into silence; but, having brought his wrongs in a proper way before every available tribunal, and ascertained that he had no chance of redress against the power arrayed against him, he chose to suffer in silence rather than drag before the public another family scandal, and risk the present position of his self-sacrificing wife and the magnificent future of his beloved daughter. In a few days the demise of her grandfather—in a few years that of the Duke of York and of his elder brother—left the throne to the succession of the childless Duke of Clarence, to whom that beloved daughter was next heir. The nation is therefore under no slight amount of obligation to the ill-used Duke of Kent, for the considerateness of his conduct towards the close of his career, but are infinitely more indebted for bequeathing them a Sovereign who has inherited his own upright principles and exemplary virtue.

On the death of William IV., so cordial had been the Duchess of Kent's professions to both the great political parties, that each made the best use it could of the Queen's name. The Whigs, knowing that possession was undeniable proof of royal support, took especial pains to make it appear that the Sovereign was with them. The Tories were equally eager to represent the inexperienced Queen as an unwilling dupe in the hands of Lord Melbourne. Mr. Duncombe

\* Alison: "History of Europe from the Fall of Napoleon to the Accession of Louis Napoleon," ii. 418.

does not appear to have put in any claim; but as Lord Durham was in expectation of official employment, it is probable that he waited events. A letter published about this time by his lordship must have assured him that his friend was no longer disposed to support extreme opinions. It soon became clear that the Radicals were losing ground.

The Duchess resisted the proposal of William IV. to establish a household for the Princess, as the appointments would probably be made by the Queen; and the Ministers were, now the King's indisposition became known, daily more assiduous in their attentions. The member for Finsbury was apparently quite as much in favour as any of them.

The Duchess of Kent appears to have encouraged the popular party. Her invitations to Mr. Duncombe were followed in 1837 by her Royal Highness expressing her sympathy with the party of which he was a leader. Tom Raikes states in his "Diary" that the Duchess opposed the King in the Westminster election, exerting all her influence in favour of Mr. Duncombe's friend, Leader.

The agreeable manners and thoroughly gentleman-like appearance of the member for Finsbury, made a favourable impression on the Duchess. He had the honour of conversing frequently with the Princess Victoria; upon whose talent and amiability he was fond of dwelling in confidential communications with his friends. Had he ever entertained any dangerous notions, this graceful manner of enrolling him among the friends of a youthful Princess must, with a person of his chivalrous nature, have sufficed to put them to flight.

## CHAPTER XIV.

## AMONG THE CHARTISTS.

Mr. Duncombe's indignation at the treatment of Lord Durham—The ladies of the household and Sir Robert Peel—Rise of Chartism—Lord Brougham—Mr. Tooke's attempt on Finsbury defeated—Death of Lord Durham—Mr. Duncombe's admiration of his character—Eloquent description of this statesman in Bulwer's "King Arthur"—Mr. Duncombe's amendment to the Address—Letter from H. G. Ward, Esq., M.P.—Frost, Williams, and Jones—Fair in Hyde Park—Letters from Marquis of Normanby and Lord Dungarvon—Letter from Mr. Vernon Smith, M.P.—Mr. Duncombe's speech on the Ways and Means—Presents a Petition—Discussion in the House of Commons—His motion lost by the Speaker's vote—A new Tory Government—Chartist leaders—Cooper—Feargus O'Connor—His letter—Mr. George Julian Harney—Agitation in Edinburgh—Letter of Mr. Blackie—"Devil's Dust"—Notice of Mr. Duncombe in *Le Courier de l'Europe*—The People's Petition for the Six Points—Popularity no sinecure.

No sooner had Mr. Duncombe reached England than he set about the best means of serving his friend. Lord Durham's mission to Canada had been attended with the most brilliant success, and his enemies were alarmed by his unexpected return, armed with the *prestige* which his judicious treatment of the rebellion had created. The member for Finsbury frequently dined with the ex-governor; and they doubtless conferred together as to their plan of action. The Radical interest was evoked, and no effort spared

to excite indignation against the public men who had treated their colleague with such shameless perfidy.

It appeared very much as if a trap had been dexterously laid for Lord Durham. He was induced to accept an unpopular office, and furnished for the occasion with unconstitutional powers; that as soon as he exercised them, and had lost his popularity, they might destroy his character as a public man by disallowing his proceedings. We are not aware that there ever was an instance of such political baseness among gentlemen working in a common cause; it disgusted men of principle of all parties.

Among the papers on the subject we find the following memorandum :—

*Memorandum.*

Lord Durham's return from the 'Canadas without the acceptance of his resignation by the Home Government appears to me to have been unduly regarded as a blemish, even by those attached to his person and his policy.

Are such extraordinary powers as he was invested with subject to the common rules of office?

The people administered could not estimate the *degree* in which the Lord High Commissioner was disavowed by the ministry. To their view it was not lowering him one strand of the ladder, but hurling him from the top of it. Not merely the administrative power, but the more valuable moral influence was destroyed by it. After the disallowance of the ordinances, it was not that Sir John Colborne, or any other military commander, was *as good* as Lord Durham for the remaining purpose, but that any officer of common capacity and character was *better* than the individual so suddenly deposed from his high estate.

Lord Durham said in the House of Lords before he went out to North America that he would throw off these dictatorial and unconstitutional powers the moment he

could do so after satisfying the occasion that called them into existence, feeling as he did the awful responsibility of holding such authority. If this public declaration implicated a breach of official etiquette, why did not the Colonial Secretary, or one of his colleagues, say, as it was apparently his duty to have said, "My lord, you were mistaken upon a point of bureaucratic usage. You may cease to *exercise* your extraordinary powers when your objects are accomplished, but you must retain the nominal possession of them until we announce the acceptance by the Crown of your resignation."

Parliament opened on the 5th of February; significant demonstrations were made in both Houses, and on the 7th of May the Government resigned. Owing, however, to Sir Robert Peel's expressed intention of changing the ladies of the royal household, which the Queen would not sanction, Lord Melbourne resumed his post on the 10th.

Soon after the commencement of the Parliamentary Session of 1839, Mr. Duncombe renewed his ordinary course of life as a popular representative. A widespread agitation was now going on among the working classes for a considerable extension of the suffrage. In June, in the House of Commons, Mr. Attwood presented a petition signed by a million two hundred names, praying for political privileges to a rather startling amount; and prodigious public meetings were held in various parts of the country, where an intention to obtain these privileges was loudly expressed. They were embodied in a declaration called "The People's Charter," and those who agitated for them were designated Chartists. In Newport a tumultuous assemblage was put down by the authorities, and its leaders, Frost, Jones, and Williams were tried and con-

victed of high treason. Similar outbreaks occurred in other districts, but were with little difficulty suppressed.

Lord Brougham's talents as an agitator had been of the first class. As a pamphleteer, he threw even Roebuck's fecundity into the shade. Lord Holland states that on one occasion in the course of ten days he filled every bookseller's shop with pamphlets and all the newspapers with paragraphs. But his great work in the way of proselytism was the establishing, when Mr. Brougham, the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, to which all the Whig leaders belonged. They commenced a series of sixpenny publications of an intellectual character, preceded by an attractive introduction written by him on the advantages and pleasures of science. They were treatises on different branches of philosophy, much too abstruse for the class of readers to whom they appealed. The "Penny Magazine" was one of the most popular of their publications, and the "Penny Cyclopædia" the most useful. They started a "Dictionary of Biography" that began and ended with the letter A; shortly afterwards the Society collapsed.

Hitherto the member for Finsbury had gone on unchecked in his political career. He had made friends everywhere; and however rival politicians might be inclined to quarrel, they never quarrelled with him. In January, 1840, he became aware of an insidious attempt about to be made to deprive him of his seat. The rumour had the effect of drawing his old friends closer to him. It soon came out that Mr. Tooke, the treasurer of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, was in an underhand way going about making use of the influence of the Society for advanc-

ing his object. On being charged with this, he denied it. Lord Brougham appointed a sub-committee of inquiry, before whom the accusation was fully proved. The committee had previously tried every possible pretext for ending the subject. Mr. Duncombe followed up the charge with his usual perseverance. The *Times* and other influential journals supported him. Mr. Tooke found himself going to the wall, when he wrote an impertinent letter, published in the *Morning Herald*, reflecting on Lord Nugent for having been instrumental in causing an indirect vote of censure to be passed against him by the committee of the Useful Knowledge Society. He moreover affected to persevere in the idea of ousting Mr. Duncombe from Finsbury; but the ridicule which he brought upon himself and his Society, and the withering sarcasms which nearly the whole of the press poured out upon him—the complete exposure of his pretensions, and the equally complete denials of Lord Nugent, Mr. Leighton, and others, of his statements, terminated his public career.

It came out in the course of the discussion that Mr. Tooke was a solicitor, put F.R.S. after his name—(for what scientific service no one knew), was a saint on his own representation, and though incorruptible, had been rejected at Truro for practices that looked very corrupt indeed. In short, there was so general a cry of “Pharisee” and “humbug,” that the baffled intriguer thought it more prudent to retire altogether into private life.

The clever experiment to weaken Mr. Duncombe’s hold on his constituents strengthened it immensely. His honesty of purpose contrasted most favourably



with the intense hypocrisy of his would-be opponent ; and the most modest of the Tory papers mentioned him with respect. He had taken this session a much more active part in politics, and spoke much more frequently in the House of Commons ; but though his conduct secured him many influential friends, for none of them could he feel the regard he experienced for one he lost this summer. Lord Durham died at Cowes, in the Isle of Wight, at the early age of 48, on the 28th of July. Lord Ebrington was thought likely to supply his place as a leader of the extreme party ; but he had been appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and at once set himself in opposition to O'Connell and the Repeal movement. That party, however, was not deficient in leaders ; and among the most popular of them unquestionably was the member for Finsbury.

Mr. Duncombe was a warm admirer of his deceased friend, and lost no opportunity of expressing his contempt for the Whig leaders who could not appreciate, or in his opinion were jealous of, his great and varied talents. In one of his commonplace books, he quotes Dryden on Congreve :—

Let not th' insulting foe his fame pursue,  
But guard the laurels which descend to you.

He adds a note—"Applicable to Poulett Thomson on his conduct to Lord Durham in Canada.—T. S. D."

High as was his estimate, it was exceeded by that of his distinguished contemporary, Sir Bulwer Lytton, Bart., who, in his epic poem, "King Arthur," thus eloquently does justice to Lord Durham's merits :—

But who, with eastern hues and haughty brow,  
 Stern with dark beauty, sits apart from all?  
 Ah, couldst thou shun thy friends, Elidie!—thou  
 Scorning all foes, before no foe shalt fall!  
 On thy wronged grave one hand appeasing lays  
 The humble flower. Ah, could it yield the bays!

Courts may have known than thee a readier tool,  
 States may have found than thine a subtler brain,  
 But states shall honour many a formal fool,  
 And many a tawdry fawner courts may gain,  
 Ere king or people in their need shall see  
 A soul so grand as that which fled with thee!

For thou wert more than true; thou wert a Truth!  
 Open as truth, and yet as truth profound;  
 Thy fault was genius—that eternal youth  
 Whose weeds but prove the richness of the ground.  
 And dull men envied thee, and false men feared,  
 And where soared genius there convention sneered.

Ah, happy hadst thou fallen foe to foe,  
 That bright race run—the laurel o'er thy grave!  
 But hands perfidious sprung the ambushed bow,  
 And the friend's shaft the rankling torture gave;  
 The last proud wish in agony to hide—  
 The stricken deer to covert crept—and died!

Lord Lytton probably refers to the intrigues of those amongst Lord Durham's colleagues—friends they could scarcely be called—who sacrificed him to their jealousy, ostracised him, and on his return destroyed his character as a statesman. It was this impression, doubtless, that made Mr. Duncombe so bitter upon the Whig leaders who had assisted in abruptly terminating the career of his brilliant friend. To one quotation in his commonplace book, under the head "Whigs," he wrote: "They have the voice of lions, and the timidity of hares." To another:

“Cobbett designates the Whigs ‘Shoyhoys,’ the Hampshire name of scarecrows, that frightened at a distance, but were found to be harmless on closer acquaintance.”

Among the members of the House who appreciated Mr. Duncombe’s amendment on the Address (1839) was the son of Robert Plumer Ward, author of “Tremaine,” and other works of some note in his day. He had been brought up for the diplomatic profession, and had accepted a mission to Mexico; but on his father’s death had succeeded to the paternal estate, and had entered Parliament. He subsequently became Secretary to the Admiralty. Robert Plumer Ward had been Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, a Lord of the Admiralty, Clerk of the Ordnance, and Auditor of the Civil List.

Gilston Park, Saturday.

MY DEAR DUNCOMBE,—You have done most successfully what I have been trying for some days past, namely, to put a something that might serve as an amendment in the debate upon the address into a shape that would secure a decent minority. I think the words which you have suggested cannot be improved, as every man may put his own interpretation upon them, and ride his own hobby, while voting with you. My own projected amendment I now drop entirely, and give in my adhesion to yours, which I will support most cordially. We may have a rattling debate upon it, and to you I am sure I need not say that, whatever be our numbers, we *must* divide. I merely trouble you with this because you may hear of my intentions from Hawes or Molesworth; and I think it right, therefore, to assure you that you need fear no competition from me.

Yours very truly,

H. G. WARD.

The case of the foolish men at Newport who had joined in a Chartist demonstration, that was easily

suppressed by a lawyer and a few constables, much to the advantage of the former, who was rewarded with the honour of knighthood, was not lost sight of by the popular member for Finsbury. They had been sentenced to death; and early in the year 1840 Mr. Duncombe presented a petition to her Majesty in their behalf. The following reply proves that he had been successful to the extent of saving their lives:—

Whitehall, 6th February, 1840.

SIR,—I have laid before the Queen the petition which you presented from the inhabitants of Plymouth in behalf of John Frost, Zephaniah Williams, and William Jones, under sentence of death for high treason; and having considered the special circumstances of the case of each of these prisoners with reference to the proceedings which have taken place since their trials, I have deemed it advisable to recommend to her Majesty to extend the Royal mercy to the said prisoners on condition of transportation for life; and her Majesty has been graciously pleased to extend her mercy to them on that condition.

I am, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

NORMANBY.

Thomas Duncombe, Esq., M.P., &c. &c.

In the following month, Mr. Duncombe moved an address to the Queen, to grant a free pardon to Frost, Jones, and Williams; in which, though he was supported only by six members of the House, one of them was Mr. Disraeli. He took up the case, as he took up many others of the same kind, in the conviction that, whatever might be the amount of culpability of such offenders, mercy would serve the crown better than coercion. He boldly advocated the cause of the reckless politicians, often returning again and again to the charge, as though he would weary the Govern-

ment into moderation. He dwelt forcibly on the treatment the state prisoners received, particularly in the cases of Feargus O'Connor, Vincent, Baines, and Thorogood. He succeeded in most of his humane efforts; and considered himself well recompensed by the grateful thanks of the near relatives of the prisoners, and the increasing regard of the community at large.

In the same year he undertook to lay before the authorities the idea of a general holiday, including a repetition of the popular entertainment permitted in one of the metropolitan parks on the day of her Majesty's coronation. This was to be in honour of the Queen's birthday. It was popular with his constituents, but did not meet with the approval of the authorities, as may be seen from the following correspondence, and was consequently abandoned:—

Hill-street, May 9th.

MY DEAR TOM,—I desired them to send you an order for the Penitentiary to-day, in case I should not be able to go with you, which I now find I cannot, having a late Cabinet and an early charity dinner. In talking over the matter of the memorial you presented to me, with Duncannon, we came to the decision that it would not be advisable to allow a fair in Hyde Park on the Queen's birthday. There would then probably be another similar request on the birth of an heir, and Duncannon says it did much mischief last time, though very well conducted on the part of the lessee.

Ever yours,

NORMANBY.

July 1st, 1840.

MY DEAR LORD,—I am sorry that I cannot say that I think it would be advisable to recommend to her Majesty to accede to the petition of certain persons for permission to hold a fair in Hyde Park. I have already stated my objections to Lord Melbourne, and I understood from him

that he agreed in my objections. I have no doubt that care was taken on a former occasion to prevent mischief, and that many of the persons attending the fair were most respectable. The circumstances that induced the Government to accede on the occasion of the Coronation, do not at present exist. It was necessary then to provide amusements in different places for the enormous congregation of people from all parts of England, to prevent too great a number in one place, to prevent accidents, and to provide amusement for the lower class as well as the upper class of society. The case is now directly the reverse, and it is proposed to call together crowds of people for no reason whatever that would not apply to the celebration of her Majesty's birthday, or any other great festivity, for a purpose that all the authorities in and about London have been attempting to discountenance—the metropolitan fairs, which I thought by the acknowledgment of all were denounced as scenes of idleness, drunkenness, and profligacy, and that everybody had agreed in the propriety of discontinuing them. On this ground I cannot think it would be right for a Government to advise the Queen to sanction a fair of this description in the park. With respect to the damage to be done to the trees or herbage, with all the care that can be taken it is quite impossible to bring together such a large body of persons without doing mischief, and without some disorder and tumult. I am sorry that, after the best consideration I can give to the question, I must oppose myself to it, and I feel that I should not be doing my duty by the Queen or by the public if I did not state my objections.

Believe me, truly yours,

DUNCANNON.

Hill-street, July 7th.

MY DEAR DUNCOMBE,—Enclosed I send you the official letter I have received from Duncannon, in whose department the matter rests, in consequence of my asking his opinion upon the subject of the memorial you presented. Do you wish me to convey his answer, which you will observe is unfavourable, in any more formal shape to you?

Yours ever,

NORMANBY.

The session of 1841 had scarcely commenced when the policy of Ministers was violently assailed in both Houses; and, what is more aggravating, by two of the most distinguished of their own partisans—Lord Brougham in the House of Peers; Mr. Grote, the historian and banker, in the Commons. The Government lived on from day to day, the more able administrators striving to divert attention from the shortcomings of their colleagues. Lord John Russell not only defended them in the House, but was indefatigable in suggesting measures that promised to be of great public benefit; and Lord Melbourne rendered himself so generally agreeable that friends and foes were equally ready to shut their eyes to his want of political sagacity.

It is evident, from the letter appended, that the colonial policy of Ministers was not more popular than other portions of it:—

Colonial Office, Saturday, February 20th, 1841.

DEAR DUNCOMBE,—I find that Mr. Pine has seen all the papers that Lord John Russell thought fit, namely, such as concerned his own case. He wrote a letter claiming to succeed to the government of the Gambia, and enclosed others casting imputations upon Mr. Ingram, the Colonial Secretary, who was appointed to this temporary succession, whose conduct he said betrayed “conscious dishonour, or extraordinary weakness or indecision, alike incapacitating him for so important a station.” Under this same Mr. Ingram he had consented, however, to serve as writer, and exercise the functions of Queen’s Advocate, never producing his charge till he thought an opportunity was presented to advance himself by the injury of his superior. He has never accounted for his possession of these criminatory letters in any better way than his having received copies of them anonymously. Upon this case, and

the inferences to be drawn from it, Governor Huntley, a gentleman of very high character and impartiality, has thought proper to suspend Mr. Pine, and Lord John Russell does not think it advisable to interfere.

Yours truly,

R. VERNON SMITH.

No description could give the reader a perfect idea of the effect the member for Finsbury was able to produce in the House of Commons, when he rose during a debate and addressed that assembly. No one unacquainted with his elocutionary powers affected to undervalue him. They may have observed the outward characteristics of the fine gentleman—they may have considered the assumption of the democrat in whatever light they pleased,—but he soon convinced them that he was in earnest, and as quickly forced them to regard him with respect. His resources always appeared to develop themselves in proportion with the exigency that required them, and were sure to display themselves to most advantage during a crisis. For instance, his speech on the Ways and Means debate on the Sugar Duties, May 17th, 1841, was remarkably telling, particularly the introductory portion:—

Mr. Duncombe rose and said—Judging by certain significant questions put by honourable members opposite in the early part of the evening, judging also by the silence they have subsequently observed—(cheers)—he thought he was justified in assuming that great anxiety prevailed upon that side of the House that this debate should be brought to a speedy conclusion—(Opposition cheers)—an anxiety not merely arising from a conviction on the part of honourable gentlemen opposite of the weakness of their cause—(ironical cheers from the Tories)—but an anxiety arising from the delusion they seemed to be under that the sweets of office, although not at this moment



within their grasp, would be so at the conclusion of this debate. (Renewed Tory cheers.) Knowing, therefore, this anxiety, he would not now interpose between them and their fondest wishes, did he not feel confident that the longer this debate was prolonged the better the people of England would understand the conduct and motives of each side of the House—(loud Opposition cheers, answered from the ministerial benches)—yes, the better would they understand not only the conduct and motives of the House, but the better would they appreciate the resolution of the noble viscount (Viscount Sandon), which was in opposition to their going into committee for the purpose of considering the best means and the best way of meeting the exigencies of the state in preference to imposing any additional burdens upon the people;—(cheers)—and not only would they appreciate the conduct of honourable members on both sides of the House, but they would also set a value on the resolution of the noble lord, which he had no hesitation in saying, since he had had the honour of sitting in Parliament, for its unparalleled inconsistency—(cheers)—its barefaced duplicity—(renewed cheers, and “Oh, oh!” from the Opposition)—ay, and he would say, its matchless hypocrisy—(cheers)—would stand unrivalled in the records or the annals of Parliament. (Loud cheers.) His immediate object in rising was, if possible, to catch a little of that sympathy which appeared to exist in the breasts of honourable members opposite for the population of foreign states. He wished to seek a little of that sympathy for the sufferings and distresses of our own fellow-countrymen—(cheers)—which he would venture to prove to the House most distinctly far exceeded those of any negroes in the world. (Hear, hear.) But before he proceeded to do so, he begged to be allowed to congratulate honourable members opposite on the fidelity with which they could keep a secret. (Hear, hear.) Speaker after speaker on that (the ministerial) side of the House had made the most urgent, and, he might say the most pathetic appeals, to know, in the event of their defeating her

Majesty's ministers on this occasion, what they would do ;— (hear, hear)—but, with one exception, those honourable gentlemen had been as silent as the grave. He need not remind the House that this exception was the right honourable gentleman, member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Goulburn). He, to be sure, coquetted and played with the question. He demanded of her Majesty's ministers, "Why do you ask us this question? You have no right to do so—you have produced the crisis and the difficulty, and you must propound the remedy." (Hear, hear.) But he should like to know who had created the difficulty? Had it arisen from any extravagant and unauthorized expenditure on the part of the Government, or from any misconduct on the part of the people? What were the items by which this deficiency had been produced? A great and overwhelming loss, nearly 900,000*l.*, from the free communication by post which had been established. (Tory cheers.) Had not that been authorized by Parliament—had it not met with the approbation of the whole country? (Cheers.) What was the other cause of the deficiency? Did it not arise out of the deficiency of our excise returns? Did it not arise from the improved disposition and temperance of the Irish people? (Cheers.) He was told that temperance in Ireland had caused a deficiency of half a million. He wished to know, then, how honourable gentlemen opposite meant to meet the difficulty if they came into office? Did they mean to repeal the Penny Postage Act? (Cheers.) Dared they raise the postage of letters? ("Oh, oh," and cheers.) Did they mean to promote inebriety in Ireland? (Loud cheers.) Did they mean to take half a million of money from the starving people of England in support of what they are pleased to call church extension; or is their panacea to admit the claim of the honourable member for Antrim, who, disdaining the twenty millions that this country has already paid to the pampered slave-drivers of the West Indies, modestly demands one hundred and seventeen millions more? (Loud cheers.) But the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Goulburn), after beating some

time about the bush, took compassion upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and said, "If you really want to know what my remedy is, I will tell you." The Chancellor of the Exchequer, good easy man, pricks up his ears, and naturally says to himself, "What a kind, good-hearted man that is; what a disinterested patriot! He at least is evidently not actuated by party views; he is really going to extricate us from the difficulty we are in;" and, after all, what is the remedy propounded by the member for the University of Cambridge? To use his own words, "*by leaving things alone.*" But he (Mr. Duncombe) was prepared to prove that they could not "leave things alone."

In May, 1841, the member for Finsbury was selected to present the great Chartist petition, signed by 1,300,000 persons, and he did so with a speech that was a model of elocutionary common sense. The petitioners prayed for the liberation of political offenders. He concluded by moving an Address to the Crown that the prayer might be carried into effect. His motion was supported by Hume, Leader, Evans, O'Connell, Wakley, Hall, &c. &c.; and opposed by Mr. Fox Maule, Lord John Russell, and Sir Robert Peel—principally on the ground that such an interference with the course of justice was an encroachment on the royal prerogative. On a division the numbers were the same for and against, but the Speaker gave a casting-vote against the motion, and it was lost. Nevertheless the debate was extremely encouraging to Mr. Duncombe; and the result was so much the reverse to the Government that they talked of resigning. Some of the incarcerated sent him an address from Newgate thanking him for his exertions in their favour, to which he replied in suitable terms.

Mr. Duncombe's identification with the extreme

section of politicians emboldened Mr. Tooke to stand the result of a division among the proprietors and members of University College, London, in which he held the same office he had occupied in the Society of Useful Knowledge. The latter he had found it necessary to resign, preparations having been made for turning him out. By extraordinary exertions he managed to secure a majority of two (his son and his brother); and though it was virtually a defeat, he published an address congratulating himself and the University.

As the Government had been defeated on the Sugar Duties on the 18th of May, and again on the 24th by a motion of want of confidence, they resolved to appeal to the country. This ought to have brought Mr. Tooke to the hustings.

Mr. Duncombe now cast in his lot with the extreme Radical party, seeing, apparently, how hopeless it was to expect any great measure of good from the hand-to-mouth policy of a Whig government, and not yet being satisfied that the supporters of Peel and Wellington deserved his confidence. Mr. Disraeli, it seems, did not win him over to Conservative views; nor did that right honourable gentleman's guest entice him into Radicalism—probably neither entertained such an intention. Mr. Grote, one of the most intelligent reformers the age had produced, appears to have been his example; and, in conjunction with other influential friends, he more and more countenanced the Chartist movement. He was thus brought into intimate communion with several of the agitators who had acquired a local celebrity, and was much occupied with their correspondence.

Among the Chartist celebrities who favoured him most in this was Cooper, author of "The Purgatory of Suicides."

On the 14th of June Mr. Duncombe published a stirring address to his constituents, and was elected for the fourth time before the end of the month. Mr. Tooke did not venture to contest the borough. He was content with the judgment of his "enlightened and independent majority." Mr. Duncombe, satisfied on better grounds, published a letter of thanks.

He had now to prepare for a more active campaign than any he had experienced during his fifteen years of Parliamentary service. The Whigs went out, and the Tories came in, on the 6th of September. Sir Robert Peel was again in office, with a thorough Tory cabinet. The Liberals of course were in Opposition, but were gaining strength, and knew that they would be regarded with increased consideration by Whigs and Tories. On the 6th the member for Finsbury spoke on the motion for a Committee of Inquiry on the prevalence of bribery, when he stated that a large majority of the House owed their election to such practices. As Parliament was prorogued on the 7th, operations against the new Government had to be deferred.

In the interim his time was occupied with a good deal of Chartist correspondence from town and country. Patriots sprung up in all directions, who required his advice and assistance. Most of them had little objects of their own to gratify, and the popular member for Finsbury was expected to help them. Mr. Cooper was a printer, and wanted to start a publication with the suggestive title of "The Extinguisher." Mr. Duncombe sent a handsome contribution; but

"The Extinguisher" only extinguished itself, and Mr. Duncombe was asked to support a sequel to it in the shape of "The Commonwealthsman." His correspondent had previously edited "The Illuminator" and "The Rushlight;" but the one had illumined no one, and the other appeared to have been lit at both ends—it so soon burnt itself out. Mr. Duncombe again answered the appeal; but "The Commonwealthsman" never became common enough, and possessed not the most remote pretensions to wealth.

Mr. Cooper was an experienced Liberal, having adopted his opinions, he writes, at fourteen, from reading the "History of Athens"; and must have had some ingenuity, for he acknowledges that he gave lectures on "astronomy, geology, geography, Newton, and Saxon history," always weaving Chartism into the subject. But evidently his cleverness did not do him much service as a journalist. After the *first* number "The Commonwealthsman" went the way of "The Illuminator," "The Extinguisher," &c. &c., and came to a lamentable end before it was a month old.

Mr. Feargus O'Connor was a more celebrated as well as a more intimate associate. He was a gentleman of fortune and position in Ireland, who had determined on playing a prominent part in English politics. Mr. Duncombe, impressed by his earnestness of manner, accepted his co-operation, and nothing could exceed his devotion to his leader.

Denham Cottage, Tuesday.

MY DEAR SIR,—I beg to enclose you a letter from Hull, and to add my request to that of the requisitionists. I am on the look-out for the long-headed fellow to arrange a table of details for you. Hoping that your health is now quite restored, I am, faithfully yours,  
FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

4, Caroline-street, Hull, Feb. 11th, 1842.

DEAR SIR,—You are doubtless aware of our victory over “the plague” at the Town Hall on the 24th of January. The Wigs, though fairly beaten, were determined not to be outdone; so on the Saturday following they had a snug little meeting in the magistrates’ room—Sir Wm. Lanethorp in the chair—and adopted their petitions, of course, without our amendment, which they have forwarded to Mr. Hutt for presentation. I have sent our petition with a letter by this post to Mr. T. Duncombe, for him to present in opposition to theirs, if that gentleman will condescend to do so. Our object in writing to you is, that if you can possibly devote so much of your valuable time to us as to wait upon Mr. Duncombe, you perhaps might induce him to do us the favour of presenting our petition; for the Wigs have the impudence to tel us that we cannot get any member of the House of Commons to present it, and the Chartists of Hull would very much like to convince them of the contrary. Hoping that we shall have your cohoperation in this business,

I remain, sir, your sincere, though very humble servant,

JAMES GRASSBY, Sub-Secretary.

Feergus O’Connor, Esq.

When Place, the tailor of Charing Cross, was in the habit of coming prominently before the public as a Reformer, he was sometimes twitted with the suggestive axiom then much in vogue, “Measures, not men;” but there was a reforming clothier at Leeds who was desirous of advocating it in its most practical shape. He was apparently tired of hearing the hackneyed reference to the proverb—“Cut a coat according to the cloth,” and desired the shaping of another garment, but of the very humblest fabric. The material, it must be admitted, was not adapted for the intended wearer’s appearance at any of the fashionable parties to which he was daily invited;

but there is no doubt that he appreciated the sensible gift, though there is no evidence that he capitalised it politically at the "Crown and Anchor," or at "White Conduit House":—

175, Briggate, Leeds, July 6th, 1842.

SIR,—I take the liberty of sending you a trowsers piece, three yards in length, made from "devil's dust" and "cotton." If you think it is not suitable wear for a gentleman, be kind enough to hand it to Mr. Busfield Ferrand, *as a reward for his enormous lying*. I can supply you with any quantity at fourpence halfpenny per yard.

There are thousands of persons in this town who admire your honest and independent conduct, and only regret you are not better supported in the House.

I remain, your obedient servant,

WM. WHITEHEAD.

T. S. Duncombe, Esq., M.P.

We add a communication from one of the principal writers in the *Northern Star*, the oracle of the Northern Radicals, and for many years supported by Feargus O'Connor and the extreme Liberals. There is some exaggeration in the statement it contains: the man referred to had been sentenced to imprisonment for a political offence at Sheffield, and had endured two years of his sentence when he sickened and died. His townsmen were exasperated by this mischance into holding an indignation meeting, when they resolved to send a petition to Parliament praying for inquiry, and this petition, it was unanimously resolved, should be presented by the popular member for Finsbury:—

Sheffield, No. 11 Hartshead, July 8th, 1842.

SIR,—Herewith I send a memorial to the House of Commons praying for enquiry into the treatment and death



of the deceased Samuel Holberry. Particulars are stated in the memorial.

I am instructed by the Chartist Council to request that you will present it. It was adopted at a very large meeting of many thousands of persons held in Paradise Square on the 27th of June last. Certain circumstances have prevented me sending the copy sooner.

The death (murder it is considered here) of poor Holberry, at the age of only twenty-seven, has excited the greatest indignation of the people of Sheffield against the Government. Upon the occasion of the funeral, a mass of people assembled such as within the memory of the oldest inhabitant has never before been seen in Sheffield.

The deceased has left a wife to mourn his untimely end. She is about the age of her deceased husband, an amiable and accomplished woman. She was arrested with her husband, and shamefully ill-treated. Three months after, and while her husband was undergoing the tortures that have sent him to the grave, she gave birth to a child, which did not live. What wonder! They had been married but fourteen months when he was arrested; he had been nearly two years and a half from her, the inmate of a dungeon, when he sunk under his punishment. His wife had never seen him during that time but once, and then only through iron bars; the next time she saw him she gazed upon—not him, but his livid corpse.

Think you, sir, that the aristocracy will not one day rue these things? Fools! the fearful lesson given to all Europe within the memory of most of them, appears to be forgotten or unheeded. Be it so.

We hope to be able to raise the means of placing Mrs. Holberry above the reach of want.

By this post I forward you a copy of last Saturday's *Northern Star*, in which is given a lengthy account of the funeral proceedings. With the deepest respect,

I am, sir, your very obedient servant,

GEORGE JULIAN HARNEY.

T. S. Duncombe, Esq., M.P.

Acknowledgments of Mr. Duncombe's services to the people came from various places; his position, too, was recognised by foreigners as well as by Englishmen. *Le Courier de l'Europe* states to its readers:—

Pour être juste envers les principaux membres du parti radical en Angleterre, disons que pendant ces troubles ils se sont soigneusement abstenus de tout ce qui pouvait être interprété comme une adhésion aux principes anarchiques des Chartistes. M. Duncombe, par exemple, qui dans cette session comme toujours a loyalement et habilement défendu les doctrines démocratiques, n'en a pas moins dédaigné une vaine popularité et n'a point voulu prêter l'autorité de son nom aux agitateurs. M. Duncombe est radical, mais il ne veut pas arriver à la réalisation de ses idées par le désordre. Il y a dans ses discours au parlement un parfum d'honnêteté, un accent de conviction, qui inspirent la confiance à ceux qui sont le plus éloignés de partager ses convictions politiques: c'est le Garnier-Pagès de la tribune Anglaise.

The session of 1842 commenced with the discussion on the Corn Laws; but quite as much interest was excited when Mr. Duncombe, on the 3rd of May, presented to the House what was styled "The People's Petition," praying for the Six Points of "the Charter." It bore three million five hundred thousand signatures. On his moving that the petitioners, by their agents or counsel, should be heard at the bar, Sir James Graham and Sir Robert Peel, Lord Francis Egerton and Mr. Hawes, Mr. Macaulay, and even Mr. Roebuck, opposed; and on a division the motion was lost by 207 against 49 in favour. There could be no disputing the meaning of this declaration of the House of Commons; it created universal dissatisfaction among the industrial classes, and strikes,

riots, and tumultuous processions became general in the manufacturing districts and populous cities. Many seditious speeches were uttered ; but the Government were prompt in their measures of repression. Several persons were arrested, and among them Mr. Feargus O'Connor, the member for Finsbury's too zealous subordinate.

In the political session of 1842, the popularity Mr. Duncombe had acquired by presenting the national petition created increased demands upon his time. He was to be seen at the Reform Club, he assisted in getting up the Birkbeck testimonial, attended public dinners at White Conduit House, at Highbury tavern, at Radley's Hotel, the Crown and Anchor, Strand, as well as committees in the House of Commons ; visited the House of Correction and Model Prison ; met deputations of various kinds ; joined in the principal parliamentary debates ; played a conspicuous part in public meetings ; was present at the National Hall tea-party and *fête* ; and received invitations from Dundee, Edinburgh, Greenock, York, Glasgow, Birmingham, Hull, Bristol, Keighley, Rochdale, Liverpool, Derby, Oldham, Bradford, Huddersfield, Aberdeen, Sheffield, Leeds, Salford, Ashton-under-Line, Bolton, Stockport, and Manchester ; of which he could accept only Manchester, Stockport, and Leeds.

When his private affairs and amusements are considered, it will be acknowledged that, in his case, popularity was no sinecure.

On the 24th of August, Mr. Duncombe attended a large public meeting, held at the White Conduit House, to take into consideration the distressed state

of the country. Mr. Feargus O'Connor accompanied him; both made what were considered very telling speeches, and were vehemently cheered. The former received a vote of thanks; and the latter, while responding to the call made for him, did justice to the merits of his friend. The assembly of ten thousand persons then quietly dispersed.

The country was in a state of such intense excitement that the leaders of the people generally displayed a prudent reserve. The member for Finsbury, however, continued his course, and whether in town or country spoke out with a manliness that won him universal respect. This was peculiarly the case at the great meeting held in November at Stockport, where he was the only person of influence or education who dared to come forward as a friend of the working classes.

On the 29th of October, in the same year, a festival was held at the National Hall, Holborn, in compliment to Mr. Duncombe, Colonel Thompson in the chair. It was attended by eminent reformers, who acknowledged the public services of the member for Finsbury in glowing terms; and the chairman, in an eloquent speech, put forward the following resolution:—"Our invited guest, T. S. Duncombe, Esq., a legislator regardless of party or faction, who having espoused just principles has honestly stood forward in Parliament the advocate of his oppressed and suffering countrymen. May he continue to pursue the same sound, just, and prudent course, till the rights of the millions are won, and their wrongs redressed."

This elicited from him a long and powerful speech, in which he reiterated his opinions in favour of liberal

measures. It was listened to throughout with general attention, and enthusiastically cheered.

In this year at least half a dozen different biographies of Mr. Duncombe appeared in the public journals, several embellished with characteristic portraits; all were laudatory, and all found a large sale. In every quarter there was the same appreciation of his fearless honesty and agreeable *bonhomme*. Testimonials and complimentary festivals were frequent; in short, he did not appear to have a single enemy. His entire life was canvassed from the cradle, yet no one was able to find a passage that could call in question his claims to sincerity. He spoke out on all public occasions; but the Government wisely left him unmolested at a time when they were strenuously endeavouring to suppress similar ideas in England and Ireland. Those who published them, however, were notoriously political adventurers, in whose discretion no confidence could be placed.

The following communications show that the fame of the member for Finsbury had extended to the capital of the northern portion of the island. The Chartist agitation had developed into an extensive combination. It was intended to form a convention, to which every portion of the empire was to send delegates; their number to vary in accordance with the population of the district. Edinburgh had for some time displayed a partiality for advanced opinions, but in seeking for representatives went far afield. The reply to the application of the inhabitants of the "modern Athens" is well worthy of observation:—

1842  
2/1

7, Milne-square, Edinburgh, Dec. 7th, 1842.

ESTEEMED SIR,—I have been requested to intimate to you that, at a public meeting of the inhabitants of this city, held on Monday, the 5th instant, for the purpose of electing delegates to attend the conference to be held at Birmingham on the 27th of December, and following days, the following gentlemen were duly elected :—The Rev. Dr. John Ritchie, Mr. Robert Lowery, John Dunlop, Esq. of Brockloch, Mr. Henry Ranken, Joseph Sturge, Esq. of Birmingham, and Thomas S. Duncombe, Esq., M.P. Permit me, sir, to state that the citizens of Edinburgh entertain a very high sense of the many important services which you have rendered to the cause of popular liberty, and will feel highly honoured by your attending the conference as one of their representatives.—I have the honour to be, sir,

Your obedient servant,      THOMAS BLACKIE.

The Albany, December 12th, 1842.

DEAR SIR,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 7th date, informing me that the inhabitants of Edinburgh, in public meeting assembled, had done me the honour to elect me as one of their representatives at the conference intended to be held on the 27th instant at Birmingham. I hope it is unnecessary for me to assure you, or those on whose behalf you address me, how deeply sensible I am of the high compliment they have been pleased to pay me by this public mark of their confidence. I regret to say that, although engagements long since made would have precluded the possibility of my complying with their wishes, yet I think it but right to state, that in justice to their cause I should equally have felt myself compelled most respectfully to have declined the honour and responsibility of their delegation, even had I been disengaged at the period alluded to; convinced as I am that, in order to enable any delegate to do full justice to the interests and opinions of those he is called upon to represent upon so important an occasion, that the delegate should possess a much closer personal acquaintance and local connexion with his

constituents than that which I can have the happiness to claim as existing between myself and the citizens of Edinburgh. Allow me, at the same time, to thank you for the kind manner in which you express yourself in approbation of my past Parliamentary labours in the cause of popular liberty, and to assure you and the reformers of Edinburgh that so long as I have a seat in the House of Commons no exertions shall be spared on my part in endeavouring to obtain for the people those electoral privileges to which I consider not only their increased intelligence entitles them, but which a due protection of the interests of all classes imperatively demands.—I have the honour to remain, dear sir,

Yours faithfully, T. S. D.

Thomas Blackie, Esq., Edinburgh.

## CHAPTER XV.

## EXPOSURE OF SIR JAMES GRAHAM.

Mazzini and the member for Finsbury—Egotism—Apology for Sir James Graham—Charge of opening Mr. Mazzini's and Mr. Duncombe's letters—Indignation meeting—Letter of Mazzini denouncing the English Government, and describing the violation of his correspondence—Parliamentary discussion—Committee of secrecy—The report conveys a direct contradiction to a statement made by Lord Aberdeen—Impression made on the public mind by the disclosures—Mazzini dissatisfied—More communications—Letters from Herr von Bismark and Signor Mariotti—Kossuth's statement of the case—Sir James Graham in *Punch*.

As it will be necessary to describe the state of Italian affairs as they were made known to the member for Finsbury, we shall defer a more detailed account of the great Italian patriot of whom he was so zealous a partisan, till we treat of the condition of Italy: let it suffice here to inform the reader that Giuseppe Mazzini, after unsuccessful efforts at republican propagandism in Italy, France, and Switzerland, had found shelter in England. He had sought the acquaintance of Mr. Duncombe, who joined a society under his direction called "The Friends of Italy," and satisfied with the ardour of his patriotism, and admiring his talent, shortly became on terms of the most cordial and confidential intimacy.

Mazzini at the close of the year 1836 had been



banished from Switzerland as a dangerous conspirator, and had proceeded to England. In the following January he arrived in London. He has taken the trouble of entering into a long review of his position, in which he has indulged in much philosophical diction, that people gifted only with plain sense may find it difficult to understand.\* The confession in the next page of the straits to which he was at this time reduced, does not show that this opportunity for self-examination was turned to any profit. This is much to be regretted. It is pitiable to see a man of superior intelligence succumbing to an evil destiny; but it is still more lamentable to find him striving to force events after repeated assurances had been given him that he was not fitted for the task he had undertaken, nor for the age in which he lived.

Mazzini's account of the discovery of the violation of his letters at the Post-office, as given in the third volume of his "Life and Writings," throws the earnest-minded Reformer to whose unremitting and arduous exertions in his behalf he was exclusively indebted for the Parliamentary inquiry that brought him and his affairs so prominently before the world, quite into the shade. He condescends to mention Mr. Duncombe by name; but of his zeal, courage, perseverance, and eloquence in addressing the House of Commons again and again, till the whole nation was roused to indignation by his exposure of the outrage, he says not a word. "*I*, therefore, caused a Committee of Inquiry to be demanded," is a most disingenuous way of putting the stirring appeals of the member for Finsbury.

\* See "Life and Writings," vol. iii. pp. 170 to 175.

It is quite true that he afforded what information he could, as the following correspondence will prove.

Sir James Graham being the minister who sanctioned the opening of Mazzini's letters, was naturally the chief object of his indignation; but whatever may have been the amount of blame he incurred by the proceeding, he had merely followed precedents that had been set him by every Secretary of State, including Lords John Russell, Palmerston, Melbourne, and the Marquis of Lansdowne, including also Charles James Fox! The error is no doubt a grievous one, in accordance with English notions of fair play; but then the greatest advocates of these notions have been obliged to fall into it. Mazzini writes:—

108, High Holborn, Wednesday.

DEAR SIR,—The speech of Sir James Graham as to my case, amounts to these affirmations:—

1. "That the date of the warrant is correct." It may be true: but we state that we are ready to prove that my letters have been opened two months before the date. The Lords' committee states the fact that they have been opened for some time at least beyond the date. The rational consequence is, that the letters have been opened during some time without a warrant; and it is likely that the Post-office authorities, seeing that the thing was going on for a longer time than they expected, insisted upon sheltering themselves, in case of discovery, under a warrant. In such an hypothesis, the two under-secretaries and the clerk have nothing to do with the business.

2. "That Lord Aberdeen did not utter a falsehood, &c." Lord Aberdeen declared that not a syllable of the correspondence had been communicated—only the contents were transmitted. If there is a distinction to be drawn between the two things, certainly it would do honour to the most quick and cunning Jesuit one can imagine. You steal

my purse : give to the next robber in the crowd the money contained in it : then you declare, on your honour, that you have not transmitted a single penny, because the purse has not been transmitted ; or, still more to the case, because the original thief before transmitting the money has changed it into bank-notes. What was the meaning of Lord Normanby's question, if not of knowing whether or not this opening of the letters had taken place for England's or for a foreign power's sake ? And what is the meaning of Lord Aberdeen's answer, if not saying : " Oh ! no ; we have not been so wearisome as to copy and transmit literally the whole ; we drew up a summary of the important parts " ? Really, it seems to me that there is no self-respect in listening patiently to such shameful things, mixed up with words such as *honour* and *loyalty*.

3. " That no trap was laid for the Bandiera and their companions."

" A descent on the coast of Calabria was not *expected*." No ; it was *wanted*.

" They were not opposed on landing." True ; who can foresee the point of the shore where a boat with twenty-one men will land ? They were not opposed, neither by troops, nor by the civic guard, as he says : they took, undisturbed, to the mountains leading to Cosenza. But how is a summary of the facts ?—before it, no man in his senses will doubt, I hope, the entrapping.

First.—On the 21st of May, after my letters and refusal to help them with money, every scheme of action was laid aside ; they were talking of going to seek a living in Algiers. On the 6th, 7th, and 8th June, a faint idea of attempting had revived, but it was an idea of accompanying Ricciotti to a point of the estates of the Pope. All this is from their letters, in my possession.

Secondly.—It was during the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th, that the false reports, of which I spoke in the *Chronicle* and at the end of the pamphlet on the Post-office, were spread around them. It was during these days that Boccheciampi, the man enjoying their confidence, and who

had been bought by the Neapolitan consul at Corfu, prevailed upon them and led them to Calabria. They started on the 12th, writing their last letter to me, and stating all the reports. Boccheciampi started with them : landed with them, armed, and with the national cockade. As soon as they landed he vanished, went to Cotione, and gave information of the direction they had taken. After three days of march, when they came forth from the forests in a narrow defile of San Giovanni, in Fiore, they found themselves there, where troops are never quartered, [surrounded] by a mass of troops. Besides all other authorities we have, Boccheciampi has been denounced by Nardi (one of the shot) in a letter written from the condemned cell twelve hours before dying, and which I published in the *Times* and *Chronicle* some time ago. The letter was conveyed through the Austrian agents.

Thirdly.—On the 18th July, seven days before the execution, the Neapolitan agent at Corfu, Gregorio Balsamo, was granted the order of Francis the First by his king, with a public decree, for *services paid* in the thing. What services? Publicly, officially, he had done nothing; was deserving of reproaches: he had prevented neither the starting nor the landing.

Whatever the answer may be given to the question put by Mr. Milnes at the end of the debate, you can maintain, without the least fear of mistaking, that never a single communication has been made or hint given to the exiles at Corfu about their being watched or suspected.

The political question seems to me to have been left almost intact; perhaps it is more advisable not to mix it up with a question of morality now. Still, it seems to me a rather perplexing fact, that ministers of a constitutional monarchy declare themselves ready to help, secretly, absolutist powers abroad. I have touched the point in a letter inserted in the *Morning Chronicle* of the 18th.

As to Stolzmann's and Worcell's case, there is a striking remark that has been neglected. Sir Robert Peel has talked beautiful sentimental twaddle about the horrible position in

which he would have found himself had the Emperor of Russia been killed in London. The emperor left England on the 10th of June; the warrant against my Polish friends was cancelled on the 20th. What was the ground for opening their letters during ten days after all possibility of danger had vanished?

Thanks and most sincere heartfelt congratulations for your noble speech. I will call on you to-morrow morning. Perhaps you will be able to appoint a place for meeting in the House, and lead Mr. Linton and me somewhere. It was impossible yesterday to get in.

Believe me, dear sir, ever yours,    **JOS. MAZZINI.**

As an instance of striving to benefit oneself at the expense of another, the following communication will be found worthy of notice. The writer first makes it appear that he has obtained the services of some subordinate in the Post-office, for whom he requires Mr. Duncombe to find employment. He then suggests a comprehensive system of agitation in the way of indignation meetings, the expenses of which he wishes to shift from his own pocket. There was a crowded meeting at White Conduit House, to demand an inquiry into the suspicions implied against the member for Finsbury, by opening his letters at the Post-office. Mr. Wakley again made a warm defence of his colleague. Other speakers, including Sir Charles Napier, were equally favourable; but not a word was said about Mazzini.

108, High Holborn, Wednesday.

**MY DEAR SIR,**—Will you allow me to express a few thoughts about the course that, according to my opinion, ought to be taken in regard to the letter-opening affair? You will do with them what you think proper.

There is, with one condition that I will name by and by, a dilemma in which we can place our letter-breakers, and

from which I don't see how they can, even with all the jesuitic definitions of Lord Aberdeen, escape. It is stated, in the two reports, that a warrant was issued for the opening of my correspondence on the 1st of March. Suppose that we can prove that my correspondence was opened two months before, one of the two things must be: either they have forged a warrant for the purpose of deceiving the committees, and narrowing the proportions of the case; or they have had my letters opened during two months and more without a warrant, but only through some confidential intelligence between one of the Ministry and one of the chief officers of the post. Both cases are equally guilty.

The ground upon which truth has been concealed is this. I stated in my petition that during four months my letters had been violated. I stated *that* only because, not knowing whether the Government would avow or deny the charge, I was obliged to state only what I was ready to prove from my own evidence. They thought, of course, that my knowledge of the fact was not going beyond the four months, and acted accordingly.

Now, it is a fact that my letters were opened, with or without a legal warrant, from nearly the Christmas of 1843. I had, soon after Christmas, a friendly advice from the man whom you know: it was forwarded to me through my maid and in the presence of another English woman. They would, if required, corroborate the evidence that the man would be ready to give—if he was otherwise employed.

You will not, I hope, think it too bold of me if I here venture to recal to your memory that the man was promised *that*, should circumstances require. He is a good and clever man, and has acted from good and noble feelings; he has a family to support. He appears to be suspected; and though they will not commit the blunder of ejecting him, without motive, from his situation, still he is sure of never being promoted, and besides deprived even now of all little extraordinary profits granted to his companions. I think myself the moment come for our calling him up, when the discussion opens, to say all that he knows; but that can-

not be done without his being provided for. *This*, unhappily, *I* cannot do; I could afford to him a little temporary relief, but not find employment. You will see what *can* be done by English friends in this way.

From what I hear I think that the prospects of our succeeding within the Houses are not very brilliant. The first outbreak of public opinion having subsided, strange and illogical as it is, it has entered in the head of many that with the two reports the affair has come to an end. The reopening of the discussion ought to have been preceded by some external agitation. And nothing was easier, nothing is easier. A few meetings—one City meeting—you in the chair; a petition drawn, signed at the meeting, then deposited elsewhere, are things very easily done. I could have easily found speakers for a monster meeting; but it would require a rather great expense for the room, the advertisements, bills, placards, &c. I had thought a moment of having a subscription publicly opened for the organizing of a legal agitation towards the result. But one name was wanted: the name of a man of known honesty, in whose hands the voluntary contributions could be put, and that name is not within *my* reach.

I suppose you have seen some time ago, in the *Morning Chronicle*, a long article on the proceedings adopted by the Government towards our exiles at Malta. It was sent by me. Perhaps my friends there will send more facts before the opening of the House.—Believe me, dear sir,

Ever respectfully yours,           JOSEPH MAZZINI.

Mazzini was irritated respecting a charge of having, as judge of a secret tribunal at Marseilles, signed a death warrant against two of his countrymen in France, which he had averred was a forgery. He had, in a French court of law, prosecuted the prefect Gisquet, for having referred to it in a work he had published; but the court dismissed the case with costs, under the pretence that the prefect, in writing his book, might

have been thinking of another Mazzini. It seems that Mr. Duncombe wanted him in a more formal manner to deny the charge; hence the captious tone of his answer below. He was subsequently induced to publish a letter, addressed to Mr. Duncombe, in which he denied any knowledge of the transaction referred to; and he avers that he will never more have anything to do with the House of Commons.

By the next note, it appears that his friend was desirous of obtaining for him compensation for loss of time and trouble in pursuing the charge against the Post-office; but this did not meet his approval.

108, High Holborn, Friday.

DEAR SIR,—My not meeting you yesterday night at the House of Commons will have told you that, after all due examination, I decided for the negative. The opinion of Panizzi, Linton, and all my friends, was entirely unfavourable to the scheme. They all agreed in this, that if I was an Englishman I ought to do so, but that, as a foreigner, I ought not. Last year, even against their opinion, I would not have hesitated; now I do. I might be mistaken, and wish to be so, but I fear that the result would be null. I do not feel at all confident, looking at the conduct of Wakley, and of all the Anti-Corn-law League, that you would be supported in your exertions; and things seem to go wrong out of doors. If your majorities want to have their letters opened, be it so; I will not fight their battles. I don't care at all about what is called public opinion when I can reach a result. But I don't like to be accused of seeking notoriety by struggling for no purpose. If I was an Englishman I could have no such fears about misinterpretation of my object.

As to personal satisfaction, I must say I feel not the least interest in getting one. I feel within myself the profoundest contempt for Sir James Graham, and I would spurn rather than accept his apologies. This feeling of



contempt I will express in an unequivocal manner in the pamphlet of which I am now correcting the proof; and if they will find it to be a breach of privilege, so much the better—but *there* I have an object. I want to plead the cause of my country, and the necessity of appealing to physical force that is incumbent upon us. Whenever I write I feel it to be my duty to write whatever amount of truth I have in my heart; and if I meet Secretaries of State or Parliamentary majorities in my way, I must not shrink from treating them as they deserve. In the other case I would seem as if I was looking for them.

To-day I will see somebody whose opinion could influence me to a different course; and if so, you will know it immediately. The loss of time would do no harm: I would only say that I wanted to grant full time to Sir J. Graham for a re-examination of the case.—Believe me, dear sir,

Ever truly and gratefully yours,

JOS. MAZZINI.

The interest with which Mazzini watched the debate then going on in the House of Commons respecting his correspondence, may be gathered from the following rather caustic commentary on the opinions expressed by the Ministry and their supporters. It should, however, be remembered that the question was of almost universal interest, as it affected every one who might have secrets to communicate to a confidential friend by means of correspondence—to members of the commercial quite as much as those of the political world. But to his compatriots it was of vital importance, as it affected the safety of their near relations and dearest friends. We add the notes intended to refresh the memory of his advocate:—

108, High Holborn, Friday.

DEAR SIR,—The change in the physiognomy of the House was yesterday night quite unexpected to me. Mr. Charles

Buller had "a burden taken off from him" by Sir Robert Peel's explanations in his answer to M. Milnes' question. For all other members his explanations were quite satisfactory. These explanations I have examined again, and am at a loss how to understand the reasons of the change.

Sir Robert Peel was asked whether the Government had, through Lord Seaton or others, given advices to the Bandiera. He answered, "They had not." So far as that, there is an aggravation of the case.

But then, there is a motive given : of what sort ?

"That they could not suppose *twenty-two men* would go, unarmed, to attack an Italian estate."

The *twenty-two men* are a fact, and not a *theory*. Neither Sir Robert Peel nor Lord Aberdeen could guess, before the fact, that the Bandiera would take with them only twenty men. The question is, therefore, whether they were apprized or not of the intentions of the Bandiera.

Take up the explanations of Sir Robert Peel. He says "that plots were carrying on in the Mediterranean English possessions;" that "these plots were the subject of Lord Aberdeen's watching and communications."

Malta and Corfu are the only English possessions in the Mediterranean where Italian exiles are to be found. From Malta and Corfu only, letters were coming to me during the operation of the warrant. Now, I do affirm upon my honour, and I have the proofs at home, that in the two-thirds of those letters there is nothing but debating on the landing-schemes of the Bandiera. How, then, could Lord Aberdeen be ignorant of them? What was his inspecting my letters for? What about was he communicating with the foreign power?

The *entrapping* is denied. The proofs I have given of this entrapping are these—

The very fact of the descent made on the 12th, when on the 21st of May the Bandiera had renounced to all schemes of that sort—when, on the 8th of June, they thought only of following another man to a point of the Roman Estates : all this from their letters.

The sudden spreading, through strangers who came on the 9th, 10th, and 11th from the kingdom of Naples to Corfu, of false news about insurrectionary movements in Calabria and other provinces: all these news stated to me in the last letter of the Bandiera to me, where they give the reasons of this sudden decision.

The presence of a traitor (Boccheciampi) amongst them, who pushed them to go, went with them, disappeared when landed, and went to Cotione, to give information: this man being denounced not only by all our informations; by public notoriety; by the fact of not being condemned with the others for the expedition, but simply accused of having known and not revealed a plot;—but by the last letter written by Nardi, one of the victims, twelve hours before his death, from the condemned cell, to a friend at Corfu, and conveyed through the Austrian embassy. This letter, published in the *Times* and in the *Chronicle*, is the same upon which Lord John Russell grounded a question yesterday night.

The attack made on the exiles at San Giovanni, a little place where not a single soldier is quartered, by a mass of royal troops.

The order of St. Francis the First, solemnly given by the King of Naples, with his public decree of the 18th July, to Gregorio Balsamo, the Neapolitan agent, for *services rendered on the occasion*. What services, if he, according to Sir Robert Peel, was taken by surprise?

Of these proofs not one has been refuted, or even alluded to, in the “satisfactory-shaking-off-burdenings” explanations. The only insinuation against the statement is, “that the exiles were put down by inhabitants, consequently not by soldiers.”

Now, the decree of the 18th July, published in the *Official Gazette* of Naples, contains one hundred and seventy rewards awarded by the King of Naples to one hundred and seventy men belonging to the civic guards, to gendarmes, and to soldiers and officers of the second battalion of chasseurs, for their behaviour in the conflict. Is Sir Robert Peel better informed than the Neapolitan government?

I was forgetting to state that the Bandiera left Corfu in one boat, armed, and with a great quantity of ammunition, as stated in their last letter to me.

The honourable House was perhaps tired of listening to complaints about nine generous and brave-hearted foreigners shot in such a distant place from England; but if a Ministerial statement was to be accepted as entirely satisfactory and admitting of no discussion, one does not really see the purpose of having entered in the most noble and earnest manner into the debate. "Be quick: speak out what defence you like; it will prove acceptable," was a language more fit to be used from the beginning.

I am, dear sir, ever truly yours,

Jos. MAZZINI.

*Notes.*—The warrant has been in operation against me at least since the beginning of March. Sixty or seventy letters addressed to me have been opened, coming from perhaps twenty-five or thirty different persons. Every care was taken to avert any suspicion—impressions of the seals taken; the cut sometimes so delicate that it almost required a magnifying glass to follow its trace; a double stamp invariably applied to alter or make illegible the mark of the hour at which the letter was reaching the General Post-office, and to conceal the delay.

The first month, the first week of the system, must have proved to the Home Department that England or English safety was not concerned in the correspondence. The session must have, therefore, been continued for the sake only of a foreign power.

The coincidence of these facts with the beginning of the agitation prevailing in Southern and Central Italy, affords another proof.

There appeared in the *Privileged Gazette of Milan* of the 20th April, 1844, and a few days before in the *Swabian Mercury*, an article saying—"That the English cabinet had addressed to that of Vienna promises extremely satisfactory concerning the agitation prevailing in Italy, and especially

the Estates of the Pope ; that besides formally protesting against all suspicions of sympathy with Young Italy and its political tendencies, the Government of Great Britain, going still further, was willing to put, as far as possible, a remedy to the agitation ; that, wanting to afford a direct co-operation towards such an aim, the English Government would endeavour to put a stop to all agitations proceeding from the exterior, beginning from Madrid ; that, as to the Italian exiles in London, hospitality would be severely restricted to the mere limits of duty ; that Mazzini would cease to be a person unknown to the London police," &c.

A short time after the Augsburg Gazette, *Allgemeine Zeitung*, printed "that, to escape the strict watching of the London police, Mazzini had fled to Portsmouth," which, of course, was false.

I have towards my country duties that I have tried and will try to fulfil, as an Englishman would do towards his own country ; but I challenge any Secretary of State, past, present, and future, to bring forward, not a proof, but a single slight indication, of my being, or ever having been, connected with English affairs or any of the English political parties in existence.

JOSEPH MAZZINI.

June 24th, 1844.

We will now trace the progress of the investigation towards the conclusion of the Session of 1844. June 14th, Mr. Duncombe, from his seat in the House of Commons, presented the petition of two Italians, Calderara and Mazzini, and two Englishmen, Lovett and Linton, complaining of their letters having been detained and opened at the Post-office ; and he moved for a committee of enquiry. The Secretary of State did not attempt to answer the allegations in the petition, and opposed the committee. He appeared to be supported by the House. The member for Finsbury

was not so easily to be got rid of. A few days later, he presented another petition from two respectable Poles, complaining of the same abuse. Mr. Duncombe pressed the case with his usual force; and on a division found himself in a minority of 164. The Government finding the case could not be pooh-poohed, gave way to the desire expressed by several members for investigation. The Earl of Radnor brought the matter before the attention of the other House; and each granted a committee of secrecy, to inquire into the alleged irregularities. On the 2nd July, the member for Finsbury moved for the appointment of a select committee. But Sir James Graham would only have a committee appointed by himself, from which Mr. Duncombe was excluded—the members being Lord Sandon, Sir William Heathcote, Sir Charles Lemon, and Messrs. Wilson Patten, Thomas Murray, Warburton, Strutt and Ord, and the O'Connor Don. Both committees sat, and both published reports early in the month of August. But before their publication the press had taken up the subject, and the severity of their strictures on the breach of confidence of which the petitioners had complained, had helped to create a very strong feeling in the public mind against the practice.

On the 12th of July, Mr. Duncombe presented another petition from Mazzini, desiring to be examined before the secret committee, but no notice was taken of it. Much sympathy was excited for him in consequence of a very characteristic letter, written by Mr. Thomas Carlyle, the eminent historian, expressing a warm eulogium on his qualities, moral and intellectual.

He wrote: "I have had the honour to know Mr. Mazzini for a series of years, and whatever I may think of his practical insight and skill in worldly affairs, I can with great freedom testify to all men, that he—if I have ever seen one such—is a man of genius and virtue—a man of sterling veracity, humanity, and nobleness of mind—one of those rare men numerable unfortunately but as units in this world, who are worthy to be called martyr souls."

This, and the powerful aversion that exists in the English mind to secret espionage, placed Mazzini on a pedestal such as a foreign refugee never was raised to before or since.

The Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Commons, with numerous annotations by Mr. Duncombe, is now before us. We learn from it that Whig and Tory ministers have freely exercised a privilege of breaking the seals of suspected correspondence. The report states that—"Representations had been made to the British Government from high quarters, that plots, of which Mr. Mazzini was the centre, were carrying on, upon British territory, to excite an insurrection in Italy: and that such insurrection, should it assume a formidable aspect, would, from peculiar political circumstances, disturb the peace of Europe. The British Government, considering the extent to which British interests were involved in the maintenance of that peace, issued on their own judgment, but not at the suggestion of any foreign power, a warrant to open and detain Mr. Mazzini's letters. Such information deduced from those letters as appeared to the British Government calculated to frustrate this attempt, was communicated to a foreign

power ; but the information so communicated was not of a nature to compromise, and did not compromise, the safety of any individual within the reach of that foreign power ; nor was it made known to that power by what means or from what source that information had been obtained."

This statement conveys a direct contradiction to one recently made in the House of Lords by Lord Aberdeen, that "not *one* syllable of the correspondence had been communicated to anybody whatever." There were other statements still more startling in the report, and they were commented upon with great freedom by all the journals. The *Law Magazine* and the *Westminster Review* published articles denouncing the system which had tolerated so gross a breach of common honour and honesty ; and at public meetings the exposure was an unfailing theme to excite popular condemnation.

The member for Finsbury was not satisfied. On the 19th of February, 1845, he brought the subject again before the House of Commons, commenting on the Secret Report in very severe terms. In the course of the debate Mr. Wakley made a most effective speech in support of his colleague, while Sir Robert Peel made as excellent a defence for his friend. The discussion did not terminate. Many more speeches were given ; but it was quite clear that Mr. Duncombe had made such an impression on the House and on the people of England as Government did not consider it safe to trifle with ; consequently an understanding was conceded that the practice complained of should be discontinued.

To this conclusion it is absurd to imagine that the



House of Commons was driven by the immediate influence of Mazzini. They had as little to do with him as possible—in truth, showed themselves indifferent to him personally. At this he took offence, and evidently at last was not well pleased with his advocate :—

108, High Holborn, April 6th, 1845.

DEAR SIR,—I will call on you between twelve o'clock and half-past twelve, and bring back to you the “copies and extracts.”

Meanwhile I send a sort of statement of my case. I cannot find in the “copies and extracts” anything worth being refuted, after what has been stated by you, by me, by the *Review*, and by the *Morning Chronicle*. The political past attempt on Savoy, leading of the National Association, proclamation, &c., I have never denied. I owe no account for my political acts except to my country, to which alone they are directed; I owe no account of my political principles, except to my own conscience and to God. If struggling for one's own country's emancipation could ever appear as a crime to many or some of your countrymen, so much the worse for them; to you, I trust, it will not. The only thing concerning the “secret tribunal” is owing, it seems, to informations forwarded to one of your agents abroad by an Austrian minister—that is, by the *man* of the Government against which all the efforts of my life have been and will be directed. If that is deemed to be the proper authority to apply to in such a case, I, for one, am more disposed to pity those who could believe so than to stoop to refute them.

I have felt extremely sorry at an expression contained in your last note to me; it seems almost to imply a doubt, which, from you, would grieve me more than all the foul accusations uttered by such a man as Sir James Graham; but, even to you, I cannot yield in this point. I have made my mind up, that I will not stoop down to justify myself from an accusation of such a kind. In your country, if a

court had given a verdict "killed without premeditation" in a case of murder, nobody would dare to accuse another man of having planned and ordered that very murder. Such a verdict has been given by the Supreme Court of l'Aveyron in the Rhodéz case. Why should I again justify myself in England? And for whom? Those who know me cannot doubt me for a single moment; about those who do not, and for whom all that has been said is insufficient, I have never cared, nor will begin now to care. I have, throughout all my life, answered all Ministerial accusations by mere contempt; and feel inclined to go on so. If such an accusation should be uttered before me, I would answer it—even if it came from a Secretary of State—by a slap on the face of the man who would be so impudent as to utter it in my presence. But I feel nothing but unutterable contempt for what is said out of my presence and under cover of Ministerial irresponsibility.

Believe me, dear sir, ever gratefully yours,

JOS. MAZZINI.

T. S. Duncombe, Esq., M.P.

#### FACTS AND DATES.

*August, 1832.*—The Ministerial decree ordering me out of France, owing to the same causes for which Sir James Graham would order me out of England if he, as in France, was empowered to do so—viz., the publishing the *Giovine Italia*, and acting as a leader in our national movement.

Voluntary concealment, as stated in the *Westminster*.

Fruitless inquiries and perquisitions from the police; reproaches from our government to the French authorities, pretending that they did not want to find me out, &c.

*June 7th, 1833.*—The forged document appears in the non-official part of the *Moniteur*, with both the signatures of Mazzini and La Cecilia.

*June 14th.*—My protestation, dated from Geneva (it is inserted, amongst other French papers, in the *Gazette des Tribunaux*, June 22nd). It runs so:—

"The *Moniteur* of the 7th of June, contains, &c. . . .

“That I, an independent foreigner, having never had any government grant, belonging to no category of exiles in France, have been, without any motive, undefended, and through the mere *bon plaisir* of the Ministry, ordered out of France, is no matter of great surprise; the measure originated from a corrupt and corrupting power, which has been successively playing the part of a betrayer at the Pyrenees, of a gendarme at Ancona, of a denouncer at Frankfort, and which has been persecuting in the name and for the sake of the Holy Alliance all men nobly devoted to a patriotic cause, &c. . . .

“But that, after the blow has been struck, poison should be thrown in the wound; that calumny should be added to persecution; that after a man has been deprived of his liberty, of his welfare, of all his comforts, an attempt should be made to deprive him of his honour, is low and disgusting to such an extent, that one could scarcely believe it, even when coming from such men. One would say it to be like the assassin's doing, who would move round his dagger in the heart of his victim. It suggests the image of worms crawling about a corpse.

“I will not stop here to expose all the contradictions crowding in that perfidious piece of absurdity; the date of my expulsion postponed from August to September, 1832; that of the forged sentence from Marseilles, whilst, in the body of the act, a letter is quoted from Marseilles to an unknown place; the alleged condemnation, on May 31st, to five years' imprisonment of the accused of wounds inflicted upon Emiliani, whilst they had a verdict of acquittal, &c. . . . But I will, before the proper court, ask the *Moniteur* how he has dared to affix my name—the name of a man who has ever felt stranger to the very thought of a crime—to such a low, ferocious production. I will ask him how, upon a mere copy, the authenticity of which has not been verified, he has dared to brand me as an assassin.

“Meanwhile, I feel bound, towards those who did spontaneously defend me, to give the lie (*dementi*) to the unknown accusers: and I do give it, most solemnly, to the

*Moniteur*, to all the papers hired by the Government, to the Government itself.

I defy them all, together with the foreign policy by which they have been prevailed upon to play the part of calumniators, to prove only one of the things they affirm ; to exhibit the original of the sentence ; to produce a single line or single word from me, apt to engender a belief in the possibility of such a dark deed from me.

I certainly did not carry into effect my threatenings of a prosecution. There was impossibility. I had been ordered the year before out of France, and was concealed ; I could not give a power to a friend, without having it legally framed and certified by public authorities. The only thing that I could do was to give myself up ; that is, to throw myself into the hands of foes aiming to my destruction, when my activity was most wanted—when I had to organize the insurrection then contemplated in Italy. Besides, no one took notice, in France, of the accusation. The document was universally admitted to have been forged by some obscure police agent. La Cecilia, whose name had been inserted along with mine, was not arrested, not interrogated, not deprived of the subsidy granted to the political exiles. To come forth and play the martyr would have been, not heroical, but ridiculous. I decided to await patiently for the result of the trial.

*November 30th, 1833.*—Verdict of the “ Cour d’Assises de l’Aveyron ” (Rhodéz). After two hours of deliberation the jury declared Gavioli guilty of homicide without premeditation, on the person of Emiliani ; guilty of homicide, without premeditation, on the person of Lazzareschi ; moreover, with extenuating circumstances.” Vide *Gazette des Tribunaux*, December 8th, 1833 ; adding, that “ it has not been possible to prove that Gavioli was the executor of a decree given by a secret society, nor that such a society was existing in France.”

Gisquet’s “ Mémoires.”

1841.—Law-suit against him for having reproduced the forged document. Vide *Westminster Review*.

The subject attracted the attention of foreigners generally. We add two notes, the signatures of which will direct attention to their remarks :—

1, Down-street, April 7th.

SIR,—I have read Sir James Graham's speech on the subject of Mr. Mazzini, delivered in the House of Commons on Tuesday, April 1st, and the debates on the same subject on that and the following Friday evening. I have long meditated upon it, lest indignation might prompt me with words which I might afterwards repent having spoken.

I say now coolly, calmly, and deliberately, as an intimate friend of Mazzini for the last fourteen years, no less than as an honest man and enemy to falsehood, that Sir James Graham, when charging Mr. Mazzini with murder, without being able or willing to produce, without one minute's delay, the proofs of so grave an accusation, was guilty of a *foul, base, and dastardly lie*; and those members of the House of Commons who supported and voted for such a Minister under such circumstances are sharers of and abettors in that same *foul, base, and dastardly lie*.

I beg you will have the goodness to convey to the Minister, and the members who constituted the Ministerial majority on that occasion, my sense of their conduct, being perfectly willing to abide all consequences that this frank profession of my opinions on that subject may bring upon me.—I am, sir, your obedient servant,

L. MARIOTTI.

SIR,—About eighteen months ago I had a long conversation with a French gentleman belonging to the party opposed to Mons. Guizot about the sanctity of the seal, and the abominable institution of the *chambre noire*; when he assured me that this custom had been entirely abolished in France, but that it continued to be done in the London post-office; nay, he asserted that, even at the time we were conversing, the letters of Lord Brougham were opened before being sent off to his place of residence in the south of

France; and this by his own Conservative friends, who could not spare his services with regard to all communications with Lord Brougham's intimate friend, Mons. Guizot. At that time I was so little acquainted with the Ministerial practice that I thought it a foul aspersion on the character of the English post-office, but I now do not know whether there may not be some truth in it, as the present ministers certainly are distrustful of the above-mentioned lord.

I think the disgrace is not so much in opening the letters as in the clandestine manner in which it is done. If the letters of Mr. Mazzini had been re-sealed with the Post-office seal, the lives of the unfortunate Italians would probably have been saved, as they would have known that they were watched.—Yours very obediently,

CHARLES V. BISMARCK.

There was one more exile, to whom the idea of any interference with his correspondence was most distasteful. The apologists of the Government might repeat the profound observation of Sir Roger de Coverley—"Much may be said on both sides." Much was said by one side. Edifying is the tone of virtuous indignation taken by individuals like the writer of the following paper, who, having accepted shelter in England, considered themselves perfectly at liberty to plot and scheme against other governments in amity with her. It is well known that railway managers and ship captains will not carry secret combustibles. Why the English Post-office should be forced to facilitate the transit of private despatches that may be equally mischievous, not one of the angry correspondents has attempted to explain.

*Memorandum by Kossuth.*

March 10th.

The *Morning Chronicle* of to-day contains a letter of Mr. Mazzini, and of other parties, well worth perusal. That

of Mr. Mazzini proves amply the mistakes of Lord Aberdeen as to the dates of the arrival and departure of the *Bandieras* to and from Corfu.

The reasons adduced for opening the letters of foreigners are, that an attempt at a revolution in Italy, for instance, might produce a war, in which England might have to take part, as the Austrians would certainly interfere to put it down in the States of the Pope or of Naples. This argument goes the length of proving that if Austria, or any other power, determines to march an army into any country to put down any internal commotion in that country, England will be ready, not, indeed, to take a bold part with the interfering power—as the nation will not stand it—but a Tory government will act as a spy to the interfering power, and open letters, or doing other mean actions, to sacrifice the friends of liberty, who, unaware of such abominable principles, should happen to trust to the boasted character of English gentlemen. The claim of interfering in the internal affairs or disturbances of other countries was the one proclaimed by the Holy Alliance, but never agreed to by England. It was enforced in the case of Naples, and in that of Spain; but far from approving of it, far from opening the letters of the Spanish patriots, to give information to their enemies, although the peace of Europe was seriously threatened, Mr. Canning declared he hoped they would succeed. Lord Aberdeen has no wish but for the success of Austria and of despotism, whether Neapolitan or Papal; and so far as he can, he and his colleagues help the despots to succeed, by opening the letters of those who trust not to their sympathy, but to their honour.

When a revolution took place in Romagna and the Legations, in 1830 and 1831, the Austrians interfered to put it down. But as this was considered a monstrous principle, the five powers—Russia, Austria, Prussia, France, and England—tried to persuade the Pope to introduce a better government, as the only means of tranquillizing his subjects, and rendering interference unnecessary. This was done by a joint note of the 21st May, 1831. The Papal Govern-

ment promised to act according to the suggestions made in that note ; *and then did nothing of the kind*. The Pope did worse, he actually declared that no layman should ever be appointed governor of a legation (the five powers having especially urged a council of state, composed of laymen, which was promised, but never then or afterwards instituted) ; it would admit of no popular election, no municipal offices (this likewise one of the measures suggested by the five powers, promised by the Pope, and then never done) ; then it enlarged the power of ecclesiastical over civil tribunals ; ordered that, for the same crime, priests should be always less punished ; and strengthened the Inquisition. The dissatisfaction increased : the Pope took into his service all the banditti he could get from the prisons and the galleys, and enrolled them as soldiers. These soldiers, under the orders of Cardinal Albani, the most Austrian of all cardinals, on entering Forti and Cesena committed robberies and murders, as well as other crimes too disgusting and abominable to be even mentioned ; and the inhabitants of the Legations and Romagna asked as a favour the intervention of Austria.

As no good could be effected, Sir G. H. Seymour, English Minister at Florence, who had joined the conference and the remonstrances of the other powers at Rome, was ordered to withdraw ; and on September 7th, 1832, he gave his reasons for this step in a note to his colleagues, the ministers of the other powers. He said, that as the Pope had done nothing of what he had been requested, and he had promised to do, it was no use to share any longer in a negotiation which could do no good. Metternich answered this note by saying, that as the Pope was an independent sovereign, no one had a right to dictate to him how he was to govern ; that, however, Austria had not only strongly advised him to improve his government, but put under his orders Austrian *employés*, to help him in carrying these improvements out. Sir G. Seymour insisted that the Pope had not answered the hopes and expectations of the other powers, and withdrew.

It results from this, that for the poor subjects of the



Pope there is no redemption. If they attempt to better their condition, Austria pours in her troops, and Lord Aberdeen opens the letters of the liberals, and both act as if the Pope's dominions were part of the territories of Austria, or his subjects dangerous conspirators against England. If the Pope tyrannizes over them in all sorts of ways, leaving security neither for life or for property, the Austrians affect so much respect for the Pope's independence, that they can say nothing. If the Pope is independent, why is Austria allowed to march her troops into her territories, and Lord Aberdeen give information to Austria? If not independent, far better would it be to give all Italy (for all Italy is exactly in the same case) to Austria at once, and place it under Austria's direct control. The government would be infinitely better, and the people would not have to pay two sets of troops, and two sets of civil officers, those of the Pope and those of Austria.

Lord Aberdeen knows full well that no treaty gives any power to Austria to enter the Roman States to put down commotions excited by an execrable government; and he ought to know that hitherto, when any power interfered in the domestic affairs of an independent power—for the Pope and the King of Naples was, according to the law of nations, as independent as England—Great Britain protested against this brutal abuse of force of the strong against the weak. But Lord Aberdeen has not a word to say in condemnation of Austria's interfering, or of the governments for which she interferes. Had he not stated as a good ground for opening letters, that he did it to preserve the peace of Europe, which depends on the non-interference of Austria (as he implies), one might not render him responsible for the misgovernment of poor Italy; but as he chose to identify himself with the Austrians, and act as *spy* to the *constables*, who invade independent states on the plea of keeping the peace, he ought to share in the blame of these proceedings.

Sir James Graham never recovered from the storm of indignation which his encouragement of this breach

of confidence created. No one can forget the capital hits in *Punch* at him, particularly the sheet engraving of "*Punch's* Anti-Graham Wafers, dedicated to the Home Secretary, and presented to him by Thomas Slingsby Duncombe, Esq.;" and another that rivalled it in humour, "Grand Review of the London Postmen." "The men being ranged in treble line," the reader was told that the review began. The word of command was given by Sir James as follows:—

Present letters! Thumb on seal! Read letters! Reseal letters!  
Feel for seal! Open letters! Refold letters! Pocket letters!

This deservedly popular journal gave many a genial reference to Mr. Duncombe's proceedings. One of the most amusing occurs in a list of "Fights to come off:"—

Tom Duncombe (the Finsbury Lad) will fight either Sir James Graham or the Bishop of London for a trifle; and Mr. Joseph Hume and Mr. Wakley will be happy to back him. A. Junius, addressed to his residence in town, will reach him.

## CHAPTER XVI.

## PATRONAGE AND RESPONSIBILITY.

Mr. Duncombe's clients—Letter from Joseph Hume—Appealed to by Prince Schwarzenberg—Letter from Lord Belfast—Major Fancourt's account of the Court of Hanover—Letter from R. B. Haydon—The Marquis Townshend on his Peerage Bill—Letters of Madame Letitia Wise recommending Mademoiselle Jenny Colon—Lord Belfast on the tenure of land in Ireland—The Marquis Clanricarde on the Diocese of Clogher—Mr. Duncombe's liberality—Noble conduct of Lord Durham—Debt to Lord Chesterfield—Note from the Duc de Richelieu—Thynne *v.* Glengall—Petition of Mr. Duncombe—Death of Mr. Duncombe's father—Lord Goderich on the Public Health Bill—The Sale of Public Libraries—Sale of Copgrove.

MR. DUNCOMBE was now regarded as a man of mark, and numberless were the applicants for his patronage. He was asked for favours of all kinds, in many instances by persons who could only know him by reputation. Whatever might be the amount of trouble such appeals brought him, and however obscure their writers, he lost no time in putting his reputed influence to the test in their favour. When persons known to him as men of eminence in the political world, chose to recommend to him some *protégé*, in whose advancement in life they expressed an interest, he was equally at their service. A request from the great economist of the House of Commons, therefore, was sure of being treated with respect.

Bryanston-square, 19th April, 1833.

MY DEAR SIR,—I believe you are the only governor of the poor of St. George's parish with whom I am acquainted; and I am anxious to state to them, through you, that Mr. Grieve, now a candidate for keeper of the workhouse, has been known to me for eight or nine years as possessing the confidence and good opinion of his fellow workmen, and of many very influential persons at Poplar, for many years. I know him to be a man of firmness and ability, and to possess habits of order and regularity; and I have had sufficient experience to assure you that he has the art of conciliation towards those with whom he acts.

I should be pleased to get such a man for that situation, and only regret that the state of his business obliges him to look to what I consider a situation below what he is capable of filling. If you can forward his views, I think you will be obliged to me for my recommendation after you have had some trial of his services, if you shall make the trial. I am yours sincerely, JOSEPH HUME.

Thomas Duncombe, Esq.

The applicants to Mr. Duncombe to exercise his interest for securing admission to Crockford's were innumerable, many of them of high rank. He generally interested himself in behalf of foreigners of distinction; and this procured him a reputation which was pretty freely taken advantage of. A near relative of the Prime Minister of the Emperor of Austria had been one of his *protégés*; and the following brief reminder was written to him, and forwarded to the club, on the eve of the election:—

Voulez-vous avoir la bonté de ne pas oublier mon frère,  
Prince Adolphe Schwarzenberg? Tout à vous, F. S.

The appeals of friendship are not always in accordance with duty; but Mr. Duncombe was of too

social a character to stand on punctilios when a friend required his services. Lord Belfast, son of the Marquis of Donegal, wrote to apprise him that an Irish lawyer was getting up a petition to the House of Commons against him, which Mr. Wakley was to present; and requested Mr. Duncombe to dissuade his colleague from undertaking that duty. As he was asked to avert a private scandal, which it would be a waste of time to discuss, he readily complied. His friend thus expresses his acknowledgment:—

April 21st, 1841.

MY DEAR TOMMY,—A thousand thanks for your kindness; the rascally attorney did send me a copy of his intended petition. The object of the whole affair is to intimidate me, and to try and force me to give him security for 5000*l.* my father owes him, and to which I have nothing to say. No one is to blame but himself for not having had the interest on the money (1900*l.*) paid him when the principal was (5000*l.*), about a year and a half ago. He blundered his own security and deprived himself of it; and because he had done so, and was defeated in a court of law, knowing the sum was justly due, I gave him my bond for it, little thinking he would be such a rascal to repay my generosity in such a way. I feel assured no gentleman could uphold him—and I am certain Mr. W. will not—when he knows the reasons that induce him to take the steps he has done. I cannot dine at the “Shakspeare” on Friday; I am detained here by family affairs with my father, trying if we cannot arrange matters and raise the wind. I expect to be in town on Tuesday or Wednesday, if not sooner. Pray do what you can with Wakley; a promise is *no* promise about a petition.

Yours most truly, BELFAST.

The popularity Mr. Duncombe enjoyed in his own circle was equally as great as his favour among the humblest class of politicians. Every one seemed

desirous of doing him good service, or to repeat the good opinion others entertained of him. In the batch of notes we now publish, General Sir De Lacy Evans is thus seen testifying to his being the man of the people. Sir Benjamin Hall, the candidate for Marylebone, is equally anxious to secure his presence. Another chairman of an important committee wants to get him to aid the popular cause in Westminster. The Cræsus of the age, Baron Rothschild, desires the favour of a visit; and Lord Enfield asks for his son to have the advantage of seconding a motion of his in the House of Commons. The last is the most impressive, as it contains a liberal offer to back Mr. Duncombe if he would stand a contested election for the City of London—an idea entertained by him at the time:—

Sunday.

DEAR DUNCOMBE,—I should have called on you before, but I thought the committee had written to you relative to the Marylebone meeting to be held to-morrow, at twelve for one, at Hall's Riding-school, Albany-street, Regent's Park. The committee for arranging this meeting, of which committee I am chairman, resolved unanimously, "That Mr. Duncombe should be specially requested to attend the meeting." It was declared that you alone of all the metropolitan members had the people's confidence, and that your presence at this important popular meeting was indispensable. I was remiss in not calling or writing to you before, but I thought I had signed a letter to that effect, which I find was a mistake. I hope you will not desert your Irish friends on this occasion.

Most truly yours,

DE LACY EVANS.

24, Portman-street, Sunday.

MY DEAR DUNCOMBE,—The committee for conducting the preparations for the meeting to-morrow are particularly anxious that you should attend, and I join most cordially.

in the same wish, and am anxious to express my hope that you may be able to come to Hall's Riding-school, in Albany-street, to-morrow at twelve. Pray come, if you can; I understand it is to be an immense meeting.

Yours sincerely, B. HALL.

Committee Room, British Coffee-house, May 6th, 1857.

MY DEAR DUNCOMBE,—I am directed by Mr. Leader's committee to thank you for your offer of assistance in canvassing for Mr. Leader. The committee request me to ask your permission to publish your letter; and if you have a written reply from Mr. Jones Burdett, the committee would be glad to publish it along with the others.

Yours truly, R. C. FERGUSON, Chairman.

148, Piccadilly, Friday Evening.

MY DEAR SIR,—You were so good as to say that you would see me again about our Bill; at what o'clock shall I call upon you to-morrow? or if you are passing our house, would it be equally convenient for you to call upon me? I shall be at home all day, or I can call upon you at any hour you like to fix. Believe me yours most truly,

LIONEL DE ROTHSCHILD.

T. Duncombe, Esq., M.P., &c.

Wrotham Park, Barnet, December 15th, 1857.

MY DEAR DUNCOMBE,—My son (M.P. for Middlesex), is very anxious to have the satisfaction of seconding the motion which stands in your name for the 9th of February. I daresay that you will have no objection to gratify his ambition.

Yours sincerely, ENFIELD.

57, Cambridge-terrace, Hyde-park, Dec. 17th, 1857.

MY DEAR LORD ENFIELD,—I need not assure you that I shall be but too delighted to have so able a seconder as the member for Middlesex, feeling confident that the cause cannot do otherwise than gain considerably by his advocacy in one of those talented speeches which I have had the pleasure to hear him make upon other occasions. Our case, I

think, at the present moment, a very strong one; and if he will permit me to do so, I shall be glad, when the House reassembles, to have a few moments' conversation with him upon the subject.

Believe me always yours faithfully,

T. S. DUNCOMBE.

Viscount Enfield, Wrotham House, Barnet.

Upper Montague-street, Thursday Night.

MY DEAR DUNCOMBE,—There is nothing within my power that I would not do to promote your success in any effort which you may make to get into Parliament. You have fought the battle at Hertford so gallantly that it would be a disgrace to reformers not to save your purse in any other contest. My vote and personal services shall be at your call for the City, and my 100*l.* towards the expenses if you attempt it; and if you will send your servant back to say where we can meet, I will instantly come to you. My attendance upon the "bulls" and the "bears" compelled me to quit Parliament, and prevents me taking it again with convenience; when I can conveniently leave business, and not till then, shall I be desirous of a seat in the House of Commons. If you are disengaged, say where I can see you as soon as can be. I shall keep myself in readiness to meet you this evening.

Haste, yours truly, J. EASTHOPE.

On the accession of the Queen, the crown of Hanover reverted to the next male heir; and the Duke of Cumberland became its sovereign. He left England accompanied by several English gentlemen, to assist in forming his establishment; among them was a very intimate friend of Mr. Duncombe's, who shortly afterwards made him acquainted with the state of the Hanoverian court. The King of Hanover had always been the most unpopular member of the Royal Family; but after he had left England, he seems to



have recommended himself to his Hanoverians with remarkable assiduity. His conduct, too, to the officer, who was nearly made the victim of a cabal, was no less praiseworthy :—

Hanover, February 7th, 1839.

MY DEAR TOMMY,—I daresay you are to be rather congratulated than condoled with on the upshot of the Canadian trip. Either it will do Durham good at home or not. In the first case, you will share in the advantage; and in the second, you have the positive good of being safe at home in a situation to estimate dispassionately the state and prospect of parties. Speaking from the imperfect knowledge necessarily attendant on an exiled patriot, I should say that the pear is far from ripe for Durham and those generally named as likely to form a party under him; but he may lend a powerful pull in accomplishing the downfall of John Russell and Dan, a consummation which, as you may suppose, I look forward to with considerable interest. I do hope that you will, as soon as you can guess how the wind is likely to set for the session, give me the benefit of your Parliamentary information: of course it is not for the mere purpose of political gossiping, however pleasant, that I make the request. I have a practical object in view which makes it important—nay, essential—that I should be *au courant* with the march of party movements at home.

Here I am jogging on with edifying monotony, which has only been once broken, and that by an event which I am about to relate to you; it will give you a perfect notion of the savages among whom I am doomed to do penance for my past sins. In the first place, I should mention that ever since my appointment as aide-de-camp to the king, the native *Vons* of the place have been on the watch to pick a hole in my coat; but I was too wary for them, and by keeping aloof from all their trumpery intrigues, of whatever kind, I gave them no chance of going at me. At length, however, they thought that they had a chance; they went their hardest; but, thanks to the king, and, I must add, to a proper exercise of spirit and brains on my part, the blun-

dering malignants were completely baffled, and are now chewing the cud of their bitter fancies as best they may. This lie was taken to the king without my being apprized of its existence. As soon as I heard it I suspended my attendance on his majesty, and wrote to him to say that till my character was cleared from all aspersion I could not appear before him. The king appointed a Court of Honour, and the result was the general order, which he himself directed, and which was printed in the *Times* of the 24th of December last. Nothing could have been more completely satisfactory, and my worthy persecutors have the pleasure of seeing me more firmly established in royal favour than before. King Ernest behaved in the most gentlemanlike and manly way, as you may conceive, when I tell you that he is surrounded by people, every one of whom would cut my throat if he could. Write to me soon, old boy, and believe me always

Affectionately yours,

C. JOHN FANCOURT.

Hamburgh, May 31st, 1839.

MY DEAR TOMMY,—I left Hanover on excellent terms with my monarch, although, *between ourselves*, we had “a bit of a breeze.” He made me a full colonel, and a Knight of the Guelphic Order, and made me promise to write to him, and to return to see him in the winter. I find that I must apply to Palmerston for leave to wear the order, and I shall feel obliged by your making the application to him, and delivering the enclosed in person, provided always that your political position as regards the Government enables you to do so. Be good enough not to mention that I am at Hamburgh, as I have written to others to say that I leave the place on Monday next. I am writing to you at two o’clock in the morning to send by the packet which starts at six. I have dated my letter to Palmerston, Hamburgh; but I have begged him to send the answer to Messrs. Clarke, Fladgate and Co., Craven-street, Strand. God bless you, dear Tommy. Send me a line, and tell me whether the Tories are really coming in, and, if so—when?

Ever yours,

C. F.

Mr. Duncombe possessed a taste for art, and was ever ready to befriend its professors. The pictures of "The Mock Election," and "Chairing the Member," had rendered the painter of them well known to many members of the legislature, and to such members of the fashionable world as had had opportunities of appreciating the fidelity of the representations. The member for Finsbury had given him a commission, and appears to have sent him a possible purchaser; whom the eccentric artist, according to his own account, treated somewhat uncivilly. The terrible catastrophe that closed his career accounts for his flightiness.

Sunday.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have got into two or three scrapes with this private day, one of which I am very anxious to clear up with you. On Friday I was expecting Lord Grey, and as I was preparing the small sketch of him, and had given strict orders to let no one in, all of a sudden I turned round and saw a gentleman standing looking at the picture. As he could only have come in while the workmen were bringing in the chairs, and I did not know who he was, I was exceedingly angry any one had got in in such a way. I told him I expected Lord Grey, and he would be displeased to find any one before himself. I begged him not to mention that he had been there, when he showed me your ticket. Of course, Mr. Duncombe, this was a passport, but I am still angry he had not, as he ought to have done, sent in his name and your card *first*, and there would not have been a moment's hesitation on my part to a dozen friends of *yours*. He then came over as I am painting, and said, "I *suppose* you painted this picture?" I replied, "I *believe* I did." Thinking to soften me, he walked over and asked the price of the size head I am painting of Lord Grey. I replied, fiercely, "*Forty guineas!*" and he directly left the room.

All this had a rude look. It was not well-bred on my

part or gentlemanly on his. He ought not to have walked into my room in that way without sending in your ticket. This is really what passed, and if you feel as if I had treated a friend of yours rudely, I really apologize to you, and shall be exceedingly sorry if it leaves an unpleasant impression on your mind.

I am, dear sir, truly yours, B. R. HAYDON.

Mr. Duncombe had become so popular in the House that every one who had a measure to bring forward was eager to engage his support. When they promised any advantage to the public, he did not wait for being asked, he supported it heart and soul; but there was always a good deal of legislation going on that was of a totally different character. From friends with whom he was closely connected he could not refuse his assistance when called upon, if there was nothing objectionable in the transaction; and there were other ties similar to those that connected the Roman patron and client, which enlisted him in many a similar service. The following application was from the former:—

May 29, 1843.

MY DEAR DUNCOMBE,—I hope you will oblige me by attending in the House on Thursday next, and voting for the second reading of our Peerage Bill, which is threatened by the lawyers as an unconstitutional measure. I am a party *very much* interested in this question, and I hope you will do all in your power to ensure its success. Pray give me a line at Brookes', and believe me,

Truly yours, TOWNSHEND.\*

When Mr. Duncombe first became acquainted with the Bonaparte family there is no evidence among his papers to show. Two letters from the daughter of Lucien (Prince of Canino), married in 1821 to Wil-

\* George Ferrers, third Marquis.

liam Thomas Wyse, Esq., one of Lord Melbourne's Lords of the Treasury, and afterwards Secretary to the Board of Control, are as curious as they are characteristic. Mrs. Letitia Wise appears to have sought a *spécialité* in introducing remarkable ladies to remarkable gentlemen. A few years before, at Rome, she had brought together the Countess Guiccioli and the Duke of Buckingham; and now, from the French capital, she sought to do the same kindness for a talented French actress and the popular member for Finsbury. Unfortunately for her social intentions, he did not avail himself of the letter of introduction.

Hôtel d'Artois, Rue d'Artois, Paris, Juillet 8, 1834.

MON CHER DUNCOMBE,—Il y a bien long tems que je n'ai eu de vos nouvelles directement. J'ai appris vos succès à Finsbury, et vous en félicite de tout mon cœur. Ces braves citoyens ont montré plus d'esprit que je ne leur en supposais en vous nommant leur représentant; ils ne pouvaient faire un meilleur choix. Une de mes *anciennes* amies, Mademoiselle Jenny Colon, est maintenant à Londres; elle est engagée pour dix représentations au Théâtre Français. Elle ne connaît personne à Londres, elle ne parle pas un mot d'Anglais; faites-moi l'amitié d'aller la voir de ma part. Vous la trouverez 180, Regent Street, et je lui ai écrit pour lui annoncer votre visite. Elle est jeune, belle, et chante à ravir; veuillez donc chercher à lui être utile, je vous en saurai un gré infini. Mademoiselle Colon désire chanter dans des concerts; tâchez de la patroniser, et de la mettre en voie de gagner de l'argent. Au reste, je vous répète que vous me faire plaisir en cherchant à lui être utile. Vous n'avez qu'à dire à la femme de chambre que vous venez de ma part, et vous serez introduit de suite. Voici deux lignes pour elle. Adieu; écrivez moi un mot en réponse, et conservez-moi toujours un souvenir amical.

Tout à vous,

L. WISE.

Paris, Juillet 8.

MA CHÈRE AMIE,—Cette lettre vous sera remise par mon ami Monsieur T. Duncombe, Membre du Parlement, qui se fera un plaisir de chercher à vous être utile, et à vous rendre le séjour de Londres moins ennuyeux. Ménagez bien votre santé, et revenez à nous le plutôt possible.

Votre amie, L. WISE.

During the O'Connell agitation, considerable attention was paid to the tenure of land in Ireland, particularly in the north, where the larger proprietors and a great amount of the population are of Scottish origin and descent. The subject was brought before the notice of Parliament in 1843; and the member for Finsbury was selected as the most proper person to present a petition, as will be seen:—

August 1st, 1843.

DEAR TOMMY,—I enclose you the petition. We signed it in a hurry, so had no time to have it copied handsomely—no slight intended to Mr. Speaker. Amuse yourself by dipping into that wondrous Act—the 17th of Charles II. It shows how Cromwell's "adventurers and soldiers" were *settled* in Ireland; it shows how the confiscated estates were parcelled out, and other villanies. The treaty of Limerick is to be found in the appendix to Leland's "Ireland," third volume. The Irish Society—*i.e.* the London Companies who hold such immense estates in Ulster, a grant from James I., are the parties attacking the Bishop of Derry. They were always Protestants, and have not so good a case as us Papists, for they ought to have fought for their rights before this. But still you have no right to stop them; the law ought to determine their rights, or a *commission* ought to inquire into *all these livings*.

Truly yours, GLENGALL.

On particular subjects friends would forward information, especially if they were in any way interested,

and thought that Mr. Duncombe could help them by his advocacy. It appears that Sir Thomas Lennard and the Bishop of Clogher\* had long been at variance as to their right of presentation to a certain living in that diocese. The layman was the natural son of Lord Dacre, and had been created a baronet in 1801. His eldest son was M.P. for Maldon, and three others out of six were in the church. Lord Clanricarde writes :

House of Lords, Thursday, August 1st, 1843.

You should move for "an extract from the Diocesan Registry of the diocese of Clogher, showing the record there kept of the presentation of the present and of the late incumbent of the benefice of Clones."

Sir Thomas Lennard beat the bishop in 1812, and presented to it, and I am assured it is noted in the registry that the clergyman is in by "intrusion." This is a perfect illustration of the conduct of the bishops and church officers. Indeed, if those records had been properly kept there could be no expensive lawsuits, if any, on these subjects.

Yours ever,

CLANRICARDE.

In the course of Mr. Duncombe's voluminous correspondence that has been preserved, we have met with frequent evidences of a truly liberal disposition. One of the most pleasing was his investing in 1845 500*l.* for so many shares in "The United Trades Association for the Employment of Labour in Agriculture and Manufactures." His purse and his patronage were always open to proper appeals to them ; at which times, be it remembered, he was frequently harassed by heavy liabilities, or failure of supplies on which he had confidently reckoned. It would be only fair to him to state that when his friends were pressed,

\* Dr. Tottenham, second son of Charles, first Marquis of Ely.—*Burke.*

he was ready to do his utmost to help them. There is at least one instance of a friend coming nobly to his assistance when under a temporary difficulty. Lord Durham wrote:—

L. C., December 24, 1834.

MY DEAR D.,—This is the first time in my life that I can put my name to any paper of this kind. I have ever declined doing so, on account of my commercial transactions in the coal trade; and my credit would most *dangerously* suffer if my name was seen in the hands of a money-lender. But my friendship for you will not permit me to desert you at the present crisis of your affairs. I therefore send you a sufficient guarantee for the money you require. The bill you sent me was informal. I could not promise to pay to my own order. I send you an efficient substitute. Remember, I rely on your honour for two things. The paper is not to be negotiated;—in your own words, “it is not to see the daylight.” Secondly, that you will provide for its being taken up at the due time.

I will be quite frank with you. If times had been good—as they used to be—I would have sent you a draft for the 2000*l.*, payable at sight. But I have suffered such immense losses within the last ten years from the state of the coal-trade, that I have not that sum or any portion of it to spare. I should therefore, I fairly own, be seriously inconvenienced if I had to pay the sum at the end of six months. I make this avowal to you in perfect and unlimited confidence. I rejoice to hear of your intentions about your affairs. Put them at once into the hands of trustees, and be assured that any personal sacrifice will be amply repaid by that peace of mind, which is ever destroyed by pecuniary embarrassments.

Yours ever, truly and faithfully, D.

Of course, the document was duly returned, and the two friends became more cordial than ever. Other members of the patrician circle in which Mr. Duncombe



mingled were, however, prominent among those who pressed him most—the heaviest of his embarrassments being a claim of upwards of 100,000*l.*, for which he does not appear to have had any consideration. This was owing to Lord Chesterfield, and was reduced to 38,000*l.* It was his knowledge of such liabilities that caused Lord Durham to offer the good advice with which he concludes his communication.

The next note apparently refers to a transaction of a similar nature:—

Paris, 6 Janvier, 1843.

MON CHER DUNCOMBE,—Nous avons cherché, Cumming et moi, dans tous nos papiers, le billet en question, sans pouvoir parvenir à le trouver. Je pense, que lorsqu'il n'a pas été payé je l'ai brûlé; mais il y a si longtemps, que je ne peux pas en être sur. Je vous remercie pour les cent dernières livres, et je vous prie d'accepter mille et mille amitiés.

RICHELIEU.

Reference has already been made to the heavy loss Mr. Duncombe suffered by the insolvency of Lord ————; but owing to legal proceedings taken by the latter against Lord Glengall, he was doomed to suffer all the annoyance he then endured over again; Lord Glengall having, in an appeal cause in the House of Lords, introduced unwarrantable statements into a petition addressed to their lordships. To which Mr. Duncombe replied in the same form, as follows:—

*To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal  
in Parliament assembled.*

The Humble Petition of THOMAS SLINGSBY DUNCOMBE, Esq.,  
M.P., of the Albany, in the County of Middlesex,  
SHEWETH,

That, on or about the sixteenth day of February

last, the Earl of Glengall, a representative Peer of Ireland, presented a further Petition to your Honourable House, in the Appeal cause of ——— v. Glengall and others, signed by his Agents, Tooke, Son, and Hallowes :

That your Petitioner is no party to the said Appeal, nor is he in any way interested therein, and only knew of the existence of the said Petition from information derived from his solicitor, Mr. Kensit, who called your Petitioner's attention thereto, as containing divers scandalous and malignant falsehoods and a perversion and suppression of truth relating to your Petitioner :

That your Petitioner having been informed that copies or extracts of the said false and calumnious Petition of the said Earl of Glengall have been procured by members of your Honourable House, and privately circulated amongst other persons, for the purpose, as your Petitioner is informed and believes, of injuring your Petitioner, your Petitioner throws himself upon the justice of your Honourable House, in the confident hope that your Lordships will not allow your Petitioner or any other subject of Her Majesty to be slandered in secret and traduced with impunity, under the pretence and cover of your high judicial functions :

That your Petitioner is prepared and anxious to prove by evidence on oath, that not only there exist no just grounds for the allegations and statements made by the said Earl of Glengall as regards your Petitioner, but that the said statements and allegations are false, calumnious, and vindictive, and the truth maliciously perverted and wilfully suppressed.

Your Petitioner therefore humbly prays your Honourable House that your Lordships will be graciously pleased to institute an immediate enquiry into the truth of your Petitioner's statement, or give to your Petitioner such further or other redress as in your Lordships' wisdom and sense of justice your Lordships shall under the circumstances consider your Petitioner entitled.

*And your Petitioner will ever pray, &c.*

THOMAS S. DUNCOMBE.

We add a note from one of his earliest female friends:—

Cowes, July 27th, 1845.

DEAR MR. DUNCOMBE,—I cannot say how much I am obliged to you for your very kind remembrance of me. The miniature is a beautiful one, and of course highly valuable to me, and will be still more so as a token of remembrance from an old friend, as I assure you I have not forgotten the merry days of Merton and Lambton. I have been here for a week with my children; I am going up to town to-morrow, and I expect Wilton to return here with me on Thursday, for a month or five weeks' sailing. The Beauforts are also here, &c. &c.

Believe me, dear Mr. Duncombe, yours very truly,

M. WILTON.

The year 1848 was characterized by a severe domestic affliction. After having gone through the ordinary course of White Conduit House, committees in the House of Commons; dinner to Mr. Wakley at the Angel, Islington; public meeting at the Crown and Anchor; attendance at the board of directors; the Woolwich investigation; the Birmingham conference; another Finsbury election; and more than the usual number of balls and dinners, Mr. Duncombe received intelligence of the death of his father on the 7th of December. He was then staying at Sidmouth, in bad health; and the funeral took place at Copgrove on the 10th. As he was the heir-at-law, the estate devolved to him; but unfortunately his obligations at this time were so heavy, that it seemed problematical if he would be much the better for his inheritance. There was, however, a very brilliant prospect held out to him, which if it could be realized would enable him to secure for himself a very covetable position.

In all useful legislation Mr. Duncombe was sure to take a special interest; and few subjects commanded his attention so certainly as improved systems of drainage. Most towns and villages were very defective in this respect, and disease was as notorious as filth. Water and gas were introduced after long delays, and much opposition; but if they did not secure proper means for keeping the dwellings sweet, those advantages would be of secondary value. The preservation of the public health at last became a favourite subject of discussion; and there began to be a general anxiety to give all houses the benefit of a good system of drainage. A Government Bill for this purpose was in progress when the member for Finsbury expressed a desire to a cabinet minister that a place in which he was interested might have the advantage of the benefits it promised to confer. The appeal met with a prompt response:—

August 7th, 1855.

MY DEAR MR. DUNCOMBE,—I had much pleasure this morning, in accordance with the wish expressed in your letter of the 5th, in moving the extension of the Public Health Bill to Keighley, to which Sir B. Hall at once agreed, and the desire of your correspondent was fulfilled in five minutes.—Believe me, ever truly yours,

GODERICH.

Multifarious as were the duties of a popular member, they did not appear half numerous enough to his innumerable correspondents. He had notice of every wrong done, with an intimation that he was the only person qualified to have it put right. We could print a hundred letters of the kind; but as a fair indication

of the variety of appeals made to him, offer the following:—

41, Claremont-square, London, N., June 28th, 1861.

SIR,—I beg to call your attention to one of the strangest things that could happen in the present century, namely, the sale and dispersion of a library given to and settled upon the public by the most solemn legal sanctions possible. I am referring to the sale of the books and manuscripts of Archbishop Tenison's Library in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. The subject matter I know is not in your borough; but, being within the metropolis, I take the liberty of drawing your attention to it. The library is gone—*THAT has* been sold, and the manuscripts are to be sold on Monday, the 1st July, by Messrs. Sotheby and Wilkinson; but a word in Parliament might yet preserve them to the nation. There are large manuscripts in Lord Bacon's own hand, many MSS. of Wickliffe's works, many things of historical and archæological value. These sales have been ordered by the Charity Commissioners, and they, it seems, obtained an Act at the end of last session to authorize them to do so; but the literary world has been taken by surprise in the doing of it. The Commissioners propose the establishment of some middle and lower class school in Westminster with the funds. They are welcome to the 1000*l.* settled by Archbishop Tenison, and to the ground and building: a money value can be attached to them, and they be replaced, if necessary; but a collection of rare and valuable books, &c., got together with the greatest pains, by one of the first scholars of his age, can never be replaced. A word in Parliament, as I said before, may yet stop further mischief, and I hope you will see the importance of not suffering lightly public property and public bequests to be thus lightly treated.

I have heard of a gentleman, who had been liberal of gifts to the British Museum, saying he would never give anything more: that library might be sold like St. Martin's. Indeed, I hear of the library of Doctors' Commons being to be sold; but for whose benefit I know not. Sure that belongs

to the public, after all the compensation given to the departed Proctors.

What is wanted of public libraries is, that they should be made more available, not, Omar-like, destroyed. I hope the importance of the subject will excuse this intrusion from one of your constituency and supporters, and

Your most obedient, humble servant, PH. J. CHABOT.

Thos. S. Duncombe, Esq., M.P., House of Commons.

41, Claremont-square, N., August 1st, 1861.

DEAR SIR,—If, as in your note to me of the 2nd July, any notice in the House respecting the sale of manuscripts of the Tenison Library would be “a day after the fair,” much more would any reference to the sale of the Doctors’ Commons library now be so, as I found, upon inquiry, that the sale had taken place in *April* last. I believe it was much to the disgust and under the protest of some of the elder doctors that the sale took place. Government did take some 600*l.* or 700*l.* worth of the books—those on maritime and constitutional law, I believe—and the rest of the library was sold for some 900*l.* or 1000*l.* more, by auction, by Hodgson, of Chancery-lane; and the proceeds have been divided among the doctors, or proposed so to be, as it is supposed to be their property. I do not know the constitution of “Doctors’ Commons.” The library sold is described as that of the “Faculty of Advocates, Doctors’ Commons.” But when I look at the flagitious amount of *annual* compensation made to Proctors and officers of the late courts, viz., 115,987*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.*, as stated in the return ordered to be printed by the House of Commons, 22nd March, 1861, I think that *any* property belonging to those courts should have been reserved to the nation, and most especially an ancient and valuable library, the collection of centuries.

People are naturally very anxious, after seeing these sales of public libraries, with respect to the British Museum. Perhaps you might make some inquiry whether it is the intention of Parliament to authorize the sale of that in the next session. Certainly, if due notice is given of it, next

year will offer a most favourable opportunity, as the "Great Exhibition" will have drawn great numbers from all parts of the world. Only I should think the trustees of the Museum might be warned against laying out more public money, and especially their 500*l.* for gorilla collections, when, by a little judicious correspondence with some of the African houses trading to the west coast of Africa, they might procure as many gorillas, ourang-outangs, &c., as they could desire to be brought down to the coast—in short, they could get a "wilderness of monkeys" for perhaps half the money. I have the honour to be, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant and unworthy elector,

PH. J. CHABOT.

T. S. Duncombe, Esq., M.P., &c. &c., House of Commons.

No sooner had Mr. Duncombe come into possession of Copgrove than pecuniary claimants appeared to start from all directions. Their aggregate amount, and the urgency with which they pressed their demands, compelled him to have recourse to a sale. The estate was offered by public auction at Knaresborough on the 31st July, 1848. The sum realized was about 130,000*l.*

## CHAPTER XVII.

## COLLAPSE OF CHARTISM.

Conduct of Lord Abinger—Speech of Mr. Duncombe—National Charter Association—Popular demonstrations in honour of the member for Finsbury—Letter of Mr. Bernal Osborne, M.P.—Smith O'Brien on the imprisonment of O'Connell—Discontent in Finsbury—Feargus O'Connor—A new Reform Bill—Letter of Sir John Cam Hobhouse, Bart.—Convict discipline—Loyal letter from Feargus O'Connor—Letter of Mr. Wakley respecting Mr. Duncombe's health—Public excitement in 1848—Mr. Duncombe's caution to the masses—The Chartists defy the Government—The Duke of Wellington's precautions—Preparations for a struggle—Monster processions and monster meeting on the 10th of April—The Chartist leaders—Harmless conclusion of the meeting—End of physical force demonstrations.

THE prosecution of persons implicated in disturbances of the public peace was characterized by so much harshness, that the principal journals indulged in severe comments on the presiding judges. Mr. Duncombe made a powerful effort to serve his friends by bringing, on the 21st of February, 1843, the conduct of Lord Abinger before the House of Commons, in a long and extremely effective speech, subsequently published as a pamphlet. He reviewed the judicial proceedings of the Lord Chief Baron in the late special commissions executed in the counties of Chester and Lancaster, ending with a motion for the examination of witnesses at the bar of the House, for



the House to ascertain his language and conduct. Lord Abinger was warmly defended by the Attorney-General, Mr. Thesiger, Mr. James Wortley, Mr. Scarlett (his eldest son), Lord John Russell, Sir James Graham, and Mr. Cardwell. On a division, 73 supported the motion and 228 opposed.

The Anti-Corn-Law League in England, and the Repeal movement in Ireland, drew away much public attention from the movement in favour of the People's Charter in 1843. In the first, Mr. Cobden rose to well-deserved eminence. His friend, John Bright, the Quaker, was elected member for Durham; but the Government succeeded in putting down Repeal, and Mr. O'Connell was brought to trial, and condemned to a fine of 2000*l.* and twelve months' imprisonment. The member for Finsbury, however, did not relax his exertions. He became a member of "The National Chartist Association of Great Britain," of which Mr. Philip M'Grath was the president, and Mr. Feargus O'Connor the treasurer, and attended a demonstration in his honour at Nottingham by the working classes, to whom he delivered a stirring address, in which he attacked the policy of the Whigs and advocated the Charter, amid tumultuous cheering.

A complimentary demonstration at Aberdeen on the 26th of October, 1843, was formed by a general turn-out of the working population of that ancient city, with banners and transparencies. Among the latter was a full-length portrait of the hero of the day presenting the national petition. The grandeur of the procession was marred by the weather, for it rained during four hours, soaking everything and

everybody. Mr. Duncombe and Mr. Feargus O'Connor addressed the assembly with their usual eloquence and with their usual effect; after which they were entertained at a *soirée*, and the member for Finsbury was presented with a tartan plaid by the female Chartists of the city; one or two more stirring speeches were given, and the proceedings having concluded, the meeting quietly dispersed.

Before the session of 1844 had commenced, it was the desire of some of the Liberal leaders that the campaign should begin with an unmistakable display of opposition to the Government. The member for Finsbury was regarded as the fittest person to lead the attack. His principal recommendations were the prominence he had for some time maintained, and the fearless way in which he had bearded the executive. The Whigs were not sufficiently enterprising or reliable; moreover the people generally had lost confidence in them. They had proclaimed the Reform Bill to be a final measure, and would not listen to any proposal to extend the suffrage, to elect annual parliaments, or to vote by ballot, to all of which Mr. Duncombe was pledged. The note on this subject, now printed, is from the pen of Mr. Bernal Osborne:—

Sunday, January 22nd, 1844.

MY DEAR DUNCOMBE,—A rumour has reached these remote parts that you propose moving an amendment to the Address, relating to England in general and Ireland in particular. As my movements will be influenced by your reply, perhaps you will not object to drop me a line to Baron Hill, Beaumaris, N. Wales, and credit me,

Yours very truly, R. BERNAL, Junior.

I trust you will move an humble address, calling for the dismissal of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

In February, 1844, there appeared to be signs of a split in the Chartist camp at Finsbury; two or three obscure individuals, desirous of gaining notice, ventured to address Mr. Duncombe in a tone of querulous complaint. A public meeting had been called to take place at "the Crown and Anchor," which Feargus O'Connor as well as Mr. Duncombe attended. As neither entered into the views of the individuals who had called the meeting, their disappointment created considerable confusion. This conduct was pronounced an offence at a special meeting of the "Finsbury Complete Suffrage Association;" but the popular member, in a brief reply, extinguished the complainants, and nothing came of their grievance. The Chartists were too well convinced of the value of his public services to heed the opposition of his self-elected censors.

The Irish Liberals had long regarded Mr. Duncombe as their best political friend in England, and were glad to appeal to him when they wanted English assistance. The writer of the communication about to be printed had been for some time treading in O'Connell's footsteps, as though intending to commence business on his own account as an agitator. The great advocate of repeal had been temporarily silenced; his disciple was indignant, moreover was desirous of making his countrymen as indignant as himself. Mr. Smith O'Brien lacked both the talent and the prudence of O'Connell, and therefore suffered himself to be led into treasonable acts:—

Dublin, June 27th, 1844.

DEAR DUNCOMBE,—Perceiving that Sir R. Peel proposes to force on the discussion of the Irish Registration Bill, I

write to express a hope that the English "friends of Ireland" will not allow this bill to be brought forward during the imprisonment of O'Connell. It is too bad that the Government should first imprison by foul means two of the ablest of our few representatives, and then take advantage of their absence from Parliament to inflict upon this country a measure which will destroy the popular character of our constituencies.

I trust, therefore, that a faithful band, no matter how small, will divide on adjournments during the whole of Monday evening, if the Government strive to force on the bill. I am persuaded that public opinion will sanction this extreme method of Parliamentary resistance to a bad measure, on the sole ground (if there were no other) of the compulsory absence of Mr. O'Connell and his son from the debate.

Believe me yours truly, W. S. O'BRIEN.

I suppose the Post-office spies of Sir James Graham will read this letter. Thanks for your exposure of that atrocity.

There still remained a feeling of dissatisfaction in a small minority of the Finsbury electors respecting the conduct of their representative. The bulk of them were members of the Anti-Corn-Law League; and as neither Mr. Duncombe nor Mr. Wakley would consent to belong to it, from objections they had to its title rather than to its objects, the malcontents induced the rest to call their members to account. A public meeting was therefore held, at which they were summoned to appear. Both came, and heard that they were under suspicion for not taking a more decided part on the question of free trade and the Corn Laws. Mr. Duncombe referred to his speeches and votes as the best authority for his opinions. Mr. Wakley expressed his dislike to the title "Anti-Corn-Law League," and avoided giving a decided

answer when asked if he would agitate for a repeal of the Corn Laws. The result was, that the assembly passed a resolution—that they were fully satisfied.

Mr. Duncombe's connexion with Feargus O'Connor began to be regarded by some of the more respectable of his political friends with impatience. To sober English politicians that gentleman's notions were not only impractical, they began to suspect that his mind was unsound. His extravagant republicanism became more and more obnoxious to the common sense and right feeling of the country; and he was supported only by a knot of desperate adventurers, who hoped to make profit out of his appeals to physical force. Mr. Duncombe was warned of the mischief the Irish orator was doing the cause he had so much at heart; and the way in which his more sagacious friends kept out of his company ought to have impressed on him the necessity of keeping out of it himself. The tone of his paper, the *Northern Star*, had become as objectionable as his speeches. It was, no doubt, the known mischievous projects of Feargus O'Connor, and his universal suffrage friends, that induced Sir James Graham to have their correspondence looked into.

In this year there were few political events of importance in which Mr. Duncombe played a prominent part. It is only necessary to refer to a universal suffrage meeting on the 29th of March; the O'Connell dinner at Covent Garden in the same month; the Birmingham and Manchester meetings in April; the Sheffield and Birmingham meetings in July; and the Finsbury Belvidere dinner. He visited Pentonville, Parkhurst, and Millbank prisons, and did good service in Parliament in defeating the Masters

and Servants Bill. He retained the favour of the leading female leaders in the political world—Lady Holland, Lady Palmerston, Mrs. Fox, &c. &c.—and continued to be entertained at dinner at the best houses in town. His health now began to suffer, and he was frequently at Brighton for change of air, on one occasion riding to London *tête-à-tête* in the *coupé* with Sir Robert Peel. Such an excellent opportunity for conversion was suffered to pass by—the member for Finsbury was not tempted to enter the Cabinet, nor did the member for Tamworth join the Chartists.

Mr. Duncombe was now agitating for a new and real Reform Bill, and sought from all available quarters trustworthy information respecting the non-effectiveness of the Whig measure. That after so many years of arduous struggle for an honest parliamentary system, what they had obtained was little better than a sham, other politicians had found out; but no one of the Liberal members had taken the trouble he had undergone to prove that it sought to perpetuate the very evils it had been created to abolish. The writer of the annexed letters—Edmund Lechmere Charlton, Esq., of Ludford Park, Herefordshire, Wilton Court, Shropshire, and Hanley Castle, Worcestershire, had formerly represented Ludlow in Parliament:—

Ludford Park, 27th April, 1844.

DEAR DUNCOMBE,—I was very happy to see the notice I did in the newspaper, of your intended motion on the 8th of May. Pray have a slap at Ludlow, and make the evidence, taken before a committee of the House of Commons in 1840, of what took place at the election in 1839, when Mr. Alcock and Mr. Clive were candidates, the basis of your attack. That evidence will disclose iniquity enough for anything;

but in the meantime I will, if you wish it, get up a little private steam that shall propel the Reform engine at a quicker pace than usual. You must not fancy, my dear boy, by this, that I am become, in my old age, a Chartist. No; I am what I have always been—a great Reformer of abuses, *not* to destroy, but to keep alive the Constitution; and if I opposed the Whigs with all my *little* might after they got into power, it was because they acted in the very teeth of their professions when out of power. Robert Clive is a great personal friend of Lord Johnny; and to prove that the latter sometimes thinks more of personal friendship than of public duty, let me refer you likewise to a speech of his in 1840 respecting the report of this committee, on which occasion he threw his mantle over the Clive family, whose character, I think he said, was “above reproach or even suspicion” (or some such honeyed words); though I could, I believe, prove if it were necessary that *the* family have admitted, and that their agent has confirmed the accuracy of the report, that they spent in electioneering in this borough, between July 1837 and July 1841,\* upwards of 40,000*l.*, the borough having only between three and four hundred voters.

If any farther evidence will be necessary to promote inquiry, you may command my services.

Possibly you may have been told that I have been a party to their proceedings, which I consider unworthy of notice. All that I ask is, that before you place the slightest reliance on anything you have heard or may hear on the subject, you will have the kindness to write to me, and not suffer yourself to be biassed one way or another till you have heard both sides. This is but fair!

Yours ever, E. L. CHARLTON.

Ludford, 2nd May, 1844.

DEAR DUNCOMBE,—You must not suppose that so sly a fox as Lord Powis has done enough to bring him within the

\* In these four years there were four contested elections and a scrutiny.

castigation of the "honourable House" for a breach of the standing order you allude to. No! His lordship, mole-fashion, works underground, shutting his eyes to the law. One fact you may rely on—there are ten or a dozen attorneys in the town, and to each of these, who do all the dirty work at an election, he gives 200 guineas. Among the respectable class of tradesmen these quill-drivers were rather unpopular, and it was supposed they hurt the cause which they meant to support.

Something of this kind was represented to the noble lord in 1840, who directed in consequence that they should not be employed. Such an order from head-quarters was calculated, as you may suppose, to create "a sensation" among the legal squad, who talked very loud in consequence, and lost no time in seeing either his lordship or his confidential factotum, who informed them—and great was the joy thereof—that it was far from his lordship's intention to withdraw the *little douceur*. Oh no!—all that his lordship wanted was to prevent them from interfering, in which case "the compliment" would be continued as usual; and I really believe I could prove, if necessary, that these worthies have received at an election, as retainers only, as much as 2500*l*.

I have thought about a petition, but I find it wont do. There is a Chancery suit now depending respecting the Charity Estates, which Lord Powis is attempting to sacrifice, in order to increase his electioneering influence. I will send you fuller particulars on this subject. In the meantime, pray read the evidence, taken in 1840, of what took place in 1839, and I will explain everything you want to know. Paddy Holmes was on that occasion agent for the Clives.—Believe me, my dear Duncombe,

Very truly yours, E. L. CHARLTON.

On the 2nd of February, 1845, a *soirée* on a large scale was got up at White Conduit House; it was a political demonstration as well as a compliment to the member for Finsbury. As was invariably the case, he made a long speech, and a very telling one, against



the Government, against the income-tax, and especially against Sir James Graham. There was as much laughing as cheering as the orator proceeded, for he was more than usually amusing. It had been made clearly evident that letters written to exiles in this country had been tampered with, and Mr. Duncombe's exertions to put a stop to the practice elicited their grateful thanks. A deputation waited on him with an address from the Polish National Convention at Brussels. He was also presented with a vote of thanks from certain emigrants from Italy, and a medal bearing an inscription in Italian, perpetuating the fate of nine of their countrymen, recent victims to oppression; while the working classes of Great Britain rewarded him with a valuable piece of plate for his eminent public services.

The Peel Cabinet had been losing ground, and on one occasion a threatened dissolution was prevented by the difficulties that beset Lord John Russell in endeavouring to form a Whig Government. On the 18th of July the change had been effected, Lord John becoming First Lord of the Treasury and at the head of a Ministry in which, as usual, the aristocratic element was overwhelming. As usual, also, there was not in it a particle of the Liberal element; nevertheless, it contained at least one old friend of Mr. Duncombe's. He thus replied to a proposal to help him to his re-election:—

Berkeley-square, Saturday, 21st March, 1846.

MY DEAR DUNCOMBE,—I have thought over what you said to me last night, and the conclusion to which I come is this—that it would be very inexpedient to form any decided opinion on the matter until the time comes. Many

things may happen between this day and the dissolution of Parliament which would entirely stultify any previous resolution; and my experience has taught me that, in so large a constituency, there is rather harm than good in attempting to pre-occupy the ground. Believe me, however, when I say that I shall always be grateful to you for your uniform kindness to me in all business connected with my old constituency.

Your truly obliged, JOHN HOBHOUSE.

There were the usual political demonstrations; but things were going on in the ordinary course, when a Conservative opposition was threatened in Finsbury; it ended, however, in the re-election of the sitting members.

The Liberal press recognised Mr. Duncombe's position as a tribune of the people, and several of them cordially acknowledged his public services. We have noticed his visits to different prisons, without suspecting him of any design to tread in the steps of Howard; but in the summer of 1847, he startled the House of Commons by his revelations of convict discipline. His statements were so extraordinary that they seemed incredible; only his reputation for honesty gained them credence. After a searching examination, the Secretary of State, Sir George Grey, was obliged to acknowledge that they were substantially true. This confirmation was a distinct eulogium; and the Government by it endorsed the opinion expressed by the public, of the value of such a legislator. A reform of these abuses was promised; and thus was inaugurated a much-required amelioration in the management of criminals.

We here add another striking testimonial of his earnestness in the duties he had undertaken:—

Paradise, Sunday.

BELOVED GENERAL,—In discharge of my first and far most pleasing duty, I called at “head-quarters,” Spring-gardens, on my arrival, to report myself, but was told you were not in town. I now perform my duty by letter, and beg to assure you that no monarch on earth ever had a more devoted subject, and no general a more obedient soldier. It will not be my fault if you are not the first man in your country. My terms are, that upon Irish questions I shall be free to act as I please; in all else I *follow you*, but no other man. I will propose no national question of which you are the proper, the acknowledged, the loved leader; nor shall adversity or prosperity ever banish from my recollection the boldness of the friend who visited me, in my *dungeon*. My service is not like that of any other man when I give it; life itself is offered, if needed.—Ever and for ever, your fond, affectionate, and devoted friend,

FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

It would be morally impossible to describe the state of Nottingham. Lord Rancliffe, the two principal bankers, and most of the clergy, voted for me and asked me to dine; and Smith, the banker, was chaired with us.

Yours,

F. O'C.

How Mr. Duncombe's occupations permitted him to exist in a state in any way approaching health for so long a period was a mystery to those who knew how many and serious were his anxieties; but his diaries contain abundant evidence of a constitution giving way. He took every precaution, consulted the ablest physicians, tried the most approved remedies, and went frequently to watering-places to recruit; but in July, of the year 1847, he found himself so ill that he was obliged to send a certificate from Dr. Elmore to excuse his attendance at the hustings, when called to abide another election for Finsbury.

The accompanying note from his colleague sufficiently describes his position :—

Wednesday Evening, July 28th, 1847.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have just returned here and found your note. I strongly advise you to quit London for a time, and abstain from even *talking* as much as you possibly can. You want REST and SLEEP.

I have only time to scratch the accompanying form of address. Alter it as you like, and attach my name to your improved edition.

I spoke of you this morning only as I felt was your due. I said much less than your public labours deserve.

\* Yours faithfully, T. WAKLEY.

P.S.—Would you consent to have your name on Osborne's Committee? He is, I think, sure of being returned.

At last serious indisposition took Mr. Duncombe far from the exciting and dangerous scene. Like every public man of good social position and character, he had kept aloof from the Chartists as soon as he discovered in them an intention to appeal to physical force. He had retired to Sidmouth, in Devon, the favourite resort of the Duke and Duchess of Kent; and it was in this peaceful retreat the repose he sought was disturbed by the accounts in the daily papers of the alarming condition of the metropolis. The masses had determined on an overawing demonstration; and the Duke of Wellington had determined to destroy its effect. His grace had contrived to put down O'Connell with a nation at his back, and was confident of being able to dispose of a much less formidable agitator, with a much less excitable following. Mr. Duncombe became anxious; and to prevent

the mischief he apprehended, caused the following caution to be extensively circulated in London:—

*To the Sons of Labour and Industry.*

Sidmouth, April 6th, 1848.

MY DEAR FEARGUS,—Though absent, I am not an inattentive observer of passing events, and it saddens me to see a cause for which I have so perseveringly struggled—and I think in the right direction—now likely to be damaged by folly.

I can, of course, make every allowance for reasonable excitement, but I cannot reconcile to my mind the folly of jeopardizing a good and just cause by extravagant language and foolish threats, which, as of old, can only have the effect of retarding progress, and disarming its best friends.

Nothing in my mind could be more ridiculous or cruel than to hazard the long-looked-for prospects of the people by any rash collision with the authorities, and those who adopt such a course will impose upon themselves a fearful responsibility.

**THINK! THINK! THINK!**

and remember—that one false step may seal the fate of millions.

Faithfully yours, T. S. DUNCOMBE.

The Chartists proved themselves inaccessible to reason; they relied on overwhelming numbers to intimidate the Government; and Feargus O'Connor, their acknowledged leader, with his characteristic rashness, supported them in their resolution to defy the authorities, and all the force they could array against them. An immense amount of "tall talk" was indulged in by some of the demagogues, and everything indicated the approach of a desperate struggle.

The great general quietly made his preparations,

and the defenders of law and order were largely reinforced by a newly-organized force of special constables—Prince Louis Napoleon, then in London, being one—to protect the streets, while the police were employed in disposing of the disturbers of the public peace, should the anticipated riot take place.

The morning of the memorable 10th of April arrived, and the physical-force men mustered in sufficient numbers to have scattered the military and police at the disposal of the Government to the four winds; at least, so it was imagined. As the prodigious detachments marched through the principal thoroughfares to the general rendezvous—Kennington Common—the timid looked forward to a repetition of at least the three so-called glorious days in Paris, should they be interrupted.

But of interruption there did not seem the slightest sign. On marched column after column, their banners waving, and their bands playing; rank after rank stepped the men, shoulder to shoulder, with vigour in their limbs, and determination in their faces. But not a single policeman was to be seen, nor a solitary soldier! There was no sign of opposition anywhere.

Away went these several armies quite unmolested, and apparently unobserved, occasionally cheered by mobs of roughs and idlers as they threaded the streets, till they began to pass out of the county of Middlesex into that of Surrey. They became a little excited as they drew near their destination, for the more sagacious knew that there must be a motive for this apparent neglect of their defiance, and anticipated a Peterloo.

On passing the bridges, the men of the various

divisions ascertained that the Government had not been idle, these strong positions having been taken possession of by a force well qualified to maintain them against all comers. No molestation, however, was offered; and the van with the monster petition, the Chartist council, the bands, the banners, and the detachments, passed on without a word.

At last the entire assemblage reached the common. The vans were placed in position as platforms for the orators, and those who were not looking out for murderous charges of cavalry, expected equally sensational speeches. In both they were disappointed—neither horse soldier nor foot was in sight—plenty were in concealment at a little distance. At last, the Chartist leaders having become aware that artillery, cavalry, and infantry, in overwhelming force, had been placed conveniently for disposal, lost heart as well as tongue. They abandoned the idea of a grand procession to accompany the monster petition to the House of Commons, knowing that it would not be permitted to pass either of the bridges; and presently abandoned the monster meeting. Feargus O'Connor was the first to present himself at the Home Office, to report the harmless result of the long-dreaded meeting.

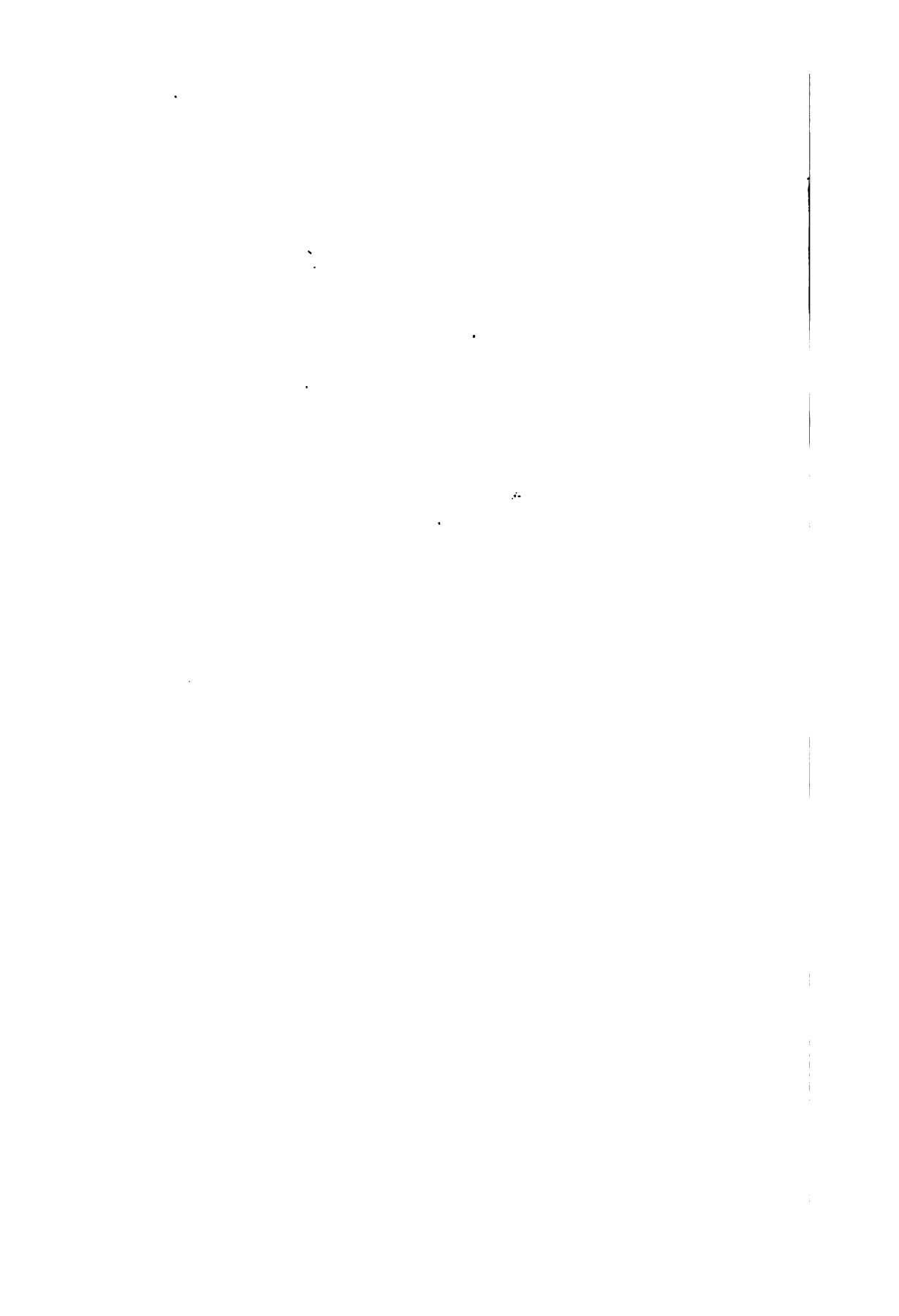
With the exception of a slight collision between the return mob and the police, by the former endeavouring to force a passage over one of the bridges—which had been prudently closed—there was no disturbance whatever. The 10th of April was, however, fatal to Chartism. Mr. Duncombe, having warned in vain, washed his hands of the cause; though he continued as active as ever as a supporter

in a legitimate way of the rights of labour. "The Executive" could not stand up against the ridicule generally directed against them, for having permitted themselves to be outgeneralled. The most influential organs of public opinion, with *Punch* in the van, laughed them into private life; and nothing more was heard of menacing processions as long as the vigorous spirits of Wellington and Palmerston were at hand with the way and the will to suppress them. These useless demonstrations have recently been tolerated in a manner that renders their suppression difficult, unless Parliament invests the Government with additional powers for that purpose.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.







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