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Also by G. R. Berridge

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A Diplomatic Whistleblower in the Victorian Era

The Life and Writings of E. C. Grenville-Murray

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For John Young

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Preface

I came to Eustace Clare Grenville-Murray only a few years ago. This was by means of a book called *Embassies and Foreign Courts* published in 1855 and written by ‘The Roving Englishman’. Although for a long time vaguely aware of it, I had neglected to study it because put off by its pseudonymous authorship and neglect by other scholars: I thought it could not be serious. When, however, curiosity finally got the better of me, I found it to be certainly an eccentric kind of diplomatic manual but acute in many of its observations and written with an irreverence, verve, and elegance which placed it in a galaxy many light years remote from that occupied by the more well known examples of this genre. This discovery led me to ask the same question which for a while plagued the author’s employers more than a century and a half earlier: Who on earth was ‘The Roving Englishman’? It did not take long to establish his real name and that he was a British diplomat who had turned to ‘scribbling’ in part to blow the whistle on abuses both in the diplomatic service and the Foreign Office – and I became intrigued by his career. To my initial surprise, I found that there was no full-length biography of him and that the few biographical essays of which he was the subject were not only riddled with errors but also displayed enormous gaps. Hence this book.

The failings of the extant treatments of Grenville-Murray, I now realise, are not so surprising after all, for establishing the facts of his life and the workings of his mind were both extremely difficult to accomplish. The reasons for this are as follows. First, his birth was illegitimate, so the records of his early life are either largely fictitious or non-existent. Second, because he was a whistleblower but relatively impecunious, he went to great lengths to cover his own literary tracks in order to safeguard his salaried income, so it is by no means easy to identify his writing, especially his newspaper articles. Third, because aristocrats both inside and outside the Foreign Office were desperate to contrive his downfall a whole raft of damaging myths was created about his official conduct and particular events in his life, and these have been constantly re-cycled – and inevitably embellished. For example, not so long ago in the *Telegraph* Andrew Marr repeated the myth that he was ‘horse-whipped’ by Lord Carrington; while even more astonishingly the historian John

Vincent, in his *Disraeli, Derby and the Conservative Party*, described him, among other things, as a ‘pornographer’ (p. 42). Finally, he left no personal collection of private papers – no private correspondence, no diaries, no unpublished memoirs – and the only readily traceable private letters of his own held in other collections are those to be found in the Stowe Papers at the Huntington Library in California and the papers of Sir Henry Bulwer at the Norfolk Record Office. (The last of these groups of letters is, typically, not logged in the National Register of Archives and, in consequence, I stumbled on them only by accident – and late in the day.) On the other hand, Grenville-Murray’s literary output was prodigious and, precisely because key Foreign Office officials loathed him, there are also entire volumes of documents in The National Archives in London dealing with ‘The Case of Mr. G. Murray.’ It was chiefly because I concluded that there was sufficient material in these sources to make a go of the project that I took the decision – probably still a rash one – to launch it.

I describe the subject of this biography throughout as ‘Grenville-Murray’, even though it was only at some point in his mid-twenties that he added ‘Grenville’ to his mother’s surname (itself probably fictitious) and even after this he was often referred to – not least by the Foreign office – as ‘Mr Murray’. I have preferred ‘Grenville-Murray’ not only because it is the period after his mid-twenties with which I am chiefly concerned but also in order to avoid confusion with one of his most bitter enemies, James Murray, head of the Consular Department in the Foreign Office, and Charles Augustus Murray, who was his head of mission in Tehran, and with neither of whom was he related.

I list Grenville-Murray’s books in an appendix rather than in the general list of ‘References’. I also exclude his articles from the latter list; like newspaper articles, these are cited in full in the footnotes. Having said that, in order chiefly to show their character as well as underline their great number, I list his articles in the *Cornhill Magazine* in a further appendix.

I am grateful for assistance with various aspects of this work to Troy Bassett, the late Philip Cottrell, Penny Hatfield, Clare Mence, Thomas Otte, Mary L. Robertson, Jackie Smith, and especially David Tothill, who did me the kindness of commenting on the whole of an early draft. I must also record my gratitude to the University of Leicester, particularly the Department of Politics and International Relations, for enabling me to preserve my access since my retirement to invaluable Library databases. Finally, I would like to thank the executive committee of the

British International History Group, especially John W. Young, for permitting me to give a lecture on Grenville-Murray at the group's annual conference in September 2012, for this helped to preserve the momentum of my project. John Young also did me the honour of casting a critical eye over the whole manuscript of the book in first draft and, because of this as well as in testimony to our long friendship, it is to him that I have dedicated it. For technical support, I am in debt as always to Jelena Jacovljevic.

G.R.B., Leicester, December 2013.

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations used in Footnotes and References

2DBC	Second Duke of Buckingham and Chandos
3DBC	Third Duke of Buckingham and Chandos
AYR	<i>All the Year Round</i> [successor to <i>Household Words</i>]
BB	[‘Blue Book’] HCPP (4163), 14 June 1869: <i>Papers Relative to the Complaints made against Mr. Grenville-Murray as Her Majesty’s Consul-General at Odessa; and to his Dismissal from Her Majesty’s Service</i>
BL	The British Library
CM	<i>The Cornhill Magazine</i>
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
FO	Foreign Office
FO List	<i>The Foreign Office List and Diplomatic and Consular Hand Book</i>
G-M	Grenville-Murray, Eustace Clare
HCDeb.	House of Commons Debates (Hansard)
HCPP	House of Commons Parliamentary Papers
HL	Huntington Library, California
HW	<i>Household Words</i>
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
LCD	<i>The Letters of Charles Dickens</i> (The Pilgrim Edition)
NRO	Norfolk Record Office (Norwich)
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> (Oxford University Press, 2004)
QM	<i>The Queen’s Messenger: A Weekly Gazette of Politics and Literature</i> [1869]
TNA	The National Archives [British]

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Prologue

In January 1869 Grenville-Murray launched a satirical weekly mischievously entitled the *Queen's Messenger*. It was designed chiefly to exact his revenge on the Foreign Office, which had dismissed him from government service ostensibly for failures of duty while consul-general at Odessa but in reality for acting as a whistleblower while moonlighting as a journalist. The *Queen's Messenger* swiftly multiplied the ranks of his enemies and in late July of the same year he had to flee to France. In its last issue before the start of parliament's summer recess, two small notices tucked away at the bottom of a column demonstrated at once its editor's cleverness, sense of humour, and unashamed belief in his own genius:

A very brilliant meteor (writes Sir A. S. Herschel) was seen last Friday evening, at 11.35 P.M., crossing the Channel. A morning paper declares this must have referred to Mr. Grenville Murray.

ASTRONOMICAL NOTICE FOR 1870. – The *Queen's Messenger* will reappear in February; several eclipses are expected to follow.¹

In fact the *Queen's Messenger* was never to come back but no-one could have doubted that the world would hear again from its editor, who by this time had firmly established himself in the eyes of the governing circles of Britain as the irrepressible evil genius of 'scurrilous' journalism.

Until diplomacy began to be properly professionalized and better paid during the latter half of the nineteenth century, British diplomatists had never been above moon-lighting. Some – especially at posts in the Orient – traded on their own account in jewels, currencies, and letters of protection; others bought or stole statuary and other ancient artefacts, whether for themselves or for rich and influential patrons at home. Perhaps more common, although less profitable, was the activity of the scholar-

¹ *QM*, 12 August, p. 338. Herschel was a leading British astronomer, then at the University of Glasgow, and produced annual reports on bright meteors observed for a committee of the British Association, Hollis, 'Herschel'.

diplomat, who sought to supplement his income and burnish his reputation by writing books and occasional articles on the languages, history, and contemporary features of interest of the countries with which he had become professionally acquainted. Sir Ernest Satow is the classic example. And then there was the journalist-diplomat.

Diplomats and journalists had in common the gathering and reporting of information, while some journalists specialised in foreign affairs and were often well connected with politicians. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that from time to time members of the one profession should have been tempted to abandon their current career in order to take a position in the other. Well known examples in Britain in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were Henry Southern, Valentine Chirol, Harold Nicolson, and Robert Bruce Lockhart; in France Henri Beyl, better known as the great novelist Stendhal; and in the United States John Moncure Daniel, the incendiary pro-slavery editor of the *Richmond Examiner*.¹ What was much rarer was the person who worked both as a journalist and a diplomat *simultaneously*. Sir Henry Bulwer, who ended his career as British ambassador at Constantinople, was certainly one example.² But insofar as Grenville-Murray appears to have divided his time more evenly between the two professions, he remained extremely unusual and was without doubt the journalist-diplomat par excellence.

For reasons which will become evident, we have no photograph or portrait of Grenville-Murray. However, he was described by those who knew him as slim and rather short in build, with curly hair, well-cut features, a dark complexion, and very bright eyes. He was brilliant and knew it, restless, vivacious, and furiously hard-working.³ Henry Labouchere, the radical politician who was equally familiar with the world of the press and nobody's fool, judged him after his death to have been 'the ablest journalist of the century';⁴ and this was not an unusual opinion. But no-one has ever had a good word to say about his conduct as a diplomat or even given a moment's thought to – let alone said a good word about – his broad-ranging reflections on diplomacy, his first-chosen profession.

What was Grenville-Murray's background? What were his connections to the novelist Charles Dickens and to the foreign secretary and later prime minister Lord

¹ Bourne, *Palmerston*, pp. 486-7; Healey, 'Southern'; Bridges, *Pen of Fire*; Keats, *Stendhal*, chs. 11 and 12, and Green, *Stendhal*, chs. 8-10. In the twentieth century, too, it was not unusual, especially in wartime, to find journalists recruited to the more specialized work of the press attaché.

² Bourne, *Palmerston*, pp. 474-6; Chamberlain, 'Bulwer'.

³ Hatton, *Journalistic London*, pp.106-10; Yates, *His Recollections and Experiences*, pp. 447-8.

⁴ Quoted in Hatton, *Journalistic London*, p. 109.

Palmerston? What were the themes of his writing? Was he really a useless diplomat? How did he manage to juggle journalism and diplomacy for over 17 years, especially since he specialised in satire and ridicule directed chiefly at his own employers? How did the Foreign Office finally manage to get rid of him? What did he do afterwards and what is his lasting importance? These are the questions which shape this biography as it follows Grenville-Murray's adventures: first as the 'Roving Englishman' in Vienna, Constantinople, and the Crimean War; then to Tehran following the comic opera war between Britain and Persia which succeeded it; and afterwards during his diplomatic nemesis in Odessa, so coloured in its latter stages by the Polish uprising against Russian rule in 1863. The tale ends with his literary rebirth during an exile to France which began in 1869. This coincided with the collapse of Louis Napoleon's Second Empire, the Prussian siege of Paris, the short-lived Paris commune, the second siege of Paris, and the birth of the Third Republic. This, on the face of it, was great timing for a determined journalist who by this time had nothing else to do.

1 Powerful Patrons

Eustace Clare Grenville-Murray, as he eventually called himself and as he duly came to be known, was a bastard. He was also born into and acquired the expensive tastes of the English aristocracy. Together these facts made it doubly important that he should obtain a powerful patron. It was his apparent good fortune that he came to enjoy not one but three – or two and a half, since one of them was his half-brother the increasingly ridiculous second Duke of Buckingham and Chandos. But the character of his ducal patron mattered less, for each of the others was pre-eminent in one of the two careers entertained by Eustace from his early twenties: diplomacy, where he was favoured by Lord Palmerston, and literature, where he was encouraged by Charles Dickens. But were these careers compatible? An episode in Vienna in 1851 sounded an early alarm.

Eustace was the illegitimate son not – as is commonly supposed – of the 2nd but of the 1st Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, the immensely wealthy Richard Grenville (1776–1839), whose odious character and spectacular extravagance laid the ground for the mid-century financial collapse of the Grenville family.¹ As for his mother, she was Emma Murray, an actress and courtesan of the aristocracy and London political class, said in the 1830s by the *Satirist* to have been the daughter of an innkeeper in Hereford.² In order to gloss over the social embarrassment of this birth, on his baptism at St Marylebone Church, Westminster, on 29 December 1823, Eustace was provided with the invented but comparatively common surname of Clare: ‘Eustace, son of Richard and Emma Clare.’³ But this was just an expedient of the

¹ Beckett, *The Rise and Fall of the Grenvilles*, p. 105; Thompson, ‘Grenville’. It is easy to understand why the *second* duke was widely supposed to be his father: he was 26 years older than Eustace and an even more notorious philanderer than his own father; moreover, Eustace never went out of his way to deny the supposition.

² ‘Emma Murray’ appears to have been an assumed name, Bourne, *Palmerston*, p. 204. Characters substantially inspired by her appear in numerous of G-M’s essays and novels, among them the ‘Adventuress’ Lily Gorr in *Under the Lens*, vol. 1, ch. 9.

³ Wildly different dates have been hazarded for G-M’s birth (all much earlier) but the parish record of his baptism gives it as 2 October 1823: LMA, Saint Marylebone, Register of Baptisms, P89/MRY1,

moment and he must very soon have been given Emma's purported surname as his own, 'Clare' then becoming a second Christian name.

'A thousand scrapes'

What became of Eustace Clare Murray in the first 20 years of his life is difficult to penetrate. It is evident that he did not lack financial support, whether this came from Buckingham or, more likely, from his mother, whose considerable income in the years following his birth included a bond from the duke paying interest at 5 per cent quarterly on the then huge sum of £6000 she had lent him between 1822 and 1827.¹ On the evidence of his first writings it is also clear that Eustace was a respectable classical scholar, so it is likely that in this regard at least he benefited from the typical education of a young gentleman of the upper class, probably at Eton College, even though later he regarded this institution with contempt. It was 'a giant academy of dunces,' he believed, 'essentially a fast school' for the sons of plutocrats, where the masters showed interest only in the few bright and willing learners and were content to see the rest go to the devil 'so long as there was no scandal' – and gave not even the former a moral education. 'Eton,' he wrote, 'turns out gentlemen, but not men.'²

It seems likely that around 1838 or 1839, when his father the first Duke died, a promising school career was prematurely ended; and that, in this respect like the hero of his little remarked first novel, *Walter Evelyn*, at the age of 14 or 15 he was required to accompany his mother on long visits to Paris, where 'Society' had fewer scruples

Item 024. I obtained the clue needed to track down this source from Boddington, 'The Dukes of Buckingham and Chandos'. Strong support for the view that this is indeed G-M's record of baptism is found in a letter he wrote to a man he hoped would be a new patron when he had no reason to lie about his age: 'I am,' he told Sir Henry Bulwer, 'but 39 sound and strong', NRO, G-M to Bulwer, 9 July 1863, BUL 1/270.

¹ Emma may well have exaggerated this figure. See HL, Emma Murray Mills to Chandos [later 3DBC], 4 July 1850, STG Box 96 (33); Beckett, *The Rise and Fall of the Grenvilles*, p. 105; Bourne, *Palmerston*, p. 204.

² *Under the Lens*, vol. 1, pp. 232, 249, 253. Two chapters in this volume are devoted to Eton; see also the earlier 'Collegers vs. Oppidans: A reminiscence of Eton Life', *CM*, vol. 24, December 1871, a long and well-informed anonymous article on life at the college attributed to G-M by the *Wellesley Index* (vol. 1, p. 102). It is chiefly these pieces which support the conclusion that G-M attended Eton, although he could have relied for his information on his eldest son, who certainly was a boy at the college and later wrote a book about it: Brinsley-Richards, *Seven Years at Eton*. Furthermore, G-M is not included in the index to Stapylton's *Eton School Lists*. On the other hand, owing to Stapylton's method of compilation, he could easily have been missed if he was only at the college for two years, a common enough pattern in those days. I am grateful to Mrs Penny Hatfield, the Eton College Archivist, for this information.

than London about her life style. There presumably plunged into the kind of social milieu favoured by the shallow, amoral and spendthrift denizens of the demi-monde and kept too much in the company of adults rather than children his own age, Eustace became fluent in French but also arrogant, rude, and self-willed. Inevitably, it was also his fate to get into bad habits and thus ‘a thousand scrapes’.

One of his youthful follies, as we shall see, was getting into debts – regarded as ‘a fine dashing manly habit’ by the spendthrift element of the aristocracy;¹ the thorough nobleman, he had evidently been led to believe, never paid his debts on principle, for he did his tradesmen great honour by dealing with them at all, so actually to give them money would be ‘to pay them twice over.’² Another of his youthful follies was following the family custom of fathering bastards. Generally credible letters preserved among Foreign Office papers claim that he was the father of a baby girl born in about 1842 whom two years afterwards he left – with financial provision for her board and education – in the care of a woman in France.³

As Eustace later admitted, at this stage in his life he still had little idea of what he wanted to do. In consequence, he probably continued to lead the life of a young, cultured upper class dilettante, dividing his time between chasing housemaids, gambling, horse-riding, theatre-going, and travelling for pleasure and education. In 1842 or 1843 it is even possible that – like the chief character in his later novel *Six Months in the Ranks* – he enlisted as a private soldier: an act of redemption for a ‘foolish life of debts and scrapes.’

In January 1844 Eustace tried something new: he decided to get married. It was by that time, he wrote later, the only cure of which he knew for ennui; if that failed, he advised, ‘you must try cigars; there is nothing else.’⁴ The woman he married was a widow, Sarah Lake of Brompton, who later adopted the name of Clara, perhaps to help her forget an unhappy past.⁵ One of the formal witnesses to the marriage was Thomas Knox Holmes, a captain in the Bucks Yeomanry Cavalry, of which the Duke

¹ *Walter Evelyn*, vol. 3, p. 39.

² *Under the Lens*, vol. 2, p. 46.

³ This was the aunt of a London solicitor’s clerk called Thomas Cuddeford, the writer of these letters, who later married the girl and wished – fruitlessly as it turned out – for confirmation of her parentage, TNA, Cuddeford to Clarendon, 2 March and 6 July 1869, FO65/795.

⁴ *From Mayfair to Marathon*, pp. 234-5.

⁵ GRO copy MXF 595121. G-M’s bride was described only as ‘Sarah’ on this marriage certificate but at the christening of their sons on 24 June 1856 her names were recorded as ‘Sarah Clara’ (Ancestry.com), and in the 1861 Census she was listed simply as ‘Clara’. G-M comments on the tendency of girls to adopt new names in such circumstances in *The Prodigal Daughter*, p. 203.

of Buckingham and Chandos was the colonel.¹ In due course the couple settled at 46 Great Portland Street in the bohemian district of central London later known as Fitzrovia.²

Clara was about the same age as her new husband, possibly slightly younger.³ She seems to have combined the virtues of the ‘interesting young widows’ described by Eustace in *Side-Lights on English Society* and the widowed tobacco shop owner who featured in *Six Months in the Ranks*. The former perhaps had more grace and wit but both were attractive, intelligent, self-confident and businesslike.⁴ Eustace seems always to have been devoted to Clara – his ‘household goddess’ – and never failed to speak in favour of early marriage.

Clara had brought £1200 to the marriage, a sum invested in safe government stocks, although they could not have paid interest at more than 3 per cent. Some small ‘provision’ also seems to have been made for the couple by Eustace’s half-brother the second Duke, following his acceptance of legal advice that some conciliation of the child of Emma Murray was expedient because the latter was in possession of letters which confirmed that the first Duke was his father.⁵ Nevertheless, the couple remained financially insecure. Eustace could expect – even had he wanted it – no support from his mother, for her own income virtually dried up when in the second half of the 1840s the Grenvilles refused any longer to honour the payments on her bond from the first Duke and disavowed the £6000 loan;⁶ and Eustace still had no career. Adding to the couple’s worries were the arrivals of two children: Reginald, on

¹ *London Gazette*, 11 October 1839, p. 1903; Beckett, *The Rise and Fall of the Grenvilles*, pp. 153, 201-2.

² Fitzrovia Neighbourhood Association.

³ According to the 1861 Census she was born about 1826, although in the 1871 Census she was recorded as aged 48, which would have placed her birth in 1823.

⁴ *Side-Lights*, vol. 2, pp. 187-94; *Six Months in the Ranks*, pp. 136-7.

⁵ Beckett, *The Rise and Fall of the Grenvilles*, pp. 105-6; HL, G-M to 2DBC, 22 March 1855, STG Box 96 (51).

⁶ By 1850 Emma had to abandon her fine London life-style and was soon living – among other compatriots in adversity – in Calais, where she wrote a stream of increasingly desperate letters to both the second Duke and his son begging either for the loan to be repaid or for the use of family influence to secure preferment for her son-in-law, Richard Levinge Swift, so that he would find it easier to support her: for example HL, Emma Murray Mills to Chandos, 4 July 1850, Box 96 (33); to 2DBC, 23 August 1858 (34), October 1858 (35), and 1 April 1859 (36). She died in Calais on 3 October 1860. See also Beckett, *The Rise and Fall of the Grenvilles*, pp. 105-6; Steele, ‘Temple’; Bourne, *Palmerston*, p. 212. On ‘wretched’ Calais and the unnamed ‘pompous old lady’ pacing its pier who was ‘once the mistress of a rich man,’ see G-M’s *From Mayfair to Marathon*, pp. 13-23, where he is obviously describing his mother.

29 August 1846;¹ and Wyndham, on 1 January 1848.² To make financial matters worse, just two months after the last of these events Eustace chose to become a student at Magdalen Hall (later Hertford College) in the University of Oxford;³ for here – Balliol excepted – the encouragement to ‘early debts, indolence, and dissipation’ was as marked as it was at Eton.⁴ Other than give up his studies and get a job, he had only one course of action: an appeal for further help to his half-brother. But this was a risky strategy because, although more amiable than their father, the second Duke of Buckingham and Chandos – the succinctly named Richard Plantagenet Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville – was made in the same moral mould.

In late April 1848, barely two months after he had enrolled at Oxford, Eustace repeatedly begged the duke to accept all of his wife’s money and in return pay them an annuity at a much higher rate than that being obtained from government stock.⁵ At first he had difficulty in getting his attention because, due to spectacular extravagance and incompetent asset management over many years, the final stage of the Grenville family’s humiliating financial collapse was at hand. (The duke had debts of almost £1.5 million, annual interest payments of roughly £66,000, and an annual income of no more than £61,000; and during August and July the entire contents of his country seat at Stowe had to be auctioned.)⁶ The duke’s marriage was also disintegrating and he was quarrelling viciously with his son Richard, Marquess of Chandos, over the steps to be taken in the emergency.⁷

Perhaps because of Eustace’s persistence, perhaps because this young half-brother was showing his coronet a respect by now in short supply, but chiefly no doubt because even the small change he was offering might be useful in his present state of relative penury, by the end of the first week of May the duke had condescended to agree to his request – at 12 per cent! ‘I have lost no time in giving instructions for the money to be sold out of the Funds,’ Eustace hastened to tell him

¹ LMA: Record of christening, 24 June 1856 (Ancestry.com). His full name was Reginald Temple Strange Clare Grenville-Murray. At first known in the family as ‘Temple’ but later as ‘Reginald’, after his father’s death he changed his name to James Brinsley-Richards.

² LMA: Record of christening, 24 June 1856 (Ancestry.com). His full name was Douglas Nugent Wyndham Eustace Clare Grenville-Murray but he was always known in the family as ‘Wyndham’.

³ Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, p. 999.

⁴ *Under the Lens*, vol. 1, p. 285.

⁵ HL, Eustace to 2DBC, 22, 26, 27, 28 April and 4 May 1848, STG Box 96 (39-42).

⁶ Thompson, ‘Grenville’; Beckett, *The Rise and Fall of the Grenvilles*, chs. 7-8.

⁷ Beckett, *The Rise and Fall of the Grenvilles*, chs. 7-9.

on learning this.¹ A deed was duly drawn up and within a few days the money was handed over. Eustace had a promise of an annuity of £144 from a bankrupt.²

As if on the face of it this was not sufficient madness, less than two years later Eustace entered into another perilous engagement with Buckingham, who was still doing anything to raise ready money.³ Meeting the duke at the Carlton Club, he handed him £500 in cash – on what terms is unknown – even before the bond of the loan was ready for signature. His half-brother's 'stainless word' was all the guarantee he needed, wrote Eustace in a gushing letter which accompanied this arrangement.⁴

Why did Eustace throw so much of the little money he had at the Duke of Buckingham? The rate of interest promised at least on the first loan was certainly attractive but he must have known that the agreement entailed a glaring risk to his wife's capital and even to the annuity itself. Perhaps he comforted himself with the thought that the duke's son, the Marquess of Chandos and later third duke, whose influence over the management of the estate's assets had overtaken that of his father, was more businesslike and responsible and so would ensure that the obligations would be honoured. Another explanation of Eustace's action may be that – amazingly enough – Buckingham possessed the ability to inspire great loyalty and trust.⁵ Benjamin Disraeli, who knew him well, thought he had the ability to swindle a swindler.⁶ But there may also have been non-financial calculations in making these arrangements. Eustace, in other words, probably saw them not only as tantamount to further acknowledgement of his close, natural connection to the Grenvilles but also as gestures likely to earn the goodwill of the duke, the more so because made in his hour of greatest need. Perhaps he was even dreaming that he might by such means persuade Buckingham to acknowledge him, instead of the legitimate son with whom he was warring, as heir to his title; as we shall see, there is good reason to suppose that at some point Eustace came to believe that this was his right. The loans certainly seem to have strengthened the bond between them, for in the duke's unexecuted will of 1852 Eustace was named as an executor.⁷

¹ HL, Eustace to 2DBC, 7 May 1848, STG Box 96 (43).

² HL, Eustace to 2DBC, 9, 10 and 12 May 1848, STG Box 96 (44-7).

³ Beckett, *The Rise and Fall of the Grenvilles*, pp. 261-3.

⁴ HL, G-M to 2DBC, n.d., STG Box 96 (49 and 50). The Huntington Library speculates that these letters were written in 1848 but internal evidence suggests that they must have been written in early 1850.

⁵ Beckett, *The Rise and Fall of the Grenvilles*, pp. 192, 202.

⁶ Blake, *Disraeli*, p. 400.

⁷ Beckett, *The Rise and Fall of the Grenvilles*, p. 277.

Meanwhile, at Oxford Eustace acquired debts but no degree, and over ten years later was still being pursued for an unpaid bill of almost £10 by the Oxford boot-maker Frederick Bessant.¹ In early 1850, therefore, he abandoned the university and became instead a student of the Inner Temple but – like the hero of *Six Months in the Ranks* – surrendered even more quickly the hopes with which he had entered this institution.² Whether this was because he was unsuited to the law or because he could not afford the fees is unclear; it was probably a bit of both. The ‘great expectations’ to which he had been born, he concluded from this episode, had been a pantomime trick played on him by ‘Miss Fortune.’ He decided to sell his horses and go abroad.³ But he did not go without some ideas as to how ‘abroad’ would serve to make a living for him and the family he had left behind. To begin with, his plan was to combine casual journalism with service in the Austrian army.

Palmerston and Dickens

Fortunately for Grenville-Murray, he had two patrons who had much greater influence and were more serviceable to him than the disgraced second Duke of Buckingham and Chandos. These were the Irish peer Lord Palmerston and the novelist Charles Dickens.

Before Grenville-Murray was even born, Henry John Temple, third Viscount Palmerston, was already a prominent figure in politics. Always somewhat difficult to pigeon-hole but generally regarded as a conservative-leaning liberal, he had been a member of parliament since the first decade of the century and served as secretary of war under five prime ministers before 1828. Thereafter, in Eustace’s formative years, he came to dominate the Foreign Office: he was foreign secretary for almost all of the time from November 1830 until August 1841, and again from July 1846 until December 1851. Palmerston believed that British interests required the preservation of stability via the balance of power, that this meant that Britain had no ‘eternal allies’ or ‘perpetual enemies’ and that non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other states was wrong – unless it was in the defence of constitutionalism against the absolute

¹ TNA, Bessant to Russell, 8 April 1861, FO65/790.

² *Six Month in the Ranks*, pp. 41-2; Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, p. 999; Seecombe and Coohill, ‘Murray’.

³ *The Roving Englishman*, pp. v, vi, vii.

monarchies. He was bold as well as inconsistent, and both adept and energetic at manipulating public opinion through the press; usually, therefore, he was also successful. He was a major figure on the European stage and had admirers across the political spectrum, although within the Foreign Office itself he was such a hard task-master that, with only few exceptions, he was hated by the clerks.¹ In the early stage of his ministerial career Palmerston – who was a famous womanizer and did not marry until 1839 – also happened to have been another of the lovers of Eustace’s mother Emma Murray.

As Emma was one of his favourites and in January 1816 had borne him a son, at about this time Lord Palmerston (widely known by the nickname ‘Cupid’) had installed her first at a Pall Mall address and then in Piccadilly. Here he bought her the lease on a house and – despite her marriage to a ne’er-do-well called Edmund Mills in 1828 – gave her financial support for decades afterwards.² This included assisting with the education of their son – somewhat indiscreetly named by Emma ‘Henry John Temple Murray’ – and several of her other children.³ Since it has also been reliably reported that Grenville-Murray ‘attracted the attention of Lord Palmerston when a mere lad,’⁴ it is a reasonable supposition that Eustace was among those whose education he assisted. The rising politician must have noted the boy’s striking potential and may also have been well disposed towards him because the Temples were closely related to the Grenvilles,⁵ albeit in Palmerston’s case remotely because he was a scion of the Irish branch. He also gave Eustace occasional diplomatic errands to run in the 1840s after he had reached the age of 18;⁶ this was the kind of informal training in diplomacy which had been going on since Elizabethan times.⁷

But if a diplomatic career might for long have been a possibility considered by Eustace, it seems that this was by no means uppermost in his mind in the spring of 1850. Instead, together with the Austrian service, this was journalism, as already

¹ Bourne, *Palmerston*, pp. 433, 438-41.

² Bourne, *Palmerston*, pp. 207-12. Mills was the younger son of a prosperous Wiltshire family but was a wastrel, constantly in and out of debtors’ prison, and died in 1840.

³ Bourne, *Palmerston*, pp. 204-5, 208, 210; Steele, ‘Temple’; Chambers, *Palmerston*, pp. 76, 88, 94, 108-9.

⁴ Henry Labouchere in *Truth*, 29 December 1881, quoted in Hatton, *Journalistic London*, p. 107; Seccombe, ‘Murray’; Fox-Bourne, *English Newspapers*, p. 301.

⁵ Beckett, *The Rise and Fall of the Grenvilles*, ch. 1 (‘The Grenvilles and the Temples’).

⁶ G-M to Clarendon, 17 Dec. 1868, BB, p. 281.

⁷ Berridge, ‘Diplomatic education and training’, pp. 33-41.

mentioned; but Palmerston – ‘who always had a great weakness for journalists’¹ – could assist him here as well. And when openings in this field were offered to Eustace at this juncture he jumped at them with alacrity.

The first of these offers was an appointment as the Vienna correspondent of the Palmerston-supporting London *Morning Post*, then edited by the former Tory MP and friend of Palmerston, Peter Borthwick.² Palmerston probably wished to use Eustace as an alternative to the British embassy in Vienna as a source of news on Austrian affairs in the same way that he was tending to discount the formal despatches of the British ambassador in Paris in favour of the published reports and private letters from the French capital of Algernon Borthwick, the son of the *Morning Post* editor.³ Undoubtedly, too, Palmerston was more than relaxed at the likelihood – had indeed probably encouraged it – that the newspaper copy supplied by Eustace would be critical of the Austrian prime minister and foreign minister Prince Felix of Schwarzenberg, whom he disliked personally as well as politically.⁴ Having accepted the offer, Eustace promptly departed for Vienna.

At the same time he had accepted another offer of journalistic employment. This was an invitation from William Henry Wills to try his hand at writing articles for a weekly periodical launched at the end of March of which he was part proprietor, business-manager, and sub-editor.⁵ The periodical was *Household Words* (later *All the Year Round*) and the editor and chief proprietor was the novelist Charles Dickens, who himself had starting writing as a journalist but by this time was a long-established literary celebrity. Dickens wished his new periodical to be particularly concerned with attacking social evils and abuses of power and privilege but ruled out no subject for inclusion. He also wanted it to appeal to all social classes, to young and old, and to women as well as men. In style he wished it to be entertaining as well as instructive: while being scrupulously true to the facts, non-fiction articles were to be as lively as possible. Since Dickens saw it as a vehicle for his own voice, he wrote many articles himself, edited it brutally, and laid it down as general policy that all

¹ Bourne, *Palmerston*, p. 476.

² TNA, Memorandum by W. G. Grey, Stockholm, 31 August 1855, FO881/1647. On Palmerston and the *Morning Post*, see Bourne, *Palmerston*, pp. 487-9; Chambers, *Palmerston*, *passim*.

³ Chambers, *Palmerston*, pp. 333-4.

⁴ While an attaché at the Austrian embassy in London in the late 1820s Schwarzenberg had an affair with the ‘adventuress’ Jane Digby, then wife of the Earl of Ellenborough, which caused a great scandal. Palmerston regarded him as ‘silly and conceited’ and in 1832 declined Metternich’s suggestion that he be sent back as chargé d’affaires, Bourne, *Palmerston*, pp. 205, 493; Baigent, ‘Digby’.

⁵ *The Roving Englishman*, pp. v-vi.

articles were to be anonymous. Although *Household Words* received a mixed reception from literary critics, it was extremely popular with the public and turned a handsome profit for its owners.¹ In August 1850, having been given a brief to provide practical tips on foreign travel and provide sketches of foreign manners, Eustace published his first article in *Household Words* and thereby began his career as a regular contributor; as this demonstrates, he had found in Charles Dickens another admirer.

Caught out by ‘Lord Fiddlededee’

In the spring of 1850 Eustace arrived in Vienna determined to rely henceforth as much as possible on his own talents and energy. In order to give himself an edge, it was at about this time that he decided to advertise his connection to his father’s ducal family by changing his surname from ‘Murray’ to ‘Grenville : Murray’, as he usually wrote it himself, or ‘Grenville-Murray’ as it was invariably written by others; this moniker would have been particularly valuable in the notoriously status-conscious Austrian capital. And, of course, he carried with him letters of introduction. One was from Palmerston, which asked the British ambassador to assist Eustace in discharging his duties as correspondent of the *Morning Post*. The other was from his half-brother, Buckingham; this was addressed to Marshal Nugent and commended his suitability to the Austrian army.² Whether Palmerston knew of this other ambition is not clear and it is difficult to believe that, if he did, he could have approved it.

On appearing at the British embassy, Eustace was advised by Arthur Magenis, who was in charge in the ambassador’s absence, that the two professions he proposed to enter were incompatible – although, no doubt suspecting that Palmerston was seeking to establish an alternative source of information on Austrian affairs, he seemed keener that the statesman’s protégé should resolve the dilemma by dropping the *Morning Post* rather than the Austrian army.³ Be that as it may, if Eustace persisted, he was warned, he would soon find himself ‘in very unpleasant difficulties’

¹ Lohrli, *Household Words*, pp. 1-24; Storey et al (eds), *LCD*, vol. 6, 1850-1852, pp. vii-viii, xii-xiii.

² The Austrian army was a multi-national service which was the preferred destination for minor British aristocrats and gentry, especially if they were Catholics or if there were – as in Eustace’s case – a question mark over their social standing. I am indebted to T. G. Otte for this information.

³ TNA, Memorandum by W. G. Grey, Stockholm, 31 August 1855, FO881/1647. Except where otherwise indicated, this account of G-M’s difficulties in Vienna is taken from this source.

because the *Morning Post* was England's most anti-Austrian newspaper and tensions between Britain and autocratic Austria were rising.

Protesting that the Austrians themselves had all along known of and raised no objection to his intentions, Eustace nevertheless abandoned his ambition to join the Austrian army. But this might have been not only – or even chiefly – because of Magenis's warning but also because he had concluded that it would have been dishonourable. Was not, asked the eponymous hero of *Walter Evelyn*, the wish to become a 'mercenary soldier in the ranks of a foreign sovereign' nothing but a 'tawdry dream of false glory,' and especially unsavoury when the sovereign in question was the most determined enemy of freedom in Europe?¹ It would be surprising, too, if his decision had not also been prompted by an increase in his liking for his journalistic work and in his sense that he was good at it. He remained in Vienna on behalf of the *Morning Post* until the following spring.

It was abundantly clear to Grenville-Murray, however, that the earnings of freelance journalism would not support his life-style, his family, and the sort of travel writing at which he was becoming adept. While in Vienna he had run up large debts to an American resident of the city called Leo Wolf at whose house and table he had been a constant guest.² With the active encouragement and support of Palmerston, therefore, in July 1851 he accepted appointment as an attaché at the British embassy in Vienna.³ (A decade earlier Palmerston had installed his own son by Emma in the consular service and later he was to do the same thing for Henry and Eustace's brother-in-law Richard Levinge Swift.)⁴ This decisive step has a resounding echo in *Walter Evelyn*, where the youthful hero is encouraged by his uncle, who is in the Cabinet, to choose the diplomatic career. Immediately offered a post abroad, he is advised to call on 'Lord A', clearly Palmerston, before he goes: 'he has taken a fancy to you,' he is told, and would not only give him counsel but letters of introduction

¹ *Walter Evelyn*, vol. 1, pp. 220-36 and vol. 2, pp. 124-47.

² TNA, Wolf to Malmesbury, 24 February 1859, FO65/788.

³ TNA, Palmerston to Westmorland, 14 July 1851, FO65/787; Seccombe, 'Murray'; Bourne, *Palmerston*, pp. 204-5.

⁴ Henry began his consular career as vice-consul at Tangier in August 1841 and ended it when he retired as consul at Buenos Aires in October 1879, *FO List 1890*. Richard, a barrister, held a number of different consular posts in quick succession between October 1855 and June 1858, *FO List 1864*. Bourne also mentions these cases, *Palmerston*, pp. 204-5.

which would prove useful because ‘he knows almost every body in Europe who is worth knowing.’¹

The Vienna position was unpaid, as was the custom with initial appointments, but should in due course lead to salaried work. Meanwhile it would provide Eustace with some expenses for travel and subsistence – and mail facilities for the despatch of his articles to London. For, with the blessing of Palmerston, who is said to have wished him to write in unfriendly tones about the Austrian prime minister, he was determined to keep up his position as correspondent of the *Morning Post* in the Austrian capital.²

Back in Vienna in the autumn of 1851 after several months familiarizing himself with the work of the Foreign Office, Grenville-Murray made the mistake of failing to appear at the embassy on the feeble excuse that his German was as yet too rusty for him to be of any use. Instead, what did turn up at the embassy, on the day in each week when the messenger left for London, was a packet from him addressed to ‘Peter Borthwick, Esq.’, whose position as editor of the *Morning Post* was well known in the mission. To the minds of his nominal chancery colleagues, and with some justice, Grenville-Murray was an arrogant free-loader who was trading on the influence of his eminent connections and had no intention of taking his diplomatic position seriously. As a result, they reported his behaviour to the new ambassador who arrived in October.

The new head of the British embassy at Vienna was the ageing 11th Earl of Westmorland, the plodding, authoritarian, musical diplomatist soon to be immortalized by Grenville-Murray as ‘Lord Fiddlededee’. (In 1823 he had founded the Royal Academy of Music, where he insisted on restricting the concerts to ‘Italian music and his own compositions.’)³ Duly summoning the miscreant to his presence, Westmorland informed him that it was contrary to his instructions under the royal signature to permit a member of his mission to correspond with a newspaper, read out the relevant paragraph to him, and ordered him to desist. His new attaché would have had an arguable case for challenging this interpretation of these standard instructions

¹ *Walter Evelyn*, vol. 2, pp. 86-7; see also p. 79. Evidence at numerous points throughout this work makes it obvious that ‘Lord A’ (as also – just to muddy the waters a little – ‘Sir Charles Grandison’) is Palmerston, notably the reference to his well known belief in the value of dining for the conduct of business, vol. 1, pp. 152ff.

² Yates, *His Recollections and Experiences*, p. 448; Hatton, *Journalistic London*, p. 107; Thorold, *The Life of Henry Labouchere*, p. 62; Bourne, *Palmerston*, p. 205.

³ Reynolds, ‘Fane’.

provided he could demonstrate that he was not touching on subjects on which the embassy was then engaged.¹ However, it is improbable that he would have been able to do this. Accordingly, he gave his word of honour that he would not write newspaper copy while remaining at the embassy and from that day took his place in the chancery.

Despite this undertaking, Grenville-Murray continued to write newspaper articles, but chiefly for the *Daily News*, the radical paper established by Charles Dickens in 1846, rather than the *Morning Post*.² Since his copy was anonymous, he must have thought that by this ruse he was safe. Unfortunately for him, however, in January 1852 he was unmasked owing to an accident. Two of his letters sent on successive dates in December to Frederick Knight Hunt, chief editor of the *Daily News* and a fellow contributor to *Household Words*, were not addressed to the satisfaction of the London postal service and, as a result, were sent back by the dead letter office. They were then returned not to their sender but to the ambassador because – as was routinely the case – chancery mail was sent out under his seal.³ Despite being marked ‘Private’, therefore, they were read by Westmorland.

From the style and content of the first letter it was obvious that it was a draft newspaper article and when confronted with it Grenville-Murray was in some confusion. ‘Never was a man so upset. He turned pale green and red,’ recorded the first paid attaché at the embassy William Grey, with relish. The unmasked journalist admitted it was his but denied he had broken his word, claiming untruthfully that Hunt was an old school friend, although in reality the editor had much humbler origins and was nine or ten years his elder.⁴ Unhappily, when the second letter was returned to Westmorland some days later it was even more obvious that this was designed for publication.⁵ This time Grenville-Murray could not deny it but succeeded in persuading the ambassador not to report the matter officially to the Foreign Office, surrender the two letters to him, and permit him to make his own justification to

¹ The paragraph in question (no. 11) runs as follows: ‘You will correspond with Our Ministers at Foreign Courts upon any occasions when it may be necessary for you to do so, for the furtherance of Our Service; but you will not on any account communicate with private Friends on the public affairs upon which you are employed, nor will you permit any person connected with your Mission so to do, TNA, Draft: Sign Manual Instructions to the Earl of Westmorland, Her Majesty’s Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Austria, 27 January 1851, FO83/845.

² Thomas (ed), *Fifty Years of Fleet Street*, p. 212.

³ Northamptonshire Record Office, G-M to Granville, 20 January 1852, Westmorland Miscellaneous, vol. 54.

⁴ Garnett, ‘Hunt’.

⁵ Yates gives essentially the same account, *His Recollections and Experiences*, p. 448.

headquarters. Upon this, Grenville-Murray sent *copies* of the letters to London with those passages omitted which ‘stamped’ them as designed for the press. These were returned to Westmorland and when the discrepancies between them and the originals were discovered, the ambassador reported him officially to the Foreign Office.

Grenville-Murray had good reason to be alarmed at this turn of events. The affair had come to the unfavourable notice of Queen Victoria, who had been reportedly ‘furious’ at the young Prince of Wales for siding with the attaché;¹ and only shortly before, in the last week of December, his patron Lord Palmerston had been prised from the Foreign Office on account of a political misdemeanour. But, fortunately for Grenville-Murray, Westmorland himself carried little weight because he was widely thought to be useless, not least by the former foreign secretary.² Furthermore, while the quality of Palmerston’s judgement was controversial his reputation for knowledge of foreign affairs remained extremely high. As a result, his inexperienced successors at the Foreign Office – first Lord Granville and then Lord Malmesbury, the latter taking over at the end of February when Lord John Russell’s government fell – were heavily reliant on his detailed briefings.³ It is probably for this reason that Thomas Seccombe, the young but respected assistant editor of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, was able to affirm with confidence that it was the influence of the great man that decided Grenville-Murray’s fate in favour of leniency: removal to another post rather than dismissal from the service.⁴ It seems likely that Palmerston favoured this course not only because Grenville-Murray was his own protégé but also because he believed that people should be taken as they were and the best made of their good qualities, ‘without dwelling too much on their bad.’⁵

¹ Thorold, *The Life of Henry Labouchere*, pp. 61-2.

² Reynolds, ‘Fane’; Conacher, *The Aberdeen Coalition*, pp. 193, 205; Blakiston, *Lord William Russell and his Wife*, pp. 454, 463. As a Tory, Westmorland (then Lord Burghersh), had also lost diplomatic employment when Palmerston entered the Foreign Office in 1830 and was refused a pension; he had not regained employment until Palmerston left the FO in 1841, Bourne, *Palmerston*, pp. 462-3.

³ Chamberlain, ‘Gower’; Malmesbury, *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, pp. 237-8.

⁴ Seccombe, ‘Murray’; see also Bourne, *Palmerston*, p. 205.

⁵ Palmerston to Bulwer, 13 Sept. 1838, in Bulwer, *The Life of Henry John Temple*, p. 285. Bulwer adds that Palmerston ‘frequently’ made this observation.

2 ‘The Roving Englishman’

In politics Grenville-Murray was a conservative but one in the tradition of Edmund Burke. In other words, he rejected the blinkered, reactionary conservatism of the landed aristocracy and favoured instead moderate administrative and constitutional reform.¹ In 1855 he joined the Conservative Club. This was nominally established for those unable to gain immediate entry to the hub of the Tory social network in the Carlton Club but it did not mark him as a party man because it was in reality a dissident group;² metaphorically speaking, Grenville-Murray was one of nature’s back-benchers. In short, he was a Burkean conservative without political ambitions.³

Since his own experience of government service was with the Foreign Office and in diplomacy, it was naturally these institutions on which he cast his cool and merciless eye. In the process of what became a sustained reformist campaign while he was still employed in the diplomatic service, Grenville-Murray emerged not only as their most damaging whistleblower but also as the only one of any significance at the time. Consequently, the loathing for him which had begun in Vienna increased enormously. All of this came to a head against the background of the Crimean War, the horrifying mid-century clash of arms on the front line between Russia and Turkey in the Danubian Principalities and the Black Sea, a conflict in which Britain and France came to the assistance of the Turks for fear of the impact on their own interests should the Ottoman Empire, as had long been predicted, finally collapse. As it happened, this great episode in the history of the European balance of power was not just incidental background noise to Grenville-Murray’s early career: he was closely involved in it and it marked his thinking in a decisive manner.

In April 1852 he was transferred to the legation at Hanover, a mission of startling obscurity where the minister, the Hon. John Duncan Bligh, second son of the

¹ *Pictures from the Battle Fields*, pp. xviii-xix (Burke is quoted in the prelims); *From Mayfair to Marathon*, pp. 109-15; *Walter Evelyn*, vol. 3, pp. 12, 52-6.

² *The Times*, 6 July 1869; Gash, *Politics in the Age of Peel*, pp. 401-2.

³ *Walter Evelyn*, vol. 1, p. 241.

4th Earl of Darnley, had been nominally in charge since 1838 but usually left his post in August and did not return until late in the following spring;¹ he was, Grenville-Murray later told the readers of the *Daily News*, paid £3,400 a year for doing nothing.² Meanwhile, his office over an eating-house was kept by a ‘cobwebbed attaché’ who spent most of his time fishing in an adjoining street.³ If not enthralled by the prospect of Hanover, it was no doubt with some relief that the disgraced attaché had departed Vienna, for he had been socially ostracized by the embassy staff; it also improved his chances of shrugging off his growing debts to Leo Wolf.⁴ But, in what had become a game of diplomatic pass the parcel, he was soon hurried on again (with debts to a Hanover banker added to his baggage⁵) and in October he was appointed to the embassy at Constantinople.⁶ This at least was a much more important posting and also had marvellous potential for a budding travel writer. It also marked a promotion, for Grenville-Murray was to be 5th *paid* attaché, even if his annual salary of £250 was not exactly eye-watering.⁷

Although told to proceed to the Ottoman capital without delay, he did not arrive until five months later, excusing his absence by reference to the difficulties of the transfer.⁸ In fact, of course, he had spent the greater part of the winter of 1852-3 in writing. It was during this interval that he was completing his first – and for a long time his only – novel. This was the 900-page long triple-decker called *Walter Evelyn; or, The Long Minority*, published anonymously on 1 November 1853 by Richard Bentley, the once leading but by this time struggling London publisher.⁹ He was also scribbling feverishly for Dickens’s *Household Words*, to which, as noted in the previous chapter, he had established a connection in 1850. Dickens had initial reservations about Grenville-Murray’s articles, which were occasionally described as empty, conceited, slovenly or containing statements difficult to believe. He was an

¹ Bindoff et al, *British Diplomatic Representatives*, p. 64.

² *Daily News*, 3 April 1855.

³ *Pictures from the Battle Fields*, pp. 305-13; *Daily News*, 3 April 1855.

⁴ By this time they had reached £600. In 1855 G-M agreed to repay it in quarterly instalments but, according to Wolf, after 1857 these dried up and in 1859 he was still owed over £450, TNA, Wolf to Malmesbury, 24 February 1859, FO65/788.

⁵ The FO papers on this are to be found in TNA, FO65/787.

⁶ On the British embassy in Constantinople in this period, see Berridge, *British Diplomacy in Turkey*, Part A, *passim*.

⁷ TNA, Malmesbury to Stratford de Redcliffe, 19 October 1852; G-M to Stanley, 28 November 1852, FO65/787.

⁸ TNA, G-M to Stanley, 28 November 1852; and to Chief Clerk (FO), 6 March and 3 July 1853, FO65/787.

⁹ Patten, ‘Bentley’.

unsparing editor and a few of these reservations endured.¹ Nevertheless, it was a common view at the time that Grenville-Murray remained one of his happiest finds.²

His first pieces in *Household Words* had appeared with strict anonymity but by November 1851 he was writing as the ‘Roving Englishman’. This was a good *nom de plume* for a travel writer and was soon to be well known. Before long, however, his pen was straying into more controversial areas, and for this Charles Dickens was much to blame. For apart from the Roving Englishman’s obvious raw potential as a perceptive, witty, and elegant travel writer, what the ‘conductor’ of *Household Words* also spotted was the likelihood that Grenville-Murray would be able and willing to write critically about the diplomatic profession. This appealed to Dickens because the aristocratic stranglehold on the upper reaches of this profession, then and for long afterwards very pronounced, was among the social evils which the great novelist himself wished to see attacked. Wills, the weekly’s business-manager and sub-editor, must have expressed the same view, for as early as September 1850, in replying to one of his letters, Dickens wrote: ‘The diplomacy, splendid. I should like to begin that, with a Sketch of an aristocratic attaché and so forth. I know the reality very well, having seen a good deal of it abroad.’³ Nothing remotely of this sort appeared in *Household Words* for nearly three more years but when it did it came from the pen of Grenville-Murray. And it got him into serious trouble with his new chief.

Arise, ‘Sir Hector Stubble’!

Like many men who passed through the British embassy in Constantinople, Grenville-Murray did not hit it off with the ambassador Stratford Canning, who had been at the embassy on and off since 1808 and had a reputation for unrivalled influence with the Ottoman authorities. However, he was by now 66 years of age, perpetually harassed, and inclined to bad fits of gout.⁴ He was also notoriously short-tempered, especially

¹ Dickens to Wills, 4 July 1853 and 7 August 1854, Storey et al (eds), *LCD*, vol. 7, 1853-1855, pp. 110, 392. In the early 1860s, when G-M was writing for *AYR*, Dickens also bridled at some of the upper class slang – ‘yaw-yawdom’ – he was employing and insisted it be cut out, Dickens to Wills, 25 November 1862, Storey et al (eds), *LCD*, vol. 10, 1862-1864, p. 166.

² Fitzgerald, *Memories of Charles Dickens*, p. 295.

³ Dickens to Wills, 8 September 1850, Storey et al (eds), *LCD*, vol. 6, 1850-1852, p. 166.

⁴ Duke of Cambridge to Queen Victoria, Constantinople, 13 May 1854, Benson and Esher, *The Letters of Queen Victoria*, vol. 3, p. 27.

when he thought himself slighted, and his temper had not been improved by his orders to return once more to Constantinople instead of being rewarded with either the coveted Paris embassy or the post of foreign secretary; it was only as a consolation that he had just been raised to the peerage as Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe.¹

The man who was actually preferred for the Foreign Office, Lord Malmesbury, had no illusions about Stratford’s volcanic personality, so it is surprising that he should have sent him someone like Grenville-Murray.² The great ambassador evidently regarded him as too clever by half and inclined to show insufficient respect for his rank and achievements. Besides, the new attaché’s reputation had preceded him to Constantinople.³ Inevitably, their relations were ‘from the first the reverse of cordial.’⁴

For his own part, Grenville-Murray was bored with the routine embassy work given to him and increasingly contemptuous of the perfumed non-entities who, because of patronage and favouritism, peopled just about every reach of the British diplomatic service; so he continued to concentrate on his writing. Two more books were produced. The first was *From Mayfair to Marathon*, a collection of essays new and old which appeared anonymously at the end of 1853, one (‘A Lost Chapter’) eloquent of the bitterness he nourished over his experiences at Vienna, Hanover, and now at Constantinople. The other was *Doïne: Or, the National Songs and Legends of Roumania*. This was signed off at the beginning of September 1853 following a month recuperating from some illness on Prince’s Island in the Sea of Marmora; it was the first – and for over two decades the last – book he wrote under his own name; and its poetry and romance served as a tonic to his depression. ‘I lived in another world from that I had left so lately,’ he wrote of this interlude, ‘with its fume and its roar – its storm in a butter-boat.’⁵ But he was soon doomed to return to the fume and the roar – and magnify it with his writing. For during the same period he had also continued to bombard Dickens with articles.⁶

His first shot across Stratford’s bows, which was heavily disguised, had been fired while the ambassador was still in England. In November 1852 the Roving Englishman published a piece in *Household Words* called ‘His Philosophy of Dining’.

¹ Hornby, *An Autobiography*, p. 68; Chamberlain, ‘Canning’.

² Malmesbury, *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, p. 229.

³ Yates, *His Recollections and Experiences*, p. 448.

⁴ Seccombe, ‘Murray’.

⁵ *Doïne*, pp. xlv-xlvi.

⁶ *The Roving Englishman*, p. vi.

This may have had more to do with diplomacy than Dickens realised, for dining was regarded as an important tool of the craft, not least by Lord Palmerston. It probably also had more to do with the irascible Stratford’s style of running an embassy than might at first glance have been apparent, for although it was to be some time before Grenville-Murray himself arrived at Constantinople he was already aware that this was his next post. The piece began: ‘Let us by all means try to sit down to dinner in a good temper. Nothing,’ he continued, ‘spoils the digestion like anger.’ Most of the fictional characters in his homily also seem to bear more than a passing resemblance to the workaholic Stratford: the overworked barrister who bolts his food mechanically and the old Göttingen professor who looks up in alarm from his papers as if at some emergency when his new bride seeks to prise him from his study in order to eat his neglected supper.¹

Had it been brought to Stratford’s attention and its authorship revealed, this piece was well designed to produce more than a growl from the 66-year old Lord Stratford, who returned to Constantinople in April. The real identity of the Roving Englishman was probably already strongly suspected if not positively known, for – astonishing to report – the office of *Household Words* made no attempt to keep secret the authorship of articles appearing in it; readers just had to enquire in order to be enlightened.² It is perhaps not entirely coincidental, therefore, that it was at about this time that, in consequence of an incident at the embassy, Lord Stratford ruled that henceforward the attachés – whom, like other heads of mission, he could no longer choose himself – should dine with him not as of right but only upon invitation. Accordingly, a separate kitchen was provided for them in the new embassy building then being erected.³

In June 1853 the Roving Englishman launched a more recognizable attack on Lord Stratford in *Household Words*. The ‘Lord Loggerhead’ who appeared on this occasion was obviously the notoriously bad-tempered, non-Turkish speaking British ambassador at Constantinople.⁴ At this stage, however, Stratford was allowed to share

¹ *HW*, 20 November 1852.

² Lohrli, *Household Words*, p. 14.

³ Berridge, *British Diplomacy in Turkey*, pp. 41-2.

⁴ ‘Diplomacy’, *HW*, 18 June 1853. ‘Loggerhead’ meant thick-headed or stupid but also carried the connotation of being locked in dispute.

share the discomfort of the stocks with Grenville-Murray's *bête noir* of Vienna days, Lord Westmorland, who appeared as 'the Marquis of Fiddlededee'.¹

Whether because this piece had been drawn to his attention, or because by this time he could no longer stand the sight of Grenville-Murray, four months later Stratford banished his insufferable attaché. His post of exile: acting vice-consul at Mytilene, the chief town of the predominantly Greek island of Lesbos, at that time still part of the Ottoman Empire.

For the Roving Englishman, the island had attractions. 'I am in Mytilene,' he announced to the readers of *Household Words* two months after his arrival, 'on storied grounds, for Mytilene is the ancient Lesbos, and one of the largest and most beautiful islands of the Aegean Sea.'² It also enjoyed frequent sailings to Smyrna and Constantinople, of which he evidently availed himself. Above all, he had no-one breathing down his neck and – with little shipping to worry about – ample leisure both to reflect on his profession and to write up the acute observations of people and places which by then were the hallmarks of his journalism. Dickens 'liked them greatly,' said their mutual friend Edmund Yates of the sketches of Greek and Turkish life and characters he wrote at that time; they were 'immediately published and eagerly read.'³ But 'On Her Majesty's Service', which was the lead item of the issue of *Household Words* of 7 January 1854, attracted far more attention than the rest.⁴ And here – even though Dickens only discovered this later⁵ – Lord Stratford held centre stage.

The main feature of this article was a description of the political staff of the British embassy to the Ottoman Empire, thinly disguised as the mission to the notorious slave-trading principality of Dahomey on the West African coast, whose warlike king was one of the great pantomime villains of the mid-Victorian era; this

¹ Westmorland attracted this name because he was 'very musical', Hertslet, *Recollections of the Old Foreign Office*, p. 207. A 'fiddle' was a violin, while 'fiddlededee' meant nonsense; hence the perfection of this nickname. A much fuller and extremely savage sketch of Westmorland as a musical buffoon appeared in the shape of the clueless ambassador Lord Winnington in *Walter Evelyn*, vol. 2, pp. 161-7; see also 'Her Majesty's Service Again', *HW*, 28 January 1854, where his brainless and foppish attachés are hilariously mocked.

² The Roving Englishman, 'A Greek Feast', *HW*, 24 December 1853.

³ *His Recollections and Experiences*, p. 448; see also Fitzgerald, *Memories of Charles Dickens*, p. 295. For the complete list of these articles, see Lohrli, *Household Words*, pp. 383-4.

⁴ Lohrli, *Household Words*, pp. 42, 119. The article was nine columns long and for it G-M was paid the then princely sum of five pounds, although this was the usual fee for an article in *HW*, Sala, *Life and Adventures*, p. 304.

⁵ Yates, *His Recollections and Experiences*, p. 448.

territory was perhaps also chosen to catch the eye of Palmerston.¹ Revealing that he had been the sub vice-consul in Dahomey and the only salaried functionary of the kind extant, the author explained that he had been given the appointment because Her Majesty’s ambassador at Dahomey, formerly Lord Loggerhead but now renamed ‘Sir Hector Stubble’, had quarrelled with him. There followed what Edmund Yates rightly described as ‘a merciless but unmistakable caricature’ of the head of Grenville-Murray’s embassy.² Here is part of it:

I never could account for, or explain to myself how a man so thoroughly respectable as Sir Hector could have contrived to make himself so disagreeable. He was a man of fair average capacity, upright, and hard-working. But a more hard, stern, unjust, unkind, unloveable man never stood within the icy circle of his own pride and ill temper. He was haughty and stiff-necked beyond any man I have ever seen. He trampled on other men’s feelings as deliberately and unflinchingly as if they were wooden puppets made to work his will. He was not a great-minded man, for he had favourites and jealousies and petty enmities; he had small passions, and by no means an intellect mighty enough to make you forget them. He was a fine specimen of the British Bigwig, and would have figured well as the head of a public school, or the principal of a college.

He had been at Dahomey nearly all his life. Dahomey was a very bad school for the rearing of an English gentleman. He had exercised too much power over others so long, that at last he could speak to none save in the grating language of harsh command. He seemed to look upon mankind as a mere set of tools: when he wanted an instrument he took it; and when he had done with it, he put it aside. Perhaps it was the long habit of dealing with persons placed in an improper position of subordination to him which made him treat every one under him as a slave. Nature never could have made a man so thoroughly unamiable.

Sir Hector Stubble had no heart, no feeling, no eyes, ears, thoughts for any one but Sir Hector Stubble. For him the world was made, and all that in it is; other people had no business there except in so far as they were useful to him. His private secretary or his valet – any one upon whom his completeness in any way depended – would have appeared to him an individual of much more importance than the greatest practical thinker who ever served mankind.

No one had ever owed him a service or a kind word. In seventy long years of a life passed in honour and fair public repute, he had never gained a private friend. He had been appointed at twenty-one to a position for which he was unripe – that of Secretary of Embassy at Dahomey. He had passed nearly the whole of his subsequent life among slaves and orientals, until he had become incapable of holding equal commerce with free men.

Now, this kind of thing will not do among Englishmen; few Englishmen are so much superior to the rest of their countrymen, as not to find a great many who are ready and able to cope with them. So the chief characteristic of Sir Hector’s mind became at last an insane jealousy.

¹ Palmerston was a passionate opponent of the slave trade and favoured armed intervention to crush it in Dahomey, *The Times*, 2 and 3 April 1852; Hamilton and Salmon (eds), *Slavery, Diplomacy and Empire*, pp. 1, 16; Braithwaite, *Palmerston and Africa*, p. 11.

² *His Recollections and Experiences*, p. 448.

Such was Stubble, continued the former sub vice-consul, and so was he understood at the embassy in Dahomey, even though he was one of ‘the celebrities of the world.’

A year later, in January 1855, a further outing was given to this ruthless character assassination of Lord Stratford in *The Roving Englishman in Turkey. Sketches from Life*.¹ And just a few months after this Grenville-Murray’s onslaught on Lord Stratford was broadened with the appearance of his *Pictures from the Battle Fields*, a book inspired by a short visit to the theatre of war in the Crimea. This contained blasts at a number of lesser diplomats, among them Westmorland again, chiefly for failing to manoeuvre the Austrians into a more anti-Russian posture.² But the main target – now named openly – was once more Lord Stratford. In 40 years in the East, charged the Roving Englishman, he had done hardly any good at all. As a result, ‘the great British embarrassment’ at Constantinople had made Turkey an attractive prey to Russia and then, as if this were not bad enough, so mishandled Russian demands as to precipitate the war.³

These were strong views, so much so that the reviewer in *The Times* thought their author must have left the diplomatic service.⁴ But they struck a cord with the public, already well prepared to believe any charges of official bungling in connection with the Crimean War as a result of the famous despatches of W. H. Russell, the same newspaper’s correspondent on the front line. Furthermore, they could not be construed as critical of Lord Palmerston, who was out of the Foreign Office at the crucial moment and therefore escaped the popular censure of the government’s Eastern policy.⁵ Just to be on the safe side, however, Grenville-Murray remarked on Palmerston’s ‘wonderful aptitude for every department of public business, and his paramount influence, his active reforms in all; his vast English mind and genial nature; his wise and winning courtesies.’⁶ *Pictures from the Battle Fields* and *The Roving Englishman in Turkey* were both warmly received; the former sold 2,000 copies in the first three days and was already re-printing, boasted its publisher, at the beginning of June.⁷

¹ *The Times*, 31 January 1855. A new edition was published in 1877: *Turkey, being Sketches from Life*.

² *Pictures from the Battle Fields*, *passim* but especially pp. 297-305.

³ *Pictures from the Battle Fields*, pp. 29-43, 291-6.

⁴ *The Times*, 1 June 1855.

⁵ Steele, ‘Temple’.

⁶ *Pictures from the Battle Fields*, p. 3; see also p. 203.

⁷ *The Times*, 4 June 1855.

Campaigning for diplomatic reform

During the mid-1850s, when Grenville-Murray launched his personal campaign for diplomatic reform in earnest, the Foreign Office was a small ministry. The great increase in the pressure of business consequent on the Crimean War and the larger number of messages generated by introduction of the electric telegraph led to a growth in the number of its permanent officials or 'clerks'; but there were still only 43 in 1858. Nevertheless, the first class status of the Foreign Office was never in doubt and its political head – who for most of the time between 1853 and 1870 was either the 4th Earl of Clarendon or Lord John Russell – was nearly always second only in standing to the prime minister.¹ Following administrative reforms earlier in the century, the office was also efficiently organized.

The foreign secretary was supported by a political under-secretary (what today we would call a junior minister), who in practice was usually of little weight but was needed to represent his chief in the House of Commons and had oversight of some of the office's less important work. Its real number two was the most senior of the permanent officials, the permanent under-secretary, who not only had overall administrative responsibility but was also, because the increasing demands on the foreign secretary's time were making it impossible for him to think of everything himself, beginning to exert some influence over foreign policy itself. From 1854 until 1873 this was Edmund Hammond. Beneath him was the so-called chief clerk, among whose varied tasks the most important were domestic arrangements and financial management; G. Lennox-Conyngham was chief clerk from 1841 until 1866. Continuity was also provided by dynastic arrangements, the most remarkable of which was that of the Bidwell family, four generations of which had served as Foreign Office clerks. The permanent officials were not thought to need quite the same high social status as diplomats serving abroad and were paid a salary from the start of their careers. Nevertheless, many of them came from aristocratic as well as professional upper middle class families and tended to have gone to the same top public schools as the diplomatists.

¹ On the FO and diplomatic service at this time, see Jones, *The Nineteenth Century Foreign Office and The British Diplomatic Service, 1815-1914*; Neilson and Otte, *The Permanent Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, 1854-1946*, ch. 1; Middleton, *The Administration of British Foreign Policy, 1782-1846*; and Tilley and Gaselee, *The Foreign Office*.

The Foreign Office firmly believed that the character of its work – highly confidential and requiring irregular hours – set it apart from all other departments of state. Reinforced by its aristocratic ethos, this gave it a high sense of its own importance and led it to stonewall furiously any attempt on the part of outsiders such as the Treasury or radical members of parliament to interfere in the way it managed its affairs. Eloquent of this was its reaction to the momentous proposals of the Northcote-Trevelyan Report published in 1854, which urged that no-one should be appointed to any civil service post who had not passed an appropriate examination, that the competition should be open to all, and that the whole process should be controlled by an independent central board. Since new men were appointed to the Foreign Office, as also to the diplomatic service, by means of patronage bestowed only on men the foreign secretary could trust, that is, members of his own social class, Henry Addington, Hammond’s predecessor, described this report as both naïve and subversive; and it was an opinion that remained entrenched in the Foreign Office beyond the end of the nineteenth century. Further evidence of its resistance to change was its attitude to the agency system. Although the salaries of its clerks compared well with those in other government departments, it was left open to them to supplement their incomes by hiring out their services as ‘agents’ for handling the private affairs at home of the diplomatists and consuls posted for long years abroad. Following abolition of the same kind of arrangement by the Colonial Office in 1837, in this regard too the Foreign Office was shaping up to be the last of the hold-outs against civil service reform.¹

The animosity of the Foreign Office towards those in parliament and other parts of Whitehall who presumed to advance criticisms of its conduct extended, of course, to the representatives of the press, who on the whole were regarded as decidedly not gentlemen. Even friendly editors were regarded with suspicion since it was known that they could easily switch to an unhelpful line in their leaders if this promised to increase their circulation figures. It is true that it had long been common for some publicity-conscious foreign secretaries and political under-secretaries to have close informal relations with individual editors, most famously Palmerston himself. The usual arrangement was to trade official information for press support. But the clerks, who did not have the same anxieties as their political masters, tended

¹ In his careful and detailed study, Middleton pays surprisingly scant attention to this point, *The Administration of British Foreign Policy, 1782-1846*, p. 205.

to have a jaundiced view of journalists and consequently kept them at arm’s length.¹ Even though the expertise on foreign affairs of some newspapermen was at this time beginning to be appreciated, they never seem to have been recruited to serve in the Foreign Office, not even by Palmerston, probably because of the likelihood that the finger would be pointed at them every time there was a leak of information.²

As to the mid-Victorian diplomatic service, here the need for reform was probably more urgent than in the Foreign Office itself, from which it was at that time administratively separate. It is true that professionalization was slowly on the way: the number of paid junior diplomatists (still all known as attachés) was increasing; a qualifying examination for candidates was proposed in 1851 and introduced five years later; and there were signs of change in the custom that ambassadors owed their positions to their political allegiance to the government of the day rather than to seniority and professional competence and therefore came and went with them. The diplomatic service as a whole was also no more socially exclusive than the rest of the mid-Victorian governing elite, and if those in its top tier, the ambassadors in their embassies, were very expensive, at least there were few of them, as opposed to the ministers in their more lowly legations.

Nevertheless, in the 1850s the members of the diplomatic service, like the clerks in the Foreign Office and in part for the same reason, were still drawn chiefly from the aristocracy (and those attaining the rank of ambassador overwhelmingly so), while commoners who entered as young men also had to have favoured backgrounds. This was because only those nominated by the foreign secretary could sit the new exam, which was not a stiff one, so it did little to dent his power of patronage and none at all to alter the direction in which it was bestowed. But a wealthy background was even more important for young attachés than young Foreign Office clerks because they were still initially ‘unpaid’, could remain so for up to five years, and – with the passing of the family embassy – could no longer rely on their head of mission for board and lodging. The degree of foreign language expertise among diplomatists was also lamentable, as admitted by those interrogated by the Select Committee on Official Salaries in 1850, which turned out to be the starting point of the ‘age of

¹ It was not until the First World War that the FO formalized its relations with the press and a News Department was created.

² On the FO and the press at this time, see Bourne, *Palmerston*, pp. 476-91; Steiner, *The Foreign Office and Foreign Policy, 1898-1914*, pp. 186-92;

inquiry’.¹ Salaries for ambassadors and ministers of first class legations were high and, despite the recommendation of the 1850 committee for their merger, numerous missions of little value remained a fixture in central Germany and, to a lesser extent, in Italy. A serious block on promotion within the service had also developed with the increase in the number of paid attachés with career ambitions. As to the duties of the diplomatic service, here an emerging point of concern was its restricted conception of its responsibilities to Britain’s foreign commerce. Like the Foreign Office, the diplomats were wedded to the view that their duty lay only in negotiating commercial treaties which obtained the best terms possible for British trade *as a whole*; it did *not* extend to canvassing for trade or contracts on behalf of individuals or companies, and certainly not small ones, that is, the ones that really needed it. The notion was just beginning to surface that it would be no bad thing if the diplomatic service were to be merged with the consular service.

Grenville-Murray was appalled by this state of affairs and his ideas for reform were many and detailed. These were shaped not only by his own experience and active interest in current events but also by extensive reading on the law and history of diplomacy. His criticisms, which were always constructive but increased quickly in their ferocity, surfaced not only in *Household Words* and *Pictures from the Battlefields* but also in anonymous leading articles in the *Daily News* in March 1855² and, in the following August, in a lengthy book called *Embassies and Foreign Courts: A History of Diplomacy*.

Much of the ground work for *Embassies and Foreign Courts* had been laid by his *Droits et Devoirs des Envoyés Diplomatique* [Rights and Duties of Diplomatic Envoys], which had appeared rather obscurely two years earlier. This was conceived as a manual for the profession but it was also an exercise in professional self-improvement, for he still very much wanted to be a successful diplomatist. In an otherwise favourable review of it, *Droits et Devoirs* had been criticised for not having been written in English and for having insufficient modern examples;³ it is also possible that Palmerston shared this view and encouraged him to revise it accordingly, for in the parliamentary debate on the reform of the diplomatic service in May 1855

¹ HCPP (611), 25 July 1850: paras 1433-4, 2282-5.

² *Daily News*, 8, 10, 13 and 24 March, and 3 April 1855. The middle three were reprinted by the FO for internal circulation: TNA, Confidential Print (Numerical Series). RUSSIA: Extracts. “Daily News” on Diplomatic Appointments, &c. (Mr. E. C. Grenville-Murray), FO881/1716.

³ *Daily News*, 26 October 1853.

he had to deflect the complaint that British diplomatists had not written books on diplomacy with the implausible assertion that ‘if our agents had not leisure or love for such a task, they were at all events sufficiently conversant with the works of others who had written, as to be able efficiently to perform their duties.’¹ The new book corrected the perceived errors of *Droits et Devoirs*. It also had a broader range and a more polemical edge and, to cash in on the popularity of ‘the Roving Englishman’, was published under this pseudonym.²

Taking sardonic delight in the ammunition provided by the recently inaugurated *Foreign Office List*, which contained much information on the previous appointments of British diplomatists and consuls,³ Grenville-Murray slammed into the patronage system. It was by means of this, he maintained, that the men favoured for the profession were too often ‘fashionable idlers’ with neither brains, historical learning, foreign languages, nor appropriate experience; and that men like the gifted oriental secretary at Constantinople Charles Alison were repeatedly passed over for important posts.⁴ ‘I am very much afraid,’ he wrote when launching his reformist campaign in 1853, ‘that a more completely incapable body of men (taken *en masse*) do not exist than our diplomatic servants.’⁵ By early 1855 he was describing the families from which they came as the ‘cousinocracy’, later the ‘white-gloved cousinocracy’.⁶ British diplomacy, he concluded, was at once an ‘occult science’ and a ‘lugubrious farce.’⁷ What were the consequences and what should be done?

¹ *Daily News*, 23 May, 1855; see also HCDeb., 22 May 1855, col. 913, where there are differences of nuance from the account provided by the parliamentary reporter of the *Daily News*.

² *Embassies and Foreign Courts* made no reference to *Droits et Devoirs* for the obvious reason that the earlier work had appeared under G-M’s real name. Trying to be a campaigning book as well as a manual for the profession, inevitably it ended up serving neither purpose particularly well. Its extensive technical detail made it unattractive as a polemic, while being a polemic it engendered – and still engenders – suspicion of its trustworthiness as a manual. Nevertheless, among those who have taken the trouble to read it, Kenneth Bourne – otherwise no great admirer – admitted that there was a good deal in this book, as well as in G-M’s other work on diplomacy, that was ‘shrewd and well-informed,’ *Palmerston*, pp. 205-6.

³ The *FO List* was launched as a private venture with official sanction in 1852. It is probably because G-M had made such damaging use of it not only in the press but also in *Pictures from the Battlefields* (pp. 285-90) that the 1862 edition, which for the first time included details of family relationships, had to be withdrawn and a revised version printed. ‘I believe,’ wrote its then co-author, ‘the chief objection arose mainly from its being stated that a certain Foreign Office official was *cousin* to a *Duke* [emphasis in original],’ Hertslet, *Recollections of the Old Foreign Office*, p. 248; see also Bourne, *Palmerston*, p. 206.

⁴ *Daily News*, 10 March 1855; see also ‘Diplomacy’, *HW*, 18 June 1853; ‘On Her Majesty’s Service’, *HW*, 7 January 1854.

⁵ ‘Diplomacy’, *HW*, 18 June 1853.

⁶ The Roving Englishman, ‘Rustchuk’, *HW*, 2 June 1855.

⁷ *Daily News*, 10 March, 1855.

The first of the most serious results, believed Grenville-Murray, was that policy was made in ignorance of local conditions; and it was for this reason that so many disasters had occurred in the Crimean War.¹ Not even a Palmerston, he maintained, could ‘attend to the details of all the business of all the countries in the world.’² The second great drawback was that British diplomacy took no interest in commerce – despite the fact that the British were ‘essentially a commercial people’ – because the aristocracy had always considered trade to be beneath it.³ The third was that whereas the lowly consul could be told what to do, the lordly diplomatist could not; in consequence, the diplomatic service had been ‘allowed to run riot.’⁴

To rectify this situation, he urged adoption of the rule that ministerial recommendations for appointments to the diplomatic service should be ratified at least by the tacit consent of parliament. ‘Most ministers,’ he said, ‘would be ashamed to recommend a Fiddlededee or a Tweedledum if the thing were not done snugly, in the dark.’⁵ Later he went further, saying that ministers should also be required to state the grounds on which they gave places and promotions when announcing them in the *London Gazette*.⁶ As for diplomatists unfamiliar with the language of the country to which they were to go, they should be allowed six months to acquire its rudiments before starting out.⁷

Despite his outrage at the consequences of giving important diplomatic posts to stupid, linguistically-challenged noblemen, Grenville-Murray felt obliged to concede that they had their uses. This was because of ‘the present state of cringing and lord-reverence abroad;’ even in America, he admitted, ‘a title goes a long way.’⁸ Anticipating in some manner, therefore, the distinction made only a few years later by Walter Bagehot between the dignified and the efficient elements in the English constitution, the Roving Englishman maintained that the trick was to let ‘your Great Nobody’ handle what we would now call the representational duties; notable among these was giving good dinners, for, as Palmerston had said, dining was ‘the soul of diplomacy.’⁹ Responsibility for its more prosaic business, however, should be given

¹ *Pictures from the Battle Fields*, p. xxiv; *Daily News*, 10 March 1855.

² ‘On Her Majesty’s Service’, *HW*, 7 January 1854.

³ ‘On Her Majesty’s Service’, *HW*, 7 January 1854.

⁴ ‘On Her Majesty’s Service’, *HW*, 7 January 1854.

⁵ ‘On Her Majesty’s Service’, *HW*, 7 January 1854.

⁶ *The Press and the Public Service*, p. 227.

⁷ ‘Diplomacy’, *HW*, 18 June 1853.

⁸ ‘Diplomacy’, *HW*, 18 June 1853.

⁹ ‘On Her Majesty’s Service’, *HW*, 7 January 1854.

to a secretary of embassy, ‘a clever, hard-working man, who knows the country thoroughly.’¹ In some embassies this was already the case, he admitted,² but in others, others, as at Constantinople, the position of secretary was ‘a painful species of sinecure.’³

His attack on the cousinocracy’s patronage system by no means exhausted the reforming zeal with which the Roving Englishman bore down on British diplomacy. Among his other targets was the ‘secrecy and hocus-pocus of diplomacy.’ Only by getting rid of this, he claimed, could statesmen be held to account for any mischief they might do and private experts be encouraged to offer advice.⁴ Anticipating the great cry for ‘open diplomacy’ well over half a century before it became fashionable, he also stressed that ‘suspicion always attaches to mystery’ and that if official mysteries were exposed sooner, ‘wars and other great evils would often be prevented.’⁵ Only two exceptions were to be admitted to his general rule of openness: first, when secrecy was dictated by ‘the immediate concerns of actual warfare’ and second, when it was needed ‘to spare humiliation to the feelings of private persons, who sometimes become unavoidably mixed up with some scandalous affair.’⁶

Grenville-Murray was right in some of what he had to say about secrecy. But his views on the subject were based on a rather rosy view of public opinion and attached too little importance to the need for secrecy in negotiations when this is the only means of preventing their sabotage by vested interests of the kind he was the first to condemn. His claim that secrecy was in any case impossible to preserve was also obviously exaggerated: contrary to his claim, young attachés were not always indiscreet and parliament could not always secure the (undoctored) confidential papers they might want, as he was later to find to his own cost.⁷

Grenville-Murray also thought that diplomatists should not be allowed to remain in any one post beyond three years; by this means they might avoid growing ‘brimful of rules, orders, regulations, etiquette, and local prejudices’ and understand

¹ ‘Diplomacy’, *HW*, 18 June 1853.

² *Embassies and Foreign Courts*, pp. 168-9.

³ ‘On Her Majesty’s Service’, *HW*, 7 January 1854.

⁴ ‘Diplomacy’, *HW*, 18 June 1853. The latter argument is developed at length in *The Press and the Public Service*, ch. 8.

⁵ *The Press and the Public Service*, pp. 160-1, 168-9.

⁶ *Embassies and Foreign Courts*, pp. 135, 235 (see also pp. 33-4); and *The Press and the Public Service*, p. 164.

⁷ ‘On Her Majesty’s Service’, *HW*, 7 January 1854; ‘Her Majesty’s Consular Service’, *HW*, 8 July 1854; and *The Press and the Public Service*, pp. 160-1.

one country the better for knowing more of others.¹ With his bitter experience at Constantinople in mind, he also insisted that an ambassador should be obliged to listen to the advice of his diplomatic staff rather than entertain their opinions only as grudgingly as an absolute monarch granted a parliament.²

A particularly interesting point on which he further laid stress was that British embassies should, like those of France, include attachés from different professions. ‘Let us,’ he begged, ‘be represented abroad as we really are; in our best colours; by our best men who have really shown ability, and earned (not inherited) distinction.’ They should include ‘draughtsmen, surveyors, engineers, physicians, soldiers, lawyers, sound men thoroughly accustomed to observe, and scholars!’ By this means, he said, Britain’s embassies might ‘help to advance the progress of science and civilization all over the world ... and bring us back numberless practical benefits in return.’³ He gave to such ideal missions the name ‘practical embassies’.⁴

If embassies were to be staffed by men of genuine distinction there should also, he continued, be no flinching from treating them well. They should have high salaries and houses should be bought and not – as had hitherto been customary – rented for their residences.⁵ Some diplomatic missions should also have larger staffs. ‘At Paris, Vienna, Constantinople, Berlin, Naples, Madrid, we could hardly have too many clear-headed, hardworking men,’ he maintained. Meanwhile, agreeing on the basis of personal experience with the select committee on official salaries of 1850, he believed economies might be made by closing missions that were a farce, such as those at Hanover, Stuttgart and Dresden. But, except on special occasions, grand missions headed by an ambassador dressed like a harlequin, surrounded by a vast retinue, and demanding sovereign honours by virtue of holding the full representative character (a ‘singular hallucination’) were obsolete, he believed. Why? Because the intercourse between nations being no longer rare and difficult, nations knew each other better and so no longer needed absurdly expensive embassies as reminders that they were not to be treated with contempt.⁶

¹ ‘Diplomacy’, *HW*, 18 June 1853.

² ‘On Her Majesty’s Service’, *HW*, 7 January 1854.

³ ‘On Her Majesty’s Service’, *HW*, 7 January 1854. He later claimed credit for the appointment of military attachés to some British embassies as a result of his inclusion of ‘soldiers’ in this list, *Turkey, being Sketches from Life*, p. 29.

⁴ *Embassies and Foreign Courts*, p. 238; see also pp. 175-6.

⁵ *Embassies and Foreign Courts*, p. 149.

⁶ ‘On Her Majesty’s Service’, *HW*, 7 January 1854; *Embassies and Foreign Courts*, pp. 62-7, 94, 146-7.

In regard to the dark arts of diplomacy Grenville-Murray’s hostility was unremitting. No doubt with the fate of his own letters at Vienna much in mind, he regarded the secret opening and re-sealing of the despatches of foreign envoys as simply an infamous species of theft.¹ As for cyphers, he thought these at best useless because they could be so easily broken and at worst dangerous because of the ease of making mistakes in both encrypting and decrypting messages. Anyway, he observed with heavy sarcasm, ‘few ambassadors appear to need a cypher to render their despatches completely incomprehensible to anybody.’ For important messages he believed there to be no substitute for a trustworthy messenger, who had the incidental advantage of being a valuable source of intelligence on the countries through which he passed.² The use of bribery and secret agents as means of obtaining information suffered the same condemnation at his hands: they were ungentlemanly, expensive, and above all unnecessary. When secrets became serious, he insisted, they always became known, especially to an observant man who was liked and respected, gave good dinners, and kept his lines open to the opposition – for ‘disappointment,’ he observed, ‘is open-mouthed.’³

Grenville-Murray also had firm and detailed views on the reforms needed by the consular service, which had long attracted even more criticism than the diplomatic service. One reason for this was that, other than ‘good sense, ability and industry,’ they required no special qualifications, as Palmerston asserted before the 1850 select committee on official salaries;⁴ and the foreign secretary could therefore choose anyone he liked for a particular post. Another was that many of them were locally recruited and had to survive on trading profits and fees pocketed for notarial acts; while those at more important posts were paid salaries seriously undermined by inflation and yet faced a strong taboo against promotion to the diplomatic service. Not surprisingly, corruption and inattention to official duties was widely suspected of the trading consuls, while morale was rock-bottom among their salaried colleagues.

As it turned out, Grenville-Murray himself did not believe that the consular service was in anywhere near as bad a condition as the diplomatic service.⁵ He did not not attack private trading by consuls, probably for the reason that this only persisted

¹ *Embassies and Foreign Courts*, pp. 130-8.

² *Embassies and Foreign Courts*, pp. 138-45, 178-99.

³ *Embassies and Foreign Courts*, pp. 260-2.

⁴ HCPP (611), 25 July 1850; para. 699.

⁵ ‘On Her Majesty’s Service’, *HW*, 7 January 1854.

because its prohibition earlier in the century had been relaxed for reasons of economy by his patron Lord Palmerston.¹ Nor did his ideas include the administrative absorption of the consuls into the diplomatic service. For the Roving Englishman, the consul was at heart ‘a man of business’ whose sphere of action was limited chiefly to the routine affairs of sea-port towns. By contrast the diplomatist, he believed, had wider horizons and a great part in the framing of international agreements on all manner of subjects; this meant, incidentally, that the intervention of outside specialists was often required, so that – unlike the consular service – diplomacy could not be ‘a close profession.’ The corollary of his view that there was a marked difference between diplomatic and consular work was that there should be no such thing as a political consul.²

As to the consuls, then, the 26 recommendations for reform listed in his article in *Household Words* of 8 July 1854 were more concerned with detail and not especially radical. The exceptions were his proposal that consuls should be paid decent salaries so that they would not need to pocket the fees for their services, a system not only open to notorious abuse, he maintained, but also one that inevitably led to ‘serious altercations with sea-captains’ (fees collected should instead be for government account); second, that consular commercial reports should be improved in quality, timeliness, and public availability;³ and third, that the ‘astounding’ system of patronage should be drastically limited in favour of the appointment of men either properly trained or suitably experienced in consular work.

Grenville-Murray’s remaining target was the one for which he was to be best known and made him his most bitter enemies: the so-called Foreign Office agency system operated by office clerks. Such agents ensured that the quarterly salary payments of diplomatists and consuls were safely banked, forwarded their private correspondence, and, among other chores, alerted them to vacancies at attractive posts and helped to arrange exchanges with other colleagues. In return, the agent was paid

¹ Platt, *The Cinderella Service*, pp. 37-8.

² ‘Her Majesty’s Consular Service’, *HW*, 8 July 1854; ‘On Her Majesty’s Service’, *HW*, 7 January 1854; *The Roving Englishman in Turkey*, new ed. (1877), pp. 66-7.

³ See also *Embassies and Foreign Courts*, p. 33. Consuls were already supposed to return annual commercial reports and these were usually published, some selling well. But the FO, which held the fate of the consuls in its hands, treated these reports with indifference, serving only as a post office for them to the Board of Trade. As a result, they had no bearing on the consuls’ prospects for promotion and so were often poor in quality, published too late to be of any commercial value, or simply not delivered at all. It was presumably chiefly for these reasons that G-M urged that the consuls should be removed from FO control and placed directly under the Board of Trade, HCPP (493), 15 July 1864: Mins. of Ev., paras. 2722-34; Platt, *The Cinderella Service*, pp. 54, 57, 104-5.

annually 1 per cent of the salary and outfit allowances of his diplomatic clients (excepting unpaid attachés, who were not charged) and a flat rate of usually about 10 guineas by his poorer ones in the consular service. Any clerk could become an agent, although in practice there were only six in the mid-nineteenth century and the arrangement was nominally voluntary: diplomats and consuls were not obliged to hire a Foreign Office agent, although in practice almost all did. The system was defended on the grounds that it was convenient to all concerned, increased understanding between officers at home and officers abroad, assisted security in the Foreign Office building by keeping ‘out-of-door’ agents to a minimum, and provided a valuable supplement to the salaries of those clerks who took on the work.¹ It was probably for the last of these reasons that while Palmerston himself was at the Foreign Office – and often under pressure from the Treasury to economise – he left the system alone.²

The agency system, however, was controversial. It had long been thought that it enabled diplomatists to buy influence in the office, made it difficult to avoid payment for services which should either have been provided gratis or could readily have been supplied by a family member and a London bank, and encouraged clerks to devote time to private business at the expense of their official duties. As a result, it had been challenged periodically since the late eighteenth century. Enter the Roving Englishman, injecting unprecedented invective into this campaign where others had left off.

Notwithstanding their ‘true British official contempt for the ordinary pursuits of trade,’ wrote Grenville-Murray, the time of the Foreign Office agents was *chiefly* spent on ‘the lucrative and important duties of bankers and monopolists.’ In consequence, the real earnings of these magnificent hypocrites were far higher than officially recorded. Holding ‘the keys of promotion,’ they were in a position to sabotage the careers not only of those who refused to employ them but also of those among their poorer clients who had the effrontery to require their salaries to be paid with ‘inconvenient regularity.’ A person such as this, inevitably suspect in the eyes of the men of substance in the Foreign Office, would receive no early notice of ‘snug vacancies,’ while every opportunity would be taken of ‘giving currency to ingenious slanders about him.’ By contrast, he continued, there is ‘overflowing sympathy and

¹ See HCPP (162), 1837: Ev of Backhouse, Bidwell and Byng, pp. 52-6; HCPP (482), 27 July 1858: Ev of Hammond (paras. 91-194) and Alston (paras. 1128-30, 1153- 82, 1393-1402).

² Bourne, *Palmerston*, p. 440.

generous kindness for the excellent officer who allows his salary to accumulate in the hands of his mollified agent.’ In sum, wrote Grenville-Murray, the Foreign Office was ‘one of the oldest established shops in London ... the job-shop of several of the most prudent, accomplished and thriving traders in this kingdom.’ The greatest of all of these traders might recently have retired, ‘with all the respect which is due to a large realized fortune,’ and then died – but the system still flourished.¹

This last jab was to cost the Roving Englishman dear, for it was clearly directed at John Bidwell and so made a serious enemy of his son, also called John Bidwell and also a Foreign Office clerk, who happened to be Grenville-Murray’s own private agent. John Bidwell junior, who was also a candidate member of the cousinocracy, later marrying the daughter of the 3rd Earl of Clanwilliam,² was so deeply hurt by the attack on his father that he refused any longer to be Grenville-Murray’s agent and returned his power of attorney.³ In the long run, Bidwell’s enmity was to be more serious for him than this loss.⁴

In advancing his recommendations for the reform of the diplomatic and consular services the Roving Englishman was on most points stiffening a strong wind already starting to blow but on the agency system he was stirring up a potent gale of his own. He was out of the country when a parliamentary select committee on the consular service began to take evidence in the early summer of 1858 (the first since 1835) and similarly absent abroad when the select committee on diplomatic service was in session in the first half of 1861 – and so never appeared as a witness before either; nor did he send them any memoranda, or at least any that were among the selections published in their reports. Nevertheless, both his books and the weekly in which he had a regular column were widely read. This was sufficient for his influence to be felt and, as we shall see, it was reinforced by a press campaign at the end of the 1860s.

¹ *Pictures from the Battle Fields*, pp. 279-85.

² *The Peerage*, person page 3566 <http://thepeerage.com/p3566.htm> [accessed 9 May 2012]

³ TNA, Bidwell-Grenville-Murray correspondence, May 1855, FO881/1717.

⁴ Thereafter he appears instead to have employed his wife and a firm of solicitors, Clayton and Cookson, of Lincoln’s Inn, to look after his interests at the FO, TNA, G-M to Wodehouse, 24 March 1855, FO65/787.

Satire and anonymity

Satire was Grenville-Murray's chief mode of attack and anonymity his principal method of defence. Both were employed in his novels as well as his journalism and, with exceptions, in his non-fiction works, although it was many years after the appearance of *Walter Evelyn* before he returned to the first of these genres. Inspired by Dickens, 'one of the greatest and kindest public teachers England has ever known,'¹ he believed that novels should have a moral purpose: 'some of the wisest measures which have lately been carried into execution by the legislature have been first suggested and advocated in novels,' Maurice Howard, the scholar in whom the author invests all wise opinions, informs the eponymous hero of Grenville-Murray's own first novel.² However, whether employed in novels like this or short pieces in such vehicles as *Household Words*, or anywhere for that matter, satire had a low reputation in the Victorian era, while anonymity, although still the norm, was itself beginning to come under pressure. As a result, he was at pains to justify both.

In *The Press and the Public Service*, published in March 1857 and the nearest thing to a political testament he ever wrote, Grenville-Murray was keen to stress that satire should not be employed for attacks on 'private character, upon private grounds.' This, he believed, following the divine master, would be neither pious nor politic.³ However, he proceeded, it was necessary that all private considerations should yield to public duty. Public men could not be separated from their public misdeeds and escape attack, any more than criminals could escape personal responsibility for their crimes, otherwise those misdeeds – although themselves exposed – would retain powerful supporters. Attention should also be drawn to distressing personal defects such as blindness, deafness or drunkenness 'if the persons suffering from such absolute disqualifications insisted on retaining their places to the injury of the public service.'⁴ Warming to his theme, he maintained that "'Measures, not men," is but the common cant of affected moderation; a counterfeit language fabricated by knaves for the use of fools.' As for the general charge of 'scurrility' often levelled by malefactors at the righteous satirist, this was nothing but an ingenious device to draw his sting by appealing to the best side of human nature. It was a fact, he concluded, that the

¹ *Embassies and Foreign Courts*, p. 356.

² *Walter Evelyn*, vol. 2, p. 242.

³ *The Press and the Public Service*, pp. 64-8.

⁴ *The Press and the Public Service*, pp. 78-9.

language used by the fiercest satirist in the mid-nineteenth century appeared mild by comparison with that accepted as the common currency of the hustings, the House of Commons, and the bar. Libels were inevitable, he admitted, but they were the price to be paid for achieving a much greater good.¹ The model satirist might make mistakes but he must actually be a kind man, ‘or how,’ he asked, ‘should he sympathize with public suffering? He must be a good man, or how should he be able to excite indignation against evil? He must be a man of high aspirations, for he will hardly serve any personal object by satire.’²

As satire was the proper weapon against vice, he maintained, so ridicule was the proper weapon against folly. ‘It is a fortunate circumstance for mankind,’ he wrote, and it is a telling point, ‘that those who have no fear of anything else may be reached by it.’ Fools cannot be out-argued but they abandon their prejudices quickly enough when they have become ‘the object of universal derision.’³

As a whistleblower dependent on his employment in the diplomatic service, although having a powerful patron, Grenville-Murray had, as a rule, no alternative but to write either anonymously or pseudonymously (see Appendix 1). He had actually discussed the subject in a short essay called ‘A Talk With My Public’ in *From Mayfair to Marathon* in 1853 but only a few years later it required more urgent and considered attention, for by then his career was at stake (see Chapter 3). Hence this subject was treated in *The Press and the Public Service* as well.⁴

The advantage of anonymity stressed by Grenville-Murray was, of course, that it emboldened the widest exposure of abuses in government departments by those best placed to do it, to whit their own employees. Such a shield for the ‘soldiers of truth,’ he said, was indispensable because for some time past the question of the right of civil servants to speak out publicly had been carefully evaded and those with the courage to do so had been sought out and threatened with dismissal. This was peculiarly wicked because the supposed permanence of their employment was its greatest attraction and after the age of 30 all comparable careers were virtually closed to them. ‘There is no reason,’ he concluded, ‘why a patriot should always be a martyr’ and without the shield of anonymity liberty would be unlikely to keep many friends.

¹ *The Press and the Public Service*, pp. 68-77.

² *The Press and the Public Service*, p. 87.

³ *The Press and the Public Service*, pp. 88-9.

⁴ See chs. 2, 9 and 11.

Anonymity, Grenville-Murray was also keen to stress, had many second order advantages. It preserved the high tone of the press by preventing its use for the gratification of vanity and ambition, and made it more likely that arguments would be judged on their merits rather than on the basis of their authorship. (He neglected the point that they might not be judged at all if they did not attract attention in the first place, the ironic fate of the book in which his arguments for anonymity were advanced.)¹ Writers might also have private motives for adopting it. By this time he had dropped the argument advanced under this head earlier, namely that since the profession of writing – unless on history, law or divinity – was looked down upon in polite society, anonymity was necessary in order to avoid social disgrace.² But he repeated the argument that it might be justly employed in youth in order to avoid being branded for life with immature opinions.³ And he added that some authors might adopt anonymity from a desire to keep a cool head in reasoning.

But what of the criticism that anonymous writing gave an unfair advantage to its author and was, to boot, cowardly? In answer to the first charge he replied that it merely levelled the playing field with the powerful, and to the second that it still required courage because *suspicion* of authorship remained a real risk and could be as fatal as certain knowledge of it to any career a writer might have in the public service. In sum, anonymous writing, ‘this tower of strength and bulwark of the liberties of the Press may be strenuously defended without a blush or a misgiving.’ It had been employed, he observed, by all the great Tory and Whig statesmen, all the bishops and all the lawyers of repute since the late seventeenth century.

How should an anonymous writer respond if pressed by a person in authority over him to admit or deny authorship? Since anonymous writing was a legal right, the writer was under no obligation to reply, maintained Grenville-Murray. And quite right, too, he maintained. After all, what is the point of it if the writer is required to admit authorship to the first person who challenges him on the point? However, since there is also no law against asking, he might be pressed; in this case, prudence requires good humoured evasion. If pressed still further, there is no alternative to ‘self-preservative mendacity,’ but the responsibility for this sorry final resort lies with the ‘despotic’ interrogator rather than his weak victim. As we shall see in the

¹ Neither the article on G-M in the *DNB* nor in the later *ODNB* shows any awareness of *The Press and the Public Service*, despite the fact that it is his most important book.

² *From Mayfair to Marathon*, p. 330.

³ *From Mayfair to Marathon*, p. 331.

following chapter, this was precisely the kind of rearguard which the Roving Englishman was himself forced to fight by the Foreign Office. He was fortified in it by constantly having in mind, as he makes clear at some length in *The Press and the Public Service*, the names of many great writers who had denied their writings, among them Swift, Johnson, Scott – and Edmund Burke.

3 Revenge of the ‘Cousinocracy’

‘It is the popular belief at Constantinople,’ wrote Grenville-Murray of the British ambassador Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, ‘that his staff live under a rule so stern as to have no choice between the discipline of children and the exile of criminals.’¹ This belief being well founded and Grenville-Murray being no child, it was inevitable that it should be chiefly by means of exile that the cousinocracy had its revenge on him, although the final punishment was to be even rougher: dismissal from the diplomatic service without either a pension or the *exeat* which would have made it possible for him to obtain employment in another government department. He was exiled first to the unimportant island of Mytilene, then to a wandering life in the Aegean and the Danubian Principalities, next to a non-existent legation in Persia, and finally to a consular post at Odessa in southern Russia, where – only two years after the end of the Crimean War – there was still marked hostility to the British.

Exiled to Mytilene

As mentioned in the previous chapter, in the autumn of 1853 Lord Stratford banished his insufferable attaché from Constantinople to the British vice-consulate on Lesbos; this also gratified the desire of the consular officer on the still Ottoman-ruled island, the much admired archaeologist Charles (later Sir Charles) Newton, to reside instead on Rhodes.² The ambassador’s disingenuous explanation to Grenville-Murray, however, was that he wished to offer him ‘a wider range of experience.’³ It was humiliating for any diplomatic officer in that period to be sent to an obscure consular post, although in this case not quite to the degree usually suggested. This is because

¹ *Pictures from the Battle Fields*, pp. 39-40.

² Gunning, *The British Consular Service in the Aegean*, pp. 122-5; Cook, ‘Newton’.

³ TNA, Stratford to G-M, 22 October 1853, FO65/787.

Grenville-Murray was made *acting* vice-consul and therefore retained his rank as a paid attaché in the diplomatic service at Constantinople; and he never let anyone forget it, including Lord Stratford.¹ It also enabled him to maintain, as he invariably did, that at Mytilene he was on ‘special service’;² this was then, and for long thereafter remained, the important-sounding title given to most appointments that were in any way out of the ordinary.

Apprehensive of his chief’s rage, especially after his literary knighting of him as ‘Sir Hector Stubble’, Grenville-Murray was on his best behaviour at Mytilene. He notified the ambassador promptly of his arrival and found the time between writing his Roving Englishman articles to send him 30 numbered despatches and numerous private letters.³ Some were quite long and showed that he was taking seriously both the economic and political aspects of the work.

Grenville-Murray had arrived at Mytilene on 24 October 1853, the day after Turkish hostilities commenced against the Russian forces which had entered the Ottoman provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia in the summer. Since the British, who were apprehensive of an advance of Russian forces on Constantinople, had tilted to the sultan, many of his despatches dealt with suspected Russian agitation on Lesbos and growing tensions between the Greek islanders and their Turkish rulers.⁴ Others reflected his enthusiasm for the tutorial role which Britain had adopted towards the Turks.

For example, in December, on returning from a journey through the island which revealed to him how ignorance was hindering agricultural production, he proposed a thoughtful scheme to rectify this by giving ‘a few steady lads’ a technical education at public expense in various parts of Europe. Cost estimates were included and suggestions made as to how these might be shared; and a box containing samples of the produce of the island accompanied the despatch. In the following March he reported that he had commenced a system of relief to the poor at his own expense and distributed flour to nearly 300 starving people; his example, he claimed, had prompted ‘the principal Greeks of Mytilene and a few Franks’ to do something similar. And in April 1854 he sought Stratford’s approval for his desire to propose to the Turkish

¹ TNA, G-M to Stratford, 27 October and 27 December 1853, FO195/477.

² As for example in notices he inspired in the *Manchester Times*, 29 April and the *Daily News*, 13 September 1854.

³ These are all to be found in TNA, FO195/477.

⁴ By mid-November 1853 British and French fleets were concentrated at Constantinople, on 3 January 1854 they entered the Black Sea, and on 12 March both powers signed an alliance with Turkey.

governor the building of a new road on the island, mentioned that to protect the rarer plants from locusts he had suggested glass coverings like those common in English gardens; and sent the ambassador a paper he had prepared on the medicinal waters of Mytilene ‘in case of any maladies breaking out in Her Majesty’s forces in which these medicinal waters might be useful,’ adding that the climate was one of the best in Turkey and that there was a large empty house that would be an ideal hospital for wounded British troops.

Exploiting his connections with the press in England, Grenville-Murray took good care to make sure that his benevolent activities on Mytilene received as much public attention as possible. In April 1854 the *Manchester Times* had given publicity to ‘a private letter’ placed at its disposal which bore more than a passing resemblance to the despatch to Lord Stratford of 24 March which reported his distribution of flour to the starving 300, although it was couched as if it came from an independent observer. It was also embellished in order to encircle the head of the acting vice-consul with a halo of saintliness: ‘I am told,’ intoned the unnamed letter-writer, ‘that it is a touching sight to see the murmuring crowd assemble and bless him as he goes out, for saving them from starvation. ... This timely relief,’ added the awe-struck correspondent, ‘has already prevented a revolt in the island.’¹ Less than a month later the *Daily News* was induced to applaud Grenville-Murray’s proposal that Mytilene should become the home to a British military hospital.²

Dickens would have warmly approved the reports of the Constantinople attaché of his activities at Mytilene but they had left Lord Stratford cold. Besides, with the conflict with Russia threatening to go critical and having to handle a complicated diplomacy designed to forestall this, the ambassador had other things on his mind. Such replies as Grenville-Murray received to his letters from Lesbos usually came via Count Pisani, the Levantine who had for many years been the embassy’s head of chancery. One of them flatly disallowed the acting vice-consul’s claim for expenses, although incurred, he claimed in late April 1854 and as the Foreign Office later agreed, on ‘Special and unusual Service.’

Stratford had been minded to transform Grenville-Murray’s stay at Mytilene into a life sentence when he discovered that it was he who had lampooned him in

¹ *Manchester Times*, 29 April 1854.

² *Daily News*, 24 May 1854.

Household Words.¹ But he reckoned without Lord Palmerston. And, as was the exile's custom, he had been scrupulous to exempt the more powerful man from his otherwise scattershot attacks on British diplomacy.² It was also lucky for Grenville-Murray that, although Palmerston was then at the Home Office, he was if anything more popular and thus more influential than ever; as it happened, he also shared Grenville-Murray's opinion of the ambassador's personality.³ In addition, it may have helped him that another of Palmerston's protégés, the formidable Edmund Hammond, had replaced Henry Addington as permanent under-secretary at the Foreign Office in early April. Once more, therefore, Palmerston came to Grenville-Murray's aid and Stratford's dream of keeping him on Lesbos for ever was foiled.⁴

Charles Newton returned to Mytilene to relieve his stand-in at the end of June 1854 and shortly afterwards the Greek-language Smyrna weekly *Amalthea* published a glowing end-of-term testimonial to Grenville-Murray's work on the island. Surprise, surprise, less than two months later a translation was published in the *Daily News*. This is worth quoting in full:

A TURKISH TRIBUTE TO ENGLISH BENEVOLENCE

(From the *Amalthea*, a Smyrna paper, of July 21)

Mr. Grenville Murray, attached to the British embassy at Constantinople, who has been for the last eight months on special mission at Mytilene, left some days since for a tour in the Archipelago.

The departure of this noble and philanthropic Englishman has caused the greatest regret. But he has left ineffaceable traces of his presence amongst us, and has earned a most honest title to our common gratitude. During the three severest of the winter months he distributed food and clothes weekly among the poor, and his house became a rendezvous for hundreds of hungry people, who could find no relief elsewhere. He exerted his influence with the local authorities to redress any grievance, and pleaded the cause of the helpless with inexhaustible kindness. He contributed to our schools, distributed prizes to our scholars, and founded among us a museum of antiquities. In his public speeches he addressed to us the wisest and most temperate counsels, in the gentlest and most conciliatory language. Always polite and easy of access to all who had need of him, he was as ready with labour as with good words, and conquered the respect and affection of great and small. Rarely has a man of a stranger nationality given such proofs of sympathy for a foreign people, and the remembrance of Mr. Grenville Murray will survive in the hearts of the Lesbians as long as his name, which is written in letters of gold on the walls of the museum which he has endowed.⁵

¹ Yates, *His Recollections and Experiences*, pp. 448-9.

² Palmerston received *four* favourable mentions in 'On Her Majesty's Service', *HW*, 7 January 1854: three times by name and once in the guise of his earlier incarnation in *Walter Evelyn*, 'Sir Charles Grandison', for his sponsorship of the experiment with Englishmen as oriental attachés at Constantinople; see also *Embassies and Foreign Courts*, p. 102.

³ Bourne, *Palmerston*, pp. 361-2.

⁴ Seccombe, 'Murray'; Fitzgerald, *Memories of Charles Dickens*, p. 295.

⁵ *Daily News*, 13 September 1854.

It is possible that this was a fiction composed by Grenville-Murray himself and that it never appeared in the *Amalthea*. However, this is unlikely because it would have been extremely risky. After all, the *Amalthea* was regarded as the best newspaper in Turkey and would have been readily available to the embassy in Constantinople. It also had its own correspondents in ‘the Levantine towns.’¹ Because these towns may not have included Mytilene, what is more likely therefore is that Grenville-Murray supplied it with the copy and then translated it for the benefit of the *Daily News*. It is, in consequence, also probable that it is early evidence of his tendency to colourful exaggeration when this suited his purpose and no doubt caused unbridled mirth among those who knew of and believed in the reputation for dishonesty he was acquiring.

By means of a succession of requests which met little resistance, Grenville-Murray had persuaded Lord Stratford to permit him leave until late September on the grounds that he was suffering from severe inflammation of the eyes. This he spent at Rhodes and Smyrna before finally returning to Constantinople.

Locked out

Back at the embassy in the Ottoman capital, Grenville-Murray found not only that the ambassador was still refusing to consider his mounting claim for expenses but also that he had been locked out of his room.² Clearly, his exile was not over after all. What was the Foreign Office to do? Caught between Lord Stratford, who wanted the Roving Englishman out, and Lord Palmerston, who seemed still to want him in, it eventually decided to grant him ‘leave of absence on private grounds’ until either the greatly feared ambassador should drop dead or some other occupation for his troublesome attaché could be hit upon.³

This enforced sabbatical at least allowed Grenville-Murray to retain his diplomatic status while permitting him the freedom to work full time at journalism. It also put him in just the mood to write his book (*Pictures from the Battlefield*)

¹ Rolleston, *Report on Smyrna*, p. 40.

² The bulk of this claim was finally met from the consular contingencies’ budget after a direct appeal to the foreign secretary, TNA, G-M to Clarendon, 15 October; min. of Staveley, 1 December; min. of Clarendon, 3 December; min. of Hammond, 11 December; and FO to G-M (draft), 15 December 1854, FO65/787.

³ TNA, G-M to Chief Clerk (FO), 5 April; and FO to G-M, 17 May 1855, FO65/787.

condemning Stratford's role in the Crimean War, a conflict which in the late summer of 1854 was just beginning to hot up. Thanks to pressure from neutral Austria, the Russians had evacuated the eastern Balkans in August and, with Turkey's agreement, Austrian forces had taken their place. With the allied fleets already in the Black Sea, this removed the Russian threat to Constantinople altogether and the Crimean peninsula – where forts sheltered the Russian fleet and materials of war were concentrated at Sebastopol – had become the new target for the British and French commanders.

To gather material for his book Grenville-Murray visited the British hospital at Scutari on the Asian side of the Bosphorus (where he spoke in German to some Russian officers) and then the French hospital.¹ He then journeyed via Varna to the Crimea itself. Having observed the misery of Balaclava, where he probably stayed for not more than a week or so, he returned to Varna. Then – to the reported astonishment of his doctor in Constantinople² – he headed for England by the snow-covered overland route.

Posting by horse-drawn carriage and able to command priority treatment because he was carrying despatches from the seat of war, the Roving Englishman initially made good speed but probably did not reach England until about the end of February 1855. For on arriving at Bucharest he lingered for a while, working on his manuscript and dining daily with the hospitable British agent and consul-general Robert Colquhoun.³ Grenville-Murray got on famously with Colquhoun and quickly bestowed public praise on his excellent qualities, adding that the corrupt system of patronage by means of which consuls were appointed meant that his engagement by government – as in the case of a handful of others – must have been just a happy accident.⁴ This encounter in Budapest was significant because Sir Patrick Colquhoun, who sprang to Grenville-Murray's aid when the Foreign Office took its most ferocious revenge on him in 1868, was Robert's cousin.⁵

Grenville-Murray completed *Pictures from the Battlefields* in the spring of 1855 and in May began to press the foreign secretary Lord Clarendon for a new

¹ *Pictures from the Battle Fields*, ch. 10.

² *Pictures from the Battle Fields*, p. 142.

³ *Pictures from the Battle Fields*, pp. viii, 207-8.

⁴ *Daily News*, 8 March 1855 and *Pictures from the Battle Fields*, p. 208 (see also p. 239). Amazingly enough, these glowing testimonials were not the kiss of death for Colquhoun, for in 1858 he was appointed agent and consul-general in Egypt and later knighted.

⁵ Foster, *Men-at-the-Bar*.

posting.¹ On the face of it his prospects were favourable because his patron Palmerston had swept to the premiership in February 1855 on the back of the public outcry against the conduct of the British campaign in the Crimea. But Palmerston had for some time been showing irritation at the fashion for speaking disparagingly of Britain's diplomats² – so his protégé was not only getting uncomfortably ahead of but stirring up troublesome opposition to him.

Indeed, shortly after the appearance of *Pictures from the Battlefields*, in what is unlikely to have been a coincidence, disquiet in the House of Commons about the diplomatic and consular services once more came to the surface. On 22 May Liberal members including Arthur Otway, who 13 years later was to be appointed parliamentary under-secretary at the Foreign Office in Gladstone's first government, reminded the house that the recommendations of the report of the select committee on official salaries of 1850 had been largely ignored by the Foreign Office, demanded that they should now be adopted, and echoed almost all of the themes trumpeted by the Roving Englishman – and on the consular service members were more radical. Probably taking his cue directly from Grenville-Murray, Otway made great play with the way the *Foreign Office List* so obviously confirmed the bias in favour of the sons of peers and cabinet ministers in the staffing of the diplomatic service.

In reply, Palmerston assured MPs that his government was fully seized with the question of diplomatic reform and specifically promised that candidates for the diplomatic service would be examined prior to entry. Nevertheless the Roving Englishman's patron insisted that Britain's diplomatists were already as good as any in the world; the same was true of its consuls, and no improvements at all were needed to their own service. Replying to particular criticisms, he said that ambassadors were still required at certain courts, not least because only this rank carried the privilege of access to the sovereign, and in any case at the moment they were only to be found at Paris and Constantinople. As to the proposed merging of the small missions in Germany and Italy, this would sacrifice important sources of information. While in response to the alleged damaging consequences of patronage for efficiency, he airily observed that close attention was always paid to the professional suitability of candidates in making senior diplomatic appointments since

¹ TNA, G-M to Clarendon, 12 May 1855, FO65/787.

² See for example his speech in reply to pressure for an examination for budding diplomats in 1853: HCDeb., 8 April 1853, vol. 125 cols. 883-6.

bad ones would seriously hinder the work of and reflect badly on the foreign secretary. Despite his plea that the house should not divide on the motion, it did – and he lost the vote by a wide margin.¹ This debate clearly placed unwelcome pressure on Palmerston and advertised the wide gap between his views and those of Grenville-Murray;² and it must not only have disappointed the latter but made him uneasy. By the same token it is likely that it steeled Lord Clarendon to take a somewhat rougher line with his *enfant terrible*.

Sure enough, Grenville-Murray failed to get any response from the foreign secretary to his request for a new post, so at the beginning of September he informed him of his intention to return to the embassy at Constantinople. Here Lord Stratford was still ambassador but – having been popularly blamed, as well as blamed by Grenville-Murray, for starting an unpopular war – was not in quite as strong a position as the one to which he had been accustomed.³

In the circumstances, the return of the Roving Englishman was hardly going to be that of a penitent and it seems that the prospect of a major row at the embassy was a further inducement to Clarendon finally to focus on the problem of what to do about him. Still, he did not forbid him to return; he merely told him that, in view of the way he had ‘lampooned’ his chief, he was sure he would refuse to have him back and there was nothing the Foreign Office could do about it.⁴ Protesting against the charge that he had attacked Lord Stratford in this manner, which had, he told Clarendon, filled him with ‘the most painful surprize and concern,’ Grenville-Murray added that he remained resolved to return to his post and ultimately win the foreign secretary’s approval; he admitted, however, the inadvisability of direct communication with the ambassador.⁵ Shortly afterwards he departed for Turkey.

‘Are you, or are you not, the “Roving Englishman”?’

Perhaps because he regretted his indecision, Clarendon caused Grenville-Murray, while slowly making his way to Constantinople, to be interrogated by letter as to

¹ HCDeb., 22 May 1855, vol. 138 cols. 897-920.

² Palmerston also regarded the arguments against secrecy in diplomacy as completely mistaken; see for example HCDeb., 22 April 1858, vol. 149, cols. 1519-20.

³ Lane-Poole, *The Life*, pp. 421-2.

⁴ TNA, Hammond to G-M, 5 September 1855, FO881/1718.

⁵ TNA, G-M to Clarendon, 6 September 1855, FO881/1718.

whether he was or was not the author of the publications lampooning Lord Stratford. It was generally said, he was told, that he was their author and that they contained observations which should not have been written by a member of the diplomatic service.¹ Probably believing that the Foreign Office would find it impossible to unearth definitive proof, the Roving Englishman denied responsibility for the article in question and was evasive in regard to the books.²

This was the position when he arrived in Constantinople on 22 November, having spent, as his nominal chief drily observed to the foreign secretary, ten weeks on the journey.³ Indeed he had, for with neither a warm welcome nor any useful occupation to expect on his arrival, the Roving Englishman had travelled back by a new, slower route – via the Danube and the ‘wretched’ delta port of Sulina – and spent the time gathering material for more travel articles for *Household Words*.⁴ At Sulina he was storm-bound for 17 days before it was possible for him to board the Constantinople packet. As he had promised, he did not report to Stratford and in any case four days later the ambassador told Clarendon not only that it was impossible for his attaché to remain at the embassy but also that he believed him to be generally unfit for the Queen’s service.⁵

Having certainly been informed of Stratford’s attitude, Grenville-Murray set off back to London almost immediately but did not return empty-handed. Once more he carried despatches, including some picked up from the British embassy at Vienna. These he delivered at the Foreign Office shortly before midnight on 13 December. ‘I travelled night and day,’ he told Clarendon,⁶ thereby demonstrating his dedication to the service. By 5 January he was back in Constantinople. However, he had not sought Clarendon’s approval for this journey and was once more refused residence at the embassy.⁷

On this return to the Ottoman capital Grenville-Murray took the faster sea route, sailing from Marseilles on the Messageries Maritimes’ new packet boat *Thabor*.

¹ TNA, letters 3-6 in FO881/1718.

² Later he advanced the shaky argument that it was impossible to prove the identity of an anonymous author, *The Press and the Public Service*, p. 56.

³ TNA, Stratford to Clarendon, 26 November 1855, FO881/1718.

⁴ ‘In Belgium’, 27 October 1855; ‘Down the Danube’, 22 December 1855; ‘The Show Officer’ (which brought him to Sulina), 19 January 1856; and ‘The Sulina mouth of the Danube’ (lead item), 9 February 1856.

⁵ TNA, Stratford to Clarendon, 26 November 1855, FO881/1718.

⁶ TNA, G-M to Clarendon, 14 December 1855, FO65/787.

⁷ TNA, Mrs G. Murray to Wodehouse, 21 December 1855; G-M to Chief Clerk (FO), 9 January 1856, and Stratford to G-M, 10 March 1856, FO65/787; Hammond to G-M, 2 January 1856, FO881/1718.

In the Sicilian port of Messina, at which the vessel had put in, he took his pencil and notebook with him on an exploration of its surrounds and ‘sunlit fantastic streets.’ Returning to the ship, he reflected on what a bountiful gift was the habit of observation. It had made him, he told the readers of *Household Words*, independent of ‘narrow fortunes, petty injustice, ungenerous persecution, hope deferred, the desertion of friends, and the sneers of fools!’¹

The consolations of Grenville-Murray’s travel writing were soon interrupted, however, for yet again he was pursued by a letter from the Foreign Office. The agitated foreign secretary now wished for a ‘categorical’ answer to the question as to whether he was or was not the Roving Englishman. If he was, he was informed, the Foreign Office would be bound to agree with Lord Stratford that his attachment to the embassy at Constantinople should be formally terminated.² This produced a flat denial³ and left Clarendon still at a loss as to what to do. Two months later Stratford exploded:

I can no longer defer the duty of reminding your Lordship that Mr. Grenville-Murray is still here, in no connection whatever with Her Majesty’s Embassy but that of being a nominal Attaché. He has made it impossible for me to receive him under this roof, or to employ him in the performance of any official duty. I am left in total ignorance of his reply to Mr. Hammond’s last enquiry, and my despatch N. 969 of the 26th November last year has not yet received from your Lordship that degree of notice to which I conceive it to be entitled.

The honour and efficiency of Her Majesty’s service are, no doubt, as dear to your Lordship as they are to me, and it is again in that conviction that I again solicit attention to a case, which not only bears disparagingly on my official position, but threatens by its continuance, without suitable redress, to become a public scandal.⁴

Duly galvanized, Clarendon ordered the troublesome attaché to return immediately to England and report at once to the Foreign Office.⁵ Assisted by a cheque for his travel expenses which the ambassador provided with unusual alacrity, he was back by the beginning of April.⁶

Meanwhile, the foreign secretary had issued a call for evidence proving beyond doubt that Grenville-Murray was the Roving Englishman. This was gladly answered, for he was by this time not only regarded by many in the Foreign Office and the diplomatic service as a liar and a whistleblower but also as a serious threat to

¹ ‘Messina’, *HW*, 15 March 1856.

² TNA, Hammond to G-M, 2 January 1856, FO881/1718.

³ TNA, G-M (Constantinople) to Clarendon, 9 January 1856, FO881/1718.

⁴ TNA, Stratford to Clarendon, 7 February 1856, FO881/1718.

⁵ TNA, Clarendon to Stratford, 25 February 1856, FO881/1718.

⁶ TNA, Stratford to G-M, 13 March 1856, and G-M to Wodehouse, 7 and 27 April 1856, FO65/787.

the lucrative agency system. And the fact that his protector was Palmerston, a man who was certainly respected by the Foreign Office clerks but hated in equal measure for the merciless way he had driven them while himself their chief, could not have helped his cause.¹ He was, in his own words, ‘a marked man.’²

The person who seemed to have delivered the goods on Grenville-Murray for the foreign secretary was William Grey, secretary of legation at Stockholm.³ Suspiciously enough, Grey had recently joined the Fielding Club, which was not one of the usual places patronised by diplomats on leave but located in the heart of London Bohemia and chiefly a fraternity for men of letters;⁴ and by this means he was able swiftly to report valuable intelligence gleaned from its garrulous members. First, the well-known authors Albert Smith and William Makepeace Thackeray had both told him, on the authority of Dickens himself, that Grenville-Murray was the Roving Englishman. Second, a sub-editor of the *Daily News* (not named by Grey but presumably Thomas Walker) had confirmed that Grenville-Murray was the author of his newspaper’s attacks on the Foreign Office; Walker also claimed, Grey reported, that the series was published in the belief that he had left the diplomatic service and was discontinued when the truth was discovered.⁵

With Grey’s memorandum in his hands, at the end of May 1856 Clarendon told Grenville-Murray that he now had strong evidence that he was the Roving Englishman and once more challenged him to prove otherwise or face dismissal.⁶

In reply [wrote Grenville-Murray] I have the honour most respectfully to assure your Lordship at once, upon my word of honour as a gentleman and an officer in Her Majesty’s Service, I am not in any way connected with those publications either as the author or one of the authors, or as having furnished materials for them to any other person or in any other manner whatsoever.⁷

¹ Bourne, *Palmerston*, pp. 418-27.

² *The Press and the Public Service*, pp. 239-40.

³ Grey, it might be recalled, had been first paid attaché at Vienna while G-M was there and was one of the lesser diplomatic luminaries mocked in *Pictures from the Battle Fields*, although in his case with uncharacteristic restraint, pp. 314-150.

⁴ White, *London in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 246.

⁵ TNA, Memorandum by W. G. Grey, Stockholm, 31 August 1855, FO881/1647. See also min. of Clarendon, 28 January 1856 (‘how can we disprove his denial?’), on Mrs G. Murray to Wodehouse, 28 January 1856, FO65/787; Bidwell-G-M correspondence, May 1855, FO881/1717; Rae, ‘Walker’; Thomas (ed), *Fifty Years of Fleet Street*, pp. 140-1, 204; Scott, *The Story of the Pall Mall Gazette*, p. 61.

⁶ TNA, Hammond to G-M, 30 May 1856, FO881/1718.

⁷ TNA, G-M to Clarendon, 9 June 1856, FO881/1718.

Just over a week later he gave the same assurance to the Duke of Buckingham. At the same time he asked him to write to Clarendon and enclose with his letter ‘the original of the Publishers declaration ... with regard to the works in question,’ which presumably absolved him from any responsibility for them.¹

That is where the matter came to rest, for the foreign secretary had little alternative but to accept Grenville-Murray’s word – and the written word of his publisher, George Routledge. It was a desperate lie and everyone knew it; but the Foreign Office was told that he was simply following the etiquette of the press, namely, that anyone writing anonymously did not forfeit their honour by positively denying authorship.² Besides, to have called Grenville-Murray a liar and dismissed him from the diplomatic service would have been a serious step, for – despite their differences – the Roving Englishman still had the support of Palmerston, to whom Clarendon still reflexively looked for instructions;³ and the prime minister, while foreign secretary as well as when in opposition, had denied responsibility for a great many anonymous articles he had himself written for the press.⁴ In the circumstances, there was little for Clarendon to do but keep Grenville-Murray away from Stratford’s embassy on approved leave while finding him another post.⁵

But Grenville-Murray had received a fright, the more so because a great rise in his family’s outgoings meant that he could ill afford to jeopardise his income. He was by this time living at 22 Lower Brook Street, an address in Mayfair, London’s most fashionable district.⁶ It was a slender five-storey residence only a stone’s throw from Hanover Square and ten doors away from the house occupied by Prince Talleyrand when French ambassador to Britain a decade earlier. At the time of the 1861 Census his household had a coachman, a nurse, and a housemaid. The education of his sons was also about to become much more expensive. In 1857 his eldest, Reginald, would be sent to board at Eton at an annual cost of £200;⁷ and he would face similar expense for Wyndham in the following year. No doubt contemplating the prospect of being unable to meet these expenses if he were to be dismissed, after the issue of 29

¹ HL, G-M to 2DBC, 18 June 1856, STG Box 96 (52).

² TNA, Memorandum by W. G. Grey, Stockholm, 31 August 1855, FO881/1647.

³ Seccombe, ‘Murray’; Steele, ‘Temple’.

⁴ Bourne, *Palmerston*, pp. 480, 490.

⁵ TNA, G-M to Chief Clerk (FO), 8 July and 10 October 1856 (with mins.), and 5 January 1857, FO65/787.

⁶ Sheppard (ed), *Survey of London*, ch. 1.

⁷ TNA, G-M to Clarendon, 5 November 1857, FO65/787; Brinsley-Richards, *Seven Years at Eton*, pp. 7, 168.

March 1856 the Roving Englishman was never heard of again in *Household Words*;¹ and, with two anonymous exceptions, it was over 15 years before he published another book.

The first and by far the most notable of these exceptions was *The Press and the Public Service*, published in March 1857 and evidently written by Grenville-Murray in the immediate aftermath of his Foreign Office inquisition. Here he not only elaborated his defence of anonymity (see pp. 39-41 above) but also launched a ferocious attack on the ‘low cunning’ by which some government officials, encouraged by their masters, sought vengeance on whistleblowers.² This suggests that he suspected Grey’s motive for joining the Fielding Club and knew that it was by this means that he had been exposed by some of its members – and indirectly by Dickens himself. Indeed, it would be surprising if he had not guessed this or if someone had not whispered it to him. This could have been serious for their relationship. After all, he announced in this book that ‘An editor who betrayed a correspondent would render himself peculiarly infamous. He would commit not only a breach of contract but a breach of trust.’³ But Dickens was too important to him and too much admired in all other respects for him to risk an open breach and he resumed writing for him – this time anonymously rather than pseudonymously – when *Household Words* was reincarnated as *All the Year Round* in 1859.

The only other book published over the next fifteen years by Grenville-Murray, who was also something of a foodie, was an immensely learned work called *The Oyster* (see Appendix 1). Major Herbert Byng-Hall, a Queen’s Messenger he probably fell in with on the Constantinople run in early 1856, might have made a small contribution to this work.⁴ Literary co-partnership was one of the devices employed to obscure authorship by anonymous writers to which he had previously drawn attention.⁵

¹ Lohrli, *Household Words*, p. 385.

² *The Press and the Public Service*, p. 117.

³ *The Press and the Public Service*, pp. 54-5.

⁴ Byng-Hall’s *The Queen’s Messenger* has much on the Constantinople run but deliberately mentions only very few personalities; these do not include G-M. On the other hand, he describes carrying despatches to Constantinople in the spring of 1856 (p. 166).

⁵ *The Press and the Public Service*, p. 57.

Persian punishment

In 1856 Grenville-Murray was angry and bitter. He had a very high opinion of his own abilities, energy, and passion to serve the public; and there is every reason to believe that he did not exaggerate greatly in claiming that he even employed ‘his spare hours in the eager study of state questions, instead of going to a ball or a whist-party.’¹ Nevertheless he was being persecuted. And why should he not write for money? With salaries in government so low, to deny this to a subordinate officer would be virtually to surrender the whole government service to the rich.² But it was ‘impious to dare despair,’ so he bided his time.³

While the Foreign Office was waiting for a suitably uncomfortable post for him to fall vacant, Grenville-Murray seems to have been employed once more in carrying despatches. This was work to which in any case he attached high value, evidently liked for the expenses-paid opportunities it provided for his travel writing, and so wrote about at length.⁴ Soon enough, though, in January 1857 an inspired solution for him was triumphantly found. On the same annual salary of £250 he was to be third paid attaché in the non-existent legation at Tehran!⁵ Better still, should the mission in due course reappear, he would find himself at a particularly unpopular post. This was not only because it was difficult of access but also because it was more concerned with Asiatic than European affairs – and for the latter reason less in the orbit of the Foreign Office than the India Office, which resented having to fund the post and evidently thought that Britain’s relations with Persia would be better if its staff had Indian rather than European experience.⁶ To cap it all, his new chief was to be the Hon. Charles Augustus Murray, whose father was the 5th Earl of Dunmore and mother the daughter of the 9th Duke of Hamilton (not even Grenville-Murray would list numeracy among the failings of the cousinocracy); and the Hon. Murray was among those he had prominently singled out to illustrate how often patronage worked against the appointment of men with ability and appropriate experience. Never even thought of for Tehran, the Roving Englishman had written, was the soldier-

¹ *The Press and the Public Service*, pp. 195-6.

² *The Press and the Public Service*, pp. 200-1.

³ *The Press and the Public Service*, p. 146; see also p. 189.

⁴ *Embassies and Foreign Courts*, pp. 178-99; *Side-Lights*, vol. 1, pp. 235-43. See also Yates, *His Recollections and Experiences*, p. 449; Hatton, *Journalistic London*, p. 108.

⁵ TNA, Hammond to G-M, 27 January 1857, FO65/787.

⁶ HCPP (382), 25 July 1870: paras. 229-50, and 2030-2178.

diplomatist of Herat and Candahar Colonel Rawlinson. Such experience as his could not compete, he added, with ‘the remarkable proofs of genius’ provided by the Hon. Murray, namely, his previous appointments as master of the Queen’s household and her extra groom in waiting.¹

There had been no British legation at the Persian court since November 1855, when the Hon. Murray, who had been minister only since the previous year, had struck his flag and retreated to Bagdad in consequence of a personal feud with the grand vizier that had escalated into war. In Bagdad his mission was sidelined in the conduct of relations with Tehran by the embassy in Constantinople, although he claimed to have regular access to intelligence from secret sources in the capital.² It was only in the middle of June 1857, following the success of British arms and conclusion of the usual niceties, that Murray’s mission departed for the Persian capital, at which it arrived in July.³

The uselessness of his namesake’s peripatetic mission at least had the advantage for Grenville-Murray that he was not under pressure to join it with any urgency and he did not leave London until the middle of May. But injury was soon to be added to insult. Uncertain as to whether he would find Murray in Bagdad or Tehran, he took a northerly route through Anatolia designed to hedge his bets. Eventually learning that his new chief had left for Tehran but that the road into Persia remained extremely insecure, he had to tread water at Trebizond. It was 27 October before he finally reached his destination. It had taken him altogether over five months and involved riding about 1000 miles on horseback and battling snow storms in the mountains. Because of the time wasted and such special factors as war-induced price inflation and the need to hire guards for his retinue in the disturbed state of the Turkish/Persian border region, he had run up a huge bill of £673 for expenses – almost three times his annual salary. And, although his claim was immaculately documented (with 290 items separately listed and explanatory papers and supporting vouchers attached), promptly despatched to Lord Clarendon with a request that it be paid to his wife, and sympathetically endorsed by a British consul in Asiatic Turkey who happened to be on leave in London, the most he ever received from the

¹ *Pictures from the Battlefields*, pp. 256-7.

² TNA, Charles A. Murray (Baghdad) to Stratford, 26 May 1857, FO352/46.

³ TNA, Stratford to Charles A. Murray, 29 June 1857, FO352/46; Maxwell, ‘Murray’.

unremittingly hostile chief clerk Lenox-Conyngham was £250 – and that not until August in the following year, 1858.¹

Meanwhile, Grenville-Murray had somehow escaped his Persian purgatory and was back at his Mayfair home in late June 1858. A month later, he was given his final public appointment: Consul-General for the Russian Ports in the Black Sea and the Sea of Azof, to reside at the port city of Odessa. The salary was a great increase and he was to leave immediately.² In Calais, Emma rejoiced at the news of this ‘splendid appointment,’³ although her tune soon changed when she learned that she was not to share in the windfall: the ‘dear son’ of the first letter had become variously a ‘serpent’ and a ‘scorpion.’⁴

The Odessa post had been given to Grenville-Murray by the Earl of Malmesbury, the foreign secretary who had entered office in February when Palmerston (and with him Clarendon) had given way to the minority Conservative government of the 14th Earl of Derby. The appointment astonished Grenville-Murray’s former chief in Tehran and no doubt many others who thought his days in government service were numbered.⁵ And what makes it even more remarkable is that the private secretary on whom Malmesbury relied most was the Roving Englishman’s most bitter enemy John Bidwell.⁶

One likely reason for the appointment seems to have been that the new foreign secretary had a soft spot for Buckingham and even for the Roving Englishman⁷ and thought that the post would assist their perilous finances. There is a hint of this in a letter to the duke from Grenville-Murray, the chief burden of which was to stress that, although delightful in all other respects and important, Odessa was ‘the worst post in the service in a money point of view;’ regrettably, therefore, it would not ease his payments to him. ‘It must have been complete forgetfulness therefore,’ he added, ‘which induced any of your friends in the late Cabinet to speak of this place as a

¹ The papers on which this episode is based are to be found in TNA, FO65/787.

² TNA, mins. of Malmesbury 24 July and James Murray 1 August 1858, FO65/787; *London Gazette*, 27 July, 1858, p. 3476.

³ HL, Emma Murray Mills to 2DBC, 23 August 1858, STG Box 96 (34).

⁴ Her other son Henry was no better, she told Buckingham, HL, Emma Murray Mills to 2DBC, October 1858 and 1 April 1859, STG Box 96 (35) and (36) respectively.

⁵ TNA, Charles A. Murray to James Murray, 26 November 1866, FO65/793.

⁶ Malmesbury, *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, pp. 418-535 *passim*.

⁷ G-M certainly claimed him as a supporter; see p. 67 below and HL, G-M to Disraeli, 2 September 1868, STG Box 126 (20).

provision for anybody.’¹ In the same connection, it is surely also significant that a letter appears to have been written by Malmesbury just a few days before he left office in the following year recommending, without any explanation, that Grenville-Murray’s annual salary should be raised from £750 to £1,000 per annum and that he should still be allowed to retain the fees collected at the post.²

Whether Malmesbury used his patronage at Odessa for personal reasons or not, he may also have been prompted by a desire to make Grenville-Murray feel grateful to the Foreign Office while keeping him busy a long way from home. By this means he effectively neutralized the office’s most dangerous critic at precisely the juncture when the pressure for radical reform both of the diplomatic and consular services was becoming difficult to manage. The long contemplated select committee on the consular service, which included Palmerston himself, had been assembled in March 1858 and was still hearing witnesses when Grenville-Murray returned from Tehran.³ And in April John Ayshford Wise, one of the foremost spokesmen of the diplomatic and consular service reform movement in the House of Commons, returned to the charge once more and – speaking the gospel according to Grenville-Murray in all but the name of its author – had Palmerston on the defensive and Lord John Russell conceding ground.⁴ It must have seemed only a matter of time before the the diplomatic service received the same treatment – a full inquiry. Two years later a demand for this was made by another Liberal member of parliament, the recently elected Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant-Duff,⁵ and in 1861 it was finally agreed to by a rather surly Lord John.⁶ But Grenville-Murray was safely out of the way. He might not have been called as a witness in any case, since the member of parliament who moved the successful motion for creation of the select committee in 1861 and became its chairman was his not too distant neighbour at the posh end of Brook Street, Richard Monckton Milnes. And the Mayfair socialite, political light-weight, and

¹ HL, G-M to 2DBC, 26 November 1859, STG Box 96(54).

² The Treasury objected and the arrangement was disallowed by his successor Lord John Russell, HCPP (380), 24 July 1871: Ev of Hammond, 3 July 1871, col. 1711.

³ HCDeb., 22 March 1858, vol. 149, cols. 547-53; HCPP (482), 27 July 1858.

⁴ Wise ‘held in his hand a work written by a gentleman who had long taken an interest in the diplomatic service, and who had himself been in the service of the Crown,’ and quoted from it at length. This was probably one of G-M’s books, although I have failed to locate the passage. Wise also exploited the FO list – ‘an exposé’ of the whole system of patronage – in exactly the manner of G-M, HCDeb., 22 April 1858, vol. 149, cols.1496-1508.

⁵ HCDeb., 19 June 1860, vol. 159, cols. 714-22.

⁶ HCDeb., 8 March 1861, vol. 161, cols. 1647-55; Jones, *The British Diplomatic Service, 1815-1914*, pp. 103-4.

peerage-hungry Milnes found distasteful those who introduced personalities into public debate. John Wise, who had retired because of ill-health in the previous year, had not been one of these, he said in the House of Commons; the implied criticism of Grenville-Murray was obvious.¹

Whatever Malmesbury's ulterior motives for appointing Grenville-Murray to Odessa, it could hardly have escaped his notice that he had certain good qualifications for handling a huge district peopled by different ethnic and language groups, notorious for its bad roads, and politically sensitive in the aftermath of the Crimean War. For he was an outstanding linguist, a hardy and experienced traveller, knowledgeable of parts of the region from his war reporting in 1854-5, and, above all, a man with a keen eye and a gifted pen for describing what he saw. All of this made the appointment defensible: it caused no comment in parliament and the only ripple of hostility in the press was a letter to the editor of *The Times* from 'An Englishman' who evidently did not know that the allegedly unqualified 'Mr. E. C. G. Murray' whose appointment to Odessa – a post of 'the highest importance' – had just been announced in the *London Gazette*, was none other than the Roving Englishman.²

On 20 September 1858 Grenville-Murray arrived at what was nevertheless to prove his last post because it was at Odessa that the revenge of the cousinocracy was most perfectly consummated.

Ordeal at Odessa

The new post certainly carried far more responsibility than that given to Grenville-Murray at Mytilene. Nevertheless, it was another form of professional exile because on this occasion it meant formal demotion to the consular service, and on the face of it this was the more emphatic because Odessa was one of only two British consulates-general customarily assumed to be a purely commercial post.³ Despite the glowing reputation the new consul-general had given to Odessa to save face with Buckingham, the post was unattractive in other ways, too. The town had lost its free port status and

¹ Pope-Hennessy, *Monckton Milnes*; Davenport-Hines, 'Milnes'; HCDeb., 8 March 1861, vol. 161, cols. 1647-8.

² *The Times*, 8 August 1858.

³ HCPP (482), 27 July 1858: Mins. of Ev., paras. 5992-5 (Hammond, 12 July).

the cost of living had risen greatly since the end of the Crimean War.¹ It was also reported to be unpaved, undrained, inefficiently lighted, and poorly supplied with water.² The previous consul-general George Mathew was only too glad to escape.

On the other hand, following qualified government acceptance of the select committee's report, Grenville-Murray soon enjoyed an increase in his annual salary. This was not as generous as that proposed by Malmesbury but remained substantial, increasing from £750 to £900, with an extra £300 for office expenses.³ There was also a vice-consul in the office, Frederick Cortazzi, who carried much of the burden of the commercial work, including shipping. Fluent in Russian, he was so well thought of by Mathew that he had more than doubled his pitiful annual salary of £80 from his own pocket.⁴ The remoteness of Odessa from the superintending British embassy in St. Petersburg also meant that the consul-general had considerable independence and the right to communicate directly with the Foreign Office, albeit via Constantinople. Most reassuringly and in the end most significantly of all, the new consul-general was also expected to give more attention to political and military reporting than had hitherto been customary at Odessa, so *in practice* it was no longer a purely commercial post.⁵ In light of the Foreign Office's entrenched mistrust of Russia, particularly of its most influential statesman Prince Gorchakov, this was hardly surprising.⁶

Nevertheless, Grenville-Murray soon showed that he took commerce as seriously as political reporting. He provided frequent trade and shipping returns between annual reports, and individual reports on such matters as corn prices, the interest of the Russians in British pigs, and the prospects for British companies in the projected gas lighting and paving of Odessa town. His despatches over the winter of 1865-6 on the suspected causes and treatment of cattle plague in Russia, sent at the time of a terrible outbreak of the disease in Britain, were received with particular interest and two were released for publication, with accompanying applause, in *The Times*.⁷ In total, five of these despatches were also reprinted in an appendix to the third report of the official commission appointed to investigate the British outbreak

¹ HCPP (482), 27 July 1858, p. 596 (App.), Mathew to Clarendon, 20 April and 12 December 1857.

² HCPP (2579), 12 August 1859, p. 211.

³ HCPP (482), 27 July 1858: Report, pp. ix-x; HCPP (58 – I. – Sess.2), 4 July 1859, p. 16.

⁴ TNA, Cumberbatch to James Murray, 9 July 1862, FO65/789.

⁵ Malmesbury to G-M, 7 August 1858, BB, p.1.

⁶ Otte, *The Foreign Office Mind*, pp. 42-3, 44-5.

⁷ *The Times*, 8 December 1865, 22 and 24 January 1866.

and several were cited as authoritative in both houses of parliament.¹ The commercial reports were interleaved with long and informed despatches on such subjects as the emancipation of the serfs, the criminal justice system, the Jewish community, and the arrangements he had made for the protection against vandalism of British war graves at Sebastopol, a subject arousing much indignation in parliament at the beginning of the 1860s.

But Grenville-Murray believed that the submission of reports was only the beginning rather than the end of a consul's duty to his country's commerce: his main job was actively to promote it. 'With this view,' he wrote to Sir Henry Bulwer, who had replaced Lord Stratford as ambassador at Constantinople in early 1858, 'it is my intention to fit up a couple of rooms at my office, one with drawings of British machinery, carriages, iron houses, the best breeds of British cattle, and anything and everything that may occur to me as likely to be wanted here; and the other with specimens of Russian produce etc.' He also proposed to post up authentic published lists of prices current during the past year, provided he could get hold of them and the Foreign Office was willing to assist him in establishing contact with British firms. 'In a word,' he said, 'I think a Consulate should be a "Bureau de Renseignements" for trade, a place where really sound information can be obtained, free of suspicion and free of cost.'²

True to his other interests and responding to the real demands of his post, Grenville-Murray lost little time in beginning to collect military and naval intelligence as well. Reminding the Foreign Office that Odessa was the chief post of observation for detecting any Russian intention to attack Turkey, he persuaded it to provide a modest extra postage allowance to help in eliciting monthly intelligence reports from the consular posts in his extensive district.³ These generally proved fitful in arriving and sparse in their product but he sought to compensate for this by sending in many highly detailed reports himself. They dealt with any unusual levels of activity at armouries and fortresses and in the transport of weapons; and also with military movements, notably in connection with the serious Polish insurrection in 1863, the perennial fighting in the Caucasus, and the possibility of war with Austria and

¹ HCPP (3656), 1866: App. D, pp. 238-41.

² NRO, G-M to Bulwer, 4 June 1860, BUL 1/269/1-44.

³ TNA, G-M to Malmesbury, 25 February 1859 (précis of), FO195/597; précis of G-M to FO, 17 January 1860; G-M to Russell, 20 March 1861; and James Murray to G-M (draft), 25 April 1861, FO65/589.

Turkey.¹ Above all, however, the chief thrust of his military reports (of which there were at least ten in the first two years alone) was evidence that the Russians were ‘silently reforming’ their fleet in the Black Sea in violation of the Treaty of Paris’s articles on its neutralization;² these articles were the most humiliating feature of the Crimean settlement and chiefly the product of British pressure.³

The question of new Russian military activity on and around the Black Sea was one of great sensitivity. Consular reporting on this sort of thing was also common knowledge;⁴ and it had long been suspected that the Russian government routinely inspected the contents of all ordinary mail.⁵ As a result, Grenville-Murray was asked by the foreign secretary, then Lord John Russell, to send in his military reports by a ‘safe hand.’⁶ In November 1863, following particularly alarming press reports of Russian violations,⁷ he sent a report on the naval build-up which proved, he said, that it was even more marked than feared.⁸

In addition to his reporting and efforts to promote Anglo-Russian trade, Grenville-Murray also grappled effectively with ill-tempered behaviour on the part of British shipmasters and shipowners at a time of uncertainty over whether consular fees imposed on them were to be retained by consuls or sent to the Treasury.⁹ In addition, he showed compassion and attention to detail in arranging the repatriation of British subjects in distress, such as the mentally ill Sarah Mitchell and the 18-year old Sunderland boy Thomas Harkus, a pathetic figure who had been imprisoned for theft and then caught dysentery.¹⁰

¹ See for example TNA, G-M to Russell, 24 December 1862, FO65/615; G-M to Russell, 11 February, 9 March, and 11 April 1863, FO65/647; G-M to Russell, 29 April 1864, FO65/667; and G-M to Clarendon, 16 March 1866, FO65/711.

² G-M began to report on the re-building of the Black Sea Fleet, at first only to his friend Sir Henry Bulwer the ambassador at Constantinople, at the end of 1859: NRO, G-M to Bulwer, 1 December 1859, 4 February and 18 May 1860, BUL 1/269/1-44; TNA, G-M to Russell (via Bulwer), 21 June 1860, FO195/597.

³ Mosse, *The Rise and Fall of the Crimean System*, pp. 32-3. These articles were formally repudiated by Gorchakov in 1870.

⁴ For example, in an article in *The Times* of 11 July 1863 its Vienna correspondent cited ‘consular sources’ as the authority for Russian defence preparations on the Black Sea coast, with Nicolaiev, Yenikale, and Kertch being particularly mentioned; see also TNA, G-M to Russell, 2 June 1863, FO65/647.

⁵ As one of G-M’s fellow contributors to *HW* had been informed when sent by Dickens to Russia in 1856 to gather material for articles, Sala, *Life and Adventures*, p. 344.

⁶ TNA, G-M to Russell, 14 February 1861, FO65/589.

⁷ *The Times*, 11 August, 1 September, and 9 November 1863.

⁸ TNA, G-M to Russell, 27 November 1863; see also FO to G-M, 30 September 1863, FO65/647.

⁹ BB, pp. 5-28.

¹⁰ See papers in TNA, FO65/589 and FO65/667 respectively.

Unfortunately, Foreign Office hostility towards the consul-general led it to acknowledge without praise or simply ignore the many examples of his imaginative, sensitive, and energetic conduct at Odessa. Instead, his office enemies pounced on and exaggerated his misdemeanours, which inevitably multiplied because they deliberately reduced his staff and successfully obstructed most of his efforts to make do by other means.

Despite an increasing pressure of business at Odessa, in September 1861 his number two was transferred to another post. The departure of Cortazzi was regarded as no great loss by Grenville-Murray, because although he had at first valued him he had later come to a darker view of his character;¹ and naturally he had assumed that he would be replaced. It was, after all, the sensible custom, publicly approved by Palmerston, that a consul-general should always have the assistance of a vice-consul when there was much British shipping to deal with.² However, this was to reckon without James Murray (no relation), the Foreign Office clerk who had been promoted to the newly created post of assistant under-secretary in 1858 and closely superintended the Consular Department. Murray was one of Grenville-Murray's most relentless enemies and, to make matters worse, was regarded by Clarendon himself as at the best of times 'apt to be hard in his decisions, and offensive in style.'³ He also enjoyed an unusual degree of executive latitude in consular affairs since foreign secretaries never took much interest in them. It was therefore with evident satisfaction and no fear that his decision would be overturned that Murray not only told his namesake in Odessa that there was no intention to appoint a new vice-consul but also gave no reason for his pronouncement.⁴ Grenville-Murray struggled on without his former assistant until the beginning of 1863 but then asked for an *unpaid* vice-consul, nominating for the post the Lloyd's agent at Odessa, the highly regarded Simon Horowitz.⁵ This request was also denied on Murray's advice, as was another three years later, on both occasions also without explanation.⁶

¹ NRO, G-M to Bulwer, 20 January 1860 and 20 July 1861, BUL 1/269/1-44.

² HCPP (611), 25 July 1850: para. 550.

³ Vincent, *Disraeli, Derby and the Conservative Party*, diary 4 July 1866, p. 258.

⁴ TNA, James Murray to G-M (draft), 5 September 1861, FO65/589.

⁵ See also the Rev. T. Clark and Others to Horowitz, 11 Nov. 1867, BB, p. 156.

⁶ TNA, James Murray to G-M, 25 March 1863, FO65/647; G-M to Clarendon, 11 January 1866, FO65/711; min of James Murray, 1 February 1866, FO65/793; Clarendon to G-M (draft), 2 April 1866, FO65/711.

Discouraged and increasingly overworked, and because he was not reconciled to a consular career, Grenville-Murray now needed a new patron. As a result, he had for some time been cultivating the clever and experienced Sir Henry Bulwer at Constantinople. Although Bulwer was 20 years his senior, the ambassador had much in common with the consul-general. Like him, he had a great interest in French affairs developed while living in Paris, a penchant for scribbling in newspapers, a connoisseur's taste in women and food, and a history of enjoying the patronage of Palmerston, whose biography he wrote in retirement. He also shared with Grenville-Murray extensive earlier diplomatic acquaintance with Constantinople and the Danubian Principalities and, to cap it all, had an equally strong personal grievance against Lord Stratford de Redcliffe; in Bulwer's case this was due to a clash between them in 1857 which had provoked a lengthy editorial about the 'imperious' Lord Stratford in *The Times*.¹

Even while at Tehran, Grenville-Murray had been sending Bulwer his private views and intelligence on Persian affairs – and impressing the ambassador. 'The beginning of your despatch ... was a masterpiece,' he told him in one reply.² And following his arrival at Odessa a stream of further letters to Bulwer commenced. Usually lengthy, these contained news of Russian military, political and economic developments which was often in advance of his reports on the same subjects to the Foreign Office and sometimes for the ambassador's information alone. His letters also contained high-level gossip, personal advice on Russian investments, and amusing stories. Occasionally, too, they covered small gifts, usually gastronomic delicacies such as *ananas au vinaigre* and *outarde marinée*, the latter prepared by the cook of his friend Count Tolstoy.³ Bulwer also asked him to look out for any useful or ornamental articles of Russian manufacture to be found at Odessa, for which he told him that he could draw on him for the money. But 'above all things,' he wrote, 'keep up your correspondence with me which both instructs and entertains.'⁴

Shortly after this, Bulwer wrote again to Grenville-Murray:

¹ *The Times*, 29 and 31 January 1857. On Bulwer generally, see Bourne, *Palmerston*, pp. 474-6; Jones, *The British Diplomatic Service, 1815-1914*, pp. 74-96; Chamberlain, 'Bulwer'; Hornby, *An Autobiography*, p. 34.

² NRO, Bulwer to G-M, ca. September 1858, BUL 1/270/1-30.

³ NRO, G-M to Bulwer, 7 and 28 January 1860, BUL 1/269/1-44.

⁴ NRO, Bulwer to G-M, 12 December 1859, BUL 1/270/1-30.

My dear Sir,

I don't know how to thank you enough for the food which you give to my stomach and mind – nor do I flatter myself that a cypher which I shall shortly be able to send you will be adequate repayment. I ask myself where I shall find anything better to send you from this place but who answers 'where?' And so I wait until a more agreeable reply will give me the satisfaction of paying my debt.¹

Whether this letter was itself the trigger or not, the juncture was right for a move on Sir Henry and it was Grenville-Murray's resourceful wife Clara, who had clearly taken over the role of his London agent, who took the initiative. Reminding Bulwer that when they had met at Constantinople he had asked if there were any way that he could advance the interests of her husband, she wrote that even then she had cherished the notion of his appointment as his secretary of embassy in the Ottoman capital – but had held her tongue 'from motives of delicacy.' Now, however, she had heard that the post was likely to fall vacant owing to the promotion of the incumbent Charles Alison and hoped that the ambassador would support the promotion of her husband in his place.² This was on the face of it a shrewd enough move because Grenville-Murray had long ago argued publicly that a secretary of embassy should be a hard-working deputy to the ambassador and had particularly singled out the Constantinople embassy in this respect.

But alas! In early April Alison was duly moved on but the Foreign Office, perhaps having got wind of the closeness between Bulwer and Grenville-Murray and concluding that anyone would be preferable to the latter, swiftly filled the vacancy with someone else. This was John Savile-Lumley, who – despite being vindictive, narrow-minded and uncompromising – at least had already been secretary of legation successively at Washington, Madrid and St. Petersburg.³ It is improbable that this appointment had the blessing of Bulwer himself, for within months the ambassador had spectacularly fallen out with his new secretary of embassy and succeeded in getting rid of him before the end of the year.⁴ But whether he had actually angled for Grenville-Murray instead is not clear; it is certainly possible.⁵ Alternatively, knowing of the consul-general's reputation, he might have thought that such a bid would have seen him on a hiding to nothing and in consequence held his hand. The ambassador's

¹ NRO, Bulwer to G-M, 17 February 1860, BUL 1/270/1-30.

² NRO, Clara G-M (22 Brook Street) to Bulwer, 9 March 1860, BUL 1/268/1-6.

³ Jones, *The British Diplomatic Service, 1815-1914*, p. 89.

⁴ Jones, *The British Diplomatic Service, 1815-1914*, ch. 5.

⁵ Bulwer later said bitterly: '[O]nce or twice when I have written for persons of special qualities which were wanted at the embassy or mission I have had persons sent me who had none of those qualities,' HCPP (382), 25 July 1870: paras. 4845-6, 4874.

support might also have been stayed by the thought that the post of secretary of embassy at Constantinople, where arrangements were peculiar, would not have suited the ambitions of his Odessa correspondent. Bulwer, after all, did not want the holder of that post to be an orthodox secretary but, instead, someone who handled only the mission's burgeoning consular correspondence, which, as it turned out, was the occasion of his conflict with Savile-Lumley.¹ The ambassador evidently sent Grenville-Murray consoling messages which hint at this.²

Not surprisingly, Grenville-Murray was no more fortunate at Constantinople on Savile-Lumley's departure, by which time in any case Bulwer was himself somewhat out of favour with the Foreign Office. But he continued to tell the ambassador of his ardent wish to serve under his orders and lived in hope of another opening over which he had influence.³ This turned out to be the important Cairo agency, about which Bulwer had dropped a hint to Clara in order to dilute her own disappointment over Constantinople and where the incumbent – his old friend Robert Colquhoun – told him that he was sick of Egypt and would gladly support him as his replacement. Grenville-Murray lived with this hope until the middle of 1863, at which point – although Colquhoun insisted he had no rival – Bulwer had to inform him that he must abandon this dream as well.⁴

He put a brave face on this further disappointment, assuring his putative patron that he would remain patient while waiting for advancement, adding:

I am happy, popular, and well respected here. My house is delightful, perched like an eagle's nest upon a height, with the sea breezes coming fresh and blythe into my study and all sorts of pretty pictures, and statuettes and small art treasures, each with some pleasant memory of past kindness, or far travel attached to it. The Russians are charming; and so hospitable that I have more invitations than I can accept. I have hosts of small children, friends among whom my coming makes quite a holiday; and time has ripened my acquaintance with their fathers and mothers almost into old friendships: for I have been here now nearly five years.

¹ TNA, Bulwer to Russell, 13 November 1860, FO78/1493.

² NRO, G-M to Bulwer, 21 June 1860, BUL 1/269/1-44. Like most of Bulwer's letters to G-M, the ones referred to here have not survived.

³ NRO, G-M to Bulwer, 11 May 1860, 21 December 1861, 25 September 1862, BUL 1/269/1-44; and 26 June 1863, BUL 1/270/130.

⁴ NRO, Clara G-M to Bulwer, 19 April 1860, BUL 1/268/1-6; G-M to Bulwer, 21 December 1861, 25 September 1862, BUL 1/269/1-44; 26 June 1863, 9 July 1863, BUL 1/270/1-30. Colquhoun remained in Cairo until his retirement in May 1865, when he was replaced by Colonel Edward Stanton, formerly consul-general at Warsaw.

And who knows what the future might bring? He had, he boasted, powerful well-wishers both inside the cabinet and among those likely to be its members following a change of political fortunes. Among the former, Palmerston, he claimed, had ‘*thrice*’ recommended him for promotion; among the latter were Lord Malmesbury and Mr Disraeli. He could also, he claimed, bring powerful influences to bear on Clarendon and even on Russell. But, come what may, he would remain devoted to Bulwer and serve him loyally if he should ever need a lieutenant in some future political crisis.¹ Meanwhile, he continued to write regularly to him, chiefly about the Polish insurrection, although none of his letters survive after September 1864 and a year later Bulwer retired from the diplomatic service.

With his prospects of escaping from Odessa by this time radically diminished and his office still ‘usually not unlike a Public house at Election time,’² Grenville-Murray continued to ponder the problem of how to make his life more comfortable without a vice-consul. Fortunately, he was able to exploit a windfall. This came in the shape of the extremely able Maltese James Zohrab, his consul at Berdiansk on the north coast of the Sea of Azof, who was not only disgruntled at being separated from his family but also at being stuck in a post where he had little to do but twiddle his thumbs.³ Zohrab happened to be in Odessa at the time of the suspected robbery and murder in September 1864 of the British shipmaster Captain John Middleton and volunteered to assist its investigation. This offer was clutched at by Grenville-Murray, who saw that he could use Zohrab for other work as well. The Foreign Office, which should have known better, agreed to bear the cost of his stay in Odessa on the risible assurance it had from the consul-general that this would be reimbursed by the Russians.

Zohrab faced local obstruction, there were other suspicious deaths of British seamen at Odessa, and the result was that his investigation stretched to almost a year – and still proved inconclusive.⁴ Meanwhile, Grenville-Murray ignored repeated orders to send him back to Berdiansk. He made the bill for Zohrab’s employment even higher when, for security reasons, he sent him to London to deliver his report in

¹ NRO, G-M to Bulwer, 9 July 1863, BUL 1/270/1-30.

² NRO, G-M to Bulwer, 10 June 1864, BUL 1/270/1-30.

³ HCPP (314), 16 July 1872: Ev of Charles Grierson (British merchant at Berdiansk), paras. 1972-4.

⁴ TNA, Preliminary Report respecting the death of Captain John Cross Middleton of the British Barque ‘Lily of the Valley’; Buchanan to Clarendon, 1 May 1866, FO65/720.

person.¹ Having read it, James Murray contemptuously observed that it could not only have been safely sent by post but also sent ‘unsealed.’² The Russians, of course, never met the bill for Zohrab’s stay at Odessa and Grenville-Murray was docked from his salary the whole cost of his consul’s round trip to London (Murray wanted him to bear the entire cost of his year at Odessa as well, which came to almost £1200³). However, Lord Clarendon, who was once more at the Foreign Office, agreed to let him pay it by instalments.⁴

A Russian who took a particularly close and unfriendly interest in these criminal investigations by Grenville-Murray’s consulate was the governor of Southern Russia General Paul Demetrius von Kotzebue, probably thinking that they implied a low opinion of both the justice system for which he was formally responsible and the warmth with which foreigners were received in his town.⁵ Kotzebue came from a Baltic-German family long in the favour of the Russian court. During the Crimean War he had been chief of staff to Prince Gorchakov, then the commander of the Russian armies, and, like his chief, had acquired great military prestige; he remained close to Gorchakov in the latter’s subsequent position as foreign minister and then, from July 1863, chancellor of the empire. Kotzebue also had direct and highly active command of all Russian forces in Southern Russia. He was based at Odessa.

In view of Kotzebue’s military responsibilities, however, there can be little doubt that the grievance he held against Grenville-Murray over the murder investigations was as nothing compared with what he must have felt about his determined military intelligence gathering activities. The governor would have been only too well aware of these (see p. 62 above) and it would be astonishing if he had not also been acquainted with the fact that Grenville-Murray was very much Palmerston’s man, that is, the agent of the chief architect of the humiliating Crimean settlement and the European politician most keen to see it remain in force. And then there was the question of the nationalist insurrection against Russian rule in Poland in 1863. Palmerston had spoken out against the brutality of its suppression by Russia and accordingly, although Grenville-Murray himself was no admirer of the Poles and was

¹ TNA, G-M to Russell, 21 August 1865, FO65/720; FO min, 4 November 1865, BB, pp. 92-3.

² TNA, min. of James Murray, 9 September 1865, FO65/720.

³ TNA, mins. of James Murray, 9 September 1865 and 19 February 1867, FO65/720; Murray to G-M, 22 June 1866, BB, p. 93.

⁴ Murray to G-M, 25 April 1866, BB, p. 93.

⁵ He claimed that three British seamen had not died through violence and that others had met their deaths in drunken brawls, TNA, Buchanan to Clarendon, 1 May 1866, FO65/720.

privately unsympathetic to their cause, it was to him that the Polish leaders in hiding in Odessa appealed for help.¹ All of this must have made Kotzebue regard Grenville-Murray as a dangerous man – and he determined to be rid of him by taking every opportunity to blacken his reputation. This made him an invaluable ally of the consul-general's enemies in the Foreign Office, who evidently could not care less about the Russian's motives since he had arrived at the right conclusion.

The first opportunity presented to Kotzebue to get rid of Grenville-Murray was provided when a British resident at Odessa, Adelaide Owen, a woman of dubious reputation, complained to him that during an altercation at her house the consul-general had beaten her over the shoulders with his whip.² This affair died a deserved death in March 1865 but was disinterred by the governor at the highest level in October. As a result, Clarendon ordered a full inquiry to be made on the spot.³

The person appointed as investigator was the Hon. William Stuart, second son of the 11th Lord Blantyre and occupant of the post which Grenville-Murray had himself dreamed of occupying: secretary of embassy at Constantinople. Stuart was immediately received by Kotzebue and assured that he would be given all the assistance at his disposal. Written statements were taken and interviews conducted but Stuart concluded that the evidence was contradictory; furthermore, if Grenville-Murray had assaulted Adelaide, he said, it could not have been in a serious way. Obviously disappointed, the disingenuous Kotzebue told Stuart that the consul-general had acquired a reputation 'the reverse of favourable and that he should much like to see Great Britain more worthily represented.'⁴

James Murray was equally disappointed, the more so after he learned that the highly respected judge and law officer of the crown Sir Robert Phillimore had roundly endorsed Stuart's opinion.⁵ This did not mean, Murray advised Lord Clarendon, that the Foreign Office could assure the Russian government of Grenville-Murray's innocence. As a result, Prince Gorchakov was informed that while the Foreign Office would not be removing its consul-general from Odessa, it would not seek to 'screen'

¹ As it happened, he was promptly ordered not to interfere, TNA, G-M to Russell, 1-25 June 1863, with mins. and draft replies of James Murray FO65/647; *The Times*, 8 June 1863. G-M's exceptional hostility to the Polish uprising is expressed with great vehemence in his letters to Bulwer, beginning with that of 11 February 1863, NRO, BUL 1/270/1-30.

² BB, pp. 31-57.

³ Clarendon to Buchanan, and Clarendon to Lyons, 29 November 1865, BB, p. 36.

⁴ Stuart to Clarendon, 24 January 1866 [a separate despatch from that of the same date representing Stuart's report], BB, pp. 56-7.

⁵ TNA, Phillimore to Clarendon, 16 February 1866, FO65/793.

him on grounds of his official character should proceedings be launched against him before a Russian tribunal.¹ This never happened and in April 1866 Clarendon told Grenville-Murray that the cloud had been lifted – more or less.² But others were gathering.

Dismissed by ‘Count von Quickmarch’

Grenville-Murray had not been in England since 1861, when he was granted three months’ leave of absence to attend to private affairs connected with the then shortly expected death of his disgraced and penniless half-brother the 2nd Duke of Buckingham.³ In April 1864 he had asked for a month’s leave but been refused on the grounds that the replacement he had nominated – his principal clerk for the last four years – was unsuitable.⁴ It was not until November 1866 that he finally got leave and was able to return to his London home.

Back at 22 Lower Brook Street Grenville-Murray was re-united with his wife Clara, their continuing marital concord suggested by the fact that only a little earlier she had begged Clarendon to treat her husband sympathetically in the matter of Zohrab’s expenses.⁵ However, they had been separated by great distances for many years and she had been forced to cancel a proposed visit to Russia in September 1862 because of illness.⁶ In the circumstances, it is perhaps significant that a wealthy widow called Margarita Tagliaferro, claimed to have been an ‘inmate’ of Grenville-Murray’s house at Odessa (see p. 73 below), had followed him to London and taken up residence in Lower Belgrave Place.⁷ Clara might therefore have long been an example of one of the species of ‘semi-detached wives’ about which Grenville-Murray later wrote at length, namely those who led separate lives, doing as they

¹ Clarendon to Buchanan, 3 March 1866, BB, p. 57.

² Hammond to G-M, 2 April 1866, BB, p. 57.

³ G-M left for London on 26 July and the duke died three days later, TNA, Russell draft tel. to G-M, 24 July 1861; G-M to Russell, 26 July 1861, FO65/589; HL, G-M to 3DBC, 26 August 1874, STG Box 126 (36); Beckett, *The Rise and Fall of the Grenvilles*, pp. 265-8; *The Times*, 31 July 1861; Steele, ‘Temple’.

⁴ TNA, James Murray to G-M, 10 May 1864, FO65/667. This did not prevent the FO from deciding, less than two years later, to make this same clerk, Thomas George Smith, vice-consul at Beirut, TNA, min. of James Murray, 1 February 1866; see also unsigned min., 26 January 1866 (probably of James Murray) on G-M’s 11 January despatch, FO65/793.

⁵ TNA, Clara G-M to Clarendon, 1 March 1866, FO65/720.

⁶ NRO, Clara G-M to Lady Bulwer, 28 January 1863, BUL 1/268/1-6.

⁷ Tagliaferro to G-M, 5 April 1867, BB, p. 119.

pleased and seeing whom they liked but – when in the same country – living under the same roof as their husbands, joining them at dinner, and possibly remaining friends. Made possible by money, this kind of relationship, he remarked, was ‘passably common in high life.’¹ In the case of Eustace and Clara, their two sons also provided a strong bond. But even if Grenville-Murray was not in trouble at home, the same could not be said for his position at the Foreign Office. Here, notable among the charges he now encountered was that of responsibility for improper marriage ceremonies at Odessa.

Presumably in order to obstruct hurried ‘clandestine marriages’, British subjects could not marry abroad without meeting onerous residence requirements in the consular district where they planned to exchange vows. This presented particular difficulties to a woman going out from England to marry and in March 1865 a Royal Commission – the work of which Grenville-Murray was himself well aware² – had already been appointed to look into this, as well as other weaknesses of British marriage law.³ It was against this background, and perhaps also because he was something of a romantic, that in the first half of 1866 Grenville-Murray had – no doubt to the great delight of those concerned – relaxed application of the residence requirement on two British couples wishing to get married at his consulate.

Unfortunately for the consul-general, both couples lived at Kherson, one of the closest of his out-stations, where the vice-consul George Stevens, a member of a numerous family of Levantine consuls in British employment, was related to one of the new husbands – and relations between Stevens and his chief were bad. Grenville-Murray had long regarded him as ‘neither truthful nor trustworthy’, and by the middle of 1861 they had already quarrelled twice, once over the consul-general’s refusal to be security for money he had borrowed.⁴ Since then Stevens’s dislike for Grenville-Murray had clearly deepened further, probably because he blamed him for his stalled career and for doing insufficient to support him in the acute distress suffered by his family during a recent cholera outbreak at Kherson, although the correspondence shows that Grenville-Murray had repeatedly pleaded his case with the Foreign Office.⁵ Seeing his opportunity for revenge, Stevens broadcast his view that the two

¹ *Side-Lights*, vol. 1, p. 276. An entire section of this volume is devoted to this subject.

² G-M to Stevens, 16 March 1866, BB, pp. 67-8.

³ HCPP (4059), 1868: p. iii.

⁴ NRO, G-M to Bulwer, 20 July 1861, BUL 1/269/1-44.

⁵ The papers on this, going back to August 1864, are located in TNA, FO65/667 and FO65/711.

couples married by the consul-general in 1866 had been joined illegally and they promptly complained to the Foreign Office. Here Lord Stanley, eldest son of the Tory prime minister the 14th Earl of Derby, was by this time in charge.¹

The upshot of this complaint was the passage in March 1867 of the so-called Odessa Marriage Act, allegedly required to legalize the marriages of these couples because of the ‘inadvertence’, that is, the sloppiness of the consul-general.² That this was designed solely to blacken Grenville-Murray’s reputation there can be little doubt. In fact the Act was arguably supererogatory, that is, strictly unnecessary.³ It was privately conceded even in the Foreign Office that the circumstances Grenville-Murray had described excused ‘to a great degree’ the irregularity he had admitted.⁴ And it is significant in this connection that when in April 1867 Edmund Hammond gave evidence to the Royal Commission on the Laws of Marriage, one of his main suggestions for reform was the partial relaxation of the residence qualification required under the Consular Marriage Act 1849 for exactly the reasons given by Grenville-Murray to justify his own actions.⁵ This was accepted by the Royal Commission, which recommended that the law be amended accordingly.⁶

But the appetite of George Stevens to undermine his consul-general’s position had clearly been whetted by this success and Grenville-Murray exposed himself to further attacks by prolonging his leave in London while hoping for another post. For despite his attempt to obstruct it, in December Stevens was thereby enabled to take up the post offered to him of acting consul-general at Odessa and gain access to the mission’s archives.⁷ By the middle of January, therefore, a stream of increasingly poisonous and ominously well informed despatches to the Foreign Office had begun to flow from his pen about Grenville-Murray’s conduct of business.⁸

According to Stevens, Grenville-Murray had over-charged when consular fees were for his own benefit and hardly charged at all when under the new regulations they ceased to be so; among those who had latterly received free passports were even individuals not entitled to them. The consul-general, he said, had also lost a box of

¹ Webster to Stanley, 12 and Brenan to Stanley, 5 October 1866, BB, pp. 58-61.

² The bill was drafted in the Home Office but the wording was approved by Lord Stanley, James Murray to Waddington, 14 February 1867, BB, p. 69.

³ TNA, Colquhoun to Stanley, 12 September 1868, FO881/1667.

⁴ Egerton (FO) to G-M, 19 November 1866, BB, p. 63.

⁵ HCPP (4059), 1868: Ev of Hammond, p. 190, paras. 1666-7.

⁶ HCPP (4059), 1868: p. lii.

⁷ TNA, Stevens to Stanley, 31 December 1866, FO65/711.

⁸ Stevens to the FO and others, 19 February-17 April 1867, BB, pp. 97-106.

important documents. In addition, Stevens hinted, he had received large back-handers from the British civil engineering company George Furness and Co. in return for helping it to win a huge contract for public utility services in Odessa.¹ Finally, he alleged, by issuing an improperly endorsed document, Grenville-Murray had colluded in sharp practice with Mrs Margarita Tagliaferro, the widow of a wealthy Maltese shipowner in Odessa, in her attempt to sell some property in Berdiansk belonging to her four young children. Margarita, Stevens alleged, was ‘locally notorious’ for her ‘imprudent conduct’ and lived in Grenville-Murray’s house. And to lend colour to the suggestion that he had tried to help her because she was his mistress – in the event unsuccessfully thanks to the alertness both of the Russian authorities and himself – Stevens reported that Margarita had left for England in December, shortly after Grenville-Murray, escorted by none other than the latter’s English coachman John Peach.² Poor Grenville-Murray: it was just as Stevens was presenting this case against him that it was confirmed that Zohrab’s expenses (see pp. 67-8 above) would not be met by the Russians, so this was added to his charge sheet.³

Grenville-Murray, who no longer had access to his own archives, was hard-pressed to answer some of these accusations and seems to have been caught in a number of contradictory statements.⁴ What was Lord Stanley to do? He was always likely to have looked askance at his man in Odessa. For one thing, the consul-general had a reputation for mendacity while the foreign secretary had an obsessive concern for truth; for another, although himself a liberally-minded Conservative, unlike Grenville-Murray he favoured reform precisely in order to preserve rather than liquidate the rule of the territorial aristocracy.⁵ Since Stanley soon found his Foreign Office clerks to be ‘excellent’ men, he was the more likely still to credit what they said against the consul-general.⁶

In addition to James Murray, prominent among the Foreign Office officials who were Grenville-Murray’s long-established enemies remained the senior clerk John Bidwell, whose partnership with his colleague Francis Alston had come to

¹ This was Furness’s biggest overseas contract, worth the then huge sum of £750,000, ‘George Furness’.

² Stevens to Stanley, 26 February 1867, BB, pp. 108-9.

³ G-M/Stanley/Murray corresp. (various), 22-8 February 1867, BB, pp. 94-6; G-M to Stanley, 8 April 1867, BB, pp. 115-16.

⁴ G-M to Stanley, 21 February and 4 March 1867, BB, pp. 77, 78-9; and Murray to G-M, 2 March, BB, pp. 77-8.

⁵ Vincent (ed), *Disraeli, Derby and the Conservative Party*, pp. xii, xvi-xvii.

⁶ Vincent (ed), *Disraeli, Derby and the Conservative Party*, pp. 257-8, 262-3, 338.

constitute easily the largest private agency in the Foreign Office and included George Stevens among its clients.¹ A more recent addition to their ranks was Thomas Sanderson, private secretary to Lord Stanley, whose animus towards Grenville-Murray was ‘undisguised and unmistakable.’² Another more recent enemy was Stanley’s junior ministerial colleague Edward Egerton. These men, led by James Murray and soon supported by the legal adviser Phillimore,³ began to apply relentless pressure on the foreign secretary and his permanent under-secretary for the dismissal of the consul-general.

The Russian government’s dislike of Grenville-Murray was sufficient reason to recall him since it greatly reduced his usefulness, James Murray now urged, although he also made sure that the foreign secretary had before him a tendentious list of the complaints made against the consul-general which originated from other sources. If action were not to be quickly taken the matter would come before parliament and lead to ‘a great scandal,’ Lord Stanley was warned.⁴

The foreign secretary, however, needed more certainty that he was being counselled to do the right thing and so fell in with another option suggested by the head of the Consular Department: that someone should first be sent to Odessa to investigate the charges.⁵ J. Edward Wilkins, a legally trained Canadian businessman who had been British consul at Chicago since 1855 but happened to be in London in need of James Murray’s patronage, was chosen for the task.⁶ Grenville-Murray was informed that he could be present at Odessa during the investigation and that, until its result should be known, he was suspended on half salary.⁷ On the pattern of the Adelaide Owen inquiry, the Foreign Office invited the Russian authorities at Odessa to give Wilkins every assistance.⁸ This was an invitation to General Kotzebue to re-enter the lists against his over-inquisitive guest and he soon received another.

¹ HCPP (3970), 1868.

² TNA, Colquhoun to Stanley, ca. 9 November 1868, FO881/1667. On the intimacy between Sanderson and Stanley, see Cromwell, ‘Sanderson’; Vincent, *Disraeli, Derby and the Conservative Party*, p. 338.

³ TNA, Phillimore to Stanley, 14, 25 and 30 March 1867, FO65/794.

⁴ TNA, mins. of James Murray, 5 March 1867, FO65/793 and 30 March 1867, FO65/794.

⁵ TNA, min. of Stanley, n.d., following min. of James Murray, 30 March 1867, FO65/794.

⁶ There had for some time been a question mark over the need for his post and its closure was announced in July 1869, HCDeb., 29 July 1869, vol. 198 col. 952. On Wilkins, see also Berwanger, *The British Foreign Service and the American Civil War*, p. 10.

⁷ James Murray to G-M, 5 April 1867, BB, p. 114; G-M to Stanley, 13 January 1868, BB, p. 222; TNA, Hammond to Attorney-General, 1 June 1868, FO65/796.

⁸ James Murray-Wilkins corresp., 6-29 April 1867, BB, pp. 135-8.

News of the imminent investigation of Grenville-Murray's conduct and the Foreign Office's willingness to countenance his presence at Odessa to assist it, which was either garbled or wilfully misinterpreted, must have reached the town as early as the middle of April. For at this juncture five self-appointed representatives of its British community gave a document to Kotzebue begging him to use every means in his power to prevent the consul-general's return. According to the signatories – who had laced their message to the governor with flattering references to his high character and the 'liberal administration of the Imperial Government' – Grenville-Murray's all-round conduct was of such notoriety that his resumption of his post would be a calamity for British interests.¹ The extraordinary step of requesting a Russian official to intervene against a British one, they added later, had been forced on them because 'from motives of delicacy' George Stevens had refused to accept their petition for transmission to Lord Stanley.²

As for Kotzebue, rather than saying 'This is nothing to do with me, take it to one of your own representatives,' the Governor of New Russia gobbled up the petition of the Odessa five (whose number later soared to six) and promptly sent it to St. Petersburg. Here it was soon in the hands of Prince Gorchakov and thereby drawn to the attention of the British ambassador Sir Andrew Buchanan, one of the 'shire horses' of the Victorian diplomatic service.³ Admitting that the British subjects had not proceeded correctly, the imperial chancellor nevertheless invited the ambassador to accept their memorial as a strictly private communication. The honest Buchanan agreed to this but reported to Lord Stanley his rejoinder that Kotzebue had also behaved improperly and added that, since the document was vague and 'merely signed by five persons,' he had returned the original to the Russian Foreign Office and not bothered sending a copy home.⁴ But the petition had served its purpose: once more Grenville-Murray's presence had been made an issue in Anglo-Russian relations, while the myth had been created that the whole British community in Odessa was as anxious to be rid of its consul-general as the governor of Southern Russia.⁵

¹ Massey, Anderson, Charlton, Walkinshaw and Dowling to Kotzebue, 21 April 1867, BB, p. 148.

² Wilkins to Stanley, 11 June 1867, BB, pp. 146-7; see also Cook [signatory number 6], Dowling and others to Wilkins, 25 May 1867, BB, pp. 148-9.

³ Boase, 'Buchanan'; see also Otte, *The Foreign Office Mind*, pp. 26-7, 82.

⁴ Buchanan to Stanley, 22 May 1867, BB, p. 143.

⁵ For example, according to the *ODNB*, G-M returned to London 'after nearly eleven [*sic*] years of perpetual discord with the British residents in Odessa', Seccombe, 'Murray', rev. Joseph Coohill.

As it happened, Grenville-Murray did not show up in Odessa. He could not afford it and was unimpressed by the prospect of having to shuffle around the town in the official shadow of his accuser Stevens.¹ Wilkins himself arrived on 16 May 1867 and remained until the early autumn. He was thoughtfully put up in the house of George Stevens, who no doubt morning and night poured into the investigator's ear stories of his chief's delinquencies.

The result of Wilkins's investigation was a foregone conclusion. The only surprise is that his report did not condemn Grenville-Murray more forcefully. This was probably in part because the complexity of some of the issues defeated him. It took him at least three months to compose his document and shortly before Christmas the foreign secretary told him in sharp tones that it was neither fair to Grenville-Murray nor in the public interest for it to be any longer delayed.² Wilkins might also have discovered that the consul-general had some credible supporters among the British community in Odessa after all, among them the Lloyd's agent Simon Horowitz.

What were the main points of the Wilkins report? It noted the opinion of the registrar-general George Graham that some of the irregularities in the Odessa marriage register were so grave that had Grenville-Murray been prosecuted in time he might have been found guilty of felony and sentenced to penal servitude for life. (Had Graham been earlier given the job of inspecting the marriage registers of the many other under-funded and poorly staffed British consulates of the mid-Victorian era and his advice acted upon, the consular service would probably have collapsed altogether – and with it the prison system at home.)³ It concluded that Grenville-Murray had acted improperly in issuing some passports. But Wilkins was inconclusive on the missing box and silent on the hint of corrupt dealings with Furness's. Nor was he able to come to any sensible conclusion on the affair of Margarita Tagliaferro, although some of the additional documents he turned up suggested that Grenville-Murray had a strong financial interest in her affairs and that there were inconsistencies in his account. Where entries in the births and deaths' register were concerned, Wilkins said that Grenville-Murray had been let down by his clerk, although he was personally to

¹ G-M to Stanley, 22 January 1868, BB, p. 223.

² Egerton to Wilkins, 17 December 1867, BB, p. 166. His report was received on the following day.

³ Sir Patrick Colquhoun, the barrister who later came to G-M's aid, was particularly scathing about the tone and content of Graham's intervention ('reckless' and 'officially intemperate'), which he believed was more designed to excuse his own negligence than prove that of G-M, TNA, Colquhoun to Stanley, 9 October 1868, FO881/1667.

blame for not submitting some annual returns. Finally, as to whether all the fees that should have been levied at Odessa in his time were in fact levied and paid to the government, this, Wilkins maintained, could be answered only by inference and not by direct proof: there was certainly a very large drop in the fees gathered compared to those generated by his predecessor in 1857 and those obtained by Stevens since he had left. The report, which was padded out with much recapitulation at the beginning and 40 lengthy enclosures at the end, had no general conclusions: like a Lower Second Class dissertation, it just fizzled out.¹ The Law Officers of the Crown sang its praises.²

In order to respond to this report Grenville-Murray appointed solicitors but was then refused their assistance (as well as access to many of the relevant documents) on the grounds that what was at issue was merely a question of ‘official discipline.’³ He put up a robust defence along predictable lines but it did no good. A dismissal notice was signed by Lord Stanley and delivered to Grenville-Murray by messenger on 28 May 1868. The foreign secretary wrote:

I am now compelled to come to the painful conclusion that your statements cannot be received as trustworthy; that your conduct has been marked by a habitual disregard of duty; and that your attempt to justify your proceedings shows that you have misused the powers intrusted to you by Her Majesty’s Commission.

I have therefore recommended to the Queen that your Commission as Her Majesty’s Consul-General at Odessa be cancelled, and it is hereby cancelled accordingly.⁴

The man who inspired the cruel, brisk, decisive ‘Count von Quickmarch’, a character in Grenville-Murray’s later allegory of the eviction of a weak, inoffensive Teuton prince from the state of Pumpernickel, had struck.⁵ Simultaneously, at the suggestion of the exultant James Murray, it was decided to give Wilkins – in addition to his salary and full expenses – a gratuity of £500 in acknowledgement of the way he had ‘so ably conducted’ his inquiry.⁶ Just a month later the consul-general at Tabriz Keith

¹ Wilkins to Stanley, 18 December 1867, BB, pp. 167-221.

² TNA, Law Officers to Stanley, 28 January 1868; and min. of James Murray, 10 March 1868, FO65/796.

³ TNA, mins. of James Murray, 10 March and 21 April 1868, mins. of Egerton and Hammond of last date, and Memorandum by Wilkins, 10 March 1868, FO65/796; Cookson, Wainwright & Co-Stanley corresp., 27 March-1 May 1868, BB, pp. 230-2.

⁴ Stanley to G-M, 28 May 1868, BB, pp. 269-71.

⁵ ‘Wanted, a King’ (see App. 2, no. 11).

⁶ TNA, min. of James Murray, 28 May 1868; see also mins. of Hammond and Stanley, 29 May, 1868, FO65/796.

Abbott (who came to share to the full Grenville-Murray's views of the character of the Odessa post and its insupportable burden in the absence of a vice-consul) was hastily anointed in his place, although he did not enter on his duties for well over another year.¹

Refusing to despair, Grenville-Murray turned for help to the Duke of Buckingham.² The third duke had long since established a far better reputation than his two predecessors, made progress in rebuilding his family's fortunes, and was by this time Secretary of State for the Colonies.³ He was also not a man whom Lord Stanley regarded as having a conciliatory disposition towards those he worked with.⁴ Grenville-Murray begged his relative to vouch for him and also inform the foreign secretary that, if needs must, he would give him a post in the colonial service *provided* he was given a proper discharge from the Foreign Office.⁵

Probably in consequence of pressure from Buckingham, Stanley agreed to see Grenville-Murray at the Foreign Office on 27 June. Although apparently moved by the great distress he showed at their meeting, the foreign secretary offered him little encouragement.⁶ Three weeks later he indicated that correspondence on Odessa was at an end and a subsequent torrent of imploring missives went unanswered.⁷ The Foreign Office was ominously silent when Grenville-Murray asked about his pension.⁸

By the beginning of September, therefore, it was clear that Buckingham was either unable or unwilling to induce Stanley to provide the necessary *exeat* and that the possibility even of a colonial post was gone for good.⁹ Grenville-Murray then laid his case directly before Benjamin Disraeli, briefly prime minister for the first time

¹ *London Gazette*, 14 July 1868 (notice dated 1 July), p. 397; HCPP (C.501), 1872: Odessa. Report by Consul-General Abbott, pp. 93-103.

² HL, G-M to 3DBC, 3 and 12 June 1868, STG Box 126 (12, 13 and 14).

³ Feuchtwanger, 'Grenville'; Beckett, *The Rise and Fall of the Grenvilles*, ch. 10.

⁴ Vincent (ed), *A Selection from the Diaries*, p. 216 (9 May 1875). It was at the duke's request – prompted by his wish for G-M's assistance 'in the investigation of some matters of importance to him' – that in early 1867 Stanley had granted G-M further leave despite the fact that he had already told him that he would have no more, TNA, FO to G-M (draft), 11 March 1867 and min. of Stanley, FO65/794.

⁴ HL, G-M to Disraeli, 2 September 1868, STG Box 126 (20).

⁵ HL, G-M to 3DBC, 3, 12 and 24 June 1868, STG Box 126 (12, 13, 14, and 15).

⁶ Memorandum by Lord Stanley, 27 June 1868, BB, p. 273.

⁷ Stanley to G-M, 17 July 1868, BB, p. 273; G-M to Stanley, 21 July-27 November 1868, BB, pp. 273-80.

⁸ G-M to Stanley, 3 August 1868, BB, p. 278.

⁹ HL, G-M to 3DBC, 2 September 1868, STG Box 126 (19). He later claimed that Buckingham had promised him the governorship of the Cape of Good Hope should he obtain an *exeat*, *Narrative of an Appeal*, p. 23.

following the retirement of Stanley's father, reminding the Tory star and fellow writer that he was himself a Conservative and had the sympathy of prominent supporters of his government.¹ This also proved useless and it is an index of Grenville-Murray's desperation to cling to government employment, as also of his deep sense of the injustice of which he had been made victim, that even now he did not give up.

Instead, he turned for assistance to the eminent barrister, legal writer, and former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Ionian Islands Sir Patrick Colquhoun. Sir Patrick, the cousin of his friend Robert Colquhoun, was no stranger to challenging a decision of the executive branch² and sprang to the defence of Grenville-Murray with great energy and forensic skill.

Colquhoun believed that Grenville-Murray was 'a high-minded and honourable gentleman' who had been falsely accused and misrepresented, with consequences which threatened his ruin. He also thought, however, that his case was not one to which a legal remedy should be applied, not least because, like his client, he was a staunch Tory and wished to avoid embarrassing the government. On party as well as private grounds, therefore, he refused a fee and proposed himself to Lord Stanley as a mediator rather than an advocate.

The foreign secretary having agreed to this, over the following weeks, in numerous letters and in three meetings with him at the Foreign Office, Colquhoun sought to demolish the Wilkins report and persuade Stanley to cancel Grenville-Murray's dismissal; failing that, to permit his case to be promptly examined by an eminent barrister, perhaps one of the Law Officers of the Crown. Among other things, Colquhoun insisted that the 'so-called evidence' on which the Wilkins report was based was worthless because much was hearsay and there were no minutes of his examination of persons; that the large number of 'absurd and improbable charges' brought against Grenville-Murray (now dropped) both strengthened the claim that he had been persecuted for his private convictions and served to discredit the remaining accusations; and that he had then been refused access to the documents essential to his defence – 'a denial of justice.' But von Quickmarch did not move an inch. If

¹ HL, G-M to Disraeli, 2 September 1868, STG Box 126 (20).

² Pollard, 'Colquhoun'. See also *The Times*, 19 May 1891 (obit.); and Colquhoun, *Dismissal of the Ionian Judges*.

Grenville-Murray wished to appeal his dismissal, he replied, he could do so either by petitioning parliament or asking the next foreign secretary to reconsider it.¹

Both of these suggestions were rightly dismissed by Colquhoun as illusory. No private individual, he pointed out, could hope to compete with one of the principal departments of state in a parliamentary tussle, which would also entail indefinite delay and, in the unlikely event that he should win, neither rehabilitate nor compensate him for its ruinous expense. As for appealing to Stanley's successor, this would be bound to fail because it would face both the same resolute opposition of the officials of the Foreign Office which had been behind his dismissal and 'the practice consecrated by long usage of not interfering with the decisions of a predecessor.' But still Colquhoun could not shift Lord Stanley and by the beginning of November he knew that he had lost. His parting shot was that the foreign secretary might well claim that he had throughout consulted the law officers of the crown but the value of their opinion depended entirely on the case put before them, which had in fact been advanced secretly by Grenville-Murray's enemies in the Foreign Office – 'a proceeding with which we in this country are happily not yet familiar.'² On this note, Lord Stanley declined any further correspondence with him on the subject.³

Following the defeat of the governing Tory party at the hands of Gladstone's Liberals in the general election in early December, Stanley gratefully handed the Foreign Office back to Lord Clarendon and within hours Grenville-Murray begged him to reconsider his predecessor's decision.⁴ Neither he nor Colquhoun could have been surprised when in mid-January 1869 Clarendon rejected this plea and shortly after that also refused him his pension because it could not be confirmed that he had served with 'diligence and fidelity.'⁵

By this time Grenville-Murray must have known that his diplomatic career was over. It is true that in June he filed a long bill of complaint in the High Court of Chancery in which Lords Stanley and Clarendon were cited as defendants for negligence, the Attorney General for bad legal advice, James Murray and John Bidwell for acting against him from motives of revenge, and George Stevens for

¹ TNA, Colquhoun to Stanley, 12 September and 9 October 1868; Memorandum by Lord Stanley of Conversation with Sir P. Colquhoun, on Friday, September 25, 1868, FO881/1667.

² TNA, Colquhoun to Stanley, ca. 9 November 1868, FO881/1667.

³ TNA, Egerton to Colquhoun, 10 November 1868, FO881/1667.

⁴ G-M to Clarendon, 9 and 17 December 1868, BB, pp. 280-2.

⁵ TNA, min. of James Murray, 21 December 1868, FO65/796; Clarendon to G-M, 13 January 1869, BB, p. 282; Clarendon to G-M, 11 February 1869, BB, p. 283.

being actuated by corrupt as well as interested motives. But although the bill rehearsed the demands advanced earlier by Colquhoun, it was designed chiefly to achieve reimbursement for the vast sums of money he had lost by a combination of sabotaged prospects, unpaid expenses, and alleged filching inside the Foreign Office. It was heard in the Rolls Court on 12 November but, like his other manoeuvres, it failed.¹ Probably with this searing experience in mind (the bill was dismissed basically because it was procedurally misconceived), later he asked bitterly: ‘Where shall an honest lawyer be found who will rebuke the rash combativeness of a client and withhold him from litigation in a bad cause?’²

¹ The bill was filed in Chancery on 8 June 1869. The papers on this, including the copy of the bill with James Murray’s furious pencilled annotations, are to be found in TNA, FO65/795; see also *The Times*, 13 November 1869; and the *Standard*, 13 November, 1869.

² *That Artful Vicar*, vol. 1, p. 189.

4 *The Queen's Messenger*

By the winter of 1868-9 Grenville-Murray was an angry and bitter man. He had tried everything to avoid dismissal and, having been dismissed, tried everything within his means to be reinstated. In the process, he felt he had been let down by his relative the Duke of Buckingham and relations between them had badly deteriorated. He was also hard up and it was probably chiefly for this reason that he had surrendered his house at 22 Brook Street in favour of an apartment in the large house owned by the physician Dr David Wilson at nearby no. 62, although this also enabled the mental health of his son Reginald to receive the doctor's close attention. There was now nothing for it but to make his way by full-time journalism, a course of action which also had a secondary advantage: it gave him the means of his revenge.

'Ho, All Ye Who Have Suffered Wrong!'

Following his return to England in November 1866 Grenville-Murray had evidently restored his contacts with the Fleet Street dailies and cultivated them with increasing urgency after falling to half salary in the following April. In due course, it was the *Morning Post*, the newspaper with which he had been so fatefully associated at the beginning of his career, that also gave him a ready platform from which to resume his anonymous campaign against the agency system in the Foreign Office.¹ This commenced near the end of 1867 with a blistering attack in a leading article on the unnamed assistant under-secretary at the Foreign Office (James Murray), who was accused, through negligence, of being single-handedly about to plunge Britain into war with Abyssinia but being able to do so cheerfully because he was making so

¹ He claimed afterwards, plausibly enough, that the *Morning Post* articles were also partly written by Sir Henry Bulwer and several other members of the diplomatic and consular services acting in concert with them, *Narrative of an Appeal*, p. 9.

much money from his agency business.¹ This was followed only a few days later by an equally savage but more broadly couched assault on the agency system which had Grenville-Murray's fingerprints all over it;² and thereafter barely a month went by until the end of the parliamentary session in the summer of 1868 which did not have one or more articles of the same sort in the *Morning Post*.³ The *Pall Mall Gazette*, an evening broadsheet launched in 1865 with Liberal sympathies but which eventually swung to the Conservatives,⁴ also joined the fray, although its language was more moderate and so, while taking its cue from the same source, was unlikely to have come from the same pen.⁵

Meanwhile, the re-launched freelance writer was also starting to place longer pieces in the periodical press. He had probably been publishing the occasional anonymous article in *All the Year Round* throughout his time at Odessa and he was certainly responsible for 'Russian Corn', which appeared on 9 November 1867. This was judged 'very good' by Dickens and was swiftly followed by three more articles on the same subject.⁶

Among Grenville-Murray's other outlets was *Vanity Fair*, the earliest of the serious society journals of the period, which appeared for the first time in early November 1868.⁷ He was certainly a regular contributor to this from the start but was perhaps also instrumental in its birth. For while the proprietor and editor Thomas Gibson Bowles has generally received exclusive credit for the launch of *Vanity Fair*,⁸ this was not the opinion of his contemporary H. R. Fox-Bourne, a leading authority on the Victorian press whose work on the subject is still regarded as a valuable source.

¹ *Morning Post*, 30 September 1867. On the last point at least he was mistaken, as Lord Stanley smugly pointed out in parliament, for Murray had given up his agency business on his promotion a decade earlier, HCDeb., 5 December 1867, vol. 190 cols. 606-30; see also Tilley and Gaselee, *The Foreign Office*, pp. 218-20.

² *Morning Post*, 4 December 1867.

³ *Morning Post*, 5 and 25 December 1867, 8 January, 26 and 29 February, 4 and 10 March, 2 May and 30 June 1868.

⁴ Scott, *The Story of the Pall Mall Gazette*.

⁵ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 3 and 26 December 1867, 29 February, 9 and 12 March, 1 May and 30 June 1868.

⁶ Storey (ed), *LCD*, vol. 11, p. 506 (mis-transcribed at fn. 4 here as 'Russian Cow'). There had been a great upsurge in anonymous articles on Russia in *AYR* in 1861-2 (33 in total), followed by a sharp dip until 1867. Unfortunately, there is no work identifying the contributors to *AYR* comparable to Anne Lohrli's volume on its predecessor, and the internal evidence of authorship contained in the Russia articles is inconclusive.

⁷ Yates, *His Recollections and Experiences*, p. 451; Boase, *Modern English Biography*, cols. 1043-4. Some of his 'Strange Tales' were also reprinted in book form by the *Vanity Fair* Office under the pseudonym of 'Silly Billy' (see App. 1).

⁸ For example, Naylor, *The Irrepressible Victorian*, pp. 19-23; Matthews and Mellini, *In 'Vanity Fair'*, pp. 16-18; Escott, *Masters of English Journalism*, p. 263.

On the contrary, Fox-Bourne claimed that ‘To Murray’s instigation, though as much mystery as possible was maintained as to all the arrangements, must mainly be attributed the origination of “Vanity Fair.”’¹ If this is true, and it is not less well founded than the conventional alternative account, the most likely explanation is that not only did Grenville-Murray remain doctrinaire on anonymity but also that, risking his scarce funds on a new venture, Bowles must have wanted no open association with a man under such a dark official cloud.

Vanity Fair became popular – not least among its ‘victims’ – for its gentle caricatures of well-known personalities presented as full-page coloured lithographs, a revolutionary combination in Britain at the time.² But it struggled in its first months (it was not until the following February that the first coloured caricature appeared) and would barely have kept Grenville-Murray in cigars; it was also a bit tame for his purposes.³ As a result, clearly anticipating Clarendon’s refusal to overturn Stanley’s dismissal notice, in December 1868 he began to form a plan for his revenge against his enemies in the shape of a more hard-hitting periodical of his own.⁴

On 21 January 1869 this plan was revealed. On this day Grenville-Murray published anonymously the first number of a new weekly ironically entitled the *Queen's Messenger: A Weekly Gazette of Politics and Literature*. In its size, simple two-column format, and subject coverage, it closely resembled *The Owl* and the *Pall Mall Gazette*, especially the former.⁵ It was also pitched at the same market: educated gentlemen of the sort who patronised London’s West End clubs, members of the diplomatic corps, and so on. It was published by John Hughes and printed by Peter

¹ Fox-Bourne, *English Newspapers*, p. 302. Recently the same claim has been endorsed (although without any indication of source) in Wilkes, *Scandal*, p. 106. On Fox-Bourne, see Swaisland, ‘Bourne’; Shattock, ‘General histories of the press’.

² National Portrait Gallery, ‘Vanity Fair Cartoon’; Matthews and Mellini, *In ‘Vanity Fair’*, Introduction.

³ Fox-Bourne, *English Newspapers*, p. 302.

⁴ *The Times*, 19 July 1869.

⁵ *The Owl* was launched in April 1864 by the *Morning Post* editor Algernon Borthwick and some friends. Tory in Politics and gently mocking of diplomatic, parliamentary, and high society foibles in style, it was jointly edited by the wealthy Conservative MP Alexander Cochrane-Baillie from 1864 to 1868. Its occasional contributors included the former diplomats Laurence Oliphant and Henry Drummond Wolff; as also Lord Houghton (Monckton-Milnes) and Thomas Gibson Bowles. It appeared irregularly and expired in 1870. Escott sharply observes that it appeared at a time ‘when it seemed as fashionable to run a weekly sheet for one’s friends as to endow a theatre for one’s mistress,’ *Masters of English Journalism*, p. 263. G-M’s own name has never been linked with *The Owl*, so the first line of its very first number, 27 April 1864, which is a fictional telegraphic despatch, is possibly a false lead: ‘Jassy, April 27. General Kotzebue has crossed the Pruth; as he only came to a Ball, he was unattended by the Russian army.’

Ranken at the same premises as *Vanity Fair*. Like all subsequent issues, it appears to have been written more or less entirely by Grenville-Murray himself.

The purpose of the *Queen's Messenger*, as explained in its first leader, was to promote administrative reform, meanwhile serving also as the next best thing to the tribunal denied to civil servants who had got into trouble with their departments. 'Ho, All Ye Who Have Suffered Wrong!' rang out the motto emblazoned on its banner; tell us your stories and we'll present them in a manner to grab the public's attention. Like that harmless literary court jester *The Owl*, it sparkled with mischief: for example, since civil servants could be arbitrarily fined and condemned without trial, it maintained, entrants to this profession were named in a regular column headed 'Proclamation of Outlawry.' But, apart from being more driven by a purpose, unlike *The Owl* its satire was savage, its attacks on named persons open – and it was larded with colourful invective, 'unheard of abuse,' complained the Foreign Office librarian.¹

Not surprisingly, the chief theme of the *Queen's Messenger* was the supreme power of the senior clerks in all government departments and the abuses to which this led, for they were unaccountable to parliament, it reminded its readers, and could besides readily deceive its select committees. But the Foreign Office and its 'ruling triumvirate' of Hammond, Murray, and Bidwell were Grenville-Murray's chief targets. These were old men, he wrote, who had seen little if any service abroad and were in consequence arrogant and inept in dealing with the representatives of foreign governments in London.² By far the main abuse of which the *Queen's Messenger* held them guilty, however, was the one at which he had hammered away in the mid-1850s and more recently taken up again in the *Morning Post*, namely their corrupt fleecing of the country's diplomatists and consuls while serving them as agents.

Faced by the attacks on the Foreign Office agencies in the *Post*, which were quickly echoed by radical members in the House of Commons such as Bayley Potter and Henry Labouchere,³ Lord Stanley had already been placed on the defensive. In February 1868 he concluded that the agency system was incompatible with the provisions of the Exchequer Audit Act of 1866, announced that its abolition was therefore under serious contemplation, and stated that the only issue was whether the

¹ Hertslet, *Recollections of the Old Foreign Office*, pp. 208-9.

² *QM*, 6 May, p. 175.

³ HCDeb., 3 December 1867, vol. 190 col. 542; HCDeb., 20 February 1868, vol. 190, col. 986; HCDeb., 26 May 1868, vol. 192, cols. 927-39. However, during the last of these debates Labouchere had conceded that the press articles had been 'rather unfair and greatly exaggerated.'

agents should be compensated for their loss of business (he thought they should) and, if so, by how much.¹ However, Grenville-Murray had no faith in the ability of the foreign secretary to push this reform through. Stanley, he told the *Post's* readers in an anonymous letter to its editor after the House of Commons had voted to bring the expenditure of the diplomatic service under much tighter supervision and Labouchere had described the agency system as 'abominable', had been trapped by 'the spider power of the clerkly web' in the Foreign Office and was simply procrastinating.² By the end of 1868 the agency system had still not been abolished, so it was hardly surprising that each of the 30 numbers of the *Queen's Messenger* in the first half of the following year paraded its iniquities on tall stilts.

In the course of this onslaught, Edmund Hammond, the permanent under-secretary, although described as the 'unknown Ruler of the Country ... the absolute Sovereign of these Realms,'³ escaped relatively lightly; after all, he was not himself an agent. Neither was James Murray, a point on which Grenville-Murray had been made straight, but with him matters were rather more personal. Among other things, this led to his appearance in the 'British Curiosities' column, which not only drew attention to the surprising discrepancy between the declared salary of several clerks and the grand houses they maintained in town and country but also gave their addresses and encouraged tax-payers to visit them and judge for themselves.⁴ The clerk who was the chief target of Grenville-Murray's slashing pen, however, was the arch-agent John Bidwell.

Bidwell was the subject of some of the most prominent columns in each issue of the *Queen's Messenger*. Notable among these was a two-part list which compared the stellar careers of the large number of diplomats and consuls who were his 'customers' with the flatter career trajectories of the smaller tally of those who had declined his services. Another column, soon headed 'The Bidwell Tax', claimed to show how much money Bidwell levied annually on each individual, together with a

¹ See papers in HCPP (3970-III) and (3970-IV), 1868.

² 'The Defeat of the Foreign Office', *Morning Post*, 28 May 1868; see also HCDeb., 26 May 1868, vol. 192, cols. 927-39.

³ *QM*, 11 March, p. 81. He was not alone in this view. *The Owl* itself had earlier applauded Hammond's elevation to the rank of privy councillor as reward for 'long and meritorious service' (13 June 1866) but on Lord Stanley's becoming foreign secretary published the following mischievous fiction: 'For the sake of uniformity, Lord STANLEY has ordered that all letters signed by his Lordship are to begin, "I am directed by Mr. HAMMOND."' (25 July 1866).

⁴ The prototype of this column appeared on 8 April 1869 (col. 1, p. 124) and under the new title a week later.

cumulative total. In general, both columns featured in each issue only diplomats whose surnames began with the same letter ('C's one week, 'D's the next, and so on), so that by this device Grenville-Murray kept constantly in front of his readers compelling detail in support of his campaign. He also had amusement with Bidwell's family names. He claimed to show how, rather than seeking from shame to conceal the extent to which they made their brother officers pay them tolls, they gloried in it: they had not only changed their name to *Bidwell* from *Bedwell* but also christened a son in the consular service Charles *Toll* Bidwell!¹

Although it sat a little uncomfortably with its argument that foreign secretaries were just the 'catspaws' of their all-powerful senior clerks, the *Queen's Messenger* also laid great stress on the serious consequences of weak and deformed political leadership. Lords Stanley and Clarendon, who were attacked at length and with equal venom in almost every issue, were naturally Grenville-Murray's favoured illustrations.

Clarendon, opined the *Queen's Messenger*, although plausible, had in reality never been anything other than a conventional Whig placeman. He was 'feeble-witted' and had always proceeded by 'concealment, evasion, and denial.' Now old and in poor health, this 'political driveller,' 'effeminate nonentity,' and 'artful jobber' only attended to the business of the Foreign Office when the weather was fine – and then arrived at two pm and left at three.²

For his part, Stanley was described as shifty, sullen, risibly disposed to self-advertisement, and – *a propos* Britain's commitment to the defence of Belgian neutrality – author of 'the dishonest theory that guarantees cease to be binding the moment they become necessary.'³ It was, however, his unfortunate reputation for compulsive stealing,⁴ with its alarming implications for the safety of the Foreign Office's Secret Service funds, on which Grenville-Murray's weekly chose especially to dwell.

Lord Stanley's alleged kleptomania was repeatedly highlighted, not only directly but also by means of frequent general discussion of the subject by medical experts in articles and in letters to the editor. Extracts were even serialized from a 'prize-winning' essay on kleptomania for which the award and accolade had been

¹ *QM*, 8 July, p. 280. He did not make this up; see *FO List*, January 1874, p. 61.

² *QM*, *passim*.

³ *QM*, 25 March, p. 104.

⁴ Thomas, *Fifty Years of Fleet Street*, p. 213.

granted by none other than Grenville-Murray's Brook Street landlord Dr David Wilson. This essay was advertised on the back page of every number. Kleptomaniacs were not common thieves, admitted the *Queen's Messenger*, but their condition certainly disqualified them from being placed in positions of authority or trust. At what work would Lord Stanley be better employed? The 'intuitive perceptions' inspired by his kleptomania, wrote Grenville-Murray, qualified him best to be a police detective or an inspector of convicts rather than as 'sole trustee of an immense national property.'¹

Stanley was by no means the first lunatic to be foreign secretary, Grenville-Murray reminded his readers. Castlereagh had also been mad, as had Viscount Dudley and Ward, the latter having created havoc until the Foreign Office and England were rescued by Palmerston.² It therefore behoved parliament to pass legislation (which might be called 'The Mad Ministers' Act') designed to deal more expeditiously with such situations.³ Meanwhile, Foreign Office agents and those colluding with them would do well to remember the retrospective effect of the fiat which pronounced a man insane; for this meant that the acts of a mad minister – the example no doubt at the forefront of Grenville-Murray's mind being the dismissal of a man of genius from the consulate-general at Odessa – were voidable.

Had the *Queen's Messenger* been nothing but a vehicle for Grenville-Murray's campaign for administrative reform in general and his personal vendetta in particular, his readers would soon have lost interest – and the weekly newspaper would not have made him the money that he and Clara badly needed. Nor did he wish to cut himself off from any remaining friends and allies among journalists and editors or in the London political class more generally. As a result, the *Queen's Messenger* developed features designed to give it broader appeal.

Like today's *Private Eye*, which bears such a strong resemblance to this early prototype, the *Queen's Messenger* contained satirical comment on a whole range of topics. Some of this was a rehearsal of old themes, such as the importance of anonymity and a free press and the redundancy of resident embassies headed by ambassadors so called. But there were new targets as well. Among these were England's anti-intellectualism, the pollution of the language by 'evasive phraseology'

¹ *QM*, 11 March, p. 74.

² *QM*, 18 February, p. 45.

³ *QM*, 25 February, p. 52.

at the expense of plain speaking,¹ and the pusillanimity of much contemporary journalism – notably that of *The Times*, which Grenville-Murray dubbed the ‘Ex-Thunderer’. The *Queen's Messenger* was also disposed to censure public institutions which took no account of the difficulties of those who had to attend them but suffered the shameful inconvenience of having to work for a living; the London hospitals, which prohibited sick-visiting on Sundays, were a case in point. However, as befitted the herald of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, the *Queen's Messenger* hastened to emphasise that none of this should be interpreted as a sneaking sympathy for the principles of the French Revolution. Thus its regular royal diary was announced with Talleyrand's family motto, ‘*Re que Diou re que Lou Rey*’ – ‘Nothing but God nothing but King Louis.’ The *Queen's Messenger* also contained factual reporting of foreign news, chiefly French.

Above all, however, the *Queen's Messenger* sought to add to the number of its readers by titillation and entertainment. It did this by giving them gossip about famous personalities. In the ‘Foreign Courts and Cabinets’ column, for example, the fortunes of princes and politicians at the gaming tables and in their affairs with actresses were recorded with relish. And it sought to achieve the same effect by providing satirical sketches of the hereditary peers, men who were laughably unqualified to be legislators for the greatest empire in the world; blue blood, Grenville-Murray believed, might be a necessary but it was certainly not a sufficient condition for membership of the House of Lords. A series of lampoons, soon to be called ‘Our Hereditary Legislators’, was started on 4 March 1869 and shortly became the lead in each issue. They had invented names such as ‘William Basegreed, Lord Screwham’ and the ‘Duke of Nothingness’ but were believed to be easily recognizable. As a result, some were in such demand that they had to be re-published in pamphlet form.²

Grenville-Murray had made his eldest son Reginald the registered proprietor as well as managing editor of the *Queen's Messenger*. The young man needed work and could be trusted to keep secret the real editor's identity; it was perhaps also a device for muddying the issue of responsibility for the paper should any attempt be made to prosecute it for libel. It was the beginning of a long literary collaboration between them. Grenville-Murray installed Reginald in chambers he had taken at the

¹ *QM*, 6 May, p. 175.

² *QM*, 1 July, p. 262.

Albany, the most fashionable apartment complex in London, and it was from there that all business connected with the new paper was conducted.¹

In practice, Grenville-Murray shared the managerial work with his son and seems to have spent more and more time living at the Albany himself, although his wife remained at 62 Brook Street. Like the successful novelist and playwright Paul d'Arley in his later published allegory of married life, no doubt he had hoped to find separate chambers a quieter place in which to write.² However, judging by his comments elsewhere on the Albany's 'supposed' reputation for quietness he was disappointed.³

Unfortunately for the new father-son collaboration, in early April Reginald's mental health deteriorated. (Lord Stanley was evidently not the only reason why Grenville-Murray was interested in this subject.) An existing condition had probably been exacerbated when he learned from their publisher John Hughes that Bidwell proposed to launch a criminal prosecution against the *Queen's Messenger*.⁴ As a result, Reginald was taken by his father to Paris and admitted to a special hospital for those suffering from mental illness.⁵ This was probably the 'large, clean-looking, white painted building with barred and shuttered windows in an otherwise dismal street near the Bois de Vincennes' described by Grenville-Murray in a modest article on *maisons de santé* published just two months later.⁶ Almost certainly the famous asylum at Charenton, it was not 'a common mad-house,' its director assured him, but an establishment suitable to those who wished a quiet retreat in which to convalesce after a period of 'nervous excitement.'⁷ Returning from Paris, Grenville-Murray now had to take over completely the editorial work, although he received a little help from his other son Wyndham, then at Christ Church College Oxford. Clara assumed

¹ *The Times*, 8, 19, 23 and 24 July 1869. See also 'Albany', *Survey of London*; Furniss, *Paradise in Piccadilly*, ch. 11; Yates, *His Recollections and Experiences*, pp. 449-50.

² 'The Sceptic: a Tale of Married Life', *CM*, July 1875, p. 115.

³ *The Boudoir Cabal*, vol. 2, p. 104.

⁴ *The Times*, 23 July 1869.

⁵ *The Times*, 24 July 1869. Shortly afterwards he appears to have escaped and returned to England, whereupon he fell foul of the law but – under escort by a police inspector – was permitted to return to the asylum in France, *Birmingham Daily Post*, 30 June 1876.

⁶ 'Maisons de santé', *CM*, June 1869.

⁷ Located in a south-eastern suburb of Paris, this was a long-established institution run by Catholic brothers and known for its humane regime. Patients generally came from better off families; earlier ones had included the Marquis de Sade. Charenton was named as Reginald's asylum some years later (see p. 112 below).

responsibility for the paper's more general management, including relations with Hughes.¹

A common reaction among the victims, and friends of the victims, of the *Queen's Messenger* was that its editor had 'gone too far' and revived the scurrilous journalism of a best forgotten age. In the Foreign Office itself, of course, the anger was particularly intense and James Murray decided to organise a public reply in the form of a bound volume of printed documents, so selected as to present Grenville-Murray's conduct in the worst possible light.² A diplomatic 'Blue Book', this was to be a perfect example of a genre of official publicity introduced for propaganda purposes in the early years of the century.³ It was also well known at the time for what what it was: 'Authentic Political Information (Not to be found in any Blue Book.)' was the heading of one of the first leaders of *The Owl*.⁴ In compiling his own Blue Book, Murray was assisted among others by the Odessa investigator, who had been contemptuously dismissed in the *Queen's Messenger* as a 'briefless barrister' prior to his corrupt appointment to the Chicago consulate and as an over-indulged incompetent ever since.⁵ Wilkins had in fact been for a long time hanging about the Foreign Office in the hope of further lucrative pickings: 'I have been here most days since you left to see if I was wanted,' he wrote to Hertslet in late May.⁶

As planned by James Murray, the Blue Book was laid before the House of Commons in response to an address conveniently proposed by the former diplomat and recently elected Tory MP William Lowther. This was duly made on 16 March,⁷ although – due to the librarian's illness and uncertainty over what papers it would be expedient to include – the Blue Book itself was not released until 14 June.⁸

¹ *The Times*, 19, 23 and 24 July 1869.

² TNA, James Murray to Hertslet, 13 March 1869; James Murray-Bloomfield corres. 19 and 29 March 1869; Bidwell to Clarendon, 16 March 1869; and James Murray to Hertslet, 11 and 20 May 1869, FO65/795.

³ Berridge and Lloyd, *The Palgrave Macmillan Dictionary of Diplomacy*, pp. 33-4.

⁴ 1 June 1864.

⁵ *QM*, 1 April, p. 117.

⁶ TNA, Wilkins to Hertslet, 25 May 1869, FO65/795.

⁷ 'Parliamentary Notices: House of Commons, Tuesday, March 16: Mr. Lowther – Address for copy of papers relative to complaints made against Mr. Eustace Clare Grenville Murray as Consul-General at Odessa', *The Times*, 16 March 1869; see also Temperley and Penson, *A Century of Diplomatic Blue Books, 1814-1914*, p. 224.

⁸ It was called *Papers relative to the Complaints made against Mr. Grenville-Murray as Her Majesty's Consul-General at Odessa; and to his Dismissal from Her Majesty's Service. 1858-69*. It is now formally prefixed with 'HCPP (4163)' and abbreviated in the footnotes to this book as 'BB [Blue Book]'.

To demonstrate that Grenville-Murray's misconduct was nothing new and that the Foreign Office had shown great forbearance towards him, the Blue Book tracked his alleged misdeeds from the beginning of his appointment at Odessa. But despite the fact that it was composed of 201 documents (excluding their numerous enclosures) and stretched to over 300 pages, its omissions were telling. Notable among these were Sir Robert Phillimore's formal dismissal of Adelaide Owen's charge against Grenville-Murray and, above all, the letters of Sir Patrick Colquhoun, which had provided such an eloquent indictment of the motives for Grenville-Murray's dismissal and the procedures by which this was achieved – and had already been printed in case they might have been wanted. The Blue Book was, therefore, not only a weighty headstone on Grenville-Murray's diplomatic grave but also a misshapen one.

The Foreign Office's public riposte to Grenville-Murray did not cause even a ripple in parliament. What did cause a considerable stir, indeed a sensation, is what happened just a few days later.

Courtroom battles

On 17 June, in its popular column ridiculing the country's hereditary legislators, the *Queen's Messenger* published a savage lampoon called 'Bob Coachington, Lord Jarvey'. The victim was clearly the 26-year old Charles Robert, 3rd Lord Carrington, Captain in the Royal Horse Guards, justice of the peace, and owner of an estate of 26,000 acres.¹ Mocking his hobby of driving a four-horse coach (hence 'Coachington'), the article not only claimed that this was a firm echo of his family's roots in trade (his grandfather, a 'bargaining bumpkin' and 'Nottinghamshire nobody,' was accurately said to be a banker called Smith); it also hinted that it was a symptom of insanity inherited from his recently deceased father, 'a harmless lunatic' who believed his backside to be made of 'crockeryware' and was in consequence unwilling 'to sit whenever it was possible by any exercise of ingenuity to stand up or to lie down.' And yet, concluded the *Queen's Messenger*, a Coachman Lawgiver with such recent ancestry 'may any day chance to have a casting vote for war or peace.'

¹ Adonis, 'Carrington'. The 1st Lord Carrington was a Nottingham banker called Robert Smith, in return for whose favours he had been elevated to the peerage by Pitt. This is said to have been 'the only occasion in which the objections of George III to giving British peerages to tradesmen were overcome.' His successor changed the family name from Smith to Carrington by royal licence, Pollard, 'Smith'.

Determined to avenge this slur on himself and his father, on the evening of 22 June Carrington waited for Grenville-Murray outside the Conservative Club in St. James's Street. Even though physically much more than a match for his enemy,¹ he was accompanied by a well-built servant and armed with a stick or riding crop;² he also had with him a photograph of the editor to assist in his identification.³ When Grenville-Murray emerged, shortly after midnight, the young peer accused him of responsibility for the offending article and, despite his denial, struck him with his weapon on the head or shoulders. (The truth as to the precise fall of the blow or blows never emerged with any more certainty than did the nature of the weapon.) The Foreign Office clerks, wrote a fictitious 'Old Stager' to the editor of the *Queen's Messenger*, had resorted to the oldest trick at the disposal of official cowards: they had got an innocent dupe to fight their battle for them.⁴

Failing to get a formal apology from Lord Carrington, Grenville-Murray reported the incident to the police and the peer was summoned to appear at Marlborough Street Police Court in order to answer charges not only of common assault but also of incitement to a duel. The case was heard on 7 July and presided over by the magistrate Louis Charles Tennyson-D'Eyncourt, third son of the notoriously snobbish and eccentric Radical MP, the late Charles Tennyson-D'Eyncourt, himself a duellist.⁵ Defending Lord Carrington was Hardinge Giffard QC, a barrister who had already achieved success in a number of celebrated cases and became solicitor-general under Disraeli and later one of the longest-serving lord chancellors. He did not have a subtle legal mind but was nimble, confident and pugnacious. He was also a staunch believer in the hereditary principle.⁶ In short, Giffard very much suited the case in hand. He was supported by the Hon. A. Thesiger, third son of Lord Chelmsford, who had been lord chancellor in Derby's last government. By contrast, Grenville-Murray had a barrister, William Gill, who had not long before been temporarily disbarred from practising his profession and – partly in consequence of this – bankrupted;⁷ presumably, therefore, he was cheap. The

¹ *Daily News*, 8 July 1869.

² G-M later claimed that Carrington's companion was a 'prize fighter,' *Narrative of an Appeal*, p. 45.

³ This was lent to him by an employee of G-M's Savile Rowe tailor, who was a collector of photographs of great men and had obtained it from G-M's Italian valet, *The Times*, 24 July 1869.

⁴ *QM*, 1 July, p. 267.

⁵ Boase, 'D'Eyncourt'.

⁶ Rubin, 'Giffard'.

⁷ *The Times*, 5 July 1867 and 17 February 1869.

cousinocracy flocked to the small court in order to support their young champion and flanking D'Eyncourt on the bench were a duke, four marquises, and at least four other peers of the realm. Clara was also in court.¹ The limited space provided for the public was 'crammed almost to suffocation.'²

Lord Carrington had publicly admitted assaulting Grenville-Murray but denied inciting him to a duel. His barrister's aims, therefore, were to secure leniency on the first charge and dismissal of the second. Proving in the face of the plaintiff's flat denials or evasive answers that he was at least indirectly responsible for the offending article in the *Queen's Messenger* would simultaneously achieve both objectives because it would not only show that he had provoked the assault but also paint his character in such dark colours as to cast doubt on the reliability of his testimony that Carrington had sought to incite him to a duel. Furthermore, it would expose Grenville-Murray to the charge of lying under oath, which, if proved, carried the penalty of a lengthy prison sentence or heavy fine, or both. It is not surprising, therefore, that the court's proceedings were dominated by the question of Grenville-Murray's connections with the *Queen's Messenger*.

Giffard, Lord Carrington's barrister, was greatly assisted by the fact that he held manuscripts and proof corrections for articles published in the *Queen's Messenger* believed to be in Grenville-Murray's handwriting, even though these did not include the one which had so incensed his client. Grenville-Murray at first alleged that these documents had been stolen from the offices of the *Queen's Messenger*. In fact, however, it soon emerged that they were provided by John Bidwell's solicitor Edwin Newman, who had obtained them from the paper's printer Peter Ranken in order to sustain a charge of libel of his own against Grenville-Murray.³ Ranken, whose growing nervousness about the *Queen's Messenger* had led him to part

¹ *The Times*, and *Daily News*, 8 July 1869.

² *Morning Post*, 8 July 1869.

³ Jones misses this development, even claiming that Carrington himself had 'organized a break-in at the *Queen's Messenger* office,' *The British Diplomatic Service, 1815-1914*, p. 155. Jones's treatment of G-M is generally full of errors and is a notable lapse in an otherwise valuable book.

company with it at least two weeks earlier,¹ had been induced to surrender these documents under Newman's threat to include him in the legal action.²

As it turned out, Giffard was unable to prove conclusively that the documents extracted from Peter Ranken were in Grenville-Murray's handwriting. (On the morning of the hearing Carrington himself sent a hurried personal message to the Foreign Office librarian begging him to appear at the court in case it should be necessary to verify the handwriting but Hertslet failed to turn up.)³ But this did not prove to be a serious handicap for Giffard because, if the accounts of the court's proceedings provided in *The Times* and the *Daily News* are to be believed, the plaintiff gave a rather stumbling performance – especially when confronted by the documents – and quite failed to dispel the impression that he was the moving spirit behind the *Queen's Messenger*.

The magistrate D'Eyncourt clearly believed that Grenville-Murray had lied more than once under examination and was at the least indirectly responsible for provoking the assault by Carrington, the latter's offence thereby being palliated. As a result, he allowed the decision on this summons to 'stand over' (i.e. found him neither guilty nor not guilty), meanwhile binding the peer – who from the start had appeared highly amused by the whole proceeding and 'laughed openly at various parts of the evidence'⁴ – to keep the peace towards his victim. However, on the summons of incitement to a duel he committed Carrington for trial by jury at the Middlesex Sessions.

Immediately the magistrate's decisions had been handed down a riot broke out in the court over possession of the large tin box containing the *Queen's Messenger* manuscripts. Partly because of prejudice against Grenville-Murray and partly because of the confusion in the courtroom, it was readily believed by all but radical organs of the press (the *Daily News* was non-committal) that it was his supporters who were

¹ The last issue for which he was responsible was that of 3 June, *QM*, p. 228. The next number, published on this occasion (only) under the new title of *The Plain Speaker* because of a dispute over ownership with the publisher John Hughes, was printed by Robson and Sons of Old St Pancras Road (who remained its printer to the end) and published for the proprietors by John Stanton at the Office, 169 Fleet Street, *QM* [*The Plain Speaker*], 10 June, p. 8.

² Evidence of Ranken before the Marlborough St. Police Court, *The Times*, 19 and 23 July 1869; Letter to the Editor (Edwin Newman), 9 July 1869; *Daily News*, 19 July 1869. James Murray thought that these documents might also prove helpful 'for proving the animus of his [G-M's] proceeding' in regard to the bill of complaint in the court of chancery, TNA, James Murray to Greenwood (Treasury Solicitors' Dept.), 19 June 1869, FO65/795.

³ TNA, Carrington to Hertslet ('Immediate'), 7 July 1869, FO65/795.

⁴ *Daily News*, 8 July 1869.

behind it all. More assured of this than even the reporter of his own newspaper was the leader-writer of *The Times*.¹ Edwin Newman had both of his arms around the box and over what happened next there was, however, no argument:

The noblemen and gentlemen on the bench rushed forward to give assistance, and for a quarter of an hour a kind of free fight went on, sticks and fists being used, and from 20 to 30 engaged actively in the scuffle. The police were too few to be of use, though they were puzzled to know what the uproar meant or who were the offenders. If they took hold of one they were told 'I am the Duke of ...;' of another, 'I am Lord ...,' and they were obliged to content themselves with marking the most active in the affray, and, when assistance came, in securing them. Mr. D'Eyncourt ordered the court to be cleared, but the row became so serious, and approached so alarmingly near the seat of justice, that he left the court. When something like order was restored, the court appeared a little wreck. Chairs were broken as well as inkstands, the ink spilt over the desks, and several hats trodden out of shape.²

It is inherently implausible that either Grenville-Murray or his partisans acting without his approval, would have launched such an attack in full view of the magistrate in open court. For one thing, as one reporter pointed out, 'apart from the chances of rescue, the size of the box, and the narrow, guarded entrance of the court, would have rendered it impossible for anyone to get off with it.'³ In a colourful account, Grenville-Murray himself denied any complicity in a letter to *The Times* on the following day⁴ but a more credible version is provided by Philip Hathaway, his solicitor, who was also an eye-witness. According to this, on his prompting (acting on Gill's advice), someone else in the court requested the police to detain the tin box 'till an application could be made to the magistrate respecting its custody.'⁵ Thereupon, said Hathaway, 'one or two of the *officers of the court in plain clothes* [emphasis added] placed their hands upon the box.' Newman mistook this for an attempt to seize it from him by force and his cry provoked an immediate response from 'the aristocratic occupants of the bench (including Lord Carrington and his brother), who leaped down from their seats and entirely covered the table on which the box was. ... I can positively affirm,' he added, 'that no attempt was made to remove the box by

¹ *The Times* (leader), 8 July 1869.

² *The Times* (report), 8 July 1869. This incident was gleefully covered elsewhere, in the *Sporting Gazette* and *Sporting Life* as well as in the *Standard*, *Daily News*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Echo*, and so on.

³ *Daily News*, 8 July 1869.

⁴ *The Times*, 9 July 1869.

⁵ This was probably John Stanton, who had replaced Hughes as publisher of the *Queen's Messenger* as from the issue of 10 June.

force ...' and that none of Grenville-Murray's friends were involved in the fight at all.¹

But this was a voice crying in the wilderness. The widespread impression that the friends of Grenville-Murray were not only prominent among the courtroom brawlers but had also started the fracas, sealed his fate: the accuser was turned accused. For ten days later, on 17 July, in an even more hostile atmosphere, he was called to answer a charge of perjury committed at the previous hearing. Heard at the same police court over two days (it resumed on 22 June), it was lodged by Lord Carrington and probably designed to prejudice Grenville-Murray's case at the jury trial of the young peer pending at the Middlesex Sessions – William Gill, once more acting for Grenville-Murray, was certain of the point. The hearing was only allowed by the presiding magistrate to proceed – despite the sound rule that a perjury charge should not be heard before a final determination of the case from which it arose – on the argument of Carrington's barrister that the case in question was the one of assault (not incitement to a duel), which D'Eyncourt had purportedly dismissed. This was a technicality; it was also sophistry, as the turn of events was soon to demonstrate, for the two charges were inseparably linked.

Once more, the Marlborough Street court was packed, with the cousinocracy this time represented by the Duke of Sutherland and the Earl of March, among 'other gentlemen.' Once more, Clara was present.² Once more, the documents from the *Queen's Messenger* were produced. But on this occasion the presiding magistrate was not D'Eyncourt, who had received some criticism for scuttling out of the court during the riot. Instead, it was the more senior and severe figure of Alexander Knox. Knox might well have been one of the best metropolitan police magistrates of the day³ but he was also, as it happened, one whom the *Queen's Messenger* had not long before justly charged not only with weak logic but also with prejudice against a 'friendless Jewess' in the course of the even more sensational case of the New Bond Street

¹ Letter to the Editor, *The Times*, 13 July 1869. When order was restored and D'Eyncourt returned, he refused Gill's request to have the box detained by the police and ordered it to be left with Newman. It was a pity that Gill had not made this request immediately on the close of the hearing. This is something that Philip Hathaway, his instructing solicitor, did not explain in his letter to *The Times*, as Newman himself – who did not openly accuse G-M's partisans of starting the affray by trying to seize the box – pointed out in reply, Letter to the Editor, *The Times*, 14 July 1869.

² *Daily News*, 30 October 1869.

³ Rappaport, *Beautiful as Ever*.

cosmetician charged with defrauding aristocratic ladies of a certain age, Madame Rachel.¹

Having decided in favour of Carrington that the perjury case could proceed, Knox duly showed that he shared the general opinion of responsibility for the earlier riot when Gill asked to be allowed temporarily to hold the 'stolen' papers of the *Queen's Messenger* so that he could examine them properly. Certainly, said Knox, provided that, 'considering what occurred in this court the other day,' Grenville-Murray, who was sitting behind his counsel, sat further away from him.

It soon became obvious that the case for Grenville-Murray's perjury was strong. The contradictions between his denials and evasions at the previous hearing, which were recorded in the notes of the Clerk of the Court and produced on this occasion, and the evidence of his active involvement in the setting up and running of the *Queen's Messenger*, were only too plain to see. What was particularly damning was the evidence that he had become sole editor after Reginald's mental collapse ('Mr. Reginald was said not to be in his right mind,' testified Ranken) and his departure for the *maison de santé* in Paris in April.² This had an obvious bearing on the trial of Lord Carrington pending at the Middlesex Sessions, for it much strengthened his claim that Grenville-Murray had at the very least indirect responsibility for the 'Bob Coachington, Lord Jarvey' article published on 17 June.

In all of this a key witness for the prosecution was John Hughes, the publisher of the *Queen's Messenger* until a fortnight earlier. However, there was a question as to his credibility because he had fallen out with Clara (who had accused him of being a swindler), had been involved in a struggle with Grenville-Murray himself for control of the paper (which had become profitable), and had a case of his own for unpaid debts and damages for wrongful dismissal pending against his previous employer at the Croydon Assizes.³ The star witness for the prosecution, therefore, was instead the same man who had delivered the files of the *Queen's Messenger* to Bidwell's solicitor, namely Peter Ranken, the paper's printer until it had become 'too hot' for him, despite an indemnity provided by Grenville-Murray in February. Between them, Ranken and Hughes documented in detail Grenville-Murray's primary role in setting

¹ *QM*, 8 April, p. 128, and 13 May, p. 186.

² *The Times*, 23 July 1869; see also *Daily News*, 19 July 1869.

³ This was adjudicated in G-M's absence on 10 August 1869. On the advice of the judge, the jury awarded Hughes a small sum to cover his unpaid earnings but declined to award damages for loss of future earnings on the grounds that 'considerable peril' inevitably attached to any publisher of 'scurrilous matter,' *Standard*, 11 August 1869; see also *Pall Mall Gazette*, 11 August 1869.

up, financing, and editing the new weekly, although they were unable to be certain about the authorship of its articles.

There was nevertheless still some way to go with this case and at the close of the session on 22 July Knox ordered a resumption of the hearing in a little over a week's time. Since, he said, 'there was a likelihood of the case going for trial,' he also required Grenville-Murray to provide sureties for his re-appearance. He had to guarantee £1000 himself and find others to provide two sureties of £250 each.¹ Since on the same day the Conservative Club determined that he was too unsavoury a character to keep the company of gentleman and, on a vote of 190 to 10, expelled him from membership, it is not that surprising that there was a scarcity of friends at Marlborough Street willing to guarantee the bail money. In the end he was only released on account of the apparently well-meaning braggadocio of a stranger to him, John Hill, the prosperous proprietor of the *Flying Horse* tavern in Oxford Street (today *The Tottenham*) and the *Prince Alfred Hotel* in Maida Hill (which survives under the same name). Hill had arrived late at the court and was suspected of being drunk. He had only the vaguest notion of what was going on and agreed to cover *both* of the remaining sureties (thus totalling £500) on the prompting, he later alleged, of one of the court's police officers with whom he was familiar and who also, he claimed, misled him as to the true nature of the case. Having learned more about the case in the pub later, Hill tried to get out of his undertaking but it was too late.²

On 23 July 1869, with Grenville-Murray having less than 24 hours previously been convicted in the public mind of perjury committed in the hearing in the assault case – a development only made possible by the assumption that the assault charge had been disposed of rather than shelved by D'Eyncourt – Lord Carrington's jury trial commenced *on the assault charge* at the Middlesex Sessions at Clerkenwell.³ This

¹ *The Times* and *Daily News*, 30 July 1869.

² This curious story came to light when the police constable, Thomas Rosekelly, was later charged by Scotland Yard with violation of duty. This was dismissed, whereupon Rosekelly caused Hill to be charged with perjury. This went as far as the Central Criminal Court but it back-fired on him for the only result was that he was obliged to make a public apology to Hill. See *The Times*, *Morning Post*, and *Daily News*, 2 October 1869; *Daily News*, 25 October 1869; and *Pall Mall Gazette*, 23 November and 3 December 1869.

³ Except where otherwise indicated, the following account of this trial is based on *The Times*, 24 July 1869. A similar account was provided in the *Daily News* of the same date.

was due to the decision on 20 July of its grand jury to resurrect this charge and simply ignore that of incitement to a duel.¹

The jury trial on 23 July was presided over by Assistant Judge Sir W. H. Bodkin, sometime Conservative MP and currently, it seems, also counsel to the Treasury.² The defence team still included Giffard and Thesiger but was stiffened further by addition of the famous prosecutor Harry Poland (counsel to the Treasury at the Central Criminal Court since 1865³) and the solicitor-general Sir J. D. Coleridge, who led – and who had been nicely primed for a vigorous assault on Grenville-Murray by adverse comments earlier made on him by none other than the *Queen's Messenger*.⁴ The court was densely crowded, with a great number of peers and members of the House of Commons in attendance. And they were soon anticipating entertainment because, notwithstanding his previous admission of guilt, Lord Carrington's team lodged a formal plea of 'not guilty' to the charge of assault in order to have the extenuating circumstances of the hereditary legislator's action brought out.

William Gill, still acting for Grenville-Murray, maintained that Lord Carrington's attack was the result of a conspiracy of his client's enemies. In this the Mr. Big was John Bidwell, while the young peer was the point man and fall-guy. Their plot, it was claimed, was hatched in the shop of Grenville-Murray's well-known Savile Row tailor Henry Poole. One of Poole's employees, William Benant, acknowledged lending Lord Carrington a photograph of Grenville-Murray, which it was alleged showed premeditation; while Bidwell (who had been subpoenaed by Grenville-Murray's defence team to attend) was induced to admit not only that he patronised Poole's but also that he had described his antagonist as 'the greatest blackguard and the greatest scoundrel in England' and that if it cost him £1000 he would 'smash him.'

¹ In principle the committal hearing had wrecked the case of Carrington's counsel that the perjury hearing could proceed because the assault charge had been disposed of by D'Eyncourt; and it was in light of the grand jury's decision that the assault charge had *not* been finally determined that G-M's counsel had sought to have the 22 July resumption of the perjury hearing adjourned until after Carrington's jury trial. However, ignoring the fact that, whether rightly or not, Carrington *had* been committed to trial for assault, his counsel argued that the grand jury had been misled and that in any case it was too late to adjourn the perjury hearing. Knox had agreed and the perjury hearing continued, *The Times*, 21, 23 and 24 July 1869.

² Mew, 'Bodkin'.

³ Davies, 'Poland'.

⁴ Following flattering comments made by Coleridge about Lord Stanley in a speech at the beginning of March, the solicitor-general had fallen from being 'the most distinguished living lawyer' to one with such limited abilities and discernment that he was unlikely to make 'even an average judge,' *QM*, 25 February, p. 52; 11 March, p. 77; 25 March, p. 105.

The evidence for conspiracy, while colourful, was only circumstantial and Coleridge argued that it 'existed solely in Mr. Murray's fertile brain.' Bidwell emphatically denied prior knowledge of the assault and the great Foreign Office agent also stated with equal emphasis that he would not believe Grenville-Murray on his oath. 'I have told him, and have stated publicly,' he said, 'that he was a liar, and I can bring witnesses to prove it.'

Coleridge's cross-examination of Grenville-Murray also served once more to identify him with the *Queen's Messenger* and therefore as the just target of Carrington's anger. This line of argument was further strengthened by the evidence of a new witness, Grenville-Murray's valet at the Albany Carlo Denicola, who testified that he had seen Ranken the printer and Hughes the publisher visit him 'a good many times.'

In all of these exchanges Grenville-Murray's character had appeared in a less than attractive light. Perhaps he did not help himself either when he said:

I have come to see what a poor man can do against a rich man. Almost all the Bar of England is against me, and I am poor and defenceless. There are six solicitors there against me. ... How can I but fear the consequences with so much money against me, when I have not a shilling?

This was laying it on a bit thick, for it had probably not escaped the notice of the jury that, while he was certainly at a huge disadvantage in the face of the massed legal ranks of the cousinocracy, he had been shown to have the resources to launch a satirical weekly, take the financial risk of indemnifying its printer and publisher, maintain residences at two prestigious London addresses, buy his clothes from the leading tailor on Savile Row, and employ an Italian valet. The exposure of Grenville-Murray's character, warts and all, was the more serious for him because the character of Lord Carrington was never put to the test, his counsel having prudently kept him off the stand. The retainer who accompanied him at the time of the assault was never put on either.

In part for reasons of pride the charge of assault itself had always been publicly admitted by Lord Carrington, who had also no doubt somewhat exaggerated his physical triumph for the benefit of his gloating friends and the other enemies of Grenville-Murray. That he had given him a thorough 'horse-whipping,' though almost certainly mythical, was soon to become legendary. This is also probably because at

this period it was routinely trumpeted as the deserving fate of someone who had insulted an aristocrat – and because the wish was inevitably inclined to become father to the thought. Nearly half a century later, no doubt puffing out if not actually beating his chest Tarzan-style, Carrington was still bragging that he had given ‘a good hiding’ to a ‘scoundrel of a newspaper editor.’¹

After deliberating for only 25 minutes, the jury had little alternative but to find the peer guilty of a common assault, although one that was ‘committed under circumstances of the strongest provocation.’ The presiding assistant judge agreed entirely with its decision. Lord Carrington had taken the law into his own hands, he was told, and must suffer the consequences. But, he continued:

At the same time, we cannot help seeing that this assault has arisen out of publications which ... must excite in the breasts of every well-minded person the utmost abhorrence. Not only were moral delinquencies the subject of comment, but physical and mental incapacities, to which we may all be liable in extreme age, have been made matters for ruthless observation. By these means the peace of families has been destroyed, and even the sanctity of the grave violated. There is no proof before us as to who was the author of these libels. ... but this I believe is the opinion of all of us, that, whether the prosecutor [Grenville-Murray] was the author or not, circumstances existed which connected him sufficiently with those publications to justify you, Lord Carrington, in believing that he was the author of them.

He thereupon gave him what was in effect a suspended sentence; and one with, furthermore, no indication of the penalty he would incur for a repeat offence other than loss of the (to him) trifling sum of £100 on the surety of which he was bound over to keep the peace for the next twelve months.² This was acquittal by another name. As observed by *The Times*, which also applauded the jury’s verdict, the trial was ‘a remarkable and most satisfactory proof of the strong feeling that exists in this country against scurrilous journalism’ and any person connected with it.³

Grenville-Murray had lost his case against Lord Carrington and been expelled from his club – both in the glare of great publicity. More seriously still, the hearing on his perjury case was to resume at the Marlborough Street court in only six days time. Facing the certainty of conviction and the heavy punishment attendant on it, he jumped bail and fled the country. On 29 July the court was besieged by people wanting to get in and great no doubt was their disappointment and very considerable

¹ Quoted from remarks to a ‘Liberal meeting’ in 1916 in his obituary, *The Times*, 14 June 1928.

² *Daily News*, 24 July 1869.

³ *The Times*, 30 July 1869.

the distress of the naïve publican John Hill, who had stood his additional sureties, when the celebrity defendant did not show up.¹ His counsel asked for a short adjournment. Wishing that Reginald should be in court to rebut the evidence of John Hughes, he explained, his father had gone to Paris to fetch him but on his arrival had been seized with dysentery; a medical certificate signed by two French physicians was produced in support.²

However, Knox, presiding again, refused to believe this story without even glancing at the document, stated that the bail was forfeit, and immediately signed a warrant for Grenville-Murray's arrest in the event that he should ever return.³ The radical *Morning Star*, to which Grenville-Murray's later collaborator Edmund Yates contributed, was representative of only a small number of newspapers which condemned this arbitrary action, concluding that it suggested the magistrate was no better than a 'heated partisan' and wondering whether a peer would have received such harsh treatment.⁴ Prominent among this small number of newspapers was, of course, the *Queen's Messenger*. In its penultimate issue it claimed that in siding with the strong against the weak in the most 'curt and brutal manner,' Knox had encouraged the suspicion that 'occult influences had been brought to bear upon him.'⁵ It also reported that, as a reward for his impartiality and uprightness in the Carrington scandal, he was to be raised to the peerage and had selected for himself the appropriate title of 'Lord Double-Knocks of Flunky Manor.'⁶

Determined to have the last word, on 1 August Grenville-Murray wrote from Paris to the *Daily Telegraph*. He repeated that nothing had been proved against him and that in fact he was blameless of all alleged offences against Lord Carrington and others; that the case against him had been inspired by a personal vendetta; and that he had faced the kind of wealth and legal talent that he could not hope to match ('The Solicitor-General alone received £225 for his defence of Lord Carrington at the

¹ Hill lost his £500: *Daily News*, 30 July and 25 October 1869.

² The *Queen's Messenger* later gave more plausibility to this account by claiming that G-M's 'grave attack of illness' had been exacerbated by over-work, stress and the summer heat of Paris. It also said not that he had gone to Paris to fetch his son but that his purpose was simply 'to collect evidence in his case,' 5 August, p. 326.

³ *The Times*, 30 July 1869.

⁴ Undated and unidentified press clipping containing extracts from various other newspapers, TNA, FO65/795. See also *The Times*, 30 July 1869.

⁵ *QM*, 5 August, p. 326.

⁶ *QM*, 5 August, p. 330.

Clerkenwell Sessions,' he asserted¹). In a just re-trial, for which he begged, fairness demanded that he have on his side a legal team of equal weight 'instructed by solicitors provided with funds for law costs.'²

This appeal was ignored, not least by the Foreign Office, although the letter was clipped out and pasted in Grenville-Murray's file. In fact, his former employer had kept a low profile throughout these courtroom dramas. Bidwell had appeared at the Carrington trial only under subpoena issued at the instance of the prosecution, while Stanley, Clarendon and James Murray had all made themselves scarce when the publisher Hughes had sought to enlist their support.³ As far as they were concerned, 'The Case of Mr. G. Murray' was closed – and good riddance to him.

Closed his case might have been for the Foreign Office but there was never the slightest chance that it was closed for Grenville-Murray. The promise of this was the exceptional bitterness – tinged with not a little of its near cousin self-pity – which pervaded the pages of the final issues of the *Queen's Messenger*. By this time its editor was bitter not only at his treatment by the Foreign Office but also by the legal establishment. He was also bitter to find himself almost friendless among his fellow writers, for he saw himself fighting their battle for a free press as well as his own; whether out of professional jealousy or shame in their own calling, not only had they failed to speak out in his support but some had even, he suspected, betrayed his identity.⁴ Even the women had deserted him: 'fair, unreasoning, delightful, pitiless Amazons,' he asked, 'why always use your bright artillery on the wrong side?'⁵ He consoled himself with the thought that, like Milton, Thomas More and other men of genius punished in their own lifetime he would have 'the gratitude of posterity.'⁶ Meanwhile, the fight went on.

On 12 August the *Queen's Messenger* was able to give publicity to the widening crack in the Foreign Office's defence of the agency system which had appeared two days earlier. This came under pressure in the House of Commons from Sir Henry Bulwer, who had been elected a Liberal member of parliament in the

¹ Carrington himself actually claimed later that Coleridge and Giffard each received more than double this sum, *The Times*, 14 June 1928.

² TNA, FO65/795.

³ *The Times*, 23 July 1869.

⁴ *QM*, 5 August, p. 327. A fortnight earlier he had opened a piece on 'The Press and the Foreign Office' with one of his favourite mantras: 'An editor who betrays a correspondent renders himself peculiarly infamous,' *QM*, 22 July, p. 306.

⁵ *QM*, 29 July, p. 315.

⁶ *QM*, 29 July, p. 316.

previous November and whose attitude to the power and influence of the permanent officials in the Foreign Office was exactly the same as that of his old friend.¹ It was announced that this system was soon to be reformed by Lord Clarendon. But this development occurred shortly before this edition went to press and the editor was, of course, by this time in France. So he could do little more than reproduce a parliamentary report on the subject by the *Pall Mall Gazette* of the previous day and then re-work its content in a short, separate item.²

At this point the *Queen's Messenger*, which was under its third publisher since the departure of Hughes at the beginning of June,³ announced its closure for the parliamentary recess but promised to re-appear at the beginning of the next session. The 'storm of anger' which had enveloped it, the editor remarked, was a tribute to the veracity of its reporting, for wilful wrong-doers hated the truth. But, he continued:

The season is over. Our Hereditary Legislators are off to the moors; and whilst our compositor is setting these words in type many of our lordly foes are raising their guns to vent their pent-up fury upon unoffending grouse. A truce, then, for the present. Let the excited Lord who wished to see us 'all hang' imagine he is shooting at our staff when he turns his double-barrel breach-loader upon a covey of partridges; and let the generous Earl who declared he would give 'ten thousand pounds to see this paper smashed' lay out that sum in paying the Christmas bills of his poorer relatives who have so often appealed to his charity in vain.

After six months' rest the *Queen's Messenger* promised to renew the fight. It was, therefore – to the accompaniment of a report that the 'very brilliant meteor' seen crossing the Channel must have been Mr Grenville-Murray – with *au revoir* rather than *adieu* that its editor took his leave of his readers.⁴ The last line of this issue added added that he was 'still lying seriously ill in Paris.'⁵ This was the last line of all, for, while he was to recover, the *Queen's Messenger* was not to be so fortunate.

¹ HCPP (382), 25 July 1870: paras. 4934-6.

² HCDeb., 10 August 1869, col. 1534; *QM*, 12 August, pp. 339, 343.

³ Charles Gill took over from Stanton at the end of June (*QM*, 1 July, p. 272) and John Carthew took over from Gill in late July (*QM*, 29 July, p. 324).

⁴ *QM*, 12 August, p. 338.

⁵ *QM*, 12 August, p. 343.

5 A ‘literary manufactory’ in Paris

The circumstances of July 1869 in which Grenville-Murray fled to Paris, where he described himself as ‘the first political exile since the days of Bolingbroke,’¹ were painful indeed. He had been publicly humiliated, deserted by his relative the Duke of Buckingham, and shunned by most of his colleagues in the press. He had also suffered the issue of a warrant for his arrest and once more had to abandon his wife in London while coping with the continuing mental ill health of his eldest son Reginald, rebelliously confined, it seems, at the Charenton asylum. On top of all this, he carried debts which were the more difficult to sustain, let alone pay off, because he had lost his salary without gaining a pension, forfeited a huge sum in bail money, and faced a demand for more fees from the asylum-keeper. Asylum care, moreover, was not the only item in the city, still under the Second Empire, for which prices were high. A year later, in his absence, and on the long-standing petition of John Hughes – the one-time publisher of the *Queen’s Messenger* with whom he had fallen out – Grenville-Murray was adjudged a bankrupt.²

It was in such circumstances that he was forced to recognise that it had been a mistake to try to combine diplomacy with journalism, as with any attempt to ‘drive two trades together.’³ So in France, where the brilliant meteor had fallen to ground burning as brightly as ever, it was the pen alone that could turn round his fortunes. This in the end it did but in the short run he needed a great deal of money quickly; and for this the earnings of his pen were insufficient.

Even before his flight to France, therefore, and well into 1871, Grenville-Murray once more became a supplicant to the Duke of Buckingham. The duke had done much to put the affairs of the Grenville family in order and, having left office with the return to power of the Liberals at the end of 1868, was now devoting most of

¹ From the society journal *Life*, quoted in the *Hampshire Telegraph*, 31 December 1881. In *Narrative of an Appeal*, p. 45, he claimed that he was ‘the only English political exile in the world.’

² *Standard*, 12 August and 25 November, 1870; *London Gazette*, 26 August 1870, p. 3988.

³ *The Member for Paris*, Tauchnitz edition, vol. 1, p. 184; see also p. 178.

his time to the Aylesbury and Buckingham Railway Company, of which he had been for almost a decade the chairman.¹ Believing, therefore, that the duke could now afford it, he insisted that he should either return the money which Clara had lent the second Duke (see pp. 8-9 above) and which he maintained that he (the third Duke) had personally guaranteed; or in effect resume the arrangement by paying them an annuity calculated at 5 per cent interest on the money owed them, in return for which he would destroy the securities representing his wife's property.²

Grenville-Murray pressed his claim by means of predictably eloquent letters pleading poverty and family distress: Clara as well as Reginald, he informed the duke, was very ill and in 'a desolate and bereaved condition.'³ He also employed a variety of more or less subtle forms of pressure. For example, he issued veiled threats to shame Buckingham in public. These had started with a heavily coded article in the *Queen's Messenger* which claimed that nobility was 'infallibly transmitted from sire to son' irrespective of the quality of the mother and implied that it was he rather than his half-brother who should have had the ducal coronet from their father.⁴ Attaching to a letter a report of his declared bankruptcy which illustrated his 'peril and penury', he also pleaded directly with the duchess to use her influence on his behalf with her husband.⁵ In addition, he sent the duke a stream of messages, many on post cards (a neat way of spreading the rumour of the duke's unpaid debt to his impoverished relative), quoting biblical texts and warning of the risk of divine retribution for his wickedness.⁶ Next he suggested arbitration, first by gentlemen upon whom they could mutually agree and then by gentlemen of the duke's choice alone. In the end he invited the duke simply to make him an offer, with the assurance that he was willing to meet him more than half way.⁷

¹ Beckett, *The Rise and Fall of the Grenvilles*, p. 273.

² HL, G-M to 3DBC, 16 December 1869, STG Box 126 (22). G-M's claims are most fully, although by no means altogether clearly, explained in HL, G-M to 3DBC, 26 August 1874, STG Box 126 (36). There is no mention in this long letter of the claim for repayment of Emma's loan to the first duke that Beckett says was still being pursued in the 1870s, which there certainly would have been had it remained credible, *The Rise and Fall of the Grenvilles*, p. 106. See also HL, G-M to 3DBC, 16 December 1869, STG Box 126 (22).

³ HL, G-M to 3DBC, 16 December 1869, STG Box 126 (22).

⁴ 'Blue Blood', *QM*, 27 May, p. 206.

⁵ HL, G-M to 3DBC, 16 December 1869, STG Box 126 (22); G-M to Duchess of B&C, 27 November 1870, STG Box 3 (37).

⁶ HL, G-M to 3DBC, 16 December 1869, STG Box 126 (22); 1 January 1871, STG Box 126 (26); and 15 January-16 August 1871 (nine post cards), STG Box 126 (27)-(35).

⁷ HL, G-M to 3DBC, 17 May 1870, STG Box 126 (24) and (26).

But all that Grenville-Murray ever got out of the 3rd Duke of Buckingham and Chandos was a £50 contribution towards Reginald's asylum fees, with the added stricture that henceforward he should deal with his solicitor.¹ For the duke denied all knowledge of most of the arrangements made between Clara and his father and denied that he had offered any guarantees.² In consequence, the exile remained impoverished and it was reliably reported that even two years after he had arrived in Paris his brains remained mortgaged to his creditors to such an extent that London editors wanting his articles were required to make payment for them not directly to Grenville-Murray himself but to a solicitor, the latter allowing the author only a portion of his earnings.³

A family business

Edmund Yates, the major London literary figure and journalist who became a collaborator of Grenville-Murray's as we shall see, regarded him as 'the ablest journalist in Europe.' He also reported a common belief, which he seems to have shared, that the output credited to the former consul-general during his Parisian exile was so immense that it was impossible he could have written it all himself. His chambers in the French capital were conveniently located for journalistic purposes in the Rue de l'Université of the fashionable 7th Arrondissement, close to the National Assembly, government ministries and embassies. And, says his friend, they were thought to be 'a complete literary manufactory, all the work being suggested, supervised, and occasionally retouched by the master hand.'⁴

It would not be surprising if Grenville-Murray had acquired some outside secretarial assistance⁵ but there is no evidence that for the writing itself he had the help of anyone beyond his own family. The *Queen's Messenger* had been a family business and it seems that he preserved the tradition in Paris. Family partnerships, he

¹ HL, G-M to 3DBC, 5 May 1870, STG Box 126 (23).

² Buckingham's attitude is seen most clearly in his annotated comments on a much later letter, HL, G-M to 3DBC, 26 August 1874, STG Box 126 (36).

³ Fox-Bourne, *English Newspapers*, p. 304.

⁴ Yates, *His Recollections and Experiences*, p. 451.

⁵ According to an untitled press clipping pasted inside a copy of G-M's *People I Have Met* held by the University of Leicester Library but which from the internal evidence post-dated his death, 'Mr. Murray was so busy that he had to keep three or four secretaries.'

wrote at the end of his life, inspired confidence via intimacy, while families had a heavy obligation to give practical encouragement to young men of genius.¹

Did Clara remain the general manager of the Grenville-Murray family business in Paris? It is invariably assumed that the marriage broke up and that in Paris Grenville-Murray married a Spanish countess, taking her title and calling himself the Comte de Rethel d' Aragon.² This is half-way plausible because the long separations and severe financial blows would have rocked most marriages; and his strong interest in widows – not least rich widows – was evident in two of the books he published in his last years;³ and he *did* adopt the Spanish title. But the second marriage is almost certainly a myth deliberately cultivated by Grenville-Murray – a legend in his own time for inventing fictitious names – to shelter his family from the opprobrium associated with his real name as well as give it some social standing.⁴ It was also a myth easily strengthened by rumour, the potency of which was a constant refrain in his novels, including *Young Brown*: 'Who does know when the grim, scoffing thing called rumour first spreads its agile wings, or whence it comes, or whither it speeds so fast?'⁵ And a false rumour about a second marriage would have taken root the more readily since in Paris Grenville-Murray lived quietly with his family and appears to have become something of a recluse.⁶ In such circumstances even his friends might have been inclined to believe it; equally, if they were in on the secret, it would probably have amused them to collude in fostering the story. Fidelity in love is an attribute of 'great natures' (and great natures only), Grenville-Murray firmly

¹ 'Great Men's Relatives', *CM*, September 1882.

² The secondary sources on which this view is based are all recorded in the account of 'Mrs. Eustace Clare Grenville-Murray' in Lohrli, *Household Words*, p. 385.

³ *Side-Lights*, vol. 2, pp. 183-286 ('Young Widows'); *People I Have Met*, pp. 166-75 ('The Rich Widow').

⁴ The adoption of a fictitious *Spanish* title may also have appealed to them because they had spent a blissful time travelling in Spain and Morocco in September-October 1847. It was the subject of two of the three articles 'Mrs Grenville Murray' published herself in *HW*: 'Among the Moors', 5 June 1852, and 'Among the Moors. The Legend of the Castle', 28 August 1852. But why 'Aragon'? Probably significant in this connection is that even before entering exile G-M had claimed a family connection to Rafaelo de Fitou, Count of Aragon, a high-ranking former soldier and diplomat in Neapolitan service and fellow Mayfair resident during his retirement. When the count died at the end of 1868 it was announced not only that G-M was his 'relative' but also that he was his sole heir and executor; unfortunately, he left many unpaid debts, *Morning Post*, 5 November 1868; *London Gazette*, 8 June 1869, p. 3281. And why 'Rethel'? This is anyone's guess. The only one I can suggest, far-fetched I know, is that it was the name of a small town in the Ardennes which was the birthplace of Louis Hachette, who in 1877 joined the ranks of G-M's publishers (see Appendix 1).

⁵ *Young Brown*, p. 67. In *That Artful Vicar* he observes that 'cats have ever shown a curious facility for getting out of bags,' vol. 1, p. 131.

⁶ Hatton, *Journalistic London*, pp. 106, 108-9.

believed;¹ he also had no doubt that he was a member of this select class. There is no firm evidence that he did not practice what he preached.

The strongest evidence that Clara actually remained 'Mrs Grenville-Murray' after the great family crisis of 1869 and – when she finally joined him² – remained the family business manager as well, is a plaintive message the Duke of Buckingham wrote hurriedly to his solicitor in June 1875. As it happens this was a little under a year after Grenville-Murray had resumed his pressure on the duke to meet his financial claim, threatening that if he would not go to arbitration he would be compelled 'to make the shocking case public' and print documents which hitherto he had 'reverently held sacred' – but again received no reply;³ and it was also just three weeks after Buckingham's cartoon ('a safe Duke') had appeared in *Vanity Fair*.⁴ The duke's message describes a forceful woman who seems in all respects to resemble the one who had given such a hard time to John Hughes, whom she believed – like the third Duke – to be a swindler:

Dear Sir,

Mrs Grenville Murray under the name of "the Comtesse Rethel Aragon"! [exclamation mark heavily inscribed in original] has appeared in London – and written me requesting to see me. I have after all the abuse I received from them some time since declined to see her – she has since insisted on coming into the house to see my daughter and remained several hours for the purpose of doing so, refusing to quit. This morning she got in about 9.30 and refuses to quit, taking possession of the inner hall with some other woman. The servants cannot induce her to move. I shall be glad if you can either come or send some person to get her away.

yours ...
Buckingham⁵

It might well be, of course, that Clara remained a 'semi-detached wife' and that, as in London so in Paris, the couple maintained separate establishments; indeed, Clara might well have spent much of her time in London, where there were obvious family interests to protect. In Grenville-Murray's allegory of married life published in the same year in which the above incident occurred, the successful novelist and

¹ *That Artful Vicar*, vol. 2, p. 298.

² According to the 1871 Census, Clara – together with their younger son Wyndham (then a law student at Lincoln's Inn) – was at that time still living at the apartment at 62 Brook Street but as a 'Visitor', not as a 'Lodger'.

³ HL, G-M to 3DBC ('Memorandum'), 26 August 1874, STG Box 126 (36).

⁴ On 29 May 1875.

⁵ HL, 3DBC (Chandos House) to W. Williams Esq. 22 June 1875, STG Box 346 (30). In addition, in his private letters to Buckingham as late as 1875 G-M was still pressing him to restore the capital loaned by his wife, concerning whom he always spoke in the present tense.

playwright Paul d'Arley takes chambers in Paris separate from his family home in order to obtain the quietness needed for his writing, and this encouraged a degree of estrangement from his wife. Nevertheless, this tale of married life remained a celebration of the supreme value of domestic happiness in monogamous marriage for those who had endured a 'laborious and distracted career.'¹

If Clara remained the family business manager in Paris (and London), it is also more than likely that she was a healthy spur in Grenville-Murray's flank. In light of the little we know about her it is difficult to resist the conclusion that it is she he had in mind when later he wrote that:

it is no small thing for a man to be wedded to a woman of untiring energy and ambition, whose quick wits, love of plotting, and brave unscrupulousness will all be employed to serve him ... they bring out all that there is in a man, galvanize him, push him on to exert himself in the paths best suited to him, and, whether he succeed or fail, support him with all the might of their strong, loving hands.²

What of the sons of Clara and Eustace?

Wyndham, the younger of the two, seems to have been a disappointment and to have made very little contribution to the family business.³ After leaving Westminster as captain of school and then progressing through Oxford to the bar in 1873,⁴ he made little mark. On the internal evidence of a sad essay called 'The Promising Son' in *People I Have Met*, published two years after Grenville-Murray's death, it was probably Wyndham who was its model.⁵ The promising son of this essay went into an irretrievable decline caused by alcoholism and became a 'professional mendicant', writing abject begging letters not only to his family's friends but also its enemies.⁶ It can, therefore, hardly be a coincidence that in 1882 the

¹ 'The Sceptic: a Tale of Married Life', *CM*, July 1875.

² *That Artful Vicar*, vol. 2, p. 157.

³ According to the printer, he had corrected the proofs of 'one or two' copies of the *Queen's Messenger* after his elder brother's mental health gave way under the strain of working on it, *Daily News*, 19 July 1869. He also contributed a short, leaden-footed essay in the *Cornhill*, no doubt published through the influence of, and in the slip-stream of an article on the same theme published just a few months earlier by, his father. Wyndham's piece was called 'The Weaknesses of Great Men', *CM*, December 1877, pp. 711-22 (for confirmation of his authorship, see *Wellesley Index*, vol. 5, p. 566); cf. G-M's "'Royal and Noble" Gossip', *CM*, August 1877.

⁴ 'Calls to the Bar', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 18 November 1873; Foster, *Men-at-the-Bar*; *Wellesley Index*, vol. 5, p. 566.

⁵ There is just a hint in the review of this book in the *Graphic*, 10 February 1883, that its author had formed the same opinion.

⁶ *People I Have Met* (Tauchnitz ed), p. 86. On Wyndham's early promise, see TNA, G-M to Clarendon, 10 April 1866; Wyndham to G-M, 24 March 1866, FO65/720.

the 15th Earl of Derby (formerly Lord Stanley) reported receiving a letter from one of Grenville-Murray's sons – surely Wyndham – begging him for a loan of £50, 'on the ground of his father's sufferings, and my being the cause of them.'¹ At the same juncture Buckingham's solicitor reported rebuffing a renewed bid by Wyndham to resume discussion of the family's claim.²

Reginald, however, was a different proposition, even though his own contribution to the output of the literary manufactory was probably fitful to begin with because of his youth (he was still only 22 in July 1869) and his fragile mental health. Had he, the influential establishment journalist Henry Reeve later speculated, 'inherited some of his father's sinister talents'?³

Reginald recovered his health but by no means quickly. As late as June 1876 it was affirmed by his own solicitor that he was still formally in the care of the lunatic asylum at Charenton. This emerged at the Slough magistrates' court, following his escape from the asylum in January and subsequent arrest by the police at Eton College for obtaining money from a master under false pretences – just the most recent, it was alleged, of numerous similar offences. He was committed for trial but his mental illness was probably confirmed, thereby discouraging any further action against him and in fact allowing his return to the asylum.⁴ In light of Grenville-Murray's repeated claim in the *Queen's Messenger* that Lord Stanley suffered from kleptomania, this incident must have been acutely painful to him, especially if the heading – 'Alleged Kleptomania' – inaccurately given to the story about his son in the *Liverpool Mercury* ever came to his attention.⁵

Against the background of this story it is not surprising that, on the evidence of the small part of his own later testimony which is credible, Reginald lived when discharged from Charenton as even more of a recluse in Paris than his father, and very little is known about his life during the rest of the 1870s.⁶ He later claimed that he was appointed private secretary to the notable Second Empire foreign minister

¹ True to character, Count von Quickmarch gave him short shrift, Vincent (ed), *The diaries*, entry of 29 September 1882.

² HL, W. Williams to 3DBC, 13 October 1882, STG Box 346 (37).

³ Reeve thought he might have been the author of the somewhat sensational, anonymously published *An Englishman in Paris*, Laughton, *Memoirs*, pp. 389-90. This turned out, however, to be Albert Dresden Vandam: Lewis, 'Vandam'.

⁴ He had claimed that his name was 'Henry E. Edwardes' and that he was a brother of Lord Kensington; see for example *Birmingham Daily Post*, 30 June 1876; *Newcastle Courant*, 7 July 1876; and *Liverpool Mercury*, 8 July 1876.

⁵ *Liverpool Mercury*, 8 July 1876.

⁶ Walter, 'Memorandum'.

Edouard Drouyn de Lhuys;¹ and it was presumably also on his own evidence that he was afterwards said to have served in the same capacity to Louis, duc Decazes, who was French foreign minister from 1873 until 1877.² There is, however, some independent support for this, as also to the likelihood that at least by the late 1870s Reginald's health had improved and enabled him to become a significant contributor to the literary manufactory. This is the respectful, intimate portrait of the domestic life of the duc Decazes which received an early niche in the popular, anonymously authored 'Celebrities at Home' column in the *World*, co-founded in 1874 by his father.³ It seems certain that as the 1870s progressed Grenville-Murray's eldest son assisted him with much of his writing, beginning with a major contribution to the *Cornhill's* article on Eton College attributed to his father and published in 1871 (see p. 5, n. 2 above). It is also likely that it was Reginald who put together the numerous compilations of his pieces which appeared during and after his lifetime (see Appendix 1).⁴

The Paris of the Second Empire, in which Grenville-Murray began his exile in July 1869, might have been expensive but it had consolations. For one thing, he is unlikely to have had difficulties with the authorities because the Emperor Louis Napoleon was keen to be thought well of in England and was already known to be generous to English journalists who were careful of his reputation;⁵ and he had been treated with great respect in the columns of the *Queen's Messenger*. He was 'a born leader of men,' it had claimed, 'and one of the greatest who ever lived;' single-handedly he had revived 'the true art of kingcraft' in Europe, although, Grenville-Murray had added judiciously shortly before he arrived in the emperor's capital, it might now be as well if he were permitted to become a constitutional monarch.⁶

As for Paris itself, this had been rebuilt and its lustre as a centre of fashion and pleasure restored. Meanwhile, under pressure from resurgent republican sentiment and the growing power of the industrial working class, greater influence had recently been

¹ Walter, 'Memorandum'.

² *The Times*, 6 April 1892.

³ 'Celebrities at Home' was the successor to Grenville-Murray's own 'Portraits in Oil' column in the *World*, McKenzie (ed), *Letters*, p. 194, n.6. 'The Duc Decazes at the Quai d'Orsay', composed in 1876, was reprinted in Yates (ed), *Celebrities at Home*. Among other details, the author of this article knew that the minister's private secretary carried a duplicate key to his despatch box.

⁴ The *Wellesley Index*, vol. 3, records their joint authorship of eight articles published in *Temple Bar*, although oddly enough between March 1884 and August 1886.

⁵ Vizetelly, *My Days of Adventure*, p. 21.

⁶ *QM*, 13 May, pp. 186-7; 1 July, pp. 264-5.

permitted to representative institutions. And just in the previous year Louis Napoleon had eased a little the empire's repressive press laws, a development which was particularly close to Grenville-Murray's heart. Indeed, this was the eve of the 'golden age' of the French press, during which – encouraged by rapid advances in production and distribution methods and the spread of literacy – its organs multiplied and for the first time it became a medium of genuinely mass communication.¹

A ghost at the siege

A little over a year after Grenville-Murray's arrival in Paris, in early September 1870, France began to be shaken by momentous events. First, it was humiliated by Prussian arms at Sedan and Louis Napoleon's Second Empire collapsed in the wake of the defeat. Then a provisional Government of National Defence led by General Trochu, usually described as the first government of the Third Republic, was formed – and immediately found itself facing a Prussian siege of Paris. This lasted until the end of January 1871, when Paris capitulated. At this juncture a new provisional but monarchist-leaning government was formed under Adolphe Thiers – and almost as swiftly provoked the short-lived but immortal Paris commune. The excitement concluded with another siege and then the bloody rout of the communards by the army in May, the execution or transportation to New Caledonia of many of the survivors among them, and the reassertion of the authority of the Thiers government. All of this aroused intense interest in England and might be supposed to have been the ultimate consolation to an English journalist exiled to France and as needful of employment and as knowledgeable of the country and fluent in its language as Grenville-Murray.

The turmoil in Paris during these months certainly coloured most of the articles he supplied to the *Cornhill* in 1871 (see Appendix 2) and he might have sent copy I have been unable to detect to some dailies as well as other periodicals.² But the

¹ Kuhn, *The Media in France*, pp. 16-20.

² A London Correspondent of the *Leeds Mercury*, 2 December 1870, claimed that the letters to *The Times* from inside Paris were supplied by 'no less a person than Mr. Grenville Murray, of *Queen's Messenger* notoriety.' This is possible (nine such anonymous letters reached *The Times* during the siege) but implausible, for G-M's relations with the 'Ex-Thunderer' were not exactly warm and in any case it had its own special correspondent, Charles Austin, in Paris during these months, Bingham,

evidence suggests that Grenville-Murray was no more than a ghostly presence in the ranks of the English journalists in Paris during the siege. In his detailed account of their 'daily symposiums' at the Grande Café on the corner of the Rue Scribe, Ernest Vizetelly, the young son of the long-time Paris resident Henry Vizetelly, does not list the exile among the carousers. Nor is there any mention of him in the description of the 'British residuum' in Paris provided by the *Standard*'s John Augustus O'Shea following the departure of many of the colony in early November.¹ At most the journalists made occasional mentions of a 'friend' or 'acquaintance' who might have been Grenville-Murray.²

It is not difficult to understand why the exile was neither able nor willing to throw himself wholeheartedly into instant reporting of the events of this hectic period. For one thing, the leading English dailies with which he had been connected already had their own correspondents inside Paris. The *Daily News* was blessed with the brilliant analysis and acerbic wit of its part-proprietor the fearless Henry Labouchere, also one of the radical Liberal members of parliament who had been most vocal in echoing Grenville-Murray's calls for the abolition of the Foreign Office agencies;³ the *Morning Post* had the flair and energy of Thomas Gibson Bowles, whom Grenville-Murray had assisted to launch *Vanity Fair* and also knew France well and had rushed to Paris as soon as he learned of Sedan and the establishment of a republic;⁴ while the *Pall Mall Gazette* was ably provided for by the well connected Captain the Hon. Dennis Bingham. Among the rest, in addition to O'Shea, other notables included the versatile Vizetellys representing the *Illustrated London News* and the confident and widely experienced Frank Lawley for the *Daily Telegraph*;⁵ while the famous W. H. Russell of *The Times* was – with most of the other war correspondents – behind the Prussian lines.

But even had Grenville-Murray been able to join the ranks of this company, it is unlikely that he would have been comfortable in it. For it is evident that he

Recollections of Paris, p. 200. In addition, E. S. Dallas reported for it from the Paris government's delegation at Tours, as well as for the *Daily News*.

¹ O'Shea, *An Iron-bound City*, vol. 1, ch. 10.

² For example, Vizetelly, *Paris in Peril*, vol. 2, pp. 133-4; Bowles, *The Defence of Paris*, pp. 121, 126, 148-9.

³ Labouchere's letters were a tour de force and were hurriedly reprinted anonymously as *Diaries of a Besieged Resident in Paris*.

⁴ Bowles, *The Defence of Paris*, pp. 1-2.

⁵ Bingham, *Recollections of Paris*, p. 200; Bowles, *The Defence of Paris*, pp. 64-5, 347-8; Vizetelly, *My Days of Adventure*, pp. 32, 56-60.

remained preoccupied with his personal story; indeed, the theme of both of his first pieces published in the *Cornhill* during the siege was the high price of naivety, the higher because of the difficulty of admitting it. In the second of them, the hero Lieutenant de Chasselay was a 'guileless, open-hearted young nobleman' tricked out of his inheritance by his venal steward and trustee. Furthermore, he had felt deserted if not betrayed by the great majority of his English press colleagues at the time of the *Queen's Messenger* affair and had said so in its pages – and the wounds were still fresh. In any case, even had he wished for their company, some might have shunned him. And the point is that without their cooperation and, it should be added, without the protection of the British Embassy in Paris as well, it would not have been easy for him to operate as a freelance for the dailies because there were great difficulties in the way of this kind of work and significant risks.

There were periodic outbursts of 'spy mania' in the besieged city and journalists from England – which refused to recognise the provisional government and was not popular – were sometimes accused of supplying information which aided the Prussians, with consequences which threatened their personal safety. Grenville-Murray was accustomed to jotting down detailed observations as he strolled around and both Bowles and Vizetelly said that anyone seen doing this was likely to be arrested at once.¹ In the heat of the moment even a loud and eloquent claim that he was a political exile from England might not have counted for much. Even had he managed to evade a charge of espionage, he might have feared that his previous reputation as an outspoken supporter of the fallen emperor might have made him a special target of the Paris mob. Furthermore, getting information out of the city during the siege was as problematical as obtaining it – and more expensive. Balloons famously became the main expedient and it was particularly in order to exploit them that the members of the English press corps found it necessary to sink their 'home differences.'²

Grenville-Murray would have been the first to appreciate that he could rely even less on the assistance of the British embassy than on that of his fellow journalists. It is true that during the siege no British resident of the city could expect much help from the diplomats. This is because – to the outspoken disgust of the English press corps, not to mention kindred spirits in the House of Commons – the

¹ Bowles, *The Defence of Paris*, p. 50; Vizetelly, *Paris in Peril*, vol. 2, p. 12.

² Bowles, *The Defence of Paris*, pp. 64-5.

ambassador departed for Tours in the middle of September, leaving behind only a skeleton staff; and between early December and late January this disappeared as well, to re-emerge only in the shape of a consul appointed from the local banking community.¹ Nevertheless, while present, the embassy could vouch for the credentials of a journalist, perhaps help with his mail, and provide some consular assistance if he were to be arrested.² And those left in charge until December were competent but – hard-pressed by the increasingly urgent needs of a still sizeable English colony – were unlikely to have exerted themselves on behalf of a fugitive from English justice.

It cannot be ruled out either that Grenville-Murray's low profile during the siege was also in part due to poor health exacerbated by his living conditions. He had suffered a prolonged period of professional and family stress and, although probably not among the destitute English residents who were totally reliant on the Committee of the British Charitable Fund in Paris,³ he was by his own standards desperately short of money and in the siege would have found it difficult to survive in his accustomed comfort. Paris rents might have come down following the flight of the rich but food and fuel both became scarce and costly. For a gourmet the siege diet must have been a particularly exquisite torture; even the animals in the zoo were eaten. It is perhaps not surprising that his death only a decade later was attributed to a form of dyspepsia.⁴

The production line

Low profile he might have adopted during the siege but Grenville-Murray had by no means permitted his production line to stall, as we have seen. Moreover, after stability returned, Paris remained an important destination for other English journalists and, as time passed and wounds healed, he was able to revive old contacts and make new friends among them; by such means he obtained the information he needed to keep

¹ *Diary of a Besieged Resident in Paris, passim*; Vizetelly, *My Days of Adventure*, pp. 95-6, 110, 162; Vizetelly, *Paris in Peril*, vol. 1, pp. 52, 189, and vol. 2, pp. 101-2; Bowles, *The Defence of Paris*, pp. 133-4, 280-2, 397-8; HC Deb., 13 February 1871, vol. 204, col. 166, and 3 March 1871, vol. 204, cols. 1296-1326; HCPP (C.263), 1871.

² Bingham, *Recollections of Paris*, p. 245; Labouchere, *Diary of a Besieged Resident in Paris*, pp. 227-8.

³ As late as mid-December 1870 Labouchere was told by the honorary treasurer of the Fund that 'Unknown and mysterious English emerge from holes and corners every day,' that in all there were probably about 3000 still in Paris, and that most were destitute, Labouchere, *Diary of a Besieged Resident in Paris*, p. 249.

⁴ *Standard*, 24 December 1881.

writing on English as well as French affairs.¹ This contributed to the enormous quantity of press as well as periodical articles and both fiction and non-fiction books (many profusely illustrated) which Grenville-Murray produced in the French capital over the next decade. As one admirer wrote after his death, the question was rather 'What did he *not* right?' than 'What did he?'²

With the ending of the siege most of the more well known English journalists, understandably anxious for a square meal, left Paris for home. As a result, Grenville-Murray was soon latched onto by London editors to fill their places and he slowly became a more corporeal presence in the press corps. Despite having been recently charged by him with cowardice and hypocrisy,³ the *Daily News*, which was then growing greatly in popularity, appointed him its Paris correspondent and two of his later compilations consisted of pieces first published chiefly in its pages.⁴ He also became Paris correspondent for the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and in his last years wrote for the Saturday newspaper the *Graphic*, the most successful rival of the *Illustrated London News*, to which, of course, he also contributed.⁵ Grenville-Murray's journalism also reached audiences beyond the British Isles, the more readily because of a marked shift in his political views following consolidation of the Third Republic.

Napoleon III had been an historical blip, he came to believe, a death-twitch of autocracy. He was certainly contemptuous of the naivety and violent predilections of those on republicanism's radical wing and satirised them hilariously in the *Cornhill*.⁶ But a republic, he had nevertheless concluded, was 'the only form of government compatible with the well-being and stability of the country.'⁷ This adjustment probably helped Grenville-Murray find work with the French press and would have been the more advisable since he made no secret of his contempt for the low standards of the great majority of its organs.⁸ He wrote for the *Journal des Débats* and, among other Paris newspapers, was an occasional correspondent of the *Figaro*.⁹ Several years before his death he also emerged as one of the principal contributors to a new

¹ *Under the Lens*, Preface by Henry Vizetelly, p. vi.

² *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 29 December 1881.

³ For example, *QM*, 15 April, p. 140; 22 April, p. 148; and 22 July, p. 305.

⁴ These were *Men of the Third Republic* and *Round about France*. The latter was dedicated to the popular and highly successful J. R. Robinson, the long-time manager of the *Daily News*.

⁵ As far as I can tell, his first article in the *Graphic* appeared on 28 December 1878 and last on 9 August 1884.

⁶ 'Franklin Bacon's Republic', *CM*, May 1873.

⁷ *Men of the Third Republic*, p. 22.

⁸ 'The French Press. Second Period. Reigns of Louis XIV and Louis XV', *CM*, October 1873, p. 412.

⁹ Yates, *His Recollections and Experiences*, p. 451.

English-language society journal based in Paris called the *Boulevard*.¹ However, a more notable mark of his international journalistic advance had been registered towards the end of 1873 when he was appointed Paris correspondent for the *New York Herald*.

The *Herald* was one of the most influential pioneers of popular journalism and a highly successful newspaper in its own day.² It was owned by the boorish but energetic, innovative, and super-rich James Gordon Bennett Jr., who was French-educated and himself spent much time in Paris, where the *Herald* had its main European headquarters.³ Grenville-Murray had secured his lucrative appointment with this paper through the recommendation of Edmund Yates, who at the end of 1872 had been made the *Herald's* roving correspondent for the whole of Europe on the handsome annual salary of £1200 but had really wanted just to be London correspondent and found the travel exhausting.⁴ Every week, Grenville-Murray supplied 'seven or eight closely printed columns, dealing with all kinds of subjects.'⁵ It was in his capacity as *Herald* correspondent that on the centenary in 1876 of the American Declaration of Independence he served with a number of other literary notables on the jury created to award a prize for the play most powerfully recalling that event; the other jurors included Victor Hugo, to whom he dedicated his novel *The Boudoir Cabal*.⁶

An interesting variation on Grenville-Murray's American output occurred in 1877 when he gave the chattering classes of New York a droll tour through the English peerage in a signed article in their monthly the *Galaxy*. This put the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos in his place by almost forgetting to mention him. The formal privileges accorded to peers in bygone ages were now only nominal, he concluded this address to his American readers, but the 'nameless privileges of men of rank' remained great indeed. Nevertheless, although in regard to political equality

¹ *Daily News*, 26 April 1879; *Dundee Courier & Argus*, 1 May 1879.

² Crouthamel, *Bennett's New York Herald*, pp. 148-9.

³ Owing to a scandal at home, in 1877 Bennett joined G-M in exile in Paris. Later, he established a Paris edition of his newspaper which was the forerunner of the *International Herald Tribune*, *International Herald Tribune*, 3 October 2012.

⁴ Yates, *His Recollections and Experiences*, pp. 422-46.

⁵ Yates, *His Recollections and Experiences*, p. 451.

⁶ Huneker, 'Villiers de l'Isle Adam'.

still well behind the United States (and France), England was at least headed in the same direction.¹

As for the British periodicals to which Grenville-Murray supplied abundant copy, these continued to include *Vanity Fair*. On 7 February 1874 this included a cartoon of a rather dazed-looking Lord Carrington ('Charlie'), inevitably enough slumped on the driving seat of a coach, caressing a horse-whip. The accompanying biographical note was, however, too flattering to have been written by the man he assaulted five years earlier. It was also in *Vanity Fair* that Grenville-Murray's third novel, *The Boudoir Cabal*, was first serialized.

So ubiquitous was his copy that it was widely suspected that he was also one of the firmly anonymous contributors to the subversive editions of *Beeton's Christmas Annual* which began to appear in 1872, hitherto models of political innocence. Beginning with 'The Coming King. The "Idle" Lays', to which the 1872 Christmas edition was almost entirely devoted, these ruffled many stiff feathers in London by satirizing the family of Queen Victoria, particularly her eldest son and heir to the throne the playboy Prince of Wales; naturally, they sold out in no time and were reprinted in book form (see Appendix 1). 'The Coming King' was a parody of Tennyson's poem of the legend of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table ('The Idylls of the King') in which the future King Edward VII appears thinly disguised as 'Guelpho', the coming king, and the slack-jawed swells who surrounded him as his 'Knights of the Dinner-Table'. What particularly points the finger at Grenville-Murray for responsibility for at least three of the narrative poems in this work is that in each of them – 'Loosealot and Delaine [Lancelot and Elaine]', 'The Glass of Ale [The Holy Grail]', and 'The Last Carnival [The Last Tournament]' – Lord Carrington once more appears as 'Coachington'. Indeed, in the last of these lays we find the authentic voice of Grenville-Murray in this account of his famous encounter with the bragging peer:

And told young Coachington of prowess done:
How he had knock'd an old man's hat well off,
And answer'd for it at a police-court bar;
How he had driven a coach-and-four for hire;
And loud they cheered his chivalry confess'd.¹

¹ G-M, 'The English Peerage', *Galaxy*, vol. 23, March 1877. The *Galaxy* was launched in 1866 but absorbed by the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1878.

It is also likely that he had a hand in the next annual's main feature 'The Siliad; or, The Siege of the Seats', a parody of Homer's *Iliad* and the siege of Troy presented as a parliamentary election and including further swipes at the Prince of Wales. Since the two further annuals, *Jon Duan* and *Edward VII*, were advertised as being by the authors of the first two, it is also possible that he was involved with them as well.² True to form, Grenville-Murray denied any connection with 'The Coming K—' and 'The Siliad' and did so publicly via a letter to *The Times*.³

Other periodicals for which he wrote included the literary monthly *Temple Bar* and the short-lived satirical weekly *Pan*, launched in September 1880 and billing him as one of its principal feature writers with a column called 'Echoes from the Elysian Fields'.⁴ In Charles Appleton's then weekly, *The Academy*, he appears to have published only one article, probably because of Appleton's insistence that all articles be signed.⁵ The periodicals to which his contributions are, by contrast, well established and particularly worthy of note were *Truth*, the *World*, and the *Cornhill*.

Truth was launched at the beginning of 1877 and for a while edited by none other than the most luminous member of the English press corps in Paris during the siege, Henry Labouchere. Wealthy, witty and iconoclastic, like Grenville-Murray he had been dismissed from the diplomatic service, in his case for agreeing to be second secretary at Buenos Aires only on condition that he could fulfil his duties while remaining at Baden Baden.⁶ With its determination to expose fraud and hypocrisy, constant diet of gossip and satire, and serial involvement in consequent legal battles,⁷ *Truth* was in many ways a more broadly focussed, more professional, and fully illustrated version of the *Queen's Messenger*. It was also highly profitable and until his death Grenville-Murray supplied most of its 'Queer Stories', a column which

¹ *Beeton's Christmas Annual* 1872, p. 39; *The Coming K—* (1873), p. 202, where, in this reprint, this passage has been slightly tweaked.

² These were published independently of the scandalized rival publisher to whom the fervent republican Samuel Orchart Beeton had years earlier been forced to sell out, Beetham, 'Beeton'.

³ *The Times*, 15 January 1874.

⁴ Fox-Bourne, *English Newspapers*, p. 309; *Daily News*, 21 September 1880; *Freeman's Journal*, 25 September 1880.

⁵ G-M, 'Placards of the French War and the Commune', *The Academy*, 23 January 1875; Scheuerle, 'Appleton'.

⁶ Sidebotham, 'Labouchere'.

⁷ Sidebotham, 'Labouchere'; Bennett, 'Mr. Labouchere'; Fox-Bourne, *English Newspapers*, pp. 310-11.

appeared with each issue;¹ his own were so popular that after his death many were reprinted in book form in quick succession.² It was, however, the *Cornhill Magazine*, a monthly launched in 1860 to cash in on the great appeal of the serialized novel and an immediate success, to which he was most attached.

It is not difficult to understand the *Cornhill's* attraction to Grenville-Murray. For one thing, it favoured anonymity, even though it was soon common knowledge that he was writing for it.³ For another, George Smith, the highly successful businessman who was its owner (along with the *Pall Mall Gazette*) and whose attitude to newspapers and journals resembled that of a twenty-first century Premier League football club manager to owning race horses, paid his authors handsomely. Grenville-Murray was less comfortable with the strictures of the *Cornhill* against any serious discussion of politics, morals and religion and especially with its prudishness: it could not afford to offend the daughters of a country parson, as Thomas Hardy had to be reminded by its editor.⁴ But for the money and the prestige Grenville-Murray could live with all this and, while much of the copy he supplied elsewhere was 'high-class hack work,'⁵ he delivered consistently to the *Cornhill* some of his most superb pieces.

Starting with an article in December 1868, when his hope of reinstatement in the diplomatic service had all but expired, over the next 14 years he published in the *Cornhill* the astonishing total of 67 articles; in 1870 there were only four issues in which he did not have one and in 1873 only three (see Appendix 2). Nor were these short pieces; on the contrary, on average they were 18 pages long or about 11000 words each, an average which would have been significantly higher had their length not tailed off sharply in the last years of his life. This means that by his death Grenville-Murray had contributed over three-quarters of a million words in essays to the *Cornhill* alone.

The *Cornhill* might have stood against any serious discussion of politics in its pages but there was serious politics aplenty in Grenville-Murray's contributions. This

¹ Yates, *His Recollections and Experiences*, p. 451; Fox-Bourne, *English Newspapers*, p. 311.

² The first two series were published in 1886 by Swan, Sonnenschein and within a year 25,000 copies had been sold. Not surprisingly, by August 1887 the company had issued two more, *Pall Mall Gazette*, 18 February 1887 and the *Leeds Mercury* 13 August 1887.

³ See for example the *Manchester Times*, 2 September and 11 November 1871.

⁴ Bell, 'Stephen'; see also Houghton, *Wellesley Index*, vol. 1, pp. 321-3; and Scott, *The Story of the Pall Mall Gazette*.

⁵ Fox-Bourne, *English Newspapers*, p. 304.

was acceptable because his chief subject was the safe one of French politics and his style was, as often as not, allegorical. Until the downfall of Napoleon III in 1870, the themes of his articles were the rivalries between Bonapartists, Republicans, Legitimists, and Orléanists; the prevalence of political opportunism, not least among the clergy; the easily led 'bumpkin hordes'; the naivety of revolutionaries; and the unscrupulous methods of the imperial government. He thought little of the historical achievements of the French but admired their lack of hypocrisy. His brilliant satires on the politics of provincial France anticipated Gabriel Chevallier's *Clochemerle* by more than half a century.¹ Also notable was his four-part series of long, immensely detailed articles on the history of the French press, which commenced with an account of the founding of the *Gazette de France* in 1631. The themes of this series were the alternating cycles of 'licence and subjugation' experienced by the press, with 'no gradual development into freedom and dignity;' ² and, during its periods of freedom, its huge power, notably during the revolution of 1789.³

In the midst of his frenetic journalism, Grenville-Murray also found time to return to novel-writing. Most of his novels were initially published by Smith, Elder in London (see Appendix 1), a firm of which George Smith was also the head. With one exception they were also published more or less simultaneously in Leipzig by the enlightened, fervently Anglophile, and highly successful German publisher Baron Bernhard von Tauchnitz. The baron's house had long been popular with English-language writers (among them Dickens) because it had paid them for reprinting their works for sale in Europe even before it had been obliged to negotiate for this right by the conventions on international copyright signed and ratified by Britain and Prussia and Britain and Saxony in 1846.⁴ Unlike the Americans – who did not take the first step to signing up to international copyright until Congress passed the Chace Act in 1891 and at whom accordingly Grenville-Murray directed a shaft on the point in one of his most entertaining political burlesques⁵ – the German publisher was no pirate. He did not pay large sums to his authors – Grenville-Murray probably received no more than £20 for each volume – but this was better than nothing and, besides, the

¹ For example, 'Our Rough, Red Candidate', *CM*, February 1869 and 'Consule Julio', *CM*, August 1871.

² *CM*, October 1873, p. 411.

³ The series was briefly summarised in 'The French Press' in *Round About France*.

⁴ Nowell-Smith, *International Copyright Law*, pp. 32, 42-4.

⁵ 'Franklin Bacon's Republic: Diary of an Inventor', *CM*, May 1873. At least three of G-M's books were pirated by US publishers (see Appendix 1).

baron's Collection of British Authors series had by this time acquired considerable prestige.¹ Tauchnitz also published 'copyright editions' of five of Grenville-Murray's non-fiction titles, chiefly compilations of earlier articles (see Appendix 1).

He had only once before written a novel – *Walter Evelyn* in 1853 (see p. 19 above) – but by the second year of his Paris exile he had brought out another. This was *The Member for Paris: A Tale of the Second Empire*. It is the story of how the heir to a dukedom revived by the profits of the slave trade agonizingly quiets his liberal conscience in order to garner the fruits of this commerce – and, chiefly in consequence of this, comes to grief in love as well as in politics. The central character is complex and at least in some respects convincingly drawn, the book well plotted, the detail rich and politically fascinating; and the whole thing is carried off with the author's usual stylistic virtuosity. We are also introduced to some entertaining new men: 'Mr Drydust', the correspondent of a leading English newspaper; and the Polish cavalryman who in a duel preferred the sabre to the foil, 'Count Cutandslitski'. The novel has characters of the kind of implausible nobility who were to become a regular feature of his fiction, and the ending is silly but despite (or because of) this it sold well.² Perhaps to the irritation of General Kotzebue, soon to be governor-general of Warsaw, it was translated into Russian and was reported to be 'highly popular' in Moscow.³

Encouraged by this success, in less than two years Grenville-Murray had produced another novel. Testifying to the recognition he had received, this one, *Young Brown, or the Law of Inheritance* was serialized in the *Cornhill* between July 1873 and February 1874, its final chapters overlapping with Thomas Hardy's *Far From the Madding Crowd* and adding another 125,000 words to his total contribution to Smith's periodical.

According to Yates, the *Cornhill* serialization of *Young Brown* 'caused an immediate sensation.'⁴ It was generally believed to be autobiographical and some critics claimed not only that it had unfairly attacked recognizable noblemen among its fictional characters but even gone so far as to suggest unwitting incest in its leading incident. This was a brief sexual encounter, of which 'Young Brown' was the issue,

¹ On Tauchnitz and his excellent relations with British authors, including the kind of contracts he agreed with them, see Nowell-Smith, *International Copyright Law*, ch. 3.

² Yates, *His Recollections and Experiences*, p. 451.

³ *Examiner*, 30 November 1878.

⁴ Yates, *His Recollections and Experiences*, p. 451.

between the 2nd Duke of Courthope and Revel (family name Wyldwyl, pronounced 'Wyvil') and 'Madge Giles', believed by all – herself included – to be an inn-keeper's daughter but in reality, as it duly transpired, Margaret Wyldwyl. In a lengthy preface to the Smith, Elder edition of the book published later in 1874 Grenville-Murray vigorously dismissed both criticisms.

It was inevitable, he pointed out, that – as would be true of any novel – aspects of the story were based on the author's own knowledge and personal experience; but none of the personalities in *Young Brown*, he insisted, was an exact copy of any real person, living or dead, except in so far as their natures were concerned. As for the charge that he had painted a picture of incest, this, he said, was based on the mistaken belief that Madge was the duke's sister, when in fact – he does not explain this in the preface but it emerges from a close reading of the novel – they were first cousins.

Was *Young Brown* in part at least autobiographical? The short answer is: only in a general way. The point of the book, explained Grenville-Murray in the new preface, was to highlight the evil consequence of the laws of inheritance then prevailing in England. This was the disposition to treat with 'extreme indulgence' the sowing of wild oats by younger sons because, without the means given to the eldest son to provide a suitable wife with the luxuries to which she was accustomed, they were unable to marry early. The consequences of this, he maintained, could be far more serious in the real world than they proved to be for Madge and her son (William Brown lands very much on his feet, despite not getting the inheritance to which he was entitled); and he would have written a more truthful book and therefore been more faithful to one of the highest functions of the writer, he insisted, had he not been warned against assuming that a duke could behave like a loose character and told 'not to startle school-girls or the subscribers to circulating libraries.' It is a mark of Grenville-Murray's self-confidence at this point as well as the strength of his opinion that he spoke out so trenchantly against the editorial policy of the magazine, the *Cornhill*, which published so much of his work.

For all its sentimentality and sometimes mystifying genealogical complexity (a family tree of the kind found in historical novels today would have been useful), *Young Brown* holds the reader's interest and was written with the author's usual fluency and richness of language. *The Times* reviewer commended it, although, a propos Grenville-Murray's defensive preface, charged him with unwisely ignoring the

adage: '*qui s'excuse s'accuse*.'¹ The criticisms also probably did its sales no harm and it was immediately pirated in the United States – minus the preface.² A century later the Harvard historian and expert on Victorian fiction Robert Lee Wolff described it as an 'absolutely brilliant, bitter novel.'³ Four more were to follow, five including the posthumously published novella *Imprisoned in a Spanish Convent* (see Appendix 1). One of these, *The Prodigal Daughter*, achieved great critical success and was adapted for the stage in 1881 by Henry Arthur Jones, then beginning a career which was to make him one of Britain's leading playwrights. Under the title 'His Wife', it was first produced at Sadler's Wells in London and toured the provinces for many years thereafter.⁴ However, none of Grenville-Murray's novels created quite the stir made by *Young Brown*.

In the vast output of his production line in Paris did Grenville-Murray show any continuing interest in diplomatic reform? Save for the extremely funny allegory of his tilts against official abuses set in the fictional small French town of Touscrétins, in which Lord Stratford appears in the new guise of the once brilliant but by then mildly imbecile M. Nul,⁵ there was no mention of it in his contributions to the *Cornhill* and hardly any in other periodicals; and, with one exception, no more than faint echoes of it here and there in his books. There was little money to be made from writing about diplomacy and he probably felt that he had said all he wanted to say on a subject in which in any case he no longer had a professional interest. He was also able to claim – with some justice – that, thanks in some part to his own Roving Englishman campaign of the 1850s and his more recent crusade in the *Queen's Messenger*, the battle for diplomatic reform was now well engaged.⁶

At the forefront of the reformers was a 'cabal' consisting of radical MPs and a 'fifth column of disgruntled diplomats.'⁷ The leader of this group was Peter Rylands, the MP for Warrington, 'an earnest and hard-working but independent radical' whose constant refrain was the continuous increase in government expenditure.⁸ Rylands was

¹ *The Times*, 21 August 1874.

² It was published in one volume, using double columns, by James R. Osgood of Boston, one of the forbears of Houghton Mifflin.

³ *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, p. 188.

⁴ The lead role was taken by Miss Kate Bateman, *Pall Mall Gazette*, 22 April 1881; *Aberdeen Weekly Journal*, 11 November 1887; *York Herald*, 3 December 1887; see also Griffin, 'Jones'.

⁵ 'Consule Julio', *CM*, August 1871.

⁶ The Roving Englishman, *Turkey, being Sketches from Life* (1877), pp. ix-x.

⁷ Jones, *The British Diplomatic Service, 1815-1914*, p. 110.

⁸ Rae, 'Rylands'.

was exercised not least by the extravagance of the diplomatic service and irritated that the Foreign Office had taken insufficient notice of earlier select committee reports, notably that of 1850 on official salaries. In 1869 he had been in the van of those pressing for the new select committee that was appointed in the following year.¹ And it was Rylands who was believed by the embattled permanent under-secretary Edmund Hammond to be so hostile to the Foreign Office that 'in his secret heart' he would like to have been able to summon Grenville-Murray to give evidence. As it was, he told a senior diplomatic colleague, it was the notorious exile 'whose publications he holds in his hand as a brief.'²

It is true that it was still to be a long time before patronage ceased to be the route to a career in the Foreign Office and the diplomatic service. However, as a result of pressure for general civil service reform in the early 1850s and the reports of the select committees of 1858 and especially of 1861 some minor reforms had already been introduced by the time that Grenville-Murray fled to France; and in 1870, as foreshadowed in the previous two years, the agency system in the Foreign Office was actually abolished outright.³ Furthermore, thanks to pressure from Rylands and his cabal, the select committees launched in the same year into the staffing and efficiency of both the diplomatic and consular services lasted until 1872 and prodded the Foreign Office tortoise to inch a little further towards the twentieth century.⁴ Among the subsequent changes to which Grenville-Murray contributed, the 'practical embassies' he had urged were longer in appearing than some but there were harbingers of their arrival in the military and commercial attachés to be found in a few major diplomatic missions well before the end of the nineteenth century.⁵

In 1877 Grenville-Murray did bring out a new edition of his 1855 Roving Englishman book on Turkey, with its ferocious attack on the Constantinople embassy in Stratford's time duly refreshed and if anything made even more hard-hitting. In a short, new preface he boasted that it had become a classic and that Palmerston used to say that it was the best thing on Turkey with which he was acquainted.⁶ The one real

¹ See especially HCDeb., 29 July 1869, vol. 198, cols. 913-74.

² This was in a letter from Hammond to Paget (minister at Copenhagen), 1 May 1870, quoted in Jones, *The British Diplomatic Service, 1815-1914*, p. 110.

³ With compensation for the existing agents, the system was abolished as from 30 November 1870, HCPP (C.168), 1870 (Hammond to Treasury, 26 January 1870); HCPP (382), 25 July 1870: para. 3900. See also Hertslet, *Recollections of the Old Foreign Office*, pp. 207-8; Bourne, *Palmerston*, p. 440.

⁴ Jones, *The British Diplomatic Service, 1815-1914*, chs. 6, 9-11.

⁵ Berridge, *British Diplomacy in Turkey*, pp. 42-5.

⁶ The Roving Englishman, *Turkey, being Sketches from Life* (1877), pp. ix, x.

exception to the silence on diplomacy of the Paris years, however, was the very long and characteristically perceptive section on the different ranks of diplomats and consuls in the first volume of his *Side-Lights on English Society*, inserted somewhat incongruously between sections on 'Flirts' and 'Semi-Detached Wives'. In the account of contemporary diplomacy in these pages (also the main theme of the preface to the whole volume) none of his old fire was diminished: reform might be near but nepotism and patronage remained endemic, the result being that the condition of diplomacy was still 'pitiful.'¹

Side-Lights was the first of several of Grenville-Murray's 'smartest books' published by his friend Henry Vizetelly,² the equally strong-minded English journalist and publisher who had himself lived in Paris during most of the 1870s.³ A long review in the *Morning Post* concluded that while there was much in it that was clever and entertaining, it was 'not fit for introduction into the family circle.'⁴ Accordingly, Mudie's and W. H. Smith's circulating libraries declined to stock it and similarly cold-shouldered the posthumously published *Under the Lens* – a fact that Vizetelly was delighted to broadcast for obvious commercial reasons.⁵

Such was the high regard for the quality of his writing and the reliability of his delivery that Grenville-Murray's work commanded high prices;⁶ Escott wrote that he 'had gained command of a style possessed by no one else and opening to him almost on his own terms the newspaper world.'⁷ Coupled with the quantity of his output, therefore, it is hardly a cause for wonder that at least by the second half of the 1870s he had finally put serious money worries behind him; in October 1878 his bankruptcy was annulled.⁸ It was also probably around this time that he appears to have moved his residence from the Rue de l'Université to what was an even more fashionable address in the capital. This was the Avenue du Bois de Boulogne in the 16th

¹ *Side-Lights*, vol. 1, pp. xi-xii.

² Vizetelly, *Glances Back Through Seventy Years*, p. 432.

³ Seccombe, 'Vizetelly'. The friendship between G-M and Vizetelly is mentioned here but not in the revision of Seccombe's essay on Vizetelly in the recent *ODNB*.

⁴ *Morning Post*, 4 November 1881.

⁵ *Graphic*, 7 March 1885. The Leeds Public Library, no doubt among others, was less squeamish, *Leeds Mercury*, 7 November 1885.

⁶ *Northern Echo*, 26 December 1881; *York Herald*, 30 December 1881.

⁷ *Masters of English Journalism*, p. 264.

⁸ This was presumably in consequence of approval being given by both the Trustee and his creditors to a scheme for settling his affairs scheduled for discussion at a meeting in London on 13 August 1878, *London Gazette*, 2 August 1878, p. 4468, and 29 October 1878, p. 5823.

Arrondissement, also known as the Arrondissement de Passy, where he settled at number 66.¹

The cult of mystery

In *The Member for Paris*, the flawed hero Horace Gerold, heir to a dukedom he had been taught to renounce by his highly principled republican father, finds many doors opened to him in the capital because of his good looks and literary and oratorical talents. But 'the interest he inspired,' the author tells us, 'was heightened by the mystery in which he enshrouded his real name and distinguished birth.'² This is a telling line. Horace's circumstances were not identical to those of the author but throughout his own career Grenville-Murray was acutely alive to the advantages of mystery, alive to them to the point of cultivating it in regard to all aspects of his life. He cultivated mystery about his birth: Was he or was he not the son of a duke? If so, was it the Duke of Buckingham? If it was the Duke of Buckingham, was it the first or the second? He had early on fostered mystery about his journalistic identity: Was he or was he not 'the Roving Englishman'? Was he or was he not the real inspiration behind *Vanity Fair*? And, as we have also seen, following his arrival in Paris he had encouraged mystery about his marriage: Had he or had he not divorced his first wife and then married a Spanish countess?

It might be, of course, that, like Horace Gerold, Grenville-Murray enveloped himself in mystery in part because he had noticed that this excited the interest of society ladies.³ However, he had plenty of other motives for adopting this tactic. On the one hand, the strong suggestion that he had noble lineage opened doors for him, enabled him to obtain credit, and gave him a claim on the Grenvilles; while, on the other hand, not *openly* claiming the connection showed that he was a gentleman and avoided alienating the ducal family. As for the supposed Spanish marriage and the new title, this, as already noted, served as a disguise under which his own family

¹ This at least was his address at the time of his death, *Standard*, 26 December 1881 and 20 December 1884. The avenue was renamed 'Avenue Foch' after the First World War. The handsome building at No. 66 can be readily identified in Google street view.

² Tauchnitz ed., vol. 1, p. 191.

³ This was, of course, hardly an original discovery. For example, Monty Corry, just appointed Disraeli's private secretary, had advised this tactic for the same reason, 'Hints to Private Secretaries', *The Owl*, 18 July 1866.

could shelter following the scandal which had been attached to his name during the well publicised court proceedings of 1869; later it served the same purpose when his son Reginald also fell foul of English justice. And as a whistle-blower in the diplomatic service Grenville-Murray had written under a pseudonym or completely anonymously in order to save himself from dismissal. In any case, this style of authorship had been the norm in the mid-Victorian era. However, by the time that he entered his Paris exile he no longer had anything to fear as a whistleblower because he had already lost his job and the norm of anonymity (even in the *Cornhill*) was weakening – and yet he clung to it for a long time, not least in regard to his novels.

It is true that occasionally he published under his own name (after his death, Vizetelly had every reason to advertise it, see Appendix 1); but these were almost all exceptions that proved the rule. The US edition of *Young Brown* was brought out in 1874 under the authorship of 'Grenville Murray', a corruption near enough to his true name; but this was a pirated work over which he had no control. The Canadian edition of *The Boudoir Cabal* published in the following year was signed in identical fashion, which poses a question mark over the claim of the Toronto publisher that it was a copyright edition.¹ And not until 1876 did the Tauchnitz editions of Grenville-Murray's books begin to appear under his own name; but these imprints could not be sold in Britain or the British Empire. His article on the English peerage which appeared in the *Galaxy* in 1877 was also signed but this was a New York publication. Only in the year in which he died was his true identity revealed for the second time in a book published in London; this was *Side-Lights*.

With these exceptions, all of Grenville-Murray's books and the vast majority of his press contributions remained anonymous or pseudonymous. Like Stendhal and many others, he also muddied the water further by varying the pseudonyms he employed. For *The Member for Paris* in 1871 he adopted the pen name of 'Trois-Étoiles' (also employed for the Tauchnitz edition of *Young Brown* and *The Boudoir Cabal*), for his Chapman and Hall books 'Mark Hope', and for *Vanity Fair* 'Silly Billy'. It hardly needs to be added that, although photography was making striking developments at this time and it was increasingly common to find photographs of authors in the preliminary pages of their books, no photograph of Grenville-Murray was to be found in any of his own. A further reason for this was no doubt the grim

¹ The Rogers and Larminie (Toronto) edition is available on the Internet Archive at <http://archive.org/stream/boudoircabalnove00murruft#page/n5/mode/2up>

memory of the use to which a photograph of him had been put in the Carrington affair (see p. 93 above). In light of the fact that his identity had been revealed by pirated copies of his books in North America, why did he cling to anonymity for so long?

Anonymity in authorship may have been weakening in the late Victorian era but it was still a strong tradition and Grenville-Murray remained wedded to it in principle. In France itself it had been outlawed in the press by the Tinguay-Labouille amendment of 1850, during the Second Republic.¹ But the malign effect of this, he wrote, refreshing the key argument he had advanced in *The Press and the Public Service* in 1857, was to have substituted 'individualism for combined action and conflict of personalities for polemic of opinions.'² In more than one case, he maintained, it had led to violence, as opposing journalists, now obliged to put their names to their articles, had to work with a pen in one hand and a sword in the other. In *The Member for Paris*, the chief character Horace Gerold, temporarily on the staff of the opposition organ the *Sentinelle*, is forced into a duel with a Bonapartist journalist, whom he kills.³

Grenville-Murray might not have been a whistleblower on the Foreign Office any more but he remained an outspoken journalist and even had many unkind things to say about his colleagues of the press corps in Paris; so anonymity gave him some protection – as it should have done to Horace Gerold and his victim – in that quarter.⁴ It also had other advantages, although which weighed most heavily with him is difficult to say. A stigma now attached to his name – he was even a fugitive from justice; therefore, even had he wished by this stage to start writing openly, a few editors might have quailed at the prospect of employing him on that basis. By not drawing attention to himself, he was the better able to shelter his family from social insult. By omitting to put his own name on works to which Reginald had made a large contribution he avoided putting his eldest son's nose out of joint. And anonymity made it more likely that his readers would regard his articles as authoritative because it prevented the risk of a challenge to their implication that he was intimately acquainted with more of the great men about whom he wrote than was the case. It is amusing in this connection – and no doubt amused as well as gratified Grenville-

¹ *The Times*, 9 October 1850.

² *The Member for Paris*, Tauchnitz edition, vol. 1, pp. 201-2.

³ *The Member for Paris*, Tauchnitz edition, vol. 1, pp. 186-215.

⁴ For example, 'The French Press. Second Period', *CM*, October 1873; and 'Parisian Journalists of Today', *CM*, December 1873.

Murray – that the preliminary pages of the pirated American edition of *Men of the Third Republic* prominently displayed the following lines from the *Philadelphia Press* of 1 May 1873: 'The author's name has not yet been disclosed. The general opinion is that an eminent English statesman wrote the book.'¹

The ennobling grievance

Grenville-Murray's friend Edmund Yates, the acknowledged pioneer of the gossip column, had long nourished the idea of launching a new sort of weekly paper of his own.² It would contain general news presented in a racy style, be spiced with gossip, and strive to amuse its readers. Hitherto, however, he had lacked the capital for such a venture. On one of his visits to Paris in the spring of 1874, Yates shared his thoughts on the plan with the exile, who was immediately enthusiastic. Moreover, thanks in part to Gordon Bennett, by now both of them had some spare cash. The upshot was *The World. A Journal for Men and Women*, a weekly launched on 8 July 1874 following the circulation of a typically clever and eye-catching prospectus composed – save for one paragraph – by Grenville-Murray. The *World* was established under the joint ownership of the two men, each eventually investing in it £350. Since the journal was to be London-based and Grenville-Murray could not return to England, it had also been readily agreed that Yates – although conscious of his partner's greater age and ability – would be editor.

Delighted at the prospect of their collaboration Yates might have been but he had one serious reservation and voiced it before the ink on their agreement was dry. He could not help being aware, he told his proposed collaborator, that the sense of grievance he bore over his dismissal from the diplomatic service was so strong that it was impossible for him to keep from his writings allusions to those he held responsible. This, he said, would inevitably harm the prospects of the new venture in important quarters. Accordingly, Yates secured from Grenville-Murray – who told him that all ill-feeling against those persons had died out – an assurance that he could be trusted not to do this in the *World*. Credibility may have been lent to this promise

¹ Porter & Coates edition.

² Edwards, 'Yates'. Except where otherwise indicated, the paragraphs on the *World* which follow are based on Yates, *His Recollections and Experiences*, pp. 446-7, 451-66.

by the knowledge that although Stanley (now the 15th Earl of Derby) had been foreign secretary once more since February, John Bidwell had died, aged only 48, in the previous August,¹ and James Murray and Edmund Hammond had both retired from the Foreign Office. If he relapsed, Grenville-Murray told Yates, as editor he could correct him.

After a shaky start, the *World* took off and became a great success, as much in consequence of the stimulating effect Grenville-Murray's style had on other contributors as because of his own direct contribution.² It made Yates so rich that he could afford a house on the Upper Thames as well as a town house – and a steam yacht to ply between the two.³ All it did for Grenville-Murray, however, was to permit him to turn a quick profit because only six months following the launch he surrendered to Yates his share in their joint enterprise. He had written about men and cities in his 'Portraits in Oil' column and contributed more general pieces on current events. But it was only after a few weeks that he had also started attacking his old enemies in the Foreign Office; and this led to an impasse when he resisted the attempts of the exasperated Yates to curb him.⁴ Still, when in consequence he left the *World* at the end of 1874, following the arbitration of their mutual friend J. R. Robinson of the *Daily News*,⁵ Grenville-Murray took with him the sum of £3000. This was not a bad return on an investment of £350 in well under a year and it was not as if there were not other literary outlets for the conduct of his vendetta. It probably also eased his need to pursue further his claim against the Duke of Buckingham, even though Clara remained determined to pursue it, as we have seen.

Yates could hardly have failed to notice Grenville-Murray's continuing obsession with abuses in government departments and particularly his personal grievances against the Earl of Derby and the democratically unaccountable, scheming senior clerks in the Foreign Office who had manipulated him. Numerous of his writings prior to his departure from the *World* testified to this continuing preoccupation, either by lengthy allegory or more than one passing mention. Even in

¹ Hertslet, *Recollections of the Old Foreign Office*, p. 142.

² Escott, *Masters of English Journalism*, p. 265.

³ Hatton, *Journalistic London*, p. 88; Edwards, 'Yates'.

⁴ Yates told this story again in his column in the *World* following the death of Derby, for whom he had words of praise. Showing that his friendship for G-M had wilted as a result of this episode, perhaps also because they had become competitors, on this occasion Yates, who could be malicious, described him as an 'irascible little publicist.' This column was reprinted in the *Aberdeen Weekly Journal*, 27 April 1893.

⁵ Thomas (ed), *Fifty Years of Fleet Street*, p. 213.

the *Cornhill*, where he had to be particularly restrained, there were numerous examples.

In 'The Change in the Cabinet', published in the *Cornhill* in October 1869, the lowly government clerk Louis Brune worked secretly as a journalist and published a regular column in the satirical Paris daily the *Charivari*, later the model for London's *Punch*. Brune provided criticisms in rhyme of the fiascos for which his blundering minister M. Bousse was responsible, among them 'that famous Timbuctoo expedition which cost us nearly a billion francs' and caused the ambassador to that country to be 'fricasseed' by its king. In 'Le Ministre Malgré lui', which appeared in April 1872, on his first day in office the new minister in the Cochin China department is introduced by his parliamentary henchman – with deep reverence 'not unmingled with dread' – to 'The Permanent Irresponsible Under Secretary, Monsieur Jobus,' the hairless veteran of the ministry universally held to be indispensable: a rock of continuity around which fresh tides of new ministers washed inconsequentially. M. Jobus, who was transparently James Murray, John Bidwell and Edmund Hammond rolled into one, subsequently sabotaged all of the new minister's attempts to abolish abuses in his department, not least by keeping the gift of all jobs in his own hands. And then there was Grenville-Murray's third novel, the triple-decker called *The Boudoir Cabal* (see Appendix 1).

The general theme of *The Boudoir Cabal*, as the title makes clear, is the enormous political influence of the wives of men in high office, especially in the filling of posts and shaping of political careers. But already in the first volume we are introduced to Mr. Job Marvell, a man who owed his government position in one of the Australian colonies to 'mere merit' but had been dismissed as a result of a conspiracy stimulated by a subordinate with whom he could not get on, fostered with alacrity by some of the mercantile colonists over whose conduct he had kept 'a somewhat too sharp eye,' and orchestrated by 'Mr. Keane-Midge, the Permanent and Irresponsible Under-Secretary of the Australia Office,' to whom Marvell's insufferable subordinate Mr. Drone-Midge was distantly related. A Blue Book containing all the charges against him but which 'forgot, probably by an oversight, to print his refutations along with them,' was issued to help get rid of him. Thereafter Job Marvell – obviously the late Consul-General at Odessa – was 'a man with a grievance,' and the implications of his circumstances for other characters represented an important thread in the rest of

the novel. In 'Oxford Honours', published in the *Cornhill* shortly before his death, Grenville-Murray did not omit to note that Edmund Hammond only got a Third.

It is not, however, only the strength of Grenville-Murray's continuing sense of grievance which is evident from these writings. There are also indications in them of earlier moments of self-doubt during his whistleblowing career in the diplomatic service and anger at the attitude of others – even friends like Yates – to his righteous obsession.

A strong hint of the earlier moments of self-doubt is obvious in 'Diego the Heretic', published in the *Cornhill* in July 1872. In this the heresy of the Catholic-liberal Don Diego Herda causes the hell-threatening clergy to blacken his reputation; and the woman he loves, Adelina, begs him to renounce his views so that they can be married. Should he not give in and make Adelina happy? 'There is no man, having taken up the cudgels against a vindictive body of his fellows stronger than he, who has not experienced at moments a craven temptation to surrender of this sort,' writes Grenville-Murray. Moreover, he added, the temptation was unusually strong in Don Diego's case because his heresy served no personal ambition and if he refused to give it up the consequences might be 'total ruin, the loss of Adelina, and persecutions which would force him into exile, if not wreck his character.' In the event, of course, the heretic held firm, although it cost him his life – and Adelina's.

As to anger at the attitude of those to whom he had looked for sympathy and support, the evidence of this is seen most vividly in the picture drawn by Grenville-Murray in *The Boudoir Cabal* of the desperate condition in later life of Job Marvell, the dismissed officer of the Australia Office whom we have already met, and the author's commentary upon it. Marvell's description is given when the government clerk Quilpin Leech, the suitor of his beautiful but calculating daughter Grace, knocks on the door of his lodgings and receives an answer, 'sharp and waspish as an explosion:'

'Who's there? I can't be disturbed.'

'It's I, Mr. Marvell, and I think I have good news – good news for you and your case.'

'For my case!' cried the voice in weak agitation, and there was a shuffling of slippers across the carpet, then a key turned in the lock. The door was opened and exhibited an old man in a soiled dressing-gown, who held a pen dripping with ink in his shrivelled hand, and appeared to let go the door-handle with the mistrust of one who is not used to welcome visits. He might have been sixty years of age, judging by the wisps of unkempt white hair that stood up round his high forehead, like ruffled feathers; and deep crow's feet, the finger-marks of care and fever rather

than of time wrinkled his sallow temples. There was a glare in his eyes which a doctor would have taken for the herald gleam of insanity; and he was not a sightly object, nor clean. His linen was worse than dingy; his beard a stubble; the fingers of both his hands were stained with ink that looked many days old; and the room to which he reluctantly admitted Mr. Leech was a den strewn with papers more madly than a printer's shop. Newspapers with gashes in them where paragraphs had been cut out, books of law lying open back uppermost, printed proof slips, and heaps of manuscript written in a wild hand on folios of foolscap, were littered round a writing-table coated thick with dust, and covered with a rubbish of rusty pens, old letters, and empty ink bottles. It was the lair of a man who had disowned Society, or been disowned.

This is not – although so it seems at first glance – a spectral allegory of the doom feared by Grenville-Murray for himself. Instead, it was either a similar representation of his condition in London during 1868 and the first half of 1869 or, more likely, a satire on the vision of his fate foretold by his friends and acquaintances if he would not drop the 'animus' from his complaints, confess that he shared much of the blame, admit that all of the individuals concerned in his ruin were 'actuated by the purest motives,' bow humbly to the editor who refused to publish 'a single line of his remonstrances,' better still stop altogether being a bore about his grievance, and – as we would say today – move on. But he believed that this was only sage advice to a man with a grievance who was 'weak and querulous,' like Marvell. 'There are some men,' he explained, 'who spurn a grievance under their foot, and rise high by it as off a spring-board; others who do not rise, but whose private virtues increase even as the fertility of soil increases when it is ploughed to its depths.' In other words, a strong sense of grievance could be energizing to a bold man, even morally ennobling. It can be no accident that this was written by Grenville-Murray, or was much in his mind, during the period in 1874 when he was under pressure from Yates to remove allusions to his grievance from his writings. (*The Boudoir Cabal* was published in June 1875.)¹ As it happened, after 1875 the allusions in his novels and articles did diminish but they did not disappear. Moreover, in 1877 he published a full-length account of a rebuffed appeal to Queen Victoria for redress of his grievance in which, among the less plausible claims in its pages, he complained that his nomination as a Companion of the Bath had been suppressed after he had been officially addressed by that title.² It flared up again, as we have seen, in *Side-Lights*.

¹ *The Times*, 15 June 1875.

² *Narrative of an Appeal*, p. 11.

Meanwhile, the fight had rather gone out of Grenville-Murray's pursuit of his claim against the Duke of Buckingham. He was, he informed him in August 1875, still 'in the utmost depth of poverty and sorrow' (despite just having banked £3000 on winding up his stake in the *World*) but remained anxious for the business to be settled in a 'kindly and amicable way' between them.¹ The voice of God was silent in this letter and the missive suggested a weariness with the whole affair which may in part account for his failure to carry out his threat to go public with it. He would also have known that in May the duke had been tempted from his railway by the offer of the governorship of the minor Indian presidency of Madras and would soon be more difficult to pursue. If there were any more letters or post cards to him from his importunate near relative, they have not survived. In late November Buckingham arrived in Madras, where he presided until 1880.²

In the following year, after publishing a further clutch of novels, many other books, and a fresh library of journalism, the literary manufactory in Paris closed down – or passed briefly to Reginald before expiring altogether when the eldest son adroitly changed his name to 'James Brinsley-Richards' and, having understandably concealed with great care the unhappy episodes in his life as well as his ancestry, went to work for the Ex-Thunderer.³ For by the end of 1881 Eustace Clare Grenville-Murray, no doubt to Buckingham's immense relief, was dead.

¹ HL, G-M to 3DBC, 3 August 1875, STG Box 126 (37).

² *The Times*, 19 May and 24 November 1875; Feuchtwanger, 'Grenville'.

³ By 1885 Reginald was Vienna correspondent of *The Times* and in 1892 was transferred to Berlin, where after only a few months he died following a severe heart attack. The joint manager and later proprietor of *The Times* A. F. Walter, who had been his contemporary at Eton, came to suspect the true identity of Brinsley Richards but did not allow his view to be reflected in his employee's obituary in *The Times*, 6 April 1892. Success as a journalist and also as a novelist (he published three triple-deckers on subjects reminiscent of those favoured by his father) was sufficient to earn Reginald a place in the *DNB* and subsequently in the *ODNB*; this is silent on his real name and true parentage. See Walter, 'Memorandum'; Boase, 'Richards'; Room, *Dictionary of Pseudonyms*, p. 405; Sutherland, *The Stanford Companion to Victorian Fiction*.

Epilogue

Grenville-Murray died on 20 December 1881. He was 58, the same age at which Dickens died just over a decade earlier. He had finally succumbed to a long and lingering illness: a form of dyspepsia which for more than a year had prevented him from taking any solid food, with the result that he just wasted away.¹ The tone as well as the content of the preface to his *Side-Lights on English Society*, dated Paris 1 June 1881, suggest that already he knew he did not have long to live. It was a bitter retrospective on his life, written, he said, ‘with all the sad and yearning love which an exile feels towards his country.’

Diplomacy, he recalled in the preface to *Side-Lights*, using for the most part exactly the same words he had employed in another book a quarter of a century earlier,² was his career of choice. It cost him a great deal of money and he worked at it ‘as an ambitious lawyer drudges at the law. I loved it as a soldier loves his sword. In a word,’ he said, ‘I believed in it.’ ‘I collected, with laborious care,’ he went on, ‘whatever seemed to me to bear upon the duties I had, or might have to perform. No fact appeared to me too trifling, no research too minute, that gave me a clearer knowledge of things belonging to my profession.’ And what was his reward? ‘I was ultimately hustled out of active service by a clerk who had embezzled my salary.’³

There is no reason to doubt Grenville-Murray’s passion for the diplomatic profession; his *Embassies and Foreign Courts* alone testifies to that. But no-one had embezzled his salary. It also passes all belief that, as he went on to say, he had spent ten years of his life compiling a work on international law, that this was seized (together with other of his private papers) on Foreign Office orders, and that these had disappeared without trace despite an application for their return very kindly supported by Queen Victoria herself. There was no mention of a seized magnum opus, although

¹ *Standard*, 24 December 1881.

² *Embassies and Foreign Courts*, pp. 349-53.

³ *Side-Lights*, vol. 1, p. xii.

there was of private papers generally, anywhere in his vast correspondence with the Foreign Office following the take-over of his consulate-general by George Stevens at the end of 1866; and in a private letter to the Duke of Buckingham written in 1869 the manuscript he claimed had been seized was of a book on Turkish and Persian history, not international law.¹ Grenville-Murray lied honourably about his identity as a writer but sometimes with less justification about other things. Perhaps, however, we should be more charitable and hazard that, especially as he got older and because economic necessity required his pen to fly across his paper, he found it increasingly difficult to observe the boundary between his fictional and his factual writing.

In the preface to *Side-Lights* he confessed that he was never completely satisfied with the books he had written and regretted that he had been unable to attack abuses without saying some hard things about the individuals who gained from them. He consoled himself with the thought that his numerous volumes had found favour with an indulgent public and signed himself off not with *au revoir* but 'Reader, farewell!'

Grenville-Murray was buried in Paris in the quiet Passy cemetery in the 16th Arrondissement.² The epitaph on his gravestone was his last work of fiction. Transcribed by Robert Pierpoint following correspondence with the cemetery's *conservateur*,³ it reads as follows:

In memoriam
Eustathii Clare Grenville Murray
Comitis de Rethel d' Aragon
Ricardi Plantagenet Ducis de Buckingham
et Chandos
et Henricæ Annæ Marquisæ Strozzi
filii
Natus die Oct. ij⁴ 1819. Ob. Dec. xx 1881
Qui seminant in lacrymis in exultatione metent
Viro egregio
Clara Comitissa de Rethel d' Aragon
uxor pia
erexit

¹ HL, G-M to 3DBC, 16 December 1869, STG Box 126 (22).

² *Notes and Queries* (Nicholson), p. 177.

³ *Notes and Queries* (Pierpoint), pp. 292-3.

⁴ The *conservateur* told Pierpoint that it was 'ij' which was plainly engraved on the granite but concluded, surely correctly, that this meant 'II', for 2 October was G-M's date of birth given on the parish record of his baptism (see p. 4, n. 3 above), *Notes and Queries* (Pierpoint), pp. 292-3.

His father was not Richard Plantagenet, 2nd Duke of Buckingham, but Richard Temple, the first duke. He was born on 2 October 1823 not 2 October 1819, although on the legend that he was the son of Richard Plantagenet (which as we know was widely believed), the second of these myths would have reinforced the claim that he should have inherited the title in 1861, since the Marquis of Chandos, who in the event became the third duke, was born three weeks earlier than Grenville-Murray, on 10 September 1823. His mother was not an Italian marchioness, Henrica Anna Strozzi, entertaining though the notion is;¹ for, as is certain, it was the actress Emma Murray. As to the suggestion in the epitaph that his bereaved wife ('uxor') Clara Countess of Rethel d' Aragon was a different 'Clara' from the Sarah Clara Lake he had married in 1844 and that it was from this second marriage that he had become a count, this was – as I have argued – almost certainly a fiction too. Clara herself survived Grenville-Murray for another seven years. Upon her death, also in Paris, family representatives decided, probably for legal reasons, to suppress the memoirs of her husband; this was a work to which she was reported to have contributed and which had been repeatedly withheld when its publication was said to be imminent.²

Of the two trades he had followed it was as a journalist that Grenville-Murray devoted exclusively his last years and it is only as a journalist that he has been respectfully remembered, indeed remembered at all. Even the nineteenth century *Dictionary of National Biography*, although not going as far in praise of his stature in this profession as Henry Labouchere, whom I quoted in the Prologue, conceded that he was 'certainly one of the most accomplished journalists of his day' and echoed the widespread view that he had done more than any of his professional colleagues to give birth to modern, popular journalism.³

But Grenville-Murray spent the greater part of his working life as a diplomatist and he was by no means useless in this role when given serious work to do, which probably for the first time was at Odessa. On the contrary, his reporting, whether on commercial, political or military affairs, was first class and he displayed the sort of active interest in promoting the interests of individual British companies

¹ It was repeated in the press from time to time, with the added twist that it was because his mother was a Roman Catholic and father a Protestant that he was ousted from the ducal succession; see for example the *York Herald*, 15 October 1887.

² *Pall Mall Gazette*, 21 March 1889. The manuscript was in the hands of the London publisher Sampson Low & Company and was first mentioned in the press in the second half of 1886: *Leeds Mercury*, 27 September and *Aberdeen Weekly*, 1 October.

³ Seccombe, 'Murray'.

which was well ahead of its time. In addition, he showed a practical concern for British citizens in distress in his vast district and a humane interpretation of the marriage laws which was found to be at fault only because this was also too advanced. It was just unfortunate that because the Foreign Office knew that he had lied to it about his identity as the Roving Englishman it could not bring itself to place much trust in anything else he said. This, together with institutional conservatism and hostility to his whistleblowing, also led it to receive with cold indifference his eloquent, forceful and generally persuasive arguments for reform. But there were others with whom his campaign found favour; these included radicals in parliament as well as within publishing and the press – and certainly some men in the diplomatic service too, although it would have been more than their careers were worth to own up to it. And it cannot be entirely coincidental that the future shape of British diplomacy was very much that urged by Grenville-Murray. At the least, he had stiffened and helped to shape the direction of a wind already blowing.

Grenville-Murray's ultimate misfortune was that his two great patrons, Dickens and Palmerston, tugged him in opposite directions: the former to the literary exposure of social evils, the latter to the important work of diplomacy. He was no saint but it remains to his credit that, despite the tension between them and the strain that simultaneously plying these two trades imposed on his family, he made such a valuable contribution to both over such a long period. He deserves a better place in history than that pegged on the lazy re-cycling of the myths that he was a 'scurrilous' journalist deservedly 'horsewhipped' by a nobleman he had offended.

Appendix 1 Grenville-Murray's books: anonymous, pseudonymous, and signed

Most of these books are available free online on the Internet Archive site. Go to this page <http://archive.org/search.php?query=creator%3A%22Eustace+Clare+Grenville+Murray%22>

[anon.] *From Mayfair to Marathon* (Bentley: London, 1853)¹

[anon.] *Walter Evelyn; or, The Long Minority* (Bentley: London, 1853)²

Grenville Murray, E. C., *Droits et Devoirs des Envoyés Diplomatiques*.

Documens recueillis et arrangés par E. C. Grenville-Murray (Bentley: Londres, 1853)³

[anon.] *The Roving Englishman* (Routledge: London, 1854)

Grenville-Murray, E. C., *Doïne; or, The National Songs and Legends of Roumania* (Smith, Elder: London, 1854)⁴

The Roving Englishman [pseudonym], *Pictures from the Battle Fields* (Routledge: London, 1855)

The Roving Englishman in Turkey [pseudonym]. *Sketches from Life* (Routledge: London, 1855)⁵

The Roving Englishman [pseudonym], *Embassies and Foreign Courts: A history of diplomacy* (Routledge: London, 1855)

A Distinguished Writer [pseudonym], *The Press and the Public Service* (Routledge: London, 1857)⁶

*Indicates that a copyright edition was also published by Bernhard Tauchnitz of Leipzig in the same year, except for *Six Months in the Ranks*, which was not published until the year following the printing of the Smith and Elder edition. The numbers in square brackets are the serial numbers of these books in Tauchnitz's 'Collection of British Authors'.

¹ Attributed to G-M by the BL and Halkett and Laing, vol. 2; internal evidence (numerous chapters were revised versions of articles previously published under the pseudonym of the Roving Englishman in *HW*).

² G-M identified as author by the Bentley Private Catalogue (Wolff); attributed to G-M by the BL; internal evidence. Published 1 November 1853.

³ Attempting to re-launch this in 1856, its publisher described it as 'Mr Grenville Murray's Manual for the Diplomatic Service', *The Times*, 8 May 1856. It must have had a very limited print-run because it is difficult to obtain. The Bodleian Library in Oxford has a copy, of which the BL itself has a microfilm.

⁴ The Introduction is dated 12 September 1853, Prince's Island [Sea of Marmora]. The book was reprinted in 1859.

⁵ Revised in 1877 under the slightly adjusted title *Turkey, Being Sketches from Life*, by The Roving Englishman.

⁶ No attribution by BL or any other source. Halkett and Laing, however, suspected him (vol. 4: 'Eustace Clare Grenville Murray?'). However, it contains unmistakable internal evidence in abundance of G-M's authorship; my own copy, obtained from a London second-hand and antiquarian

[anon.] *The Oyster; where, how, and when to find, breed, cook, and eat it* (Trübner: London, 1861)¹

*Trois-Étoiles [pseudonym], *The Member for Paris: A Tale of the Second Empire* (Smith, Elder: London, 1871) [1183]²

[anon.] *Men of the Second Empire* (Smith, Elder: London, 1872)³

[anon.] *Men of the Third Republic* (Strahan & Co.: London, 1873)⁴

[anon.] *The Coming K —. A set of idyll lays* (London: 1873)⁵

*[anon.] *Young Brown, or The Law of Inheritance* (Smith, Elder: London, 1874) [1444]⁶

*[anon.] *The Boudoir Cabal* (Smith, Elder: London, 1875) [1514]⁷

book dealer, also has the following inscribed in pencil on the title page: ‘a bookseller’s catalogue attributes it to Eustace C G Murray.’ An advertisement in *The Times*, 13 March 1857, announced that it was to be published on 19 March 1857.

¹ Attributed to G-M in Seccombe, ‘Murray’ and by the Editor of Cassell and Co. Ltd. in a letter to the Editor of the *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 10 July 1890, in which it was also stated that it was first published by David Bogue; but attributed to Herbert Byng-Hall by the BL and, relying on this, Halkett and Laing, vol. 4. It appeared in a second edition in 1963 with a new chapter, ‘The Oyster-Seeker in London.’ On the internal evidence as well as the first two sources, there can be little doubt that G-M was the author, although Byng-Hall may have made some contribution. There is no similarity at all between the style of *The Oyster* and Byng-Hall’s *The Queen’s Messenger* and *The Adventures of a Bric-a-Brac Hunter*.

² Attributed to G-M by Halkett and Laing (vol. 4), Wolff and the BL. Published in the same year by James R. Osgood of Boston. Both the pirated US edition and the Tauchnitz edition also appeared under the pseudonym ‘Trois-Étoiles’.

³ ‘By the author of *The Member for Paris*’; attributed to G-M by Halkett and Laing (vol. 4) and the BL.

⁴ ‘Reprinted, with large additions, from “The Daily News”’; attributed to G-M by the BL. Published as *The Men of the Third Republic; or, The Present Leaders of France*, by Porter & Coates of Philadelphia, 1873.

⁵ Publisher as well as author anonymous. Attributed to G-M by Halkett and Laing with a query (vol. 1, p. 380), but sometimes attributed to all or several of the following: Samuel Orchart Beeton, Aglen A. Dowty (a regular contributor to the *London Figaro*), George Rose Emerson (biographer and poet) and Evelyn Douglas Jerrold (journalist and poet, son of the more famous Blanchard Jerrold, and a man who – like G-M – lived much in Paris). The other ‘scandalous’ edition of *Beeton’s Christmas Annual* was ‘The Siliad; or, The siege of the seats’ (1973), which was reprinted under the same title by Ward, Lock, and Tyler of London in 1874. At this point, Ward, Lock, and Tyler lost its nerve and fell out with Beeton, who in consequence broke from them and published the third annual (not under the trade mark name) as *Jon Duan: A twofold journey with manifold purposes*, by The Authors of *The Coming K — and The Siliad* (Weldon: London, 1874), which sold over a quarter of a million copies in three weeks (Bergem, ‘Owning’); and the fourth (having missed a year through illness) as *Edward VII: A Play on the Past and Present Times with a View to the Future* (Goubaud: London, 1876). Publicly, *Edward VII* was ‘Published for the Proprietors’ but there is little doubt that it was the French publisher Goubaud et Fils that brought it out, the *Graphic*, 16 December 1876.

⁶ First published serially in the *Cornhill* from July 1873 to February 1874 and attributed to G-M by the *Wellesley Index* (p. 1024) and Wolff. The Tauchnitz edition appeared under the pseudonym ‘Trois-Étoiles’. The American edition, published in 1874 by James R., Osgood of Boston, appeared with ‘Grenville Murray’ as the author’s name.

⁷ ‘By the Author of “The Member for Paris”, “Young Brown”, etc. In some editions sub-titled *A Novel of Society*. First serialized in *Vanity Fair*. The Tauchnitz edition appeared under the pseudonym ‘Trois-Étoiles’ but a Canadian copyright edition, published by Rogers and Larminie of Toronto in the same year, appeared under the authorship of ‘Grenville Murray’, as in the case of the earlier US edition of *Young Brown*; not surprisingly, attributed to G-M by Wolff and the BL.

- *[anon.] *French Pictures in English Chalk* (Smith, Elder: London, 1876) [1612]¹
 The Roving Englishman [pseudonym], *Turkey, being Sketches from Life*, new edition
 (Routledge: London, 1877)
 Grenville-Murray, Eustace Clare, Consul General, *Narrative of an Appeal to the
 Crown in 1877. An episode of English history* (Laloux, Son & Guillot: Paris, 1877)
Veuve ou Mariée? (Hachette: Paris, 1877)
- *[anon.] *The Russians of To-day* (Smith, Elder: London, 1878) [1742]²
 Grenville-Murray, E. C., *Round About France* (Macmillan: London, 1878)
- *[anon.] *French Pictures in English Chalk* (Second Series) (Smith, Elder: London,
 1878) [1770]³
- *Silly Billy [pseudonym], *Strange Tales. From Vanity Fair* ('Vanity Fair' Office:
 London, n.d. 1878?) [1793]⁴
- *[anon.] *That Artful Vicar: The Story of What a Clergyman Tried to Do for Others
 and Did for Himself* (Smith, Elder: London, 1879) [1820]⁵
- Mark Hope [pseudonym], *The Prodigal Daughter: A Story of Female Prison Life*
 (Chapman and Hall: London, 1879)⁶
- Mark Hope [pseudonym], *Dark and Light Stories* (Chapman and Hall: London,
 1879)⁷
- Grenville-Murray, E. C., *Side-lights on English Society, or Sketches from Life, Social
 & Satirical*, in two volumes (Vizetelly: London, 1881)
- *[anon.] *Six Months in the Ranks; or The Gentleman Private* (Smith, Elder: London,
 1881) [2064]⁸

¹ Reprints of articles from the *Cornhill*. The Tauchnitz edition appeared under G-M's own name; attributed to G-M by the BL.

² 'By the Author of "The Member for Paris," etc.:'; published by Tauchnitz under G-M's own name; attributed to G-M by the BL.

³ The Tauchnitz edition appeared under G-M's own name

⁴ Published by Tauchnitz in 1878 (under G-M's own name and simply as *Strange Tales*), Todd and Bowden, *Tauchnitz International Editions in English*, p. 290, so I am guessing that the British edition appeared in the same year.

⁵ 'By the Author of "The Member for Paris", "French Pictures in English Chalk", etc.:'; published by Tauchnitz under G-M's own name; attributed to G-M by Halkett and Laing (vol. 6) and Wolff; dedicated to Labouchere.

⁶ Attributed to G-M by Halkett and Laing, vol. 4, and by Wolff; also published in the following year in the Routledge Railway Series. The Chapman and Hall imprint (but not that of Routledge) was dedicated to David Wilson Esq, MD, who was G-M's landlord at 62 Brook Street and for some time appears to have had care of his elder son.

⁷ Attributed to G-M by Halkett and Laing, vol. 2.

⁸ Published under G-M's own name in the Tauchnitz edition and duly attributed to him by Halkett and Laing (vol. 5) and the BL.

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- Grenville-Murray, E. C., *Under the Lens: Social Photographs*, in two vols. (Vizetelly: London, 1885)⁴
- Grenville-Murray, E. C., *Spendthrifts, and Other Social Photographs* (Vizetelly: London, 1887)⁵

¹ Also published by Tauchnitz under G-M's own name.

² This volume contains revised versions of articles first published mainly in the *Pall Mall Gazette* and also appeared in at least two later editions, the third in 1887.

³ This volume of 434 pages contains 15 short stories in addition to the 121-page long novella of its title. The advertisement at the end describes it as 'New Work'.

⁴ According to the 'Literature' column of the *Leeds Mercury* of 8 December 1884, this work was completed 'only a few hours before his death.'

⁵ This was just a reprint of vol. 2 of *Under the Lens*, published two years earlier.

Appendix 2 Grenville-Murray's articles in the *Cornhill Magazine**

For free online access to almost all of these articles, go to the Internet Archive; for example, to this page <http://archive.org/stream/cornhillmagazine26londonoft#page/n6/mode/1up> to find no. 22 below (article titles are listed alphabetically at the front of each issue).

1. 'History of the French Silk Trade', December 1868, pp. 730-8
2. 'Our Rough, Red Candidate: The Story of a French Election', February 1869, pp. 159-91
3. 'Maisons de santé', June 1869, pp. 699-710
4. 'The Change in the Cabinet: An Episode under the Second Empire', October 1869, pp. 412-31
5. 'Our Secret Society: A Reminiscence of the "Coup-d'état"', November 1869, pp. 555-87
6. 'Our New Bishop. À Propos of the "Oecumenical"', January 1870, pp. 63-90
7. 'The February Post-Bag. Letters about the Conscription', February 1870, pp. 204-32
8. 'Prince Moleskine's Conspiracy. A Russian Socialist Bubble', May 1870, pp. 544-65
9. 'Yes or No? A Plebiscitum in the Duchy of Gerolstein', June 1870, pp. 677-98
10. 'Our First Success. À Propos of Dramatic Censorship', July 1870, pp. 25-48
11. 'Wanted, a King. An Adventure in the Realm of Tobago', August 1870, pp. 239-56
12. 'L'Empire c'est la Paix. Reminiscences of a Zouave', September 1870, pp. 297-318
13. 'Lieutenant de Chasselay: A Story of 1848', December 1870, pp. 675-99
14. 'L'Ambulance Tricoche: Recollections of the Siege of Paris', May 1871, 537-65
15. 'Consule Julio: An Episode under the Commune de Paris', August 1871, pp. 175-206
16. 'Fleur de Lys: A Story of the Late War', September 1871, pp. 294-321

17. 'Une Pétroleuse: A Souvenir of Versailles', November 1871, pp. 531-52
18. "'Collegers v. Oppidans': A Reminiscence of Eton', December 1871, pp. 688-717
19. 'Le Ministre Malgré lui: A Contemporary Story', April 1872, pp. 423-52
20. 'The Clerk of the Weather: A Chronicle of Nevelundregenstein', May 1872, pp. 551-77
21. "'Regeneration:" A Tale of 1772', June 1872, pp. 674-703
22. 'Diego the Heretic: A Tale of the Carlist Rising', July 1872, pp. 48-69
23. 'Patrick O'Featherhead's Watch: A Dateless Story', August 1872, pp. 188-201
24. 'Mademoiselle Viviane: The Story of a French Marriage', September 1872, pp. 313-40
25. 'Mara; or, the Girl without References', November 1872, pp. 556-83
26. "'An Ugly Dog'", January 1873, pp. 55-61
27. 'Le Jour des Morts: A Catholic Custom', January 1873, pp. 73-81
28. 'The Willow Farm: An Artist's Story', February 1873, pp. 191-214
29. 'Aerostatics in France', March 1873, pp. 336-44
30. 'Franklin Bacon's Republic: Diary of an Inventor', May 1873, pp. 562-80
31. 'The French Press. I. First Period. The French Press, from its Foundation to the Death of Mazarin', June 1873, 703-31
32. 'A Scotch Theological College', August 1873, pp. 207-15
33. 'The French Press. II. Second Period. Reigns of Louis XIV and Louis XV', October 1873, pp. 411-30
34. 'Parisian Journalists of To-day', December 1873, pp. 715-32
35. 'The French Press. III. Third Period. The Reign of Louis XVI', February 1874, pp. 154-71
36. 'The Courtier of Misfortune: A Bonapartist Story', March 1874, pp. 308-36
37. 'The French Press. IV. Fourth Period. Newspapers during the Revolution', May 1874, pp. 535-52
38. 'Agathe Marron: The Story of a New Caledonian Déportée', November 1874,

pp. 556-81

39. 'The Sceptic: a Tale of Married Life', July 1875, pp. 102-19
40. 'Jacques Girard's Newspaper; or, The Trials of a French Journalist', December 1875, pp. 691-710
41. 'Justin Vitali's Client: a French "Cause Célèbre"', April 1876, pp. 444-67
42. 'Lord Fairland's Secret', June 1876, pp. 709-27
43. 'Forgotten Jokes', November 1876, pp. 595-602
44. 'Anecdotes of an Epicure', January 1877, pp. 56-68
45. 'The Gossip of History', March 1877, pp. 325-39
46. "'Royal and Noble" Gossip', August 1877, pp.185-95
47. 'The Czar's Clemency: A Polish Priest's Story', November 1877, pp. 561-88
48. 'A Romance by Rum-light', April 1878, pp. 438-51
49. 'Rose Cherril: an Exile's Love Story', September 1878, pp. 297-320
50. 'Jérôme Bongrand's Heresy: a Tale about Priests', March 1879, pp. 303-22
51. 'Old Joquelin's Bequest: a Tale about Women', June 1879, pp. 681-711
52. 'Madame de Sainte-Folye's Babies', October 1879, pp. 430-45
53. 'The Regicides of this Century', April 1880, pp. 467-74
54. 'Marius Bougeard's Amnesty: The Story of one Good Turn and Another', May 1880, pp. 571-88
55. 'A Seat in the House', May 1880, pp. 604-11
56. 'Cabinet-Making', June 1880, pp. 735-41
57. 'Foreign Titles', August 1880, pp. 202-11
58. 'Foreign Orders', October 1880, pp. 464-70
59. 'Oxford Honours', February 1881, pp. 183-90
60. 'A Bishop's Confession', May 1881, pp. 555-78
61. 'The French and English Police Systems', October 1881, pp. 421-35

62. 'Political Spies', December 1881, pp. 713-24
63. "'Let Nobody Pass.'" A Guardsman's Story', February 1882, pp. 171-90
64. 'Cheap Places to Live in', May 1882, pp. 555-66
65. 'A French Assize', June 1882, pp. 662-75
66. 'French Prisons and Convict Establishments', July 1882, pp. 74-86
67. 'Great Men's Relatives', September 1882, pp. 350-9

*Adapted from the *Wellesley Index*, vol. 1; excludes the numerous chapters of G-M's novel *Young Brown*, which was serialized in the *Cornhill* between July 1873 and February 1874

Appendix 3 Key Primary Sources Free Online

- *Household Words* <http://www.djo.org.uk/household-words.html>>

- *The Queen's Messenger*

<http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=ImAvAQAAAMAJ&lpg=PA1&pg=PA1#v=onepage&q&f=false>

- *Dictionary of National Biography*

<http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/metabook?id=dnb>

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For Grenville-Murray's own books, see Appendix 1 above; and for acronyms used in the following list, see p. xi in the front matter.

Almost all of the nineteenth century titles cited below can easily be found free online via the Internet Archive, for example Labouchere's brilliant *Diary of the Besieged Resident in Paris* at <http://archive.org/stream/diarybesiegedre01labogoog#page/n4/mode/2up>

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Illustrations

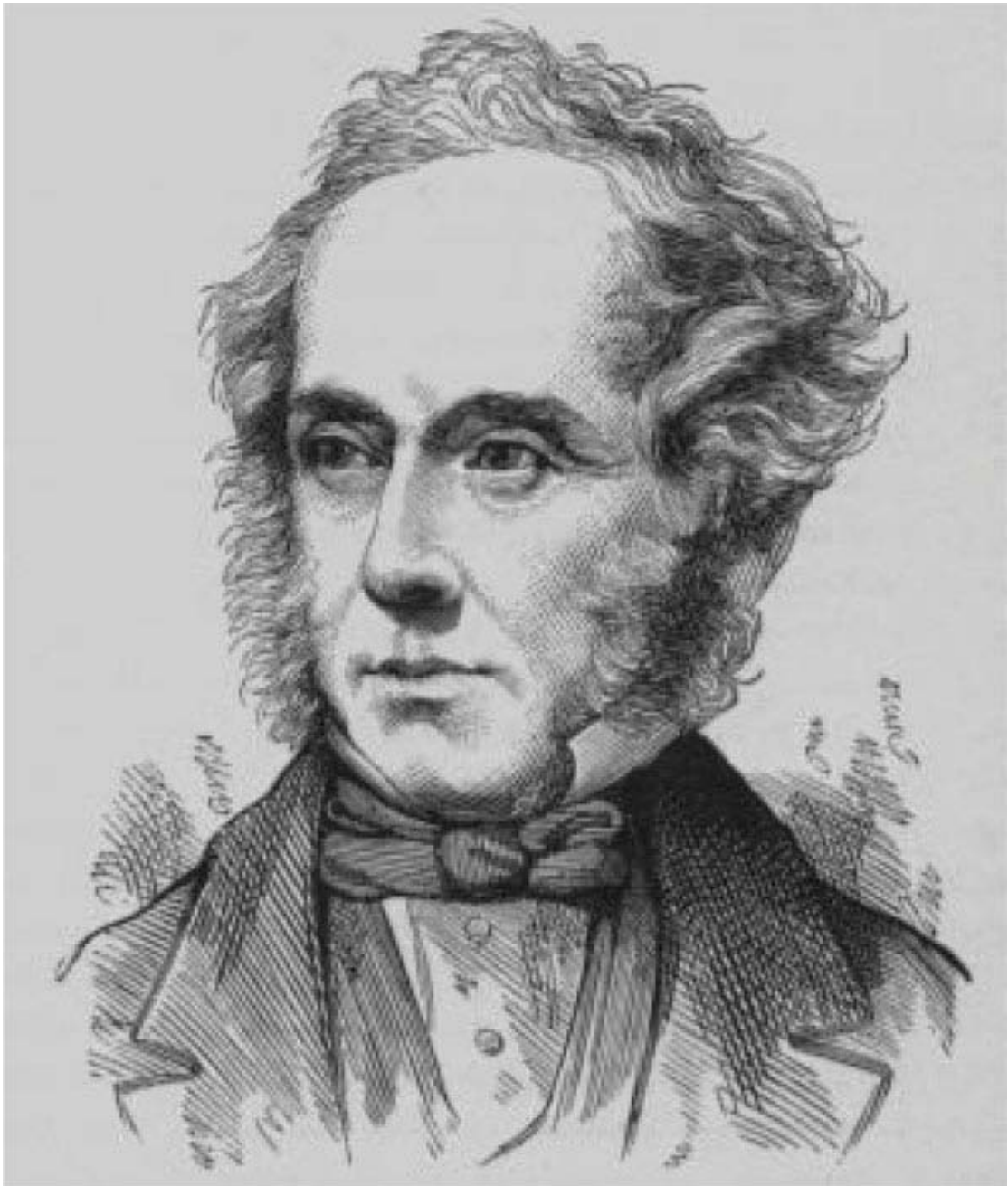
1. 22 Brook Street today



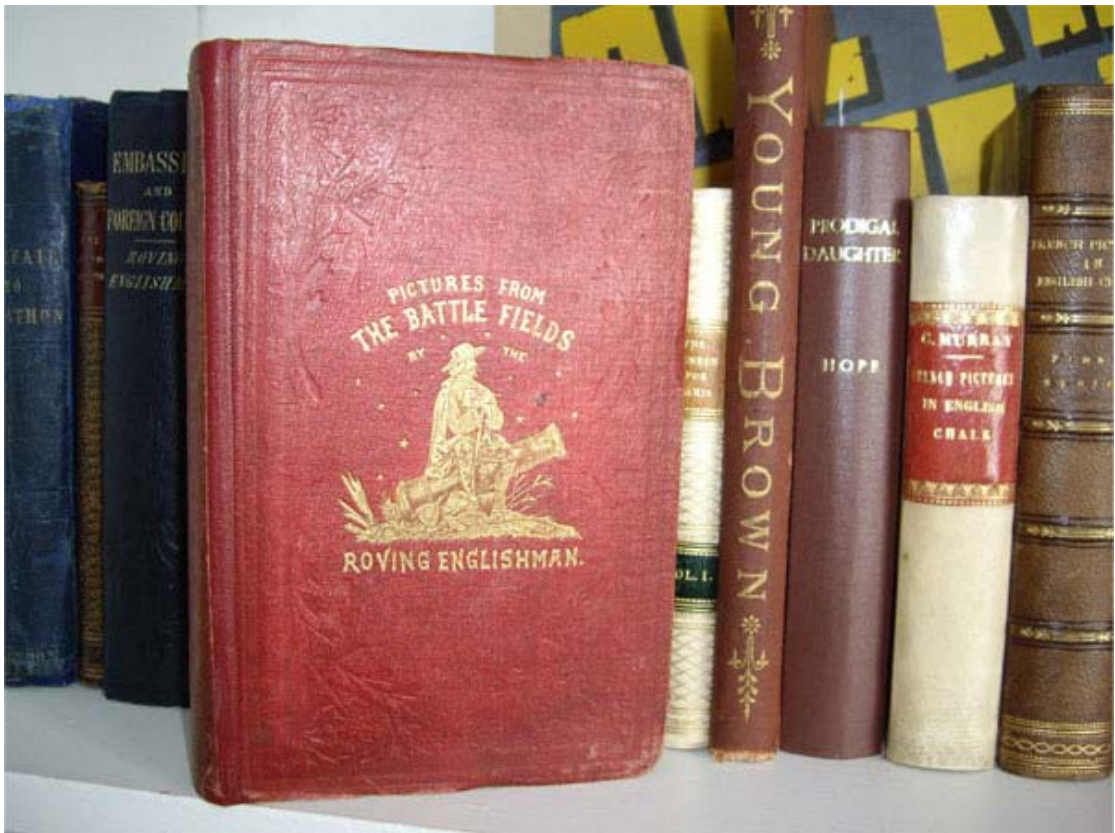
2. 62 Brook Street today



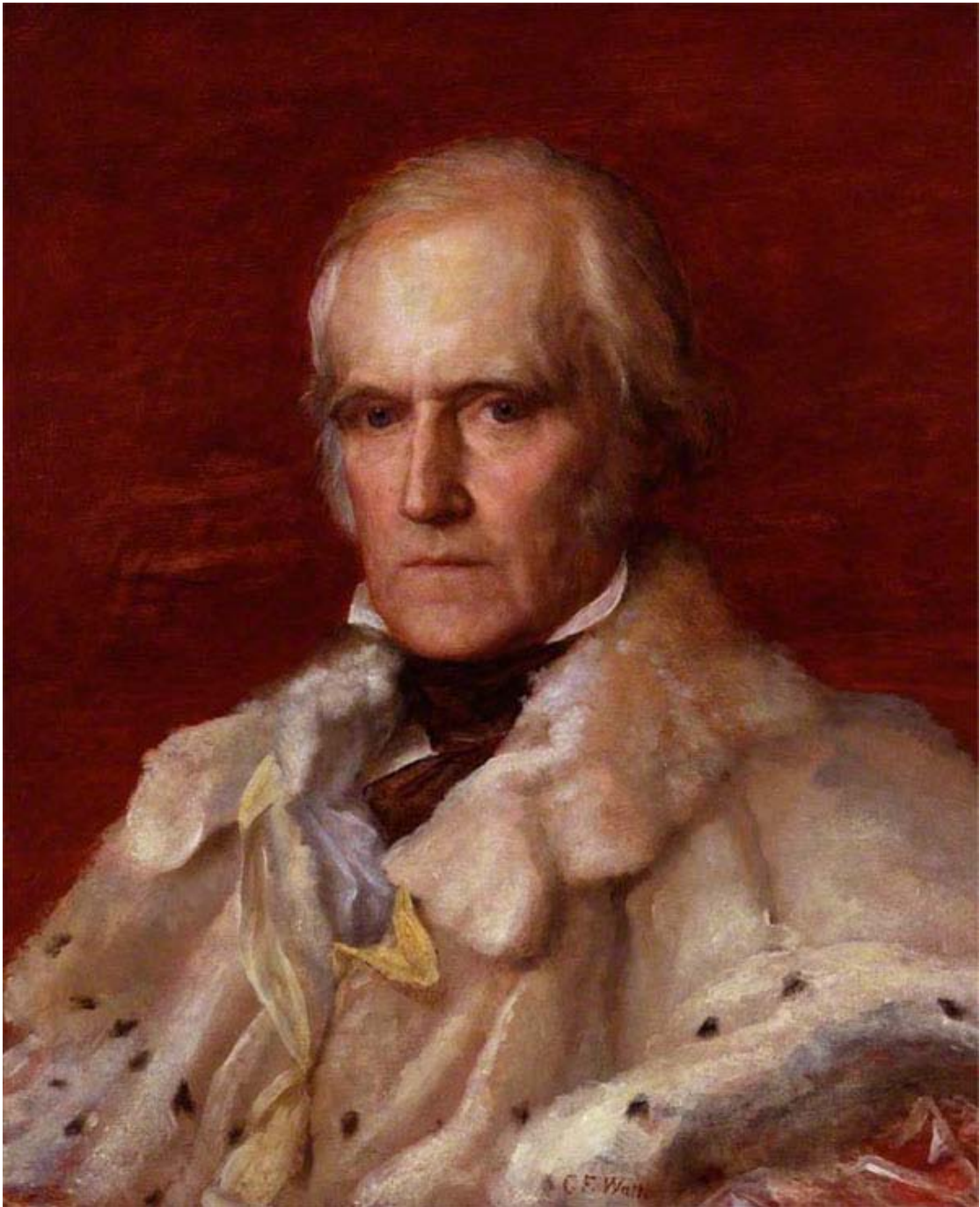
3. Lord Palmerston ('Cupid')



4. *Pictures from the Battlefields*



5. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe ('Sir Hector Stubble')



6. The Black Sea and the Sea of Azof



7. General von Kotzebue



Designe Kupferstecher des Kaisers Joseph II. (Lyon 1804)

Генерал-Адъютантъ Императору Александру I.

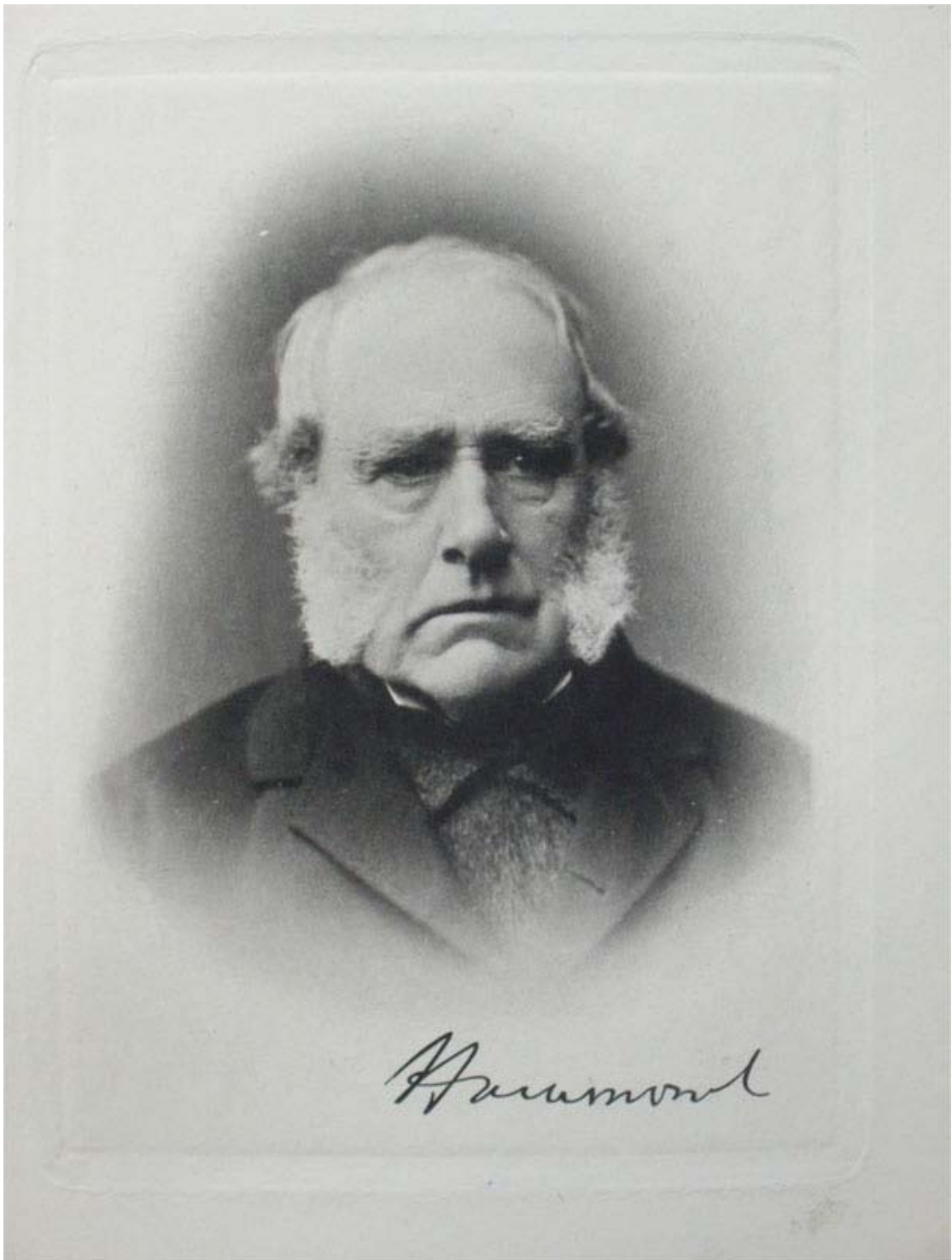
Павла Александровича

КОТЗЕБУ

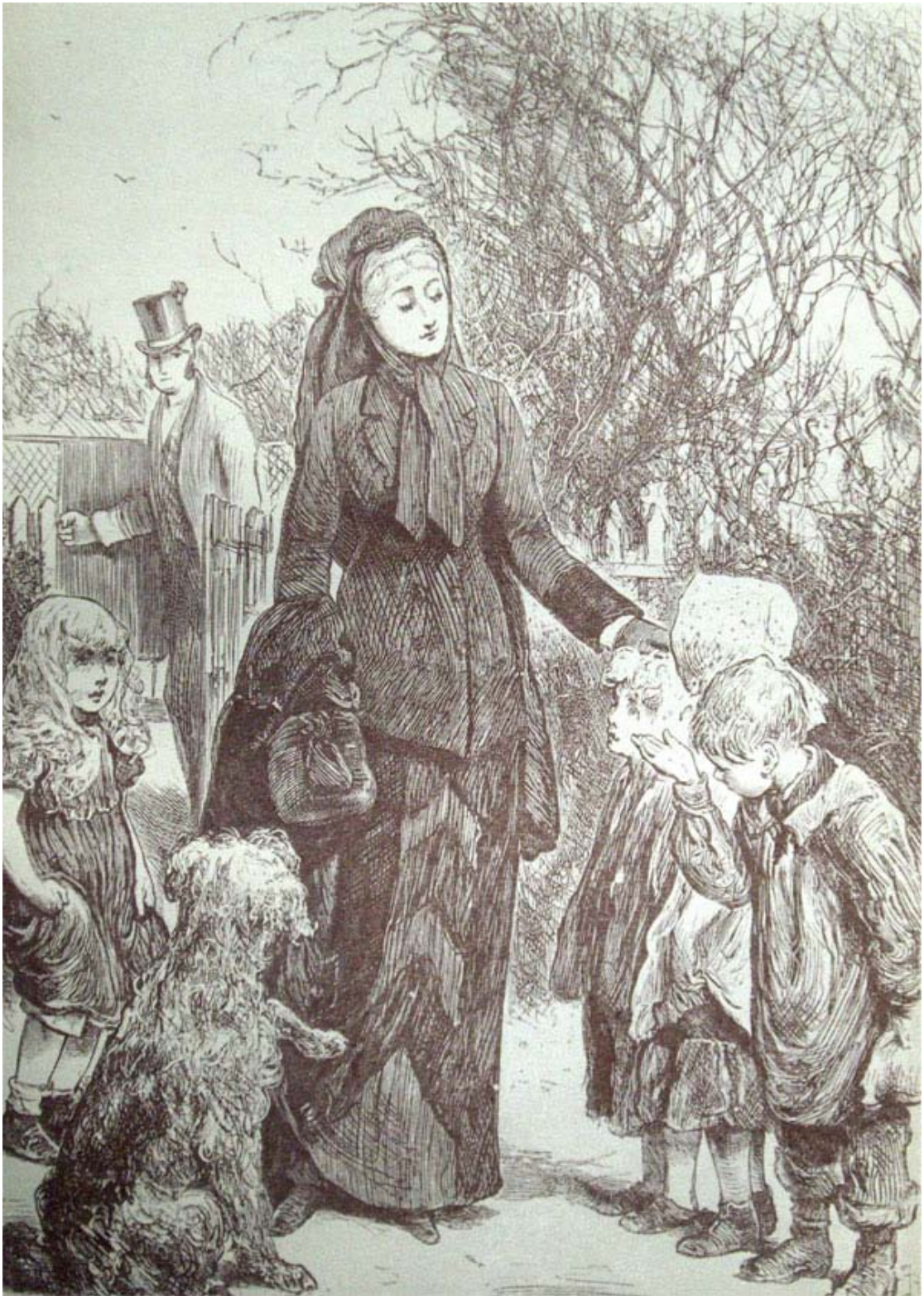
Генерал-Адъютантъ, Начальник Штаба Шестой Армии в военных-сухопутныхъ и морскихъ силахъ, въ Крыму и Кавказскихъ

P. KOTZEBU, Aide-de-camp Général de SA MAJESTÉ L'EMPEREUR.

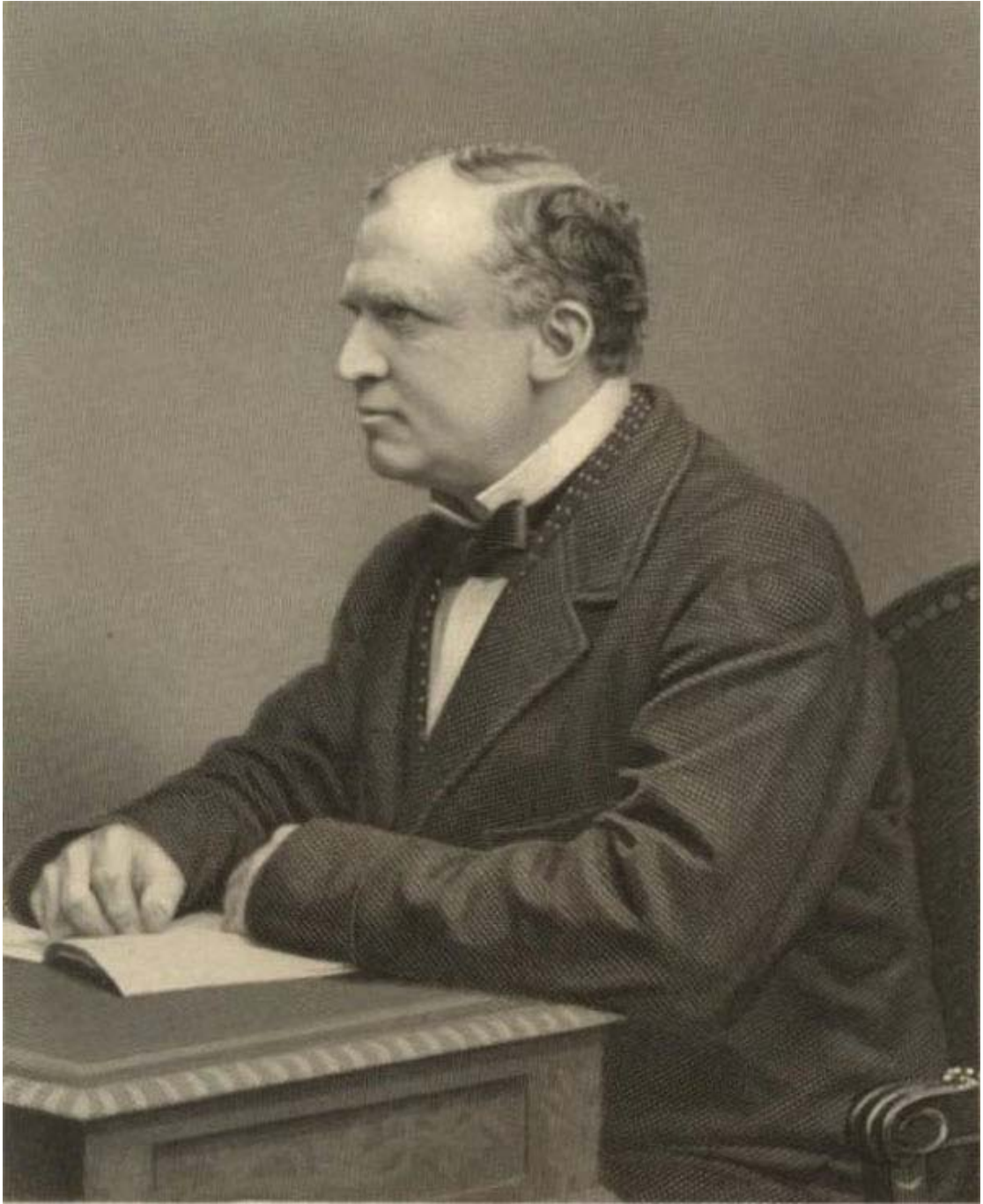
8. Edmund Hammond, Permanent Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office



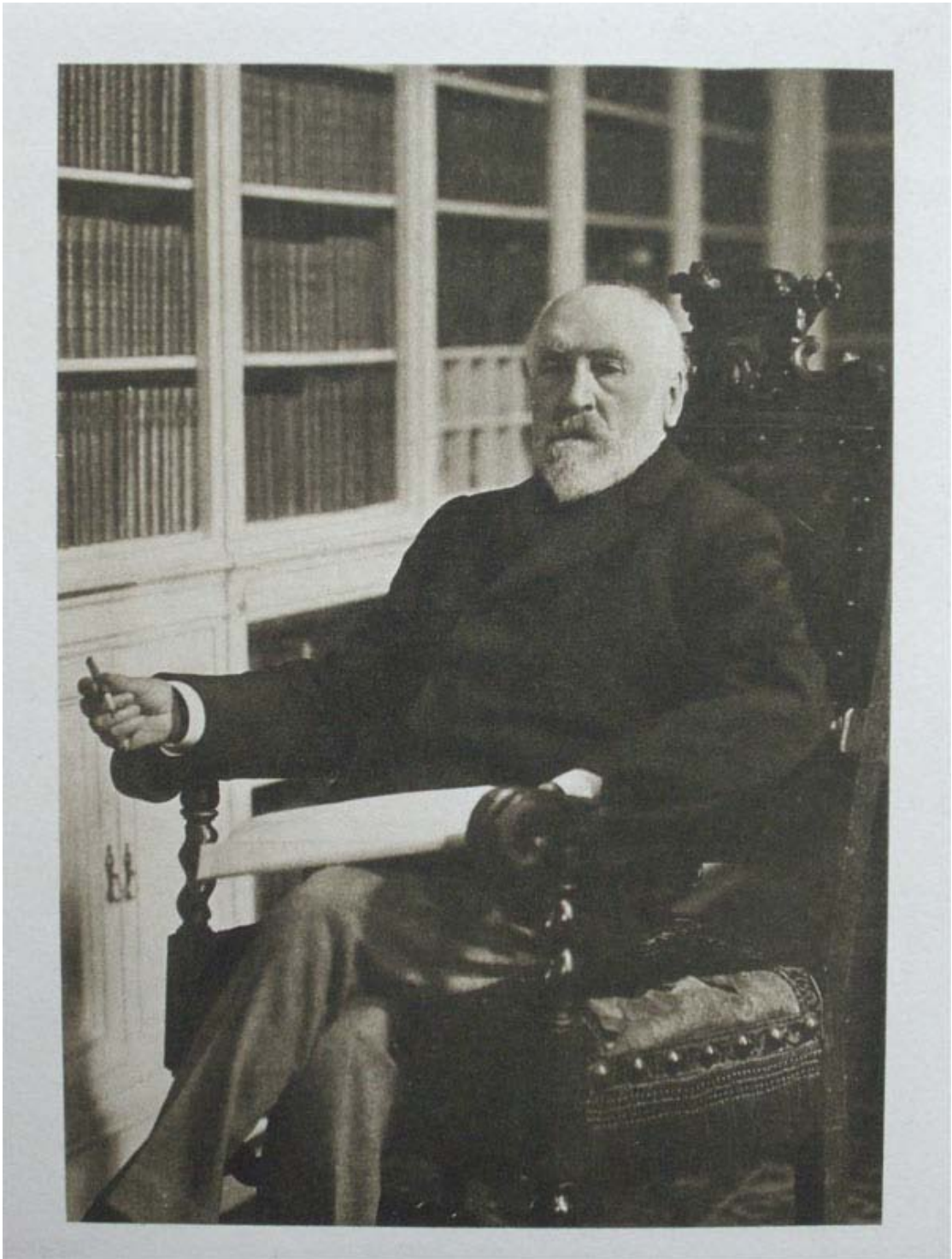
9. The Rich Widow



10. Lord Stanley, 15th Earl of Derby ('Count von Quickmarch')



11. Henry Labouchere



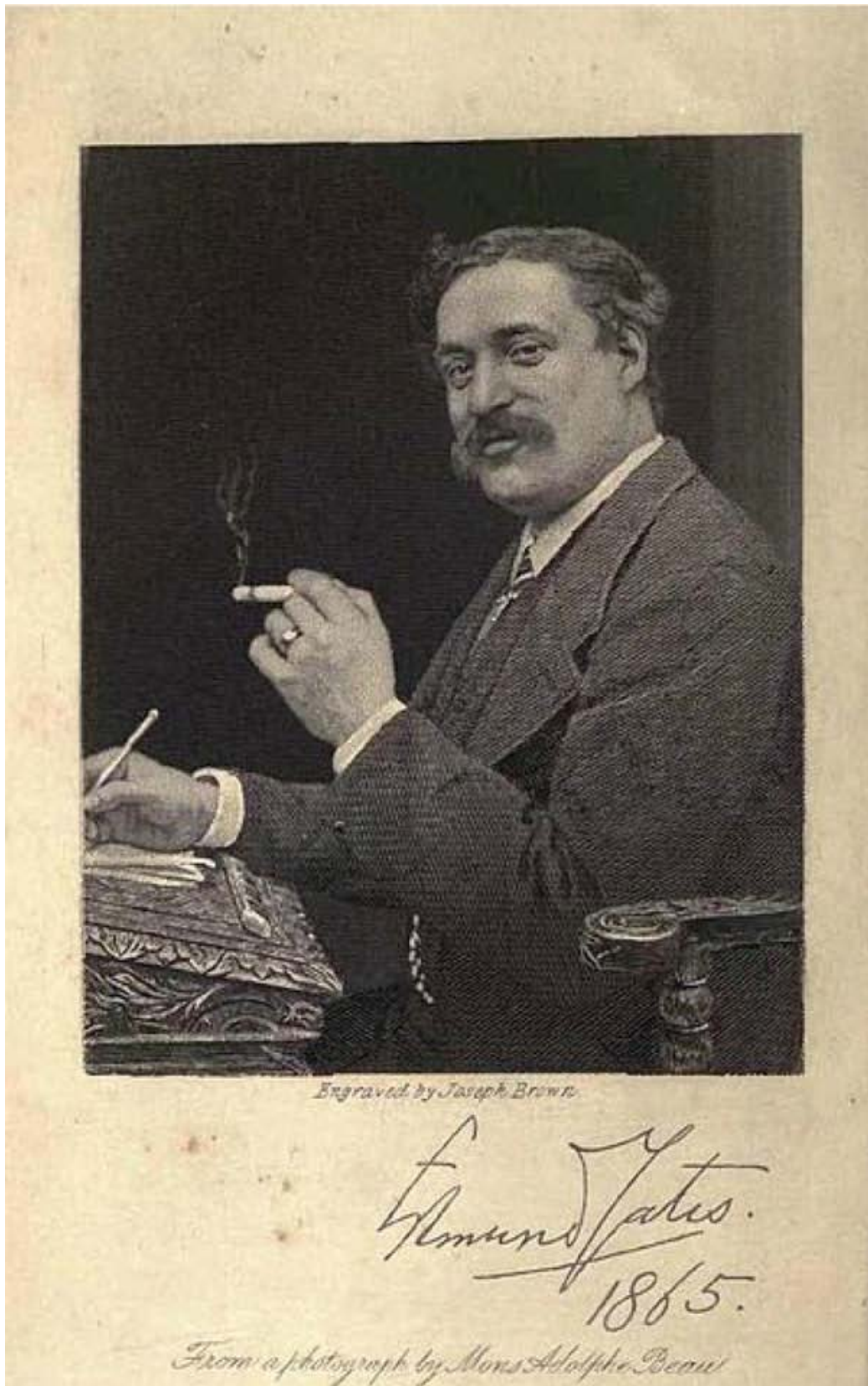
12. Lord Carrington ('Bob Coachington, Lord Jarvey')



13. The Newspaper Editor



14. Edmund Yates



15. The 3rd Duke of Buckingham



16. The Promising Son

