

The History of Antony and Dorothea Gibbs & of the early years of Antony Gibbs and Sons

By John Arthur Gibbs - 1922

CHAPTER VI 1797-1801 - LISBON AND EXETER

Cut off, as has been related, from his work in the Peninsula, Antony rejoined his family at Lower Cleave in March 1797. He had settled off his banking account with his brother George, and had paid Granger & Banfill what he owed them, but the remainder of his gains would not, he said, last six months for the support of himself and his family. He had, as we shall see, to endure no less than 19 months of inactivity and must have been ruined but for the handsome behaviour of his friends. The birth of his daughter Anne in May (at Lower Cleave) added to his expenses.

"Mr. Ward," we read, "has done an act of great generosity to" Dorothea, who had lately been staying at the Wards' country house. This must have been the giving her a bond, referred to in her will as dated February 1797, engaging his executors to pay her £1,400, of which she was meanwhile to have the interest. In August Vicary Gibbs sent Antony a present of £100, writing to him: "These are times when we who can get money ought to assist our friends whose exertions are shut up by them, and I can very well afford [this] out of the profits of the circuit." Later he gave him further help. Above all, George Gibbs was ready as he always was to help him with advances, and was fortunately in a position to do so without inconvenience to himself. Antony was preparing to return to Lisbon in October 1797 on learning that a treaty had been signed between the French Directory and the Portuguese Ambassador, who had long been in Paris endeavouring to come to terms, but news then came that the Portuguese Court, encouraged to such an extent by the presence of the English troops and by the reorganization of their army, refused to ratify the treaty, and he was thus condemned to wait still longer. George Gibbs then wrote to him:

"I think I need not say a word to convince you how cheerfully I shall continue to supply your wants." Amadé Duscher & Co. of Schmiedeburg, who being neutrals were able to continue (in neutral ships) their trade with Spain, generously sent him £150 for commission on their orders, though the war had cut short his work for them. Nearly two years later, when Antony had repaid everything that had been lent him during this period of cessation of his business, he wrote to his wife: "George and Vicary wished to go on furnishing the expenses of the family [their mother and sisters] but I could not allow it. It was a charming thing for me that they came forward in so delicate and noble a way; instead of feeling the weight of it all my life as might have been expected I now feel a pleasure from the recollection of it. It was delightful to me to have no other obligation except to my brothers and Mr. Munckley." For Munckley, who, as has been

mentioned, was George Gibbs' senior partner, Antony always had a very great regard. When he died in 1801 he left Antony a complimentary legacy of £50.

Dorothea's mother, who had gone in July 1797 on a visit to the Wards at Windsor and in the autumn was with her son John at Leeds, wrote to Sibella Gibbs: "I feel for the situation of poor Antony whose assiduity and efforts for many years past have been exerted to the uttermost of his power for the benefit of himself and his family; he with the nation is involved in misfortune." This latter allusion must have been generally to the internal condition of England brought about by the long war, and more particularly to the mutinies in our fleets and to the constant threats of invasion of England. In February in the next year the family were considering whether in the event of invasion actually taking place it would not be safer for old Mrs. George Abraham Gibbs to be conveyed to stay with the Crawleys at Stowe rather than remain so near the coast at Exeter. In this connection it may also be mentioned that John Hucks was enrolled early in 1798 as a lieutenant in the provisional cavalry for Yorkshire.

Of visits away from home made by Antony during this time, one is recorded with his mother to George Gibbs at Bristol in June 1797; another by himself to Bristol in September, whence he went to Yorkshire to see his manufacturing friends, and while there visited Mrs. Hucks at Leeds; and another in February 1798 to his friend General Simcoe at Wolford Lodge, near Honiton.

In 1797 Jacques Courant married Eleanor Ward's protégée Louisa Oakden, with whom, as has been already mentioned, he had fallen in love in 1792. She was spoken of by Matilda Hucks as "a most elegant young woman and as good as pleasing." Courant had at that time become very intimate with Mrs. Ward. She favoured his suit, writing to Dorothea that she both "loved and esteemed him," but Ward would not hear of the match, thinking that Miss Oakden ought to do better for herself, "nor can he bear that either of us should part with her." The following extract from a letter of 1794 from Mrs. Ward to Dorothea no doubt refers to the same affair. "We have only seen poor Mr. Courant but once [lately], and to people of a nervous system such an interview once in the year is too much, but Antony I suppose told you all about it." We hear no more till May 1797, and then find that the marriage had taken place, that Joseph Hucks had meanwhile been a rival for Miss Oakden's hand, and that Eleanor Ward, as her letters to Dorothea disclose, had developed a most astonishing degree of hatred of Courant, influenced in part perhaps by circumstances connected with the failure of his Cadiz house in 1796. Joseph had been writing to Antony on the subject of his disappointment, and one of his letters to him (13 May 1797) exists, of which the following is a portion:-

I received your kind letter and having read it over many times and considered its contents with that attention which it deserved I shall now trouble you with my reply. And in the first place be assured that I have undergone such a change as to be perfectly ashamed of the weakness I have exhibited. My resolution that has played the truant so long has returned. Not but what I shall ever consider it a misfortune and a very great one. Philosophy does not consist in a want of passions or of feelings but rather in the perpetual endeavour to overcome them, and in that happy art which is only known to a few of extracting good out of evil and of rendering the misfortunes of life an ultimate advantage to the mind. But me! Do not my dear friend insult me with the name of Philosopher; I who in this instance have violated its plainest principles, its most evident axioms. She was free to act as she did and I had no right to reflect upon her conduct, and if what she did has produced her happiness I ought to be, as indeed I am,

sincerely rejoiced and yet by the most effeminate complaints I have hitherto proved myself incapable either to rejoice or to submit to this decision of fate.

A year later Courant's money affairs were "in a distracted state" and he and his wife were going abroad. Eventually they took up their residence at or near Poissy in France. Joseph had continued to meet her sometimes at the Wards'; "I feel that my happiness is implicated in hers," he wrote to Dorothea, but "I think I have overcome that *kind* of attachment which I once had for her, I think reason has shown me my weakness and given me some resolution; time has had its usual effect, but good God what a time ... the days of despondency ... and the hours of misery!..."

Eleanor Ward's affection for her protégée weakened greatly after the marriage, and when the Courants went to live abroad they became still more estranged, but Dorothea, who was more constant in her friendships than her sister, continued to correspond with her at intervals till at least 1814, and when Joseph Hucks was dying in 1800 wrote to tell her of him. How deeply Mrs. Ward felt about the matter is shown in the following extract from a codicil in her husband's will in which he sought to make amends to Mrs. Courant: "Whereas I have ever since the death of my late valuable and dear wife at her dying request, and whose every wish I always endeavoured to gratify, ceased to hold any correspondence with her once dear friend and protégée, Mrs. Courant, formerly Miss Louisa Oakden, to whose marriage Mrs. Ward attributed her death, but as all resentment ought to cease on this side of the grave, and considering that I may have acted rather harshly to one for whom I entertained the greatest love affection and esteem, and treated as my daughter, and who never offended me except by her imprudent and hasty marriage, I therefore direct ... my executor to invest ... £2,000" for her separate use in his own name in trust for her and her children or as she may decide to leave it, but she was not to leave any of it to her husband or his relations. Mrs. Courant's letters show that she had longed for a reconciliation with Ward and was greatly affected by his death. Courant died in 1814, leaving her with five boys and two girls, the eldest 15. She wrote to Dorothea (10 August of that year): "Never was there a kinder or more affectionate parent"... "It is but a small consolation, but he will ever be considered here [Poissy] with a sort of veneration by all ranks of people." A few days after his death she had to endure for two months the quartering of soldiers, up to 30 at a time, in her house.

To resume Antony's story, there had been frequent alarms of French and Spanish invasion of Portugal and of the closing of her ports to British ships, but Stuart's force remained round Lisbon and the harbour always lay open. At last, in September 1798, all immediate danger of the invasion of Portugal seeming to have passed away, so that the English troops were actually withdrawn for other services, Antony set out for Lisbon and arrived there in the first days of October.

He was met with the good news of the Battle of the Nile, fought on 1 August. His wife had meanwhile heard of it on 3 October: "Branscombe had just run all the way from Exeter to tell her." Later, on 1 November, Antony wrote to her that two of Nelson's ships had come to Lisbon with five of the nine prizes taken in the battle, that he had dined with the two captains, and had heard from them of the following incident at the sinking of the French Admiral's ship L'Orient: "Her captain while she was on fire endeavoured to save himself in a boat to which he first sent

down a son he had on board about 10 years old; he soon followed himself but his foot slipped at going into the boat and he fell overboard; at which the son was so much affected that he threw himself in upon his father in the water and they were drowned together."

In December Antony went to stay with John James Stephens at the large glass factory which, as mentioned in the last chapter, his friend had at Marinha. His enthusiastic description of the factory in letters to his wife and to George Gibbs of 10 December is a very interesting picture of a manufacturing business carried on profitably with the fullest regard to the physical and moral well-being of the workmen employed in a manner very different from the prevalent practice of the times. The factory had been working for 30 years, and Stephens had £120,000 invested in it, and was worth as much again.

Very soon after his arrival at Lisbon Antony found that a large amount of business was open to him. At first he was chiefly engaged in getting orders for Amadé Duscher & Co. of Schmiedeburg, and by March 1799 had earned as much as £800 from them; but another kind of business soon developed for him, that of receiving and selling from stock large quantities of woollen goods sent to him on consignment from England. At one time there was £15,000 worth of these goods on the water coming to him. By October he reckoned that he had already earned no less than £2,000. Even as early as April his calls upon his brothers had ceased, and at least before the end of the next year he was free of debt to them. Francis J. Jackson wrote to him in October: "Sanguine as my hopes were of the efficacy of your exertions, they did not justify me in believing that you could do as much as you have done, and indeed few but yourself would have done it. You have the talent of creating business as you inspire confidence."

For his consignment business Antony had to take an office and a goods warehouse in Lisbon, and he sent home for an apprentice, James Townsend, son of the man employed by him in his Exwick days. He also asked William Branscombe (whom the Spanish war had forced to leave Malaga in 1796) to rejoin him as clerk, and he, though now employed in a business in Dartmouth, and recently married to a milliner there (Honor Burrell), decided with alacrity to come, leaving his wife at home, and he sailed on 19 December. To house himself and these two Antony gave up the "common lodging" in which he had resided and in October) took an apartment " which he furnished cheaply, where he was able to live economically if with considerable discomfort.

Antony was determined to take full advantage of the present favourable conditions and not to interrupt his business by any trip to England for two years if they should last so long a time. How precarious his occupation seemed in the early parts of the year is shown by his stating more than once that he held himself prepared to return to England with all the English goods sent him for sale on receiving news of a French invasion of Portugal; but as time went on the French became too much occupied in their wars elsewhere to pay attention to Portugal, and he was able to regard himself as fairly well established.

Feeling deeply her husband's proposed long absence from her, and under the influence of bad health and of the lonely life which her circumstances and the somewhat isolated position of Lower Cleave forced her to lead when at home, Dorothea Gibbs could with difficulty bring herself to see the reasonableness of her husband's wish to remain so long a time abroad; but he replied: "In my life I may never have so good an opportunity of making money again, and

should not deserve it either if I were to neglect this"; so finding him determined, she proposed to him that she should come out to him; but the expense and difficulties in the way of making her comfortable in Lisbon caused the abandonment of this scheme for the present. Even news of his mother's failing health did not move Antony from his decision. He wrote to his brother George:

I do most anxiously wish to pay her a visit but have made up my mind not to. Our dearest father who still guides my conduct more than any man alive would I feel strongly approve my determination.... I shall ever be steady in my love and veneration for the memory of that good creature and can never forget that during his life my conduct was so often at variance with his noble principles. This is a subject on which I never touch with any soul but yourself.

George had written to him lately in reply to a similar allusion :

I think from my conscience that both your actions and your sufferings since that period should soften more the severity of your reflection on what has past.

No reader of the letters can doubt that Antony had already well earned the right to be considered morally to have made amends for the faults to which he alludes.

Another packet of business letters, 1 October 1799 to December 1800, explains more fully the nature of Antony's business in Lisbon.

At the beginning of the Spanish war with England Granger & Banfill of Exwick found themselves with £10,000 of goods on hand in England (prepared for the Spanish market, chiefly ordered by Cadiz importers) which they were prohibited from shipping. In July 1797 Antony had entered into an arrangement with them under which he was to dispose of these goods in Spain as soon as peace should be made. (Samuel Banfill himself had gone to Lisbon in June 1798 to collect money owed to his firm in the Peninsula, and was still there for a few weeks after Antony's arrival in October.) Antony soon found that there was already a market for such goods, Spaniards coming for them to Lisbon and smuggling them over the frontier, and Granger & Banfill consequently shipped a quantity of their stock, and later other goods also, to him for sale in this manner. There was a lengthy dispute between Antony and Banfill as to the terms under the altered circumstances, the outcome of which does not appear, but the "littlenesses" of the latter are occasionally a subject of comment in the letters of many members of the family, so that it is perhaps not unfair to assume that he was in the wrong.

Granger & Banfill still had their own traveller in August 1799, but no longer trusted him and presumably got rid of him; at any rate they now arranged to give Antony 2 per cent. commission on all orders which he got for them for Lisbon, and the same for three years after peace should be made on orders for Andalusia, so that he was now again their regular agent. Other people besides Banfill's firm had been caught by the war with woollen goods on hand made for Spain, and Baring's Exeter factory, in which Cole, a friend of Antony, was partner, is specially mentioned as having sold most of theirs in Lisbon. Among such too were John and Robert Holt of Rochdale, who now transferred their agency to Antony and sent him a large quantity of

woollen goods for sale in Lisbon. It is clear that Antony was able to render them conspicuous service, for in answer to his desire that they should send him more goods to Lisbon for sale to Spain they wrote him in January 1800: "We could not reconcile it to our conscience to act otherwise let the event be what it will, but nothing in the world but our friendship and gratitude to you could ever have induced us to enter again into this trade." They shipped their goods mostly from Hull with convoy direct to Lisbon or Port Franco, but some from Liverpool to Exeter to be forwarded to Falmouth for shipment by packet ships.

Antony's old friends, Alex. Turner & Co. of Leeds, gave up business in 1800, but he was receiving some goods from and getting orders for Barnard Angier & Barnard of Norwich, and some from Samuel Blagborough of Leeds, and John Creswell & Co. of Exeter. He had also again some relations with Benjamin Smith of Rochdale.

Antony was forced to return to England in June 1800 (sooner than he had intended) to see his manufacturing friends.

In his absence Branscombe was in charge of his business in Lisbon, and wrote to him every mail reporting the progress of sales. By August, however, there were but few Spaniards coming to buy, for the number of troops on the frontier had so much increased as almost to stop the smuggling; and in the autumn communication with Spain was totally cut off owing to the outbreak of the first of the great epidemics of yellow fever which devastated Andalusia in this and later years. At one time in October 250 deaths in Cadiz and 500 in Seville were occurring daily, but in December the fever had subsided, though not before 30,000 had died in Seville alone.

In the middle of November the goods which Antony had in Portugal for sale were as follows: - Of Holts', £8,000; of Granger & Banfill's, £1,500; imported on his own account, £1,300. He had besides bought for shipment to Lisbon from Ives Echalez & Baseley of London, John Milford & Co. of Dawlish, and Henry Wansey of Salisbury, £1,200; altogether £12,000 worth.

To turn back to family affairs. When Antony left England in September 1798, his wife, escorted by his nephew Robert Remmett, the doctor's son, went with her two girls for a visit to the Crawleys at Stowe. While she was there Francis J. Jackson came to stay for a few days. Thence in April 1799 to George Gibbs at Bristol, and then to Leeds to join her mother, who was staying there with John and Matilda Hucks, with whom also Joseph Hucks had lately been staying. There she was detained waiting for her mother, who was vainly endeavouring, not only again to free her son John from debts, but also to get out the £2,000 which she had put into Tetley's business for him. Tetley was threatened with bankruptcy, and John, although Antony had been able to report after a visit which he paid him in June 1796 that he liked the work and was paying good attention to it, had been easily kept in the dark by Tetley as to the insolvent condition of his business. Dorothea wrote of John at this time: "He has an honest, good, and generous heart, and great love and affection for all his friends, and would do anything in his power to serve them, but he has no strength of mind; he makes the best resolutions and as soon breaks them."

Starting homewards at the end of June, Dorothea and her mother broke their journey at Nottingham, Stowe, and Bristol, arriving at Lower Cleave at the end of July.

An incident of this time may be mentioned. The presence of Lord Keith's fleet in Torbay (55 of the line and 6 frigates) was attracting the attention of the whole neighbourhood, and on 19 August 1799 Dorothea, with her mother, Joseph Hucks, the Banfills, and Sibella Gibbs, started from Exeter at 5 a.m. to see it, the ladies in a post chaise, the gentlemen on horseback. They took a boat in Torbay, sailed round the fleet, and returned home the very same night to save the expense of an inn, thus travelling over 40 miles in the day.

The latter part of this year and the following year (1800) was a time of trouble in the family. First came the illness of Joanna, the daughter (now 22 years old) of George Gibbs, who was dearly loved by Antony and his family. She was believed to be "in a decline," and indeed from this time forward till her death in 1823 she seems always to have been in bad health. George Gibbs brought her to stay with his mother in Exeter, and his attention to Joanna caused Dorothea Gibbs to write of him to Antony: "He has without exception the most engaging way of showing his affection of anyone I ever knew; he seems perfectly to understand that the little courtesies of life increase every blessing and lessen the evils of it in proportion." Dorothea Gibbs herself, who had been ailing for some time, feared that she was attacked by "our disease," meaning, I think, the consumption to which the Hucks family seem to have been prone, and the symptoms from which she suffered leave little room for doubt as to the nature of her complaint, but, after visits in February 1800 to Exwick House and to the Exeter family, she happily improved in health. Soon after her brother Joseph Hucks (aged 27 or 28) developed this illness in its worst form. He had in December 1799 "set up for himself" as a barrister in chambers at 4, Inner Temple Lane, having hitherto spent his time between his work at Cambridge and his studies for the Bar at 9, Inner Temple Lane, but becoming ill in March 1800 his sister Eleanor Ward had taken him into her house in Soho Square, and in April his brother John brought him to stay with their mother and sister at Lower Cleave. But he only grew worse, and Dorothea went with him in June to the Hotwells, Bristol, lodging in Vincent's Parade. Just at that time Antony returned from Lisbon and he joined her there. Antony went thence to visit the Crawleys at Stowe (who had been staying in Exeter from April to June), and on business to Rochdale and Salisbury, but at the end of July they were all at Lower Cleave. Joseph Hucks then went with his mother to Exmouth. There Antony and his wife often visited him. Dr. Remmett too came from Plymouth to see him. He died on 19 September. "His great patience," wrote George Gibbs, "under his sufferings was the effect and completion of that character of mildness and sweetness of disposition which he always possessed, and having supported him through the last scene will no doubt find their reward with that all-gracious Being who has called him hence." He was Dorothea's favourite brother, a man of much promise and ability, and greatly beloved.

The crisis in John Hucks' affairs brought about by the rascality of Tetley had meanwhile come to a head. John had been compelled to go into hiding and then to become bankrupt (he got his certificate in July 1800), to protect himself against the creditors of Tetley (now also bankrupt), they having tried to make him out a full partner in his business, as indeed he was ostensibly, for his name was in the style of the firm. He had to sell his furniture to pay his debts, and his mother seems to have lost all or most of the money which she had put into the business for him. His wife had a little money of her own, and with this, and with the help of £1,200 from H. Townley Ward, they were able, in March 1801, to take on lease a farm called Foxdown, near Bideford,

where he lived for the rest of his life. Thence he was a frequent visitor to his mother and sister at Exeter, and they or his nephews went sometimes to stay with him.

Following closely on the death of Joseph Hucks came that of Eleanor Ward, on 22 December 1800. Antony had been staying with her at The Willows, near Windsor, in October. There are but few letters just of this time and scarcely any reference to her illness, but her mother, who had been visiting her, left in the middle of November, so that her death must have come with unexpected rapidity. Dorothea Gibbs had such strong affection for her elder sister that it was particularly distressing to her that just lately there had been a disagreement between them under the following circumstances: Ward's partners Dennett and Greaves were purposing in June 1800 to leave him and to start a business independent of him, as indeed they did. With Greaves Dorothea had been intimate since the time when before her marriage she lived with the Wards, and as lately as October 1799 he had been staying with her. Eleanor Ward, conceiving the act of Ward's partners to be one of ingratitude to him and detrimental to his business, regarded the continuance of Dorothea's friendship with Greaves as unfriendly to Ward and herself. Ward himself, who had hitherto always shown great affection for Dorothea, was imbued with the same feeling, and in reply to Dorothea's condolences on his wife's death wrote a very formal letter, and emphasised his attitude by omitting Dorothea in a distribution which he made of some of his wife's personal possessions to John Hucks' wife and to a Miss Harriett Caldwell whom, besides Miss Oakden, she had brought up. Happily in later years, as we shall see, he made full amends to her. Dorothea wrote to Antony: "I cannot reproach myself with want of love for my brothers and sister though I could never to gratify them bring myself to behave unkindly to anyone who had uniformly been attentive to me. Every day I think I feel the loss of my dearest Joseph more for he was always the same kind friend."

The last of the family troubles of this period to be mentioned is the failing health of Antony's mother, who had become completely bedridden. She was nursed devotedly by her daughter Sibella during the remaining three years of her life, while Catherine, the other unmarried daughter, whose character (very different from that of her brothers and sisters) is often a subject lament in the letters, spent her time in social pleasures, much to the displeasure of Dorothea, who was "out of love with her" in consequence. In later years (from 1807) her character deteriorated still more, and in January 1815 we find her conduct referred to as follows by her sister Anne Banfill in a letter to Antony: "I hope and indeed have no doubt but there is much to be pleaded in her excuse which we know nothing of. We all must recollect that from her infancy she shewed the greatest dislike of her father and mother which must have been born with her and many other extenuations I have no doubt there are which we are ignorant of."

When Antony came home in June 1800 he was determined no longer to live apart from his family. He had purposed that they should go with him to Lisbon in September, the difficulty of housing them having been overcome for the time by his friend Charles Lyne having offered him his house in Lisbon furnished and rent free for some months at least. Lyne was now at home preparing to live in England instead of in Lisbon. He and his wife had seen much of Antony and his family in Exeter. On hearing of his offer George Gibbs wrote to Antony: "In the course of some years in which you have experienced much hardship and many untoward accidents and some severe trials you have had, my dear Antony, I will not say the good fortune but the merit of

acquiring several sincere friends from whose regard and attachment to you you must derive great comfort as well as advantage."

A succession of events caused the postponement of Antony's plans for his family. First the death of Joseph Hucks, then the news of the yellow fever in Spain, the danger that there was of its spreading to Portugal, and the ill effect which it had on Antony's business (as mentioned above); then it was found that his wife would be confined again next year. Further, Napoleon was again, through Spain, threatening war on Portugal, who shrunk from closing her ports to England while the latter was the market for her wine and grain and while her littoral was exposed to the English fleet; 13,000 British troops went to her help in October, and, though a great part were withdrawn before the end of the year, their presence had caused the cost of living in Lisbon to rise high. These checks to Antony's business caused his brother George to write to him: "I am always grieved to hear of new mortifications falling to your lot, of which indeed it has pleased God to visit you with a full share, but you have the satisfaction to reflect that you have hitherto supported yourself under them with a degree of fortitude that has enabled you to rise superior to them."

Finally Antony decided to go out to Lisbon in January 1801, taking only his eldest boy Henry (aged 15) with him. It has been already mentioned that Henry and his brother William were both at Charles Lloyd's school in Exeter. (The cost of their education there had recently been 27 and 30 guineas per annum respectively.) The letters contain a few interesting references to their progress. Francis J. Jackson, who had spent a week with Dorothea in June 1796 and again visited her in December that year (probably on his way to and from Spain via Falmouth), wrote to Antony at the latter date: "I enjoyed much a snug quiet fireside and was particularly gratified that chance brought your eldest son from school. Henry has a charming disposition and very excellent abilities. Be this said however without detracting from Harriet's sprightly eyes and temper, and William's laughter loving countenance." Staying with their mother again at the end of 1799, he wrote to Antony that Lloyd "gives them excellent characters, Henry for his attention to business and the progress he has made in the classics, William for his quickness of talent and perception which so far gets the better of his volatile spirits as to place him at the head of a class of 16 many older than himself. Harriet is no less improved in her way, and little Ann is one of the most interesting children I have met." George Gibbs sen. about the same time wrote: "All who know anything of Henry must see in him a peculiarly sweet and amiable disposition, and this praise his master gives him in very high terms, and of his understanding he likewise speaks satisfactorily as being of a very reasonable and useful sort." In January 1800 Lloyd himself wrote congratulating Dorothea on Henry's "present acquirements and fine appearance and his most hopeful promise of future credit."

William was sent in September 1800 to Blundell's Grammar School at Tiverton.

Here may be copied part of a letter from Mrs. Vicary Gibbs to Dorothea of April 1801: "Your husband has been very unfortunate.... In the meantime you are both so much loved and respected by all who know you that your friends are anxious for your welfare. I can answer for your brother [Vicary] here that there is nothing in his power that he can do for Antony or your self that can in any way contribute to your comfort but what you may depend on his doing."

Antony still intended that his wife and daughter should join him later in Lisbon. Lower Cleave, which was lonely and not very healthy, was given up, and most of the furniture sold, and on 1

December the family entered a furnished house in Bamfylde Lane, Exeter, which they took from a Mr. Cutcliffe at four guineas a month till a house on St. David's Hill, Exeter, should be ready for them. The latter was let by a Mrs. Burrow at £23 a year: "a nice little thatched cottage with a good yard and a tolerable garden," but too small for a permanency. They borrowed most of the furniture wanted for it and moved in in February 1801. No sooner were they in it but their man servant Giles got ill there "of a putrid fever," and they had to go to stay with the Banfills at Exwick House for some weeks.

Antony and his son Henry started for Falmouth on 15 January 1801, but did not sail till the 24th, and only reached Lisbon on 14 February. They took with them a maid as cook and some furniture with a view to setting up house for the family. Their ship was the packet King George under the famous Captain Yescombe, who was a friend of Antony's. On the voyage they fell in with two Spanish privateers, and he and Henry were both "put under arms and took our place on deck. We had an opportunity of seeing how they prepare for action without having the danger, for the Spaniards soon made off." Another incident soon after they came to Lisbon is told by Antony as follows:-

On the arrival of a packet Henry went at night with Branscombe to the office where they found much in liquor Mr. Children who had not yet called on me. [He had letters of introduction to Antony.] He leaned rather violently on Henry whom he did not know and Branscombe who is a very quiet fellow and well liked here desired he would not be rough, in consequence of which the other began some abusive language and Branscombe knocked him down. In the same night C. heard he lived with me, came to make his first visit and demand satisfaction, in the course of which he again called Branscombe a scoundrel who again knocked him down. We had great difficulty in parting them. I could not find that Branscombe was at all to blame.

Antony's trade in Lisbon with the Spaniards had recommenced though on a smaller scale than before the outbreak of fever, and early in May he found himself, in Branscombe's absence (whom he had sent home for a holiday), overwhelmed with business, but the trade was fitful under further political disturbances. Spain had at last agreed to cooperate with France, and war had broken out between her and Portugal in February. In May the Spanish army under Godoy invaded the frontier, with the result that a treaty was signed at Badajoz on 6 June between the representatives of the three countries providing for the closing of Portuguese ports to the British. Napoleon, wanting still more, would not ratify it, so the French proceeded to attack Portugal at the end of June, but the latter made such preparations for resistance with the help of British subsidies that the peace was finally signed at Madrid on 29 September. There are but meagre allusions in the letters to these and other events of the war at this time. Two of them may be mentioned. In July Antony wrote: "The last packet from Falmouth having been taken, this letter will go by a privateer which Mr. Frere" [the English Ambassador in Lisbon to whom Vicary Gibbs had procured Antony a letter of introduction] "has engaged to take a mail"; and in August we read that the Portuguese ports were all shut to the British except to the packets which were still allowed to enter and bring woollen goods. Had not the Peace of Amiens immediately supervened on the peace between France and Portugal, Antony's situation would undoubtedly have again become very serious.

Antony had intended to go home for his wife's confinement, "but," he wrote to her 24 May, "my friends in general and particularly those at Rochdale have entrusted so many thousand pounds" [of goods] "to my hands that it would be very dishonourable of me in the present critical situation of affairs to leave Lisbon for any length of time." His wife was sadly disappointed, but replied:

Do what will be most for your credit, interest, and comfort. You need not be told how great a sacrifice I make to my own inclinations in saying that I should be sorry to see you if by indulging mine and I think I may say your own wishes you were to run the least risk of doing what you would afterwards be sorry for. Our situation has for years required a thousand self-denials and I own I feel a pride in encouraging you to make this because I am conscious that a trifling consideration would not have led you to think of doing it at this time. God forever bless you my dearest kindest of husbands and direct you for the best in all your determinations.

Antony's son Joseph (named after Joseph Hucks) was born in the house on St. David's Hill, Exeter, on 23 July, and was duly "inoculated with the cowpox." Branscombe only returned to Lisbon in that month and Antony was not able to sail till August. He left his son Henry in charge of John James Stephens of Lisbon, who offered for him to live in his house at Marinha, and he was well cared for there.

Vicary Gibbs was staying in Exeter in July 1801, James Richards in August, George Gibbs and his family in September. These visits were repeated in 1802, and probably occurred in many years without record in the letters.

Antony, who, now that he had removed Henry from school, had his education on his hands, provided that he should be well employed with lessons, and the following is the daily programme which Henry wrote that he adopted at Marinha: - Up at 6 a.m., walk till 7.30; breakfast; reading 8 to 9; Latin 9 to 10; French 10 to 11; reading 11 to 12; dinner and letter writing till 2; French 2 to 3; Portuguese 3 to 5; tea and walks 5 to 8; supper; bed at 9. The education of his children was a matter to which Antony seems always to have devoted the greatest attention. Thus Mrs. Hucks wrote to Henry in October 1801: "Happy it is for you whose father however difficult he has found it to support his family with credit yet spares no expense for your improvement." Antony's MS. histories of England (which still exist), written no doubt for his children's benefit, are further evidence, and so are many allusions in his letters, of which the following, written to Dorothea from Lisbon three years before the date of Mrs. Hucks' letter, may be taken as examples:-

16 November 1798. Tell Harriot [then 12 years old] she must not forget how particularly I wish for her to improve in singing and musick of which I am so fond.... I have no doubt but that in about 2 years I shall desire thee to get her a good master. Attentive as you see I am to expenses you will find me almost extravagant in purchasing any advantages or improvements for our children if I did but find myself a little above the World.

Meanwhile he had no objection to the expense of Harriett learning to dance, and he would allow Mrs. Hucks to make her a present of music lessons as she had proposed to do:-

1 December 1798. [Harriett's] improvement in accounts is really more than I expected. Does she recollect when after some difficulty she at last could tell me how many 3 times 8 made but was quite puzzled when I came to ask how many 8 times 3 made. There hangs by this story a very instructive lesson. Harriot I suppose can hardly believe now that she was ever so stupid... The fact is that most young people when they begin to learn anything think themselves more stupid than they really are, whereas if they did but reflect on the advance they have already made by industry and attention in other points of study they would see clearly that the same industry and attention must necessarily lead to improvement in what may at present be the object in hand. They should consider too that many of their juvenile employments lead after a while to high entertainment for themselves. They will soon find it delightful to be able with care to read in French some of the prettiest books I have ever read in any language. There is no study more dull in the beginning than music, but in the end it gives great entertainment to the scholar as well as to the audience, and is a very pretty accomplishment too. Mention these things to Harriot from me.... I am sure [the children] must know that we advise them always for their good. I have no doubt but that they take the only way of showing that they love us by attending to what we advise, and thus secure for us the sweet payment of having made them good and happy.

He went on to talk of the necessity of checking the children from all tricks of telling stories and of speaking to servants "in a vulgar nasty way."

The greatly longed for general peace in Europe at last came by the signing of preliminaries of peace in October 1801 (followed by the definite "Peace of Amiens" of 25 March of the next year). There are letters from George Gibbs and his son congratulating Antony on the happy event. From the very first it was doubtful if the peace could be maintained, but Antony was determined to take the fullest advantage of it while it should last. Though Spain was now open to him again, his intention still was that his family should live in Lisbon, where they would at least be more accessible to him than in England; but he must return at once to Lisbon, leaving his wife, who was not yet ready, and the others, to follow in six weeks. He took rooms for them in an hotel at Falmouth, refusing an offer made by Captain Yescombe to have them to stay with him, and arranged for their passages (20 guineas each for his wife, Harriett, and two maids, 4 guineas for Anne, 12 for the man Giles, and the baby gratis). He himself sailed on the 23rd and arrived at Lisbon 31 October 1801, and very soon found that he could not keep his house there, nor get any other. At the same time he heard that his family's departure was delayed by illness of the children. Soon it became clear to him not only that he would have to go to Cadiz, but that it was most necessary for his business that his office and all the goods he had for sale should be transferred thither, and, as there had been no return of the fever in that town, it was arranged that, after his move, Henry should go home next year to bring the family out. His wife wrote to him on 6 December:-

"Your kind letter came at a bad time for me to look to not seeing you again for ten months for I was almost worn out in body and mind and had been looking for you to speak comfort to me. Our long projected plan being given up on the eve of its commencing almost overset me but I can now only say that I shall reconcile myself to whatever you think best."... Though the voyage in a merchant ship to Cadiz was dreadful to her and living in Spain repugnant she will do anything,' she said, 'so long as they could in future all live together.'