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## PROVINCIAL TO PROFESSIONAL: THE MENTALITÉ OF ATTORNEY JAMES COULTHARD (1718-86)

*By Albert J. Schmidt\**

Nowadays television and immediate audio transcripts of proceedings enhance courtroom drama by allowing public scrutiny of lawyer behavior and even a presumption of assessing innermost thoughts. It is hardly less intriguing to speculate about the nature of confidences shared between lawyer and client. In this piece I have probed this client dimension by distilling lawyer disclosures about both *modus operandi* and gossip from letters written nearly two and one-half centuries ago.<sup>1</sup> In illuminating the *mentalité* of an eighteenth-century London attorney, I purport to speak to an aspect of the history of professions, specifically lawyer history, hitherto neglected.

James Coulthard exemplified the provincial who made it on the lawyer fast track in mid-eighteenth-century London. The evidence suggests that he rarely looked back to his country origins in remote Cumberland, although he did lure his nephews from that county to join and succeed him in the business. This attorney was an extraordinarily diligent fellow, who unabashedly recounted his triumphs in the trade but exhibited little intellectual curiosity and certainly made no pretense at

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1. See generally MICHAEL BIRKS, *GENTLEMEN OF THE LAW* (Stevens & Sons Ltd., London 2d ed. 1961); PENELOPE J. CORFIELD, *POWER AND THE PROFESSIONS IN BRITAIN 1700-1850* (1995); GEOFFREY HOLMES, *AUGUSTAN ENGLAND: PROFESSIONS, STATE, AND SOCIETY, 1680-1730* (1982); ROSEMARY O'DAY, *THE PROFESSIONS IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND, 1450-1800; SERVANTS OF THE COMMONWEAL* (2000); ROBERT ROBSON, *THE ATTORNEY IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND* (1959); and Victor Belcher, *A London Attorney of the Eighteenth Century: Robert Andrews*, 12 *LONDON J.* 40, 40-50 (Summer 1986); see also Albert J. Schmidt, *From Provincial to Professional: Attorney Robert Kelham (1717-1809) in Eighteenth-Century London*, 25 *LONDON J.* 96, 96-109 (Winter 2000). See also my earlier allusion to Coulthard in *Marketing Property in Eighteenth-Century England: Lawyer History in the Huntington Library's Stowe Collection*, 62 *HUNTINGTON LIBR. Q.*, 1 & 2 (2000).

the kind of scholarship pursued by some of his Lincoln's Inn colleagues. At the same time he clearly enjoyed comfortable living and hobnobbing with his betters. His shallowness is perhaps best perceived by his pecking order mentality, notably the disdain which he evidenced toward those beneath him. Coulthard availed himself of the opportunities beckoning attorneys in Georgian London. By the end of his life he was comfortably well off. He would, to judge from his letters, have agreed with Dr. Johnson: "When a man is tired of London . . . he is tired of life; for there is in London all that life can afford."<sup>2</sup>

James Coulthard is revealed principally through his correspondence, which with that of his partner, Thomas Wildman (1740-1795), and nephews, Thomas (1751-1813) and (Sir) James Graham (1753-1825), has survived in a modest way in the Stowe Collection of the Huntington Library in San Marino, California. He is further remembered in the present-day law firms which his partnership spawned: Coulthard-Graham, it seems, was the forerunner to the firm of Lawrence Graham and Company of 190 Strand; while that which Thomas Wildman founded after withdrawing from the Coulthard partnership was antecedent to Payne Hicks Beach, presently of 10 New Square.<sup>3</sup>

As the founding partner of his firm, James Coulthard was just over thirty years old when he was admitted and enrolled as an attorney on May 9, 1749. He and his partners had come down to London from the North. The son of Thomas and Elizabeth Coulthard of Scotby in Cumberland, James clerked for the prominent Penrith attorney and moneylender, Thomas de Whelpdale (1695-1756), from 1744 until he was admitted and enrolled five years later.<sup>4</sup> Whelpdale legal documents of the 1740s—which identify Coulthard as "late of Scotby, now of the Six Clerks' Office, Middlesex"—suggest that his clerking for

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2. DOUGLAS HAY AND NICHOLAS ROGERS, *EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH SOCIETY: SHUTTLES AND SWORDS* 8 (1997).

3. I am indebted to G. S. Brown, Esq., of Payne Hicks Beach for this information. Hanging in the Payne Hicks chambers is an institutional genealogical chart which traces its and Graham's roots to Wildman and Coulthard. It does, however, make the unsubstantiated statement that the firm's true founder was Wildman's father.

4. Coulthard is listed in the apprenticeship records at Public Record Office, Kew as having been of Grey's Inn and clerking for Attorney Whelpdale, beginning in 1744 (P.R.O., Kew, IR 17/51), and is described on a bond as early as July 27, 1743 as being "late of Scotby and now of the Six Clerks' Office, Middlesex" (Cumbria Record Office ("C.R.O.")), Carlisle, de Whelpdale D/Huddleston/17/3). His enrollment and admission are recorded at the Law Society, Chancery Lane, London, Roll of Solicitors, 68 recto.

Whelpdale occurred in London.<sup>5</sup> Coulthard was involved in Whelpdale litigation in early 1755, and again in matters related to the business of that family in the spring of 1756, after which he was ensconced in Breames Buildings, in Chancery Lane. These developments, coupled with Coulthard's marrying Thomas de Whelpdale's daughter, Mary, in 1754, and the father's death two years later, suggest either that Thomas left his London business to his son-in-law, or financed young James' taking over some other business.

Coulthard remained in Breames Buildings until the autumn of 1770 when he moved to 10 New Square, Lincoln's Inn.<sup>6</sup> He was proprietor of these chambers occupied by the partnership, first with Wildman and then with his nephews, Thomas and James Graham. The latter two were his lessees. Coulthard nominated Thomas Graham to a chamber on February 12, 1780, and James, who was articled to partner Thomas Wildman, on February 26, 1780.<sup>7</sup> Possibly, Wildman's purchase of a freehold on the second floor of Number 10 New Square in January, 1778, signaled his intentions to withdraw from partnership with Coulthard. Wildman and the Grahams, but not Coulthard, were members of Lincoln's Inn.<sup>8</sup>

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5. C.R.O., Carlisle, D/Huddleston/17, de Whelpdale Papers, Nos. 3, 8, 9, 9A, 18, 20, and 37J (endorsed by Coulthard). No Coulthard archive exists in the Cumbria Record Offices in Carlisle, Kendal, Barrow, and Furness. These and other Whelpdale papers, however, survive in the Huddleston family collection. Coulthard's clerkship, as noted above, was in London, for his apprenticeship address was Six Clerks' Office, Middlesex. (C.R.O., Carlisle, de Whelpdale papers in D/Hudleston/17/3 and 17/20.) That one of these Whelpdale papers is dated 1743 suggests a Coulthard relationship with Thomas de Whelpdale in London, even before his clerkship. (D/Hudleston 17/3.) I am indebted to D.M. Bowcock, Assistant County Archivist (Carlisle) for these references.

6. According to Peter Foden, Lincoln's Inn archivist, "The Inn has no title deeds for the freehold chambers in 10 New Square associated with the . . . [Coulthard] partnership. Under the Serle's Court (i.e. New Square) Agreement of 1682, however, Lincoln's Inn kept a register of nominees for chambers in the Square, who had to be members of the Inn." Nominees were in some cases the proprietors, and in others the lessees of the specified chambers. This matter is further complicated by the questionable reliability of the Serle's Court Order Books. (Letter from Peter S. Foden, Archivist, Lincoln's Inn Library, London, to Albert J. Schmidt (June 11, 1990) [hereinafter Foden to Schmidt].)

7. References to Thomas' and James' chambers are in the Lincoln's Inn copy of I Serle's Court Order Books 392.

8. Foden observed that "Wildman and the Graham brothers [but not Coulthard,] were all members of Lincoln's Inn . . ." Foden to Schmidt, *supra* note 6. Moreover, "presumably to satisfy the Inn's requirement that only members might occupy New Square chambers . . . none of the four was ever called to the bar." *Id.* See also DAVID LEMMINGS, *PROFESSORS OF THE LAW* 301-03, 309-11 (2000), and Hugh H. L. Bellot, *The*

Coulthard had a long and renowned career as a conveyancer. He and Wildman earned reputations as society solicitors whose specialty was resolving family disputes, while at the same time avoiding litigation. William Playfair, who called Coulthard “an eminent and able solicitor, attorney, and conveyancer,”<sup>9</sup> observed that the same firm of later years under the Grahams:

had the superintendence of the affairs of several of the nobility and gentry of the Kingdom, as their confidential advisers and by their zeal, ability, and integrity and indefatigable industry, restored many families of distinction to their estates, and to the wealth, ease, and comfort, by the judicious management of their affairs.<sup>10</sup>

This characterization of the Graham firm seems an apt one of their uncle’s as well. Like his nephews, Coulthard had been “honored with the warmest friendship of the greater part of [his] respected clients.”<sup>11</sup>

After establishing himself in London, Coulthard invited Wildman into partnership. Third son of Edward Wildman of Scambler House, Melling, Lancashire, gent., Wildman was admitted and enrolled in the courts in 1764 and to Lincoln’s Inn on November 15, 1773.<sup>12</sup> It is difficult to say whether Wildman’s presence was beneficial or

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*Exclusion of Attorneys from the Inns of Court*, 26 L. Q. REV. 137 (1910), for more on the cleavage between barristers and attorneys.

9. WILLIAM PLAYFAIR, 7 BRITISH FAMILY ANTIQUITY 854 n.1 (1811).

10. *Id.*

11. Playfair, chronicler of English gentry and noble families, was never at loss to turn a phrase; however, his flattery should be accepted with caution. His eulogy of the Coulthard-Wildman-Graham firm continued:

Several of the most able men of the bench, at the bar, and in high public situations have received the first part of their legal education in their office. They were never known to recommend or promote a law-suit; on the contrary, by their liberal, judicious, and conciliating manners, they have accommodated and prevented numberless family and other disputes. But when legal proceedings have been inevitable, or deemed necessary by the advice of their superiors, they have prosecuted such causes with that determined spirit and execution, which received the constant approbation of their employer.

*Id.*

12. A few of Wildman’s letters have survived in the Chandos archive. The Payne, Hicks Beach genealogy, as noted above, takes exception to this particular genealogy of Wildman. It states that Wildman was the son of Thomas Wildman Sr., an attorney admitted in 1730, and founder of the firm. Payne Hicks possesses a George Romney portrait of Thomas Wildman, which is listed in the Catalogue Raisonné of Romney’s works as being painted for a Mr. Foljambe. Letter from G.S. Brown, Solicitor, Payne Hicks Beach, Lincoln’s Inn, London, to Albert J. Schmidt (December 29, 1994) [hereinafter Brown to Schmidt].

detrimental to the firm. The author of Wildman's obituary described Wildman as:

an eminent solicitor and partner with, but not in any way related to, the late Mr. Coulthard, of Lincoln's Inn . . . . As a practitioner in the law, he was a man of intelligence, endowed with a mind active and even fervid for the good of his client, whose cause he seemed to make his own, and in the close of which he was seldom unsuccessful.<sup>13</sup>

These superlatives notwithstanding, he had a reputation as a rake, and even a rogue, who engaged in questionable practices. His guardianship of the profligate William Beckford, a client's son, proved irresistibly profitable. That Wildman promoted his brother, Henry, as Beckford's estate agent and his brother, James, as his Jamaican agent made the Beckford charge a Wildman family enterprise. Beckford, in turn, portrayed Wildman as "an infernal rascal,"<sup>14</sup> lamenting that "between this harpy and two brothers who played in concert at proper time half my substance has been devoured."<sup>15</sup> Wildman even secured Beckford's seat for Hindon, shortly before his death in 1795. One wonders whether dissolution of the Coulthard-Wildman partnership was caused by this kind of behavior.

Of Coulthard's personal life only the barest facts emerge.<sup>16</sup> As noted, he married Mary de Whelpdale in 1754; subsequently, they kept a house in John Street, behind Gray's Inn. Although childless, the Coulthards were generous to their kin, especially to his sister Margaret's sons who were brought into the firm. As Playfair observed:

Thomas and James Graham were at the age of 16 sent to their mother's brother, James Coulthard of Lincoln's Inn, . . . (his wife during their early years being a foster parent to them) who brought them up in his profession and took them into partnership. On his death they succeeded to his business which

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13. Sylvanus Urban, GENTLEMAN'S MAG., March 1796, at 253. For a short biography, see R. G. Thorne, THE HOUSE OF COMMONS 1790-1820, 5: 528 (R.G. Thorne ed. 1986).

14. The quote is Beckford's in the Beckford MSS, as quoted in Thorne. For more on the Wildman-Beckford matter, see Ian R. Christie, BRITISH 'NON-ÉLITE' MPS 1715-1820 (1995), 32-33 *passim*.

15. *Id.*

16. Because Coulthard was an attorney, not a barrister, Lincoln's Inn does not have a personal account of him (confirmed by Guy Holborn, May 23, 1990). Neither the Whelpdale papers (D/Hudleston family/17) in the C.R.O., nor a short Whelpdale biography, (C. ROY HUDLESTON, F.S.A. & R.S. BOUMPHREY, M.A., CUMBERLAND FAMILIES AND HERALDRY 362-63 (1978)), mention Mary de Whelpdale.

they conducted for 30 years.<sup>17</sup>

This succession followed Coulthard's death in 1786.<sup>18</sup>

Coulthard's correspondence in the Stowe Collection, which permit a rare glimpse into the mind of this eighteenth-century attorney, also attest to his skills in handling his clients and his clients' associates. This was notably the case in Coulthard's counseling and coaching client James Brydges (1731-89), sometime Marquis of Carnarvon and—from December, 1771—Third Duke of Chandos.<sup>19</sup>

The rest of this paper treats Coulthard in his role as attorney to the hapless Brydges on separate occasions from the mid-1760s to the early 1780s. Hired to remedy the bewildering financial problems which beset the Marquis, Coulthard emerges as very professional—competent and imaginative, humane and empathetic—but very disdainful of bumblers other than Brydges. That he was, above all, diligent, reflected the ardor with which he pursued his task. Without appearing at all condescending

17. PLAYFAIR, *supra* note 9, at 853-54. Margaret Coulthard (died 1816, at age 91) had married Thomas Graham of Edmond Castle, Cumberland. BURKE'S LANDED GENTRY 761 (1921). Their sons, Thomas (b. 1751) and James (b. 1753) Graham, were admitted and enrolled on November 13, 1777, and February 25, 1780, respectively. Foden to Schmidt, *supra* note 6, and Law Society [Chancery Lane] Admissions and Enrollment Book. A short biography of James Graham may be found in THE HOUSE OF COMMONS 1790-1820, 4:48-51 (R.G. Thorne ed. 1986).

The firm of Lawrence Graham & Co. has a portrait of James Graham by John Opie; Payne Hicks Beach has an excellent framed photograph of the same on its walls. Brown to Schmidt, *supra* note 12.

18. Coulthard stipulated that his sister, nieces, and nephews receive some £12,000 and all of his real estate and personals. (Although he had bequeathed £3,000, the use of the house in John Street, all of the household furniture, plate, and linen, and an annuity of £500 per annum to his widow, she preceded him in death by two years.) Nephew Thomas was named executor of Coulthard's will.

The Coulthard wills are cited as Prerogative Court of Canterbury Wills, P.R.O., Probate, 1786, vol. 159, James Coulthard, Oxford, June 326/1143; PRO Probate, 1784, vol. 156, Admin., 60, Mary Coulthard, South'ton, Jan. 1784.

19. Biographical sketches of James, Third Duke, are in Lewis Namier and John Brooke, *The House of Commons 1754-1790* (London, 1964) 2 vols., 2: 125-27; and Sylvanus Urban, GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE, October 1789, at 958-59. A brief biography of Henry appears in Romney Sedgwick, *The House of Commons 1715-1754* (London, 1970), 2 vols., 1:499-500. Henry succeeded his father, James, to the dukedom in 1744. For detailed accounts of the first duke, see C.H. COLLINS BAKER & MURIEL I. BAKER, THE LIFE AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF JAMES BRYDGES, FIRST DUKE OF CHANDOS, PATRON OF THE LIBERAL ARTS (1949); JOAN JOHNSON, PRINCELY CHANDOS: JAMES BRYDGES 1674-1744 (1984); and R.S. NEALE, BATH 1680-1850: A SOCIAL HISTORY OR A VALLEY OF PLEASURE, YET A SINK OF INIQUITY 116-70 (1981). The latest Chandos chronicle is JOHN BECKETT, THE RISE AND FALL OF THE GRENVILLES: DUKES OF BUCKINGHAM AND CHANDOS, 1710 to 1921 127-30 (Manchester 1994).

(indeed, he was scrupulously deferential), he coached Brydges to follow his legal argument and, above all, to appreciate the genius of his method. He mastered the art of diminishing his client's anxiety, for he was unflinchingly optimistic (even a braggadocio) that his strategies would work.

In sharp contrast to his attorney, client James Brydges, called "a man of great sweetness and good-breeding,"<sup>20</sup> was an indolent fellow overwhelmed by both his own debt and that which he inherited from a doltish father. The first son of Henry, Second Duke of Chandos (1708-71), James had twice married—Margaret, daughter of John Nicoll, of Minchenden House in Middlesex and Anne Eliza, daughter of Richard Gamon of Datchworthbury, Hertfordshire, in 1777. These marriages were important because they provided him with real property, which he badly needed to convert into cash, especially just before, and on the occasion of, his father's death late in 1771. Coulthard's masterful lawyering became the more evident in the contrast drawn between him and Brydges, who emerged as his foil.

Brydges initially retained Coulthard in 1766 to review the management of his Minchenden estate in Middlesex.<sup>21</sup> That the attorney handled this assignment decisively and effectively no doubt persuaded Brydges to recall him in the autumn of 1770, this time to sell off some of his Welsh estate properties. The challenge of restoring Brydges to solvency did not differ substantially from the wreckage which Brydges described on the occasion of his father's death a year later:

I fancy you can give a Sort of Guess, as to the Condition I have found his [the Second Duke's] affairs in; yet I flatter Myself as I assisted Him with a very considerable Sum of Money last Spring for the clearing his Just Debts with honest Tradesmen, that I may not find many of Them remaining; but I have Seen Sufficient already to convince me . . . that he has been for Sometime in the Hands of the Jews in Change Alley, & of Attorneys of the most infamous Characters, many of whom I hope & believe will be taken in.

I have taken the Expense of the Funeral upon Myself (the Duke having died intestate) which shall be recently performed, & will discharge all the Servants

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20. NAMIER & BROOKE, *THE HOUSE OF COMMONS*, *supra* note 19, at 127.

21. See generally Letters from James Coulthard, Esq., Breames Buildings, Chancery Lane, to James Brydges (Dec. 18-27 1766), Huntington Library, STB Box 5 (28). To avoid confusion, I use "Brydges" rather than Carnarvon or Chandos.



that the Duchess does not retain in her Service & also the Gardeners, labourers, &c which is all I shall undertake at present; but these Circumstances will be a heavy call upon me at present.<sup>22</sup>

A second letter expressed the young Duke's continuing anguish: "My Father's Affairs appear to the Duchess & me in so dubious a State that we shall neither of us proceed to Administration without Advice [from you] . . ." <sup>23</sup> Because the old Duke had left no cash books, "we are much in the dark; I sho'd hope there are not many Bond or Simple Contract Creditors but have Reason to believe there are a Multitude of Annuitants."<sup>24</sup> He estimated that the estates which had devolved to him carried a debt load of £27,000.<sup>25</sup>

This agonizing by the young Duke evoked a vintage Coulthard response:

[I] only now sitt down to inform yr Lordship in general That I've spent an inexpressible deal of Time in ye Business & made an infinite Quality of Remarks & Queries—as to which I must have Satisfaction from some person or persons that are intimately acquainted with ye Estates.

I am now digesting into a regular & something like a Methodical Scheme or Plan—ye Variety of Minutes, Mems, Observations, Queries, etc. that have occurred during the progress in ye Business & hope in a few days to reduce 'em to ye appearance (at least) of a System.<sup>26</sup>

Because Coulthard's comprehensive plan required Brydges' selling off landed holdings, their correspondence pertained largely to such sales. Although his 1770-72 letters fixed on Brydges' Radnorshire (Wales) estates, Coulthard also became variously involved establishing title to or disposing of other Brydges properties—among which were Coningsby, Keck, and in Curzon Street.<sup>27</sup> Although Coulthard's letters to Brydges were often long and detailed, they were focused: the attorney

22. Brydges, Avington, Hampshire, to Coulthard, (Dec. 1, 1771), Huntington Library STB Box 28(40). Avington was another Chandos estate.

23. *Id.* (Dec. 4, 1771), Huntington Library STB Box 28(41).

24. *Id.*

25. *Id.*

26. Coulthard, Lincoln's Inn, to Brydges, (June 26, 1771), Huntington Library STB Box 5(41).

27. References to these estates occur throughout the Brydges Papers in the Huntington Library. Cf. GUIDE TO BRITISH HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS IN THE HUNTINGTON LIBRARY 228-45 (1982); and the unpublished calendar of the Brydges/Chandos papers (by box) at the Huntington Library.

doggedly pursued every means to sell off his client's landed assets.

While Coulthard's competence required an intimate knowledge of land values, it also demanded discretion and sensitivity in handling people. In these traits Coulthard proved a master. However superior intellectually he might have been to Brydges, the attorney unflinchingly showed proper deference even when his patience must have worn thin. He even proffered an occasional loan, perhaps hoping that it would help concentrate his young client's mind.

Fearful of a misunderstanding in his dealings with Brydges, Coulthard always covered himself by putting matters in writing. Typically, he wrote: "Having an Intimation given Yesterday that the Duke of Marlborough wished to purchase the Tew estate I wrote a Letter on ye subject to Mr. Walker . . . thinking him to be in Town but if not then ye letter to be carried to ye Duke & be opened by his Grace."<sup>28</sup>

He also offered common sense advice on mundane matters. The Duke and Duchess should, he suggested, have their farms surveyed and estimates made of their values by "some person of skill in that neighborhood as also an account taken of ye timber & wood (if any) upon it & ye rather as by yr marriage articles this Estate is to be sold."<sup>29</sup> Or, he added a less than subtle critique of a Brydges steward:

I also trouble yr Grace with a copy of a Letter which Mrs Parker's brother brought hither Yesterday—it relates to ye Sussex Estates & comes from one of the Tenants. I was greatly surprised to find the rents so much in arrears for which I can get no reason—some farther Inquiries should be forthwith made . . . [I]f yr Grace or ye Duchess have any friend there or in ye Neighborhood it would be proper to write for a recommendation to a proper person there to look into this business . . .<sup>30</sup>

Advice sometimes carried with it a warning: "I was last Night hon'd with yr Grace's favor of yesterday with the Summons from the Coachmaker's attorney inclosed—at which I was not a little astonish'd—It savors strong of sharp practice."<sup>31</sup>

Coulthard exercised infinite patience in urging the Duke or Duchess to act in a timely fashion when the court demanded of Brydges specified documents, or required his or the Duchess' attendance. Thus,

28. Coulthard, Lincoln's Inn, to Brydges (May 11, 1779), Huntington Library STB Box 7(53).

29. *Id.* (July 4, 1778), Huntington Library STB Box 7(17).

30. *Id.*

31. *Id.* (Jan. 31, 1778), Huntington Library STB Box 6(53).

such coaxing as: “Mr Chester [attorney for Hoare’s bank] is very pressing to have the deeds sent up hither from Minchenden House because at This time being the very Height of Business it would (he says) be to ye last degree inconvenient for him to be out of Town even one day.”<sup>32</sup> When the Duchess failed to remit required documents, Coulthard warned: “The want of the exemplification of ye late governor’s Will stops my proceeding in the Business . . . in Chancery”;<sup>33</sup> and “The only deed now wanting is the Duchess’s Settlement of 14 April 1770.”<sup>34</sup> Coulthard’s failed attempt to obtain a household inventory proved particularly vexing:

If ye goods in Curzon Street house have not already been scheduled, I submit to your Grace that its proper to be done forthwith & a Valuation put on them. Your Grace is aware that a Schedule or Inventory of ye goods & furniture in Chandos Street House is to be annex’d to ye assignment for ye benefit of the Duchess. I took the Liberty of mentioning this long ago, but it may have possibly escaped your Grace . . . . As soon as the inventory is completed you’ll please to favor me with it.<sup>35</sup>

Pleas for the Duke’s time were issued (and not infrequently ignored); Coulthard urged that “you’d please to take ye first opportunity of perusing & considering & return with yr joint approbation or point out such variations as you choose so that ye judge may bring down ye engrossments with him if he goes to Bath.”<sup>36</sup> The attorney found the Duke’s absences for meetings especially trying: “I hope yr Grace will not fail attending Tomorrow as that will greatly tend to facilitate these steps.”<sup>37</sup> Occasions were when Coulthard needed merely to confer as when he requested Brydges spare “a few Minutes conversation” which

32. *Id.* (March 8, 1779), Huntington Library STB Box 7(44).

33. *Id.* (July 24, 1778), Huntington Library STB Box 7(23).

34. *Id.* (Aug. 1, 1778), Huntington Library STB Box 7(27).

35. *Id.* (Nov. 19, 1778), Huntington Library STB Box 6(41). In another letter just over a week later, Coulthard wrote:

I have lately troubled yr Grace with 2 or 3 cards as to ye Sale of the Curzon Street House & Furniture & likewise as to ye Chandos House Furniture viz as to ye former for yr Grace’s approbation of ye proposed Advertisement & to get ye furniture valued by a proper appraiser. And as to ye latter—To get an Inventory in order to be annex’d to ye assignment for ye duchess’s benefit. But not having had an answer fear a miscarriage & therefore have repeated the Subjects.

*Id.* (Nov. 27, 1777), Huntington Library STB Box 6(43).

36. Coulthard, Lincoln’s Inn, to Brydges (Nov. 27, 1777), Huntington Library STB Box 6(43).

37. *Id.* (July 1778), Huntington Library STB Box 7(26).

“will enable me to draw ye answer.”<sup>38</sup>

While such persistence was time consuming, it was incidental to Coulthard’s closing a deal. Speaking of the sale of the Tew estate in Oxfordshire he detailed his labors: “[T]here have been various tedious Overtures & Meetings without effect till within these few days until . . . [a Mr. Black] . . . proposed £63,800, . . . his ultimatum.”<sup>39</sup> Black’s “very long & tedious & intricate Calculations”<sup>40</sup> caused additional work for Coulthard, who “dedicated a good deal of time to ye perusal & consideration of ‘em but an accurate revisal would require a week or 10 days at least . . . tho’ there don’t appear to me much reason . . . for it as Black is a man of integrity as well as skill.”<sup>41</sup> Coulthard had, nonetheless, “drawn out a summary of ‘em with which I beg have to trouble yr Grace whence you’ll see ye whole in miniature.”<sup>42</sup>

Nor was Coulthard hesitant in reminding Brydges of his tireless efforts in serving him: “I think I before informed your Grace & the Duchess that I had looked a bit more into . . . [the Harris Estate] in Chancery proceedings & found ‘em very voluminous & multifarious & intimated that it wod require much Labor & Time.”<sup>43</sup>

On another occasion he observed that “I’m now immersed in ye very intricate & delicate Business of an explanatory Instrument of yr Grace & ye Duchess’s Marriage Articles & hope to reach a period—Tomorrow.”<sup>44</sup> Although he had begun work on this matter the week before, he had suspended it for several days because of “an attack of a very violent disorder.”<sup>45</sup>

While at work on the Keck estate, he lectured the Duke on fairness as well as detailing his own efforts:

I need not mention to yr Grace the more than common Efforts I have exerted from the beginning of the Keck Business to accelerate the completion of a Business greatly more complex & difficult than ordinary & therefore I need not mention my perseverance or that I shall attend to yr Grace’s orders but ye

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38. *Id.* (June 1, 1771), Huntington Library STB Box 5(39).

39. Coulthard to Brydges (May 1, 1779), Huntington Library STB Box 7(49).

40. *Id.*

41. *Id.*

42. *Id.*

43. *Id.* (May 19, 1778), Huntington Library STB Box 7(9).

44. *Id.* (Oct. 8, 1777), Huntington Library STB Box 6(39).

45. *Id.*

means of offsetting that purpose is to keep fair with ye other parties.<sup>46</sup>

### He occasionally pampered himself:

As this Business of yr Lordship's Radnorshire Estates is I think now brought to such a Situation as yr Lordship can't be injured by my absence for 10 Days or so I'm thinking of going to Margate next Tuesday or Wednesday in hopes of reaping ye like benefit I had before.<sup>47</sup>

Ultimately, it was Coulthard's expertise, quite as much as his diligence, which best served Brydges. He advertised his knowledge of money matters by devising diverse strategies, which he detailed to his client in a projected "Mode of Sale" for the Radnorshire holdings:

It appears to me most advisable to pursue ye Idea I'd intimated when I'd ye Honor of talking with yr Lordship on ye Subject viz 1<sup>st</sup>. To advertise in ye public papers circulating in ye County of Radnor & ye Neighborhood an Intention or intimation . . . 2.<sup>dly</sup> To print . . . & send down to Mr. Evans . . . a few hundred copies of ye Lots or particulars as prepared by Mr. Salmon [surveyor.] 3.<sup>dly</sup> To propose that ye Bidders do send their Bidding or prices to some person in London or at such a distance from ye places as to remove all suspicions of collusion . . . 4.<sup>thly</sup> To insert as a special Condition of Sale that ye purchasers are not to expect ye modern deeds as they relate to other Estates—and if they choose attested copies—they must pay for 'em.<sup>48</sup>

He concluded that he hoped shortly "after making ye proposed publication—yr Lordship will be able to form a Judgment whether you'll have occasion to dispose of ye whole—or what Recourse you may make—at least for ye present."<sup>49</sup> He proudly appended that he had "very nearly Systemized ye whole of my Mems &c."<sup>50</sup>

Coulthard, born to sell, became ecstatic when calculating land values, accepting bids, bargaining, and eventually settling with buyers. Frequently, he could barely contain his elation:

I've [ ] employed a good deal of time in calculating the values & prices that ye [ ] Radnorshire Estates will probably fetch—[A]ccording to such judgment as I've been able to form from ye Variety of conversations I've had on ye subject. Hence I infer That 25 years' purchase is a full & probably a fair price [ ] reckoning on the improved Values . . . [A]ccording to this rule I make ye

46. *Id.* (May 1, 1778), Huntington Library STB Box 7(1).

47. *Id.* (Aug. 31, 1771), Huntington Library STB Box 5(44/8).

48. *Id.* (June 29, 1771), Huntington Library STB Box 5(41).

49. *Id.*

50. *Id.*

whole £38800 Tho' Mr Salmon's utmost Valuation is about £37,600 & his lowest £33,150—Tho' it may probably settle at ye medium of £35,000.<sup>51</sup>

To reassure Brydges, Coulthard emphasized that not only did he and his surveyor Salmon concur in their calculations, but “[i]n general he falls in with my Notions of ye Lotting.”<sup>52</sup> Advertising also enthralled him:

I've been racking my Invention . . . & have been thinking of inserting an abstract in ye advertisements for a couple of times viz To insert ye Total of each Lot which will come within a moderate Compass.

The Advertisements already inserted have produced applications & some from ye County for ye small lots which tend to prove it an eligible method & indeed a gentleman who knows ye Country very well happened to call here this morning & he has no Doubt of ye Propriety of ye mode for yr Lordship's Interest.<sup>53</sup>

Coulthard's proposed advertisement, which he urged Brydges to approve as soon as possible, included “the prices to be asked—& ye lowest to be taken.”<sup>54</sup> He proudly announced: “Thus my Lord! I've concentrated my ideas on ye subject all I could so as to appear clear which I hope they do, & that I shall have your Lordship's commands thereon ye first opportunity.”<sup>55</sup> Regarding the advertisement itself: “I've ordered general advertisements as before adding your Lordship's name & also referring to ye several persons to shew ye premises & to us for ye survey & plan & have sent the general particular (if I may be allowed ye expression) to be printed & except ye proof sheet on Monday, which shall then settle & circulate it.”<sup>56</sup>

51. *Id.* (Sept. 12, 1771), Huntington Library STB Box 5(47).

52. *Id.* (July 20, 1771), Huntington Library STB Box 5(42).

53. *Id.* (Aug. 1, 1771), Huntington Library STB Box 5(43). On July 20, 1771, Coulthard had informed Brydges that:

I mean Tomorrow morning or Monday to set about fitting ye particular for ye press but it will not, I fear, be so complete as could wish for sometime as I cannot be so sanguine as to rely upon ye accounts from persons on ye Spott . . . I mean to continue ye general advertisement a week or so longer. It occurs to me that it would be advisable to add to it those words—“being ye Estate of ye Marquis of Carnarvon,” if your Lordship has no particular objection.

Huntington Library STB Box 5(42).

54. Coulthard to Brydges (Oct. 17, 1771), Huntington Library STB Box 5(58).

55. *Id.*

56. *Id.*

Having plunged into the bidding process, Coulthard became obsessive in uncovering secretive bidders:

I strongly suspect Mr. Ffarrer is bidding for Walsh because I know he's ye General Agent for Brock whom I suspected all along to have been employed by Walsh . . . & these are 7 of ye 10 Lots that Walsh had bid for—but possibly it may be Brock's private scheme—However that be it's of little consequence to yr Lordship provided you have a bidder able to perform his Contract.<sup>57</sup>

The Walsh to whom Coulthard alluded was John Walsh of the East India Company.<sup>58</sup> Like many of the officers of this company, Walsh had made a fortune in his years abroad and now wished to upgrade his social status by acquiring country properties. Coulthard's identification of Walsh in the 1771-72 Radnorshire bidding calls attention to a late eighteenth-century land market phenomenon—an indebted aristocracy's selling off to Nabob newcomers.<sup>59</sup>

Coulthard estimated the value of the Radnorshire property sought by Walsh at £40,000, although he had not the authority to set the price. Coulthard told Brock that he would not trouble Brydges with an offer of £30,000; to Brydges he said: "If it don't suit your Lordship to be attended in Town or at Avington so soon Mr Brock desires in such case that your Lordship would please to mention to me by letter that lowest sum you'd take."<sup>60</sup> About Brock, Coulthard remarked: "We've had ye pleasure of knowing Mr Brock for sometime & of doing Business with him & always found him a fair & punctual Man—he's of our profession . . . so [that] I've no doubt of his faithfully & honorably performing any Engagement he enters into."<sup>61</sup>

The thrill of bargaining notwithstanding, Coulthard experienced

57. *Id.* (Nov. 19, 1771), Huntington Library STB Box 5(65).

58. See NAMIER AND BROOKS, 3 THE HOUSE OF COMMONS 1754-1790 602-03; MICHAEL EDWARDS, THE NABOBS AT HOME (1971); LUCY S. SUTHERLAND, THE EAST INDIA COMPANY IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY POLITICS (1962), *passim*. Ffarrer was a known agent for Attorney Brock and was suspected of being in the employ of Walsh. Coulthard suspected that Brock, too, was a Walsh agent.

59. See generally LAWRENCE STONE AND JEANNE C. FAWTIER STONE, AN OPEN ELITE? ENGLAND 1540-1880 148-210 (Oxford, 1984); Michael W. McCahill, *Open Elites: Recruitment to the French Noblesse and the English Aristocracy in the Eighteenth Century Albion*, 30 ALBION 599 (Winter 1999). See also W. D. Rubinstein, *New Men of Wealth and the Purchase of Land in Nineteenth Century England*, 92 PAST AND PRESENT (1981), for an intriguing revisionist view, despite its focus upon a later period.

60. Coulthard, Margate, to Brydges (Sept. 13, 1771), Huntington Library STB Box 5(49).

61. *Id.*

constant dread of having underpriced his client's property. Referring to negotiations with Brock, he wrote to Brydges:

I have turned this business over & over in my mind with ye most anxious attention in my power & yet confess I cannot help thinking ye ideas of ye total value I sent first from Margate. I mean ye probable price, £35,000, will be ye price or nearly ye price—For since my return I've only had ye additional conversation of 2 or 3 people (besides Mr Brock) but received last Night from price a long Account of ye Manors, which though it still be imperfect yet reduces my ideas of the value of that Branch of yr Estate very considerably—I estimated those manors [ ] including ye Cottages, Commons &c at about £3,300 at least but fear from these last accounts that they are not worth half ye money—if so Then your Lordship sees that my calculation of £38,800 will fall considerably short of Mr Salmon's extended Valuations.<sup>62</sup>

It bothered Coulthard that “Mr Brock seeming so very anxious about your matter & in fact being so, by his coming down to Margate &c startles me, too, & inclines me to hope that your thing is worth more than I imagined.”<sup>63</sup> Then he added that Brock's visit “induces me to suspect (notwithstanding his declarations) that he comes from some Nabob or such like person that has in view parliamentary Influence, but this is merely my private Surmise.”<sup>64</sup>

Brock expressed interest in the Brydges property and hoped that its owner “won't sell to anyone”<sup>65</sup> until he has “my answer.”<sup>66</sup> In order to speak for “my principal,”<sup>67</sup> Brock proposed coming to Avington. Notwithstanding Brock's bid and Walsh's open application, Coulthard remained convinced that Brock was really acting for Walsh. Consequently, he continued meeting with Walsh's known agent who made it clear that Walsh wanted most of the Radnorshire estate and had written his own steward to survey and provide him with an estimate of its value. Either way, advertising, it seems, had paid off: Brock promised an answer within ten days. Coulthard was jubilant: “I should not at all be surprised at my Lord's being offered more than I intimated to you & indeed all things considered 40,000 guineas appears to me by no means an high price.”<sup>68</sup>

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62. *Id.* Lincoln's Inn (Sept. 17, 1771), Huntington Library STB Box 5(50).

63. *Id.*

64. *Id.*

65. *Id.* (Sept. 21, 1771), Huntington Library STB Box 5(53) (quoting Letter from Brock to Coulthard (Sept. 19, 1771)).

66. *Id.*

67. *Id.*

68. *Id.*



On one occasion Coulthard had coached Brydges how to respond to such bids:

I should for my own part (were the case mine) be very inclinable to close with his offer but beg your Grace to consider of it & honor me with your sentiments before Thursday on which day the regular agreement for ye purchase of Tew is to be signed by ye the trustees (& ye deposit paid).<sup>69</sup>

A closing and the prospects for further sales left Coulthard ebullient and generally optimistic about the Duke's improved condition. A Mr. Lewis, candidate for purchasing the entire Radnorshire estate, had met the Duke's price of £15,000 for lot #14:

I hope I may take ye liberty of congratulating your Lordship on this occasion . . . Upon ye whole I can't help being well pleased as I think now it can scarcely so happen but that yr Lordship must be easy at or soon after Xmas with respect to your Engagements. For at worst you'll then have Mr Lewis' £1,500 [deposit] (or more probably £5,000, £6,000, or £7,000).<sup>70</sup>

Coulthard reminisced about:

ye innumerable difficulties that have occurred in coming at ye real Values of your Lordship's Radnorshire Estates—for I now think that yr Lordship has at last obtained such precise Ideas of those Values [and] that you are in no Danger of parting with any of 'em at under Values or at least to any material Amount . . . I'm inexpressibly happy in finding that my Endeavors to serve yr Lordship in this business are so very acceptable."<sup>71</sup>

Although Coulthard displayed a high level of tolerance for Brydges' procrastination and lethargy, he did not gladly suffer fools socially beneath him. In one instance, after a Mr. Pickett called, Coulthard exclaimed that his "conversation was such a chaos of incoherence that I could not understand what he meant or would be at & so I told him & therefore desired that he'd put his meaning into writing & that I'd transmit it to your Grace."<sup>72</sup>

As a firm believer in hierarchy, indeed, a social pecking order, Coulthard reserved particular disdain for one Harry Price, Brydges' Radnorshire steward, whom he believed to be hopelessly incompetent.

69. *Id.* (May 29, 1779), Huntington Library STB Box 7(54).

70. *Id.* (Oct. 26, 1771), Huntington Library STB Box 5(61).

71. *Id.* (Oct. 31, 1771), Huntington Library STB Box 5(62).

72. *Id.* (Dec. 19, 1778), Huntington Library STB Box 7(37).

He had requested of Price punctual and accurate figures in order to complete his calculations of Radnorshire land values. When Price failed to comply, he met with the attorney's withering criticism:

On my Return to Town on Wednesday from a small Excursion I met with 2 Letters from Mr Price—in farther part of answers to a Variety of Questions I had repeatedly sent him—This induced me to sit down & compare these Letters with ye Variety of Mems &c I'd before made—The consequence was that several farther Doubts & Variations arose as to ye leases which I completed & sent to Mr Price last Thursday evening.<sup>73</sup>

The attorney concluded by enclosing “one of the particulars marked exactly as that sent to Mr Price on Thursday Evening.”<sup>74</sup>

Coulthard recounted other episodes concerning Price:

I can't help observing that it's with Reluctance & Drop-by-Drop that we can squeeze Intelligence & that very slowly & yet I don't know how otherwise or from whom else your Lordship [ ] can get ye proper intelligence & therefore I've all along treated him very civilly.<sup>75</sup>

In this instance, he enclosed a Price letter which “will let yr Lordship see where ye shoe pinches when my questions come to be answered—particularly as to allowances for Repairs, Taxes &c that ye Tenants had covenanted to pay as to ye covenants & reservations in ye leases . . . .”<sup>76</sup> Coulthard concluded that “these considerations amongst others have of late induced me to write in somewhat stricter style than I had done before as I began to despair of getting true intelligence otherwise.”<sup>77</sup>

Coulthard also faulted Price for his accounts “as to which I'd wrote to him so very minutely on this day . . . as well as before that I'd no doubt of its touching him to ye quick & of his giving a full answer but I've yet had none & take it that yesterday was only ye return of ye post.”<sup>78</sup> He confided that Price had left a bundle of leases and agreements “whence I found he'd made almost as many mistakes—I'm afraid he's a very weak or very careless man.”<sup>79</sup>

73. *Id.* (Aug. 10, 1771), Huntington Library STB Box 5(44/2).

74. *Id.*

75. *Id.*

76. *Id.* (Aug. 10, 1771), Huntington Library STB Box 5(44/2).

77. *Id.*

78. *Id.* (Aug. 22, 1771), Huntington Library STB Box 5(44).

79. *Id.* (Aug. 31, 1771), Huntington Library STB Box 5(44).

On another occasion, the attorney complained that Price had given him “so confused & unintelligible an answer as is contained in his Letter . . . by which one may fairly infer he’s allowed for repairs which ye Tenants ought to have borne & even expressly admits ye Impropriety of ye Allowances to Mr Lewis for Taxes &c which by ye express terms of ye lease (prepared by himself) Mr Lewis ought to have paid.”<sup>80</sup>

Although Coulthard apologized to Brydges in this case for bothering him about Price, he may have taken satisfaction in contrasting Price’s sorry behavior with his own proficiency. He continued:

I thought I should have had occasion to give yr Lordship very little Trouble in this Business But as I find so much Backwards on this part that I am almost tempted to wish to see ye several accounts that Mr Price has passed with yr Lordship & his Vouchers for those Accounts though I should hope from what I wrote last & ye 2 or 3 preceding letters he would see ye Necessity of being more accurate.<sup>81</sup>

As matters worsened, Coulthard chided Price:

Sir! The perfecting my Lord Carnarvon’s [Brydges’] particulars lies so much upon my mind that though I’d determined to postpone all further attention to it till the arrival of your packet which . . . I now find will not be here till . . . ye 30th. I could not help again revising the business . . . I’ve already said so much upon the subject that I’m at a loss for words to explain any meaning more than perspicuously—you see what a figure this cuts when it comes to be analyzed . . . I hope you’ll make it fit for perusal at present I dare not shew it to anyone.<sup>82</sup>

Coulthard informed Brydges how he had confronted a demoralized Harry Price regarding the data compiled about Brydges’ Baughrood and Lanstaffen manors:

I rely on yr Lordship’s indulgence in permitting me to give you a very concise Summary of yr Interview—viz—yr Lordship will anticipate my asking ye reason of his [1]) not sending us accurate accounts; 2) of sending us repeated contradictory accounts; 3) of not sending up the leases he himself had prepared or faithful abstracts thereof; 4) of not sending any tolerable account of yr manors; 5) why he made allowance to ye Tenants indirect Contradiction to their express Stipulations; 6) why he did not bring with him all his former accounts & ye particulars of ye allowances; 7) so on with which yr Lordship

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80. *Id.* (Aug. 13, 1771), Huntington Library STB Box 5(44).

81. *Id.*

82. Coulthard to Price (n.d., late Aug 1771), Huntington Library STB Box 5(44).

has been so pestered by me with ye Variety of long letters.<sup>83</sup>

His exasperation notwithstanding, the lawyer's suggested remedy indicates that he may have been touched by Price's entreaties:

In answer to all this—the poor man behaved in ye manner I figure to myself that a repentant Catholic behaves to his Confessor. For he in ye amplest manner confessed his past Sins viz his gross Negligence & inattention to Duties of his office and consequently to yr Lordship's Interest.<sup>84</sup>

Coulthard remained firm in the face of Price's

most solemn protestation of Innocence as to any intended Fraud &c—but referred ye whole to his own extraordinary Indolence & as to his moral character [he] referred me to several persons of high credit—I replied I'd no more view another's . . . authority than to inquire into characters. Ye only authority I presumed to exercise on behalf of your Lordship was what I thought your Lordship has a right to deem & be bound in duty to give viz a full & accurate Account of every Fact concerning your Estates of your Lordship had been pleased to entrust to his Care.<sup>85</sup>

Coulthard did conclude, however, that it was not

[in] yr Lordship's interest to come to an open Rupture with ye man as he certainly has it in his power to be of great service to yr Lordship—& as he gave me faithful assurances of rendering for ye future his best Services—as ye best Retribution he can make for his past Negligences [*sic*].<sup>86</sup>

The correspondence which passed from Coulthard to Brydges focused on what mattered most—business, which, in turn, centered on the latter's insolvency. The attorney understood his charge which did not permit small talk about irrelevancies. One issue—essentially a personal one but certainly related to the business at hand—was the recurring matter of a personal loan from attorney to client. Initially, Coulthard responded warmly to Brydges' request both before and again at the time of the Second Duke's death.<sup>87</sup> He sent Brydges a bond in

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83. Coulthard to Brydges (Sept. 3, 1771), Huntington Library STB Box 5(45).

84. *Id.*

85. *Id.*

86. *Id.*

87. Brydges, Avington, Hants to Coulthard (Dec. 1, 1771), Huntington Library STB Box 28(40) ("I wou'd be much obliged if you cou'd with convenience accommodate me with the £2,000 immediately in which case you will please to send me down a proper Bond"). Coulthard's positive response elicited the young duke's

which left “a Blank for ye Date & also another Blank for ye Time of payment—both which Blanks yr Lordship will please to fill up as you think proper—as its [*sic*] totally indifferent to me who means to accommodate ye Lordship’s convenience.”<sup>88</sup> Some eight years later, however, Coulthard seems to have been of a different disposition. Citing his own needs, he requested repayment:

I am much obliged to your Grace for what you are pleased to say as to my £2,000 which it would be very desirable for me to receive on account of my engagements for my nephews having been disappointed from other Quarters whence a good deal is owing me but I have not been able to receive anything.<sup>89</sup>

Perhaps because repayment of the initial £ 2,000 loan was slow, Coulthard hesitated to lend more. In 1780 he informed Brydges:

As to the £4,000 if I’d had so much that I could come at I most certainly would have done myself the pleasure of making a tender of it to your Grace without giving you ye trouble of asking but it happens that I have not more unapplied [*sic*] than necessary for my family purposes for which I’m very sorry.<sup>90</sup>

Informality did take other forms: Coulthard graciously thanked Brydges’, giving him half a buck and half a doe on two separate occasions.<sup>91</sup> There were bits of gossip which Coulthard relayed to Brydges as when he learned that Lord Northington was not expected to live the week or when a Mr. Cuddon advised that “his supposed marriage is at an End & not expected to be resumed.”<sup>92</sup> Some gossip which Coulthard passed on to Brydges proved potentially useful to Brydges:

Mr Solicitor General Wedderburn told me ye day before yesterday that he’d last Sunday dined with ye Chancellor of ye Duchy & had represented the conduct of ye officers as to your Lordship in their true colors & wished yr

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gratitude. *Id.* (Dec. 4, 1771), Huntington Library STB Box 28(41).

88. Coulthard, Lincoln’s Inn, to Brydges (Sept. 19, 1771), Huntington Library STB Box 5(51).

89. *Id.* (April 14, 1779), Huntington Library STB Box 7(47).

90. *Id.* (June 14, 1780), Huntington Library STB Box 7(59).

91. *Id.* (Oct. 2, 1778), Huntington Library STB Box 7(33), *Id.* (Dec. 17, 1771), Huntington Library STB Box 6(3); *id.* (Dec. 14, 1771), Huntington Library STB Box 6(2).

92. *Id.* (Oct. 24, 1771), Huntington Library STB Box 5(60).

Lordship to cultivate a proper understanding with ye chancellor of Ye Duchy.<sup>93</sup>

Coulthard added: “This appears to me an Act of Friendship or at least Candor.”<sup>94</sup>

James Coulthard’s was a London attorney life derived from provincial origins. With him the reader is afforded an opportunity to enter the attorney’s mind and bear witness to his work ethic and deference to and patience with clients, no less than annoyance with incompetent subordinates. Moments of poignancy occur when the attorney speaks thoughts commonplace in today’s world but which recapture concerns and sentiments of eighteenth-century legal London.

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93. *Id.* (Nov. 7, 1771), Huntington Library STB Box 5(63).

94. *Id.*

