POLITICAL CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO KINGSTON-UPON-HULL, 1678-1835

by

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ABSTRACT

This study covers aspects of political life at Kingston-upon-Hull between 1678 and 1835, and is part history and part edition. The historical section is an essay on the character and course of Hull politics between these dates. The edition on which that essay is based, consists of a selection from the surviving correspondence. The resulting picture is fragmentary, but it does contribute to our understanding of Hull at that time.

The years 1678 to 1835 were marked by a political stability at Hull established during the first ten years and challenged only during the concluding five. Until the mid 1830's local political power was held by a merchant-maritime oligarchy which in times of need called upon local magnates who served the town as High Stewards.

The Crown had some influence at Hull, as it was a garrison town and port; but the town corporation, Trinity House, Dock Company, and a number of wealthy families, some of whom had reached gentry status, held the monopoly of political influence. The freeman electorate was large, and as elections approached, unregistered voters pressed the Bench for their franchise. Some attempt was made by the corporation to restrict this. The paying of polling money was almost inevitable, especially in the later eighteenth century, and wise candidates also contributed to local charities, clubs and racing plates.

Members of Parliament kept the town fully informed of national political issues especially up to about 1710. From then until the late 1760's the members seem less assiduous in their correspondence, and also in their performance in the Commons. Between 1766 and 1820 the Rockingham-Fitzwilliam interest returned many personal nominees, and the quality of many of the members rose. These Whig magnates did not, however, have a monopoly at Hull. Wilberforce stood as an independent and later several government, or perhaps Tory candidates, were returned. Closely contested and expensive elections were common after 1796.

Threats from Jacobites and American privateers, with the possibility of a French invasion, caused local political squabbles, but the French danger may have helped prevent the spread of revolutionary societies and Radicalism was really born in Hull in 1818 with the Political Protestants. However it played some part in turning Hull Whig/Liberal opinion against Liverpool's Tory government.

The 1830's, with the campaign for the Reform and Municipal Corporation Acts, led to a crystallisation of local political parties which culminated in the defeat of the Tory corporation in the municipal election of 1835. The activities of the radical Acland added to the political strife, but he overplayed his hand. The stability created by conflict in the 1680's was transformed by conflict in the 1830's. The intervening years thus have some unity.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Almon, Debates: J. Almon, The Debates and Proceedings of the British House of Commons (London, 1766-75).

Bean, Northern Representation: W.W. Bean, Parliamentary Representation of the Six Northern Counties of England. (Hull, 1890).

B.B.: Hull Corporation Bench Books.

B.I.H.R.: Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research.

B.L. Add.MSS.: British Library, Additional Manuscripts.

C.S.P.D.: Calendar of Domestic State Papers.

Chandler, Proceedings: R. Chandler, The History and Proceedings of the House of Commons (London, 1741-4).

G.E.C. Complete Peerage: G.E. Cokayne (ed.). The Complete Peerage (London, 1910-59).

C.J.: Journals of the House of Commons.

Debrett, Debates: J. Debrett; The History, Debates and Proceedings of both Houses of Parliament (London, 1792).

D.N.B.: Dictionary of National Biography.

E.H.R.: English Historical Review

Fitzwilliam MSS.: Letters and Papers of the second Earl Fitzwilliam, deposited in the Northamptonshire County Record Office, Delapre Abbey, Northampton.

Grey's Debates: A Grey, Debates of the House of Commons 1667-94 (London, 1763).

Hansard: T.C. Hansard, Parliamentary Debates (London, 1803), et.seq.)

Hartley MSS.: Hartley-Russell MSS., deposited at the Berkshire County Record Office, Reading.

Henning, Commons 1660-90: B.D. Henning (ed.), The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1660-90 (London, 1983).

H.M.C.: History Manuscripts Commission.

H.R.O. BRL.: City of Hull Record Office, Series BRL.

L.J.: Journals of the House of Lords.

Mirror: J. Barrow, The Mirror of Parliament (London, 1828-41).

Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90: L.B. Namier and J. Brooke (eds.) The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1754-1790 (London, 1964)

Parl.Hist.: W. Cobbett, Parliamentary History of England (London, 1806-20).

Portland MSS.: Letters and Papers of the third Duke of Portland, deposited in the Department of Manuscripts, University of Nottingham.

P.R.O. H.O.: Public Record Office, Home Office Papers.

Return of Members: Return of Names of Members Returned to Serve the Lower House of the Parliament of England, Scotland and Ireland, 1213-74 (London, 1878) lxii pt.ii.

Sedgwick, Commons 1715-54: R.R. Sedgwick (ed.), The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1715-54 (London, 1970).

Spencer-Stanhope MSS.: Letters and Papers of Walter Spencer-Stanhope, deposited in Sheffield City Library.

Spencer-Stanhope Memoirs: Memoirs of the Life of Walter Spencer-Stanhope of Cannon Hall, deposited in Sheffield City Library.

Stockdale, Register: J. Stockdale, The Parliamentary Register (London, 1804-13)

Stooks Smith, Contested Elections: H. Stooks Smith, The Register of Parliamentary Contested Elections. (London 1841)

Torbuck's, Debates: J. Torbuck, A Collection of the Parliamentary Debates in England, (London, 1744).

V.C.H., Hull: K.J. Allison (ed.), Victoria County History - The East Riding of Yorkshire: City of Kingston-upon-Hull (London, 1970).

W.W.M.: Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, deposited in Sheffield City Library - F. = Letters of the second Earl Fitzwilliam
M1,2 = Papers of the first Marquis of Rockingham
R. = Papers of the second Marquis of Rockingham

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the preparation of this study many debts have been incurred. The late Dr. John A. Woods first suggested the topic, and guided much of the earlier research. Mr. G.C.F. Forster and Dr. E.D. Steele supervised the concluding stages. Archivists and Librarians in Hull and elsewhere afforded pleasant access to the manuscripts and books in their care. The History of Parliament Trust, and in particular Dr. R. Thorne, allowed me to see, and quote from the files on the recently appeared volumes for the period 1790 to 1820. Mr. Edward Gillett was a fount of knowledge on all Hull matters, and Professor W.A. Speck opened my inexpert eyes to the possibilities of computation.

The Master and Fellows of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, kindly elected me to a Schoolmaster Fellow Commonership for a term, which I attempted to put to good use.

My family have patiently suffered Hull and Yorkshire politics for a number of years.

I thank all people concerned for their help and forbearance.

A Note on Method and Editorial Practice

This is a hybrid dissertation, part history and part edition. The historical section is an extended essay on the character and course of Hull politics between the given dates. The edition consists of a selection from the surviving correspondence on which that essay is based. This approach, suggested by the late Dr J. A. Woods, is open to criticism: but it does have the advantage of enabling the reader to make his/her own appreciation of the material for a study like this. The letters are drawn from a variety of sources. The principal collections are: the records of the city of Hull; the Rockingham-Fitzwilliam papers at Sheffield and Northampton; the Spencer Stanhope papers at Sheffield, and the Hartley papers lately at Reading. The resulting picture is fragmentary, like almost all local history and a great deal of national history. Nevertheless, it does enhance our understanding of Hull at that time and of its dominant notables, the natural representatives as well as rulers of the community.

The criteria of selection are twofold: the letters reproduced are those which contribute significantly to the knowledge of Hull politics; together with those which illuminate the national context of local activity and interest.

In editing the letters, the editorial practice has been as follows:

(i) The body of each letter is given in full. Dates and places of writing are preserved where clearly discernible; the formal commencement and subscription are omitted, and endorsements by recipients have not been reproduced when confined to noting the receipt and subject of a letter.

(ii) The original paragraphs, capitalisation and spelling have been retained. Punctuation has been modernised only where necessary to assist comprehension, and without any special indication.

(iii) Contemporary abbreviations are generally extended without special indication. The word 'ye' has been rendered as 'the' throughout.

(iv) Missing, incomplete, and illegible letters and words are supplied within square brackets, as are any other necessary editorial additions.

(v) Letters which have decayed or have otherwise been damaged are described.

(vi) Deletions and erasures are indicated where they may be clearly discerned.

(vii) Letters which are themselves copies or drafts are so indicated.

(viii) Footnotes identify, selectively, individuals, events and topics of discussion.

(ix) Letters cited in the preceding essay are indicated: the large Roman numerals before each letter refer to the relevant section of the essay.

INTRODUCTION

I

The Setting

The political correspondence presented in this thesis can only be fully understood when placed in the context of the growth and development of the town it concerns. Between the reign of Charles II and the accession of Victoria, Kingston-upon-Hull[1] was transformed from a walled settlement on a tidal river, to a large port and industrial town[2]. Until 1835 it was contained within its own county, although an integral part of Yorkshire. The population grew steadily from just under 8,000 in 1700 to nearly 33,000 in 1831. After the boundary changes in the 1830's, the populace reached 65,000 by 1841[3]. This development did not equal that of the Atlantic port of Liverpool, or the inland manufacturing towns of Manchester and Birmingham, but it exceeded the other major east coast port of Newcastle on Tyne, and the midland town of Leicester[4].

Population figures often reflect economic growth. Not only did Hull expand, but also the extensive hinterland drained by the river systems flowing into the Humber. The port served the industrial areas in the West Riding of Yorkshire and in the south of the county, and also those in the midlands and parts of Lancashire.

The greater part of Hull's overseas trade lay with Scandinavia, the Baltic, northern Europe and Russia. Throughout the first eighty years of the eighteenth century trade expanded steadily, but after about 1780 there was a marked increase in the volume of traffic.

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1. Hereafter the town will be referred to as simply 'Hull'.
2. The physical expansion may be traced with the help of a useful series of facsimile reproductions of maps, published by Hull City Libraries in 1973.
3. K.J. Allison, (ed.), Victoria County History - The East Riding of Yorkshire: City of Kingston-upon-Hull. (London, 1970), 180, 215. Cited hereafter as V.C.H., Hull.
4. P.J. Corfield, The Impact of English Towns, 1700-1800. (London, 1982), 91, 129.

By 1790 the town ranked as the third outport, but significantly below Liverpool and Bristol[5]. Exports included woollen goods and hosiery, iron ware, cutlery and ale from Burton-on-Trent; timber and iron ore were amongst her most significant imports[6]. There was a thriving coastal trade extending from Leith to London[7]. Industries also flourished with shipbuilding and related trades, the extraction of oil from seed, sugar refining, and from the late 1760's, whaling[8].

The increase in trade and industry meant that existing dock facilities on the River Hull were insufficient, so new docks were built in 1774, 1802 and 1824 which in effect turned the centre of the old town into an island. The improvements in river navigation, and the development of various canals in the hinterland swelled the wharfs and warehouses of the port[9]. All these endeavours required money and credit, and in 1754 Joseph Pease opened the first bank in Hull. The Wilberforces and the Smiths of Nottingham soon followed[10].

From the multifarious economic activities of the town, the social structure of eighteenth century Hull developed. It was never wholly rigid as accumulated money could, over time, be transformed into social status. There was no aristocracy to grace the races and assizes as at York, and there was never a substantial group of wealthy merchant princes as was to be found at Bristol and Liverpool, but Hull was not without its 'people of quality'. A few merchant families such as the Maisters, Sykes and Broadleys established estates in the surrounding countryside and considered themselves gentry. The Moulds, Williamsons, and Peases bought property just beyond the town, but still engaged in trade and commerce. Other aspiring merchants, shipowners, bankers and manufacturers coveted an elegant house in High Street or Parliament Street, or in the fine new streets developing beyond the walls, such as George Street and Charlotte Street. Poll books and directories over a

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5. ibid., 89.
6. G. Jackson, Hull in the Eighteeenth Century: A Study in Economic and Social History. (London, 1972), 10-25, 64-70.
7. ibid., 71-95.
8. ibid., 157-78, 179-208, passim.
9. ibid., 234-61, passim.
10. ibid., 209-33, passim.

number of years trace the movement in status from 'shipowner' to 'Esquire' or 'Gentleman'[11]. The broad base of the social pyramid was composed of numerous tradesmen, mariners and labourers of various descriptions, who occupied the narrow streets from Holy Trinity Church southwards to the Humber. The structure was hierarchical, and a small oligarchy controlled the social and economic life of the town until the early nineteenth century. At the other extreme there was poverty and frequent outbursts of violence, but in general the economic diversity of the community helped prevent the deep social cleavages to be found in the rapidly expanding inland industrial towns like Manchester and Leeds.[12]

Hull was governed by its corporation, consisting of the mayor, sheriff and twelve aldermen. In the period under consideration all members of the Bench were drawn from the merchant, banking and manufacturing class. The mayor and sheriff were elected annually on 30 September and assumed office just over two weeks later on 18 October - St Luke's day. Nominations or 'lites' were put forward by fellow aldermen: usually the most senior and most junior members of their body. Then the burgesses or freemen of the town cast their votes, encouraged by cash payments and casks of ale. Aldermen, once elected, held office until death, resignation or removal. When a vacancy occurred, the Bench voted on 'lites' from such burgesses as had already served as sheriffs or chamberlains. Two such candidates were then presented to the burgesses.[13]

However the election of an alderman was by no means as closed as the commissioners of 1835 accused. The election to replace Alderman Beilby in 1747/48 is instructive. Each member of the Bench was given four votes for lites, there being seven candidates. The number was reduced to three, the aldermen then having two votes. When the final pair were voted on by the burgesses, the candidate

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11. ibid., 262-65, passim.

12. A. Briggs, 'The Background of the Parliamentary Reform Movement in Three English Cities (1830-32)', Cambridge Historical Journal, no.3, X(1952), 293-317.

13. Report of the Royal Commission to Inquire into Municipal Corporations in England and Wales. Appendix to the First Report of the Commissioners, part iii. Northern and Midland Circuit. Cited hereafter as Rep. Com. Mun. Corps., 1548-49.

favoured by the Bench was defeated.[14] A similar rebuttal occurred in 1753.[15] The burgesses were thus not the tools of the Bench.

The office of alderman was not always seen as an honour. Some did not wish to serve, such as William Crowle in 1700/01[16]; others were occasionally allowed to resign, such as the elder Wilberforce in 1771[17]; but sometimes they had to pay for the privilege, such as Alderman Brounston in 1793[18]. Alderman Cookson, however, was allowed a pension of £40 per annum when he resigned in 1775[19]. On a few occasions there was conflict between Bench and burgesses, and the process had to be carefully scrutinised[20].

The Corporation of Hull was thus oligarchic, but by no means as closed as Leicester, later held up as a classic example[21]. The larger port of Liverpool with its twelve aldermen and twenty four councillors was little different[22], nor were ancient boroughs like Lincoln, where the corporation was recruited by co-option[23], or Exeter where the Bench was considered 'a separate and exclusive body'.[24]

Trinity House had a similar organization to the Corporation. The wardens were elected annually from the elder brethren in rotation. When a vacancy occurred in the ranks of the elder brethren a replacement was selected from the assistants. The house had, as elsewhere on the east coast, a variety of functions concerned with the port. It was responsible for pilotage on the Humber, and the placing and maintenance of lighthouses, beacons and buoys. It had considerable patronage and could dispose of many jobs; several charities were

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14. Hull Corporation Bench Books, deposited in Hull City Record Office, and cited hereafter as B.B., IX,109,111. Entries for 27 January, 3 March 1747/48.

15. B.B., ix, 187. Entry for 1 March 1753.

16. B.B., viii, 478. Entry for 27 March 1701.

17. B.B., ix, 397. Entry for 22 January 1771.

18. B.B., x, 171. Entry for 5 March 1793.

19. B.B., ix, 443-4. Entry for 9 May 1775.

20. B.B., x, 411, 423, 482. Entries for 3 May, 22 November 1803, 2 December 1806.

21. R.W. Greaves, The Corporation of Leicester, 1689-1835, (London, 1939), 143.

22. R. Brooke, Liverpool as it was during the Last Quarter of the Eighteenth Century. (Liverpool,1853); J. Touzeau, The Rise and Progress of Liverpool. (Liverpool, 1910), ii, 108.

under its control and its income was substantial. Not surprisingly, like the Corporation, it became a target for the commissioners in the 1830's. Wardens and elder brethren were shipowners, ship masters, customs house officials, merchants and other local men of substance, some of whom were also aldermen. It controlled port matters and was a pressure group of considerable political importance ready to take action if the commerce and security of Hull were under threat.[25] The house at Newcastle-on-Tyne carried less weight in town affairs, a reflection of more restricted nature of that town's commerce[26]. The west coast had no comparable organization, but in the large ports there were similar bodies of merchants which could bring pressure to bear. Bristol had the prestigous Society of Merchant Venturers[27], and Liverpool its Chamber of Commerce[28].

The Dock Company, established in 1774, was concerned mainly with the construction of new docks to replace the over-crowded River Hull, and in the period considered by this study, it achieved considerable success. The dock master, however, was appointed by Trinity House. Shareholders in the company were largely the prosperous merchants, bankers, and ship owners, already well represented on the Bench and among the elder brethren of Trinity House[29]. The company was an effective pressure group, and fully prepared to use the town's representatives at Westminster.

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23. J.W.F. Hill, Victorian Lincoln. (London, 1974), 38.
24. R. Newton, Eighteenth Century Exeter. (Exeter, 1984), 164.
25. Rep. Com. Mun. Corps., 1581-86.
26. Corfield, Impact of Towns, 38.
27. G. H. Guttridge, (ed.), 'The American Correspondence of a Bristol Merchant 1766-76: The Letters of Richard Campion', University of California Publications in History, xx (1954), passim.
28. Brooke, Liverpool, 232.
29. List of Shareholders, 1774, Hull City Museum Papers, Miscellaneous MSS., Box 19, George III 1760-80; G. Jackson, 'The Struggle for the First Hull Dock', Transport History, Ii (1968), 21-47.

In matters of religion Hull was predominantly Anglican in the eighteenth century. Bench, Trinity House and Dock Company regularly filed into Holy Trinity Church in ostentatious splendour. That church, and St Mary's, Lowgate, contain tombstones and memorial tablets to many of the ruling oligarchy. This situation prevailed until the early nineteenth century, when a survey of 1834 showed that the average attendance at the eight Established Churches in the town averaged 6,400, whereas attendance at the twenty three non-conformist chapels averaged just under 12,000[30]. By that time the grip of the merchants on the town had considerably weakened. Nonconformity had its tentative beginnings in Hull in the seventeenth century. Quakers, Independents and Presbyterians established congregations, although they were not always long lasting. In the following century Baptists and Methodists appeared and made great strides towards the close of the 1790's. Radicalism was never strong in Hull before the 1830's, but the structure and ethos of non-conformist congregations undoubtedly helped to shape the organization and thinking of the political movements of that decade. Roman Catholics were very much in a minority in Hull, with no more than 450 in 1834. If anything they were ignored after the disgraceful riots of 1780.[31] Religion was in part, a barometer of social change: the Anglican grip on the town weakened in the period 1800-1830, as did the control of the merchant-banking group; the new corporation in 1836 had a strong leavening of nonconformist tradesmen and manufacturers.[32]

Hull was the most important east coast port between London and Scotland in the period of this study. It had not the wealth of a Bristol or a Liverpool, but as it returned two M.P.s, and was a county unto itself, it did not have to feel overawed by Yorkshire. Celia Fiennes in 1697 recorded, 'the buildings of Hull are very neate, it is a good trading town by means of this great River

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30. V.C.H., Hull, 315.

31. ibid., 311-15; R.A. Ram, Political Activities of Dissenters in the East and West Ridings of Yorkshire, 1815-50. Unpublished Hull University M.A. thesis, 1964, 6-23.

32. Ram, 302; G. Lee, (ed.), Hull Directory (Hull, 1835), passim.

Humber'.[33] Daniel Defoe compared it with Danzig and Rotterdam, 'or any of the second rate cities abroad'. 'The place', he said, 'is not so large as those; but in proportion to the dimensions of it, I believe there is more business done in Hull than in any town of its bigness in Europe'.[34] The social life of the town, for the wealthy at least, was not dull. William Wilberforce recalled the 1770's, 'It was then as gay a place as could be found out of London. The theatre, balls, great suppers, and card-parties were the delight of the principal families of the town.'[35] Tate Wilkinson, the actor-manager, with experience of every fashionable town in Britain wrote lavishly in 1790, 'Hull for hospitality and plenty of good cheer, with too much welcome, intitles that town, in my opinion, to the appelation of "The Dublin of England"'.[36]

Hull, then, was a prosperous town capable of exerting itself politically when the need arose. Provincial it may have been, but it was no backwater hanging on the coat tails of London. The voluminous political letters of the town are a testament to its awareness and independence.

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33. C. Morris, (ed.), The Illustrated Journeys of Celia Fiennes, 1685-c.1712. (London, 1982), 98.

34. G.D.H. Cole and D.C. Browning, (eds.), Daniel Defoe: A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain. (London, 1962), ii, 242.

35. R.I. and S. Wilberforce, The Correspondence of William Wilberforce. (London, 1840), i, 8.

36. T. Wilkinson, Memories of His Own Life. (York, 1790), iv, 50.

II

The Political Correspondence as Historical Records

The political correspondence presented in this study is of interest as a compilation of historical records. In terms of chronology the letters are desultory, and there are wide gaps. Between 1678 and 1689 many letters survive, but there is a comparatively smaller number in the final decade of the seventeenth century. There is a marked absence of significant letters in the first forty years of the following century, and only a few in the 1740's and 1750's. However, between about 1760 and 1820 there was a torrent of political correspondence. This coincided with the period when the Rockingham-Fitzwilliam interest dominated the town. Members of Parliament, as well as Whig magnates, were prolific on paper. Thereafter the flood subsided. Few letters survive from the 1820's, and in spite of the intense political activity of the early 1830's, few manuscripts are to be found. A final collection - albeit small - was occasioned by the election of the radical M.P., T.P. Thompson, in 1835.

The provenance and condition of the surviving letters is a commentary on the nature of manuscript historical evidence. The Corporation of Hull holds in its record office, a large number of letters for the decade 1678-1688. They concern matters of local importance, with a few of national significance. There are many letters from Hull members of parliament concerning events in London - both in the Palace of Westminster and the chambers of the powerful in Whitehall. The majority of these letters are in a good state of preservation - as are nearly all the epistles in this study - but some important ones are much decayed, making transcription difficult. Gaps in the resulting text are inevitable. Between the Glorious Revolution and the mid-eighteenth century the Corporation manuscripts are thin. Possibly M.P.'s were less assiduous in their correspondence as newspapers gradually became more available, or the letters have been mislaid.[1] Lord Wharton had considerable

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1. Hull City Record Office contains unbound letters to the Corporation, arranged in folders and boxes, cited as H.R.O. BRL. There are also three volumes of copies of letters from the Corporation, covering the periods 1685-88 and 1707-13, 1694-97, and 1778-95. These are cited as H.R.O. BRL., 49, 50 and 51 respectively.

political influence at Hull in the early years of the eighteenth century but none of his letters survive in this archive.

These years are not well supplied with letters. For the 1740s and 1750s a few survive to Sir Robert Walpole in the Cholmondeley (Houghton) MSS. in Cambridge University Library[2], from George Crowle in the Newby Hall MSS. deposited in Leeds City Record Office[3], and to the Sykes family in a collection of documents which has been moved from Sledmere House, via the East Riding of Yorkshire Record Office, to the library of Hull university[4].

The massive archives of the Rockingham-Fitzwilliam family are now deposited in record offices near the great houses which produced them. The Rockingham, and some of the Fitzwilliam papers from Wentworth Woodhouse, are in Sheffield City Library[5]; the remainder of the Fitzwilliam MSS. from Milton House near Peterborough are in the Northamptonshire County Record Office[6]. As far as this work goes, they concern Hull elections and M.P.s, but other political matters such as the appointment of High Stewards, and the danger from the American privateer, John Paul Jones, also appear.

Smaller collections amplify the Rockingham-Fitzwilliam material. The Hartley-Russell MSS. until very recently deposited in the Berkshire Record Office at Reading contain the papers of David Hartley, and give a full picture of the work and troubles of a late eighteenth century M.P.[7] Similarly the papers and manuscript diaries of Walter Stanhope, transferred from Cusworth Hall to Sheffield Library, give an even fuller account of the day-to-day business of a member's life[8]. The papers of William Wilberforce are scattered.

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2. Cited hereafter as Cholmondeley (Houghton) MSS., Cambridge University Library.
3. Cited hereafter as Newby Hall MSS., Leeds City Record Office.
4. Cited hereafter as Sykes MSS., Hull University Library.
5. Letters and Papers of the second Marquis of Rockingham, and the second Earl Fitzwilliam in the Wentworth Woodhouse MSS., deposited in Sheffield Central Library. Cited hereafter as Rockingham MSS., W,W.M.,R., and Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M.,F.
6. Letters and Papers of the second Earl Fitzwilliam, deposited at the Northamptonshire Record Office, and cited as Fitzwilliam MSS. (Northants R.O.).
7. Hartley-Russell papers, until recently deposited at the Berkshire County Record Office, Reading. Cited hereafter as Hartley MSS. The family have now removed the documents.

The most interesting were printed by his sons[9], but other oddments are to be found in the Wilberforce Museum at Hull, the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and in the U.S.A., at Boston Public Library and the library of Duke University, North Carolina.

Radicalism did not seriously affect Hull until the mid 1830's and manuscripts are rare. The town did not figure largely in Christopher Wyvill's Associated Counties and there are only a few letters on this in the Gray MSS. in York City Library[10], and in the Wyvill papers (unpublished) in the North Yorkshire County Record Office, at Northallerton[11]. The Home Office papers at the Public Record Office have a few references to the vague rumours of conspiracies at Hull in 1818[12].

In the nineteenth century there are serious gaps. The popular and hard working Daniel Sykes left few political papers: there are a few in the Fitzwilliam MSS at Sheffield and Northampton, and some in the Corporation archives at Hull, but nothing in the Sykes family papers at Hull university. M.D. Hill and William Hutt also worked hard for their constituency in the 1830's, but their Whig-Liberal politics did not suit the Corporation. No manuscript letter survives at Hull, but several of their missives appeared in the Hull Rockingham. The radical M.P., T.P. Thompson left a small folio of papers which found their way into the University Library at Hull[13].

Other accessible collections proved disappointing. In the British Library the Grenville papers yielded a few letters on the elections of 1806 and 1812[14]; there were odd reference in the Egerton

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8. Papers of Walter Spencer Stanhope, cited hereafter as Spencer-Stanhope MSS.; Memoirs of the Life of Walter Spencer-Stanhope, cited hereafter as Spencer-Stanhope, Memoirs. All are now deposited at Sheffield Central Library.
9. R.I. and S. Wilberforce, Life of Wilberforce, passim.
10. Cited hereafter as Gray Papers, York City Library.
11. Cited hereafter as Wyvill MSS., North Riding Record Office.
12. Public Record Office, Home Office Papers. H.O., 50. Cited hereafter as P.R.O. H.O. 50.
13. Cited hereafter as Thompson MSS., Hull University Library.
14. British Library, Additional Manuscripts, Grenville Papers, Cited hereafter as B.L.Add.MSS., Grenville MSS.

Landsdowne, Newcastle and Stowe manuscripts[15]. At Nottingham there were some references to David Hartley, but not a great deal, in the papers of the third duke of Portland[16]. References to particular Hull elections were to be found in merchants' papers, such as the Broadleys and Maisters, in the university library there[17].

The Corporation of Trinity House, Hull, still holds its own manuscript sources and grants only limited access. The late Dr J.A. Woods provided transcripts of important political letters of the 1720's and 1740's, and the Secretary to the House kindly provided copies of letters to and from David Hartley and William Hammond in the 1770's and 1780's[18]. Unfortunately this was all. There is undoubtedly other material of significance, and it would be interesting to trace opinion of the Brethren on the matters of parliamentary and municipal reform, but historians must be grateful for what they are allowed to see.

The letters presented in this study have both value and limitations in the elucidation of Hull politics 1678 to 1835. The letters of the 1670's and early 1680's conveyed to the Bench the excitement and uncertainties of the Popish plot, and kept it well informed of the happenings and rumours in London. It would be interesting to discover if other M.P.s kept their constituents so well informed. What the Hull bench thought of the business is unrecorded. Similarly the struggles over the town's charter in the 1680's is documented in excessive detail, providing a comprehensive account of the frustrations of Hull's officials at the subterfuge of Whitehall. Reactions in Hull may be guessed fairly accurately.

After 1689 the most exciting political events at Hull were elections, and the majority of the surviving letters concern electoral campaigns. The Newby Hall, Cholmondeley, Sykes, Rockingham, Fitzwilliam, Hartley, Spencer Stanhope and Thornton manuscripts

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15. Cited hereafter as B.L. Add. MSS., Lansdowne, Newcastle, and Stowe Papers; B.L. Egerton MSS.

16. Letters and Papers of the third Duke of Portland, deposited at Nottingham University Library. Cited hereafter as Portland MSS.

17. Cited hereafter as Broadley Diary, Maister MSS., Hull University Library.

18. Cited hereafter as Trinity House MSS., Trinity House, Hull.

give accounts of campaigns to support candidates favoured by the writers or recipients of these letters. Their opponents do not fare so well: hardly any material survives, for example, on people like Captain Lee, candidate in 1768, or John Mitchell M.P. for Hull between 1818 and 1826. David Sykes, Hill and Hutt had a political significance out of all proportion to the surviving manuscript evidence - newspapers and surviving election literature[19] tell of their campaigns. On the proceedings on the hustings, the letters sometimes provide breathless accounts, but much more detail is provided by the Hull newspapers from 1796 onwards. Before that date York, Leeds and London papers gave some account, but not a great deal. Letters usually provide voting figures as the polling develops, but their final statistics are often less accurate than those of the published poll books, and even those are not infallible. The sociology of voting patterns is hardly hinted at in the letters, and can only be appreciated when poll books are compared, conveniently with the aid of a computer.

Overall the letters have a high standard of accuracy. Those from M.P.s in the 1670's and 1680's may be checked against the proceedings and speeches of the House of Commons as recorded in the official journal and various accounts of debates such as Cobbett's. During the electoral campaigns candidates and organizers reported activities and opinions, not all of which can be verified. The reactions of Hull to Jacobite invasions and the approach of John Paul Jones reveal panic and the circulation of rumour, but they do describe how the town felt and the measures it took for its protection. The main area of doubt centres on radical activities. There is little evidence to prove or disprove the alleged revolutionary plot of 1818; James Acland was given to exaggeration in his writings and speeches on the condition of the town, and the report of the commission on municipal corporations was by no means entirely fair.

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19. The Wilson-Barkworth collection of election literature in Hull Public Library covers campaigns between 1826 and 1835.

The desultory nature of the letters, in part, reveals the quality of the correspondents; lack of political excitement did not deter the conscientious or the loquacious. In the seventeenth century large numbers of letters survive written by M.P.s such as Gilby, Warton, the Ramsdens and Charles Osborne. Similarly the town clerk and town's husband despatched a prodigious amount of correspondence over the charter in the 1680's. During elections Rockingham's agents in Hull wrote regularly and fully on the proceedings, the most important being William Hammond, Thomas Scatcherd and the Reverend Richard Sykes. Certain candidates and M.P.s were equally assiduous especially David Hartley, Walter Spencer-Stanhope, J.R.G. Graham, Staniforth and Thornton.

The town was also badly served by correspondents at times. Turner, Burford,Denys and Mitchell seem to have written very little. Daniel Sykes, M.D. Hill and William Hutt clearly wrote a great deal in the 1820 and 1830's but unfortunately little has survived.

III

The Nature of Hull Politics

This study sheds some light on the political history of Kingston upon Hull over a period just exceeding 150 years. The dates are quite precise: it starts with the death of Andrew Marvell M.P. on 16 August 1678[1] and concludes with the demise of the old corporation on 31 December 1835. With the exception of several years at the beginning and end, this was a period of political stability reflecting the economic growth of the town. Political issues came and went, sometimes causing excitement and friction, but the fundamental equilibrium, firmly established by the 1690's was not seriously challenged until the 1830's. National issues may have divided the minds of such Hull people as thought about them, but they were not often reflected in the politics of the town until the early nineteenth century. Obviously matters were different when national or international issues took the form of an actual or threatened invasion or attack. But apart from these, the most usual manifestation of politics came at times of parliamentary elections, although 'party' and 'platform' either did not exist, or were subordinate to the personalities and purses of the candidates.

Various bodies and individuals exercised political influence, in the town, particularly the government. Hull was a garrison town and the military governor had some weight in municipal affairs. Some had unfortunate careers: the catholic Lord Langdale was arrested by protestant soldiers on the celebrated 'Town Taking Day' - 3 December 1688. Others had happier experiences: General Harry Pulteney represented the town in parliament between 1744 and 1747, and one of the reasons for the success of Lord Robert Manners - an M.P. for thirty-five years - lay in his appointment as Lieutenant Governor in 1749. Custom House and Excise officers were also influential as at Liverpool, Bristol and other ports. These officials could themselves vote until disfranchised in 1782, but they had an importance

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1. H.M. Margoliouth, (ed.), The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell. (London, 1963), ii, Letters.

beyond mere numbers since merchants naturally wished to stand well with them for business reasons. The Custom House and Excise Office also provided the government with a useful amount of patronage: minor positions in the customs were much in demand. Lord Robert Manners is said to have told them how to vote in the election of 1774.[2] The office of High Steward was offered by the corporation to a nobleman whom they considered would take an interest in the town, and use his influence on their behalf at Court, but royal approval was necessary. So government had a further instrument to use in Hull. Monmouth and the earl of Plymouth became unpopular for enforcing the will of James II, but Rockingham, eighty years later, was gladly accorded his honorarium of six gold pieces.

The corporation was also a political factor as in other boroughs such as Leicester and Southampton, for example. The sheriff was the returning officer. The Bench had to pass on the admission of freemen - the voters of Hull before 1832 - though, except during the by-election of 1724[3], it does not seem to have abused its power. At times it threw its weight unreservedly behind a candidate, for example in April 1802 the corporation passed a resolution, with one dissenting voice, that they would 'collectively and individually exert themselves' to secure the return of Samuel Thornton[4]. Other local bodies also exerted influence. Trinity House in the early eighteenth century tried to exercise a corporate influence on elections, and in the later eighteenth century appears to have been a stronghold of the parliamentary Opposition. From its creation in 1774 the Dock Company similarly played a part in politics.

A number of local families were of political importance. The Maister and Crowle families provided two M.P.s each, in the first half of the eighteenth century, and William Wilberforce began his

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2. Ralph Darling to David Hartley, 7 Decmber 1774. Oakes Deeds, Sheffield City Library, O.D. 1393 161. (See No. 110).
3. J.R. Boyle, 'Bribery and Corruption at Hull - the Story of a Parliamentary Election', Hull Times, 3 January 1903.
4. B.B., x, 366. Entry for 27 April 1802.

career as a representative for his native town. Two branches of the Sykes family were important. The senior branch, settling at Sledmere, declined in political significance at Hull, and turned its attention elsewhere in the county[5], but the family of Joseph Sykes[6] of West Ella kept in close touch with municipal affairs. Two of Joseph's sons, the Reverend Richard Sykes[7] and Daniel Sykes[8] who was member for Hull 1820-30 were especially important. According to Richard Sykes, his father could always secure the return of one member, but Joseph Sykes was nevertheless described as 'indolent and avoids as much as possible the Town business'. The Sykes family also had an interest at Beverley[9]. Many local merchants, in Hull as much as in Bristol and Liverpool influenced the votes of the lesser free men. For example Thomas Williamson and his

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5. The Sledmere branch was not without political importance elsewhere in Yorkshire. Sir Christopher Sykes sat for Beverley, 1784-90, and his son, Sir Mark Masterman Sykes represented the county, 1807-20. (L.B. Namier and J. Brooke, (eds.), The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1754-90 (London, 1964) iii, 514, cited hereafter as Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90. J. Fairfax-Blakeborough, Sykes of Sledmere. (London, 1929), 66.)

6. Joseph Sykes (1722/23-1805), was a Hull merchant involved in the iron trade with Sweden. He was sheriff of Hull in 1754, and Mayor in 1771. (J. Foster, Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire (London, 1874), iii, n.p.)

7. Richard Sykes (1755-1832), son of the above, was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge (B.A., 1777, M.A., 1780), rector of Foxholes, and a J.P. for the East Riding, 1783-1815. (ibid.)

8. Daniel Sykes (1766-1832), another son, was also educated at Trinity College, Cambridge (B.A., 1788, M.A., 1791, elected fellow, 1790), called to the Bar in 1793, he was Recorder of Hull in 1821, and M.P., 1820-30. (ibid.; G. Pryme, Memoir of the Life of Daniel Sykes. (Wakefield, 1834), passim.)

9. R. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 3 May 1784, Fitzwilliam MSS. (Northants. R.O.; W.W.M. R.12-44.

partner William Waller, were regarded in the 1780's as 'the most powerful Interest in Hull'[10]. Wider political groups also played a part. In the middle of the eighteenth century, for a period of some twenty years, the most influential figures in Hull politics were the Marquis of Rockingham and Sir George Savile. The marquis was building up a major electoral influence in Yorkshire and was made High Steward of Hull in 1766[11]. Savile was a personal friend, a much respected individual both in the county and in the House of Commons, though not perhaps in a strict sense to be considered as a Rockinghamite. From 1766 to 1780 (and again from 1780 to 1784), one of the members was their personal nominee. For most of this period Rockingham and Savile were in Opposition. When Lord Rockingham died in 1782, his nephew and heir, Earl Fitzwilliam inherited the remnants of his Yorkshire interest. Fitzwilliam was also made High Steward of Hull, in 1801[12]. Fitzwilliam candidates represented Hull from 1790-96, from 1806 to 1807, and from 1818 to 1820. Daniel Sykes, elected in 1820 and 1826, can be counted as belonging to this interest, and so probably can William Battye Wrightson, elected in 1830. A similar interest was maintained at this time by the Cavendish family of Derby, controlling only one seat[13].

Hull had a large electorate. The right to vote until the changes of 1832 lay with the freemen or burgesses of the town, and their number increased throughout this period. In the last twenty years of the seventeenth century there were said to be some 700 burgesses; 460 votes were cast for John Ramsden in the election of 1685[14], and under 500 are reputed to have polled in the 1685 election[15].

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10. W.W.M. R12-54. (See No. 152)
11. B.B., ix, 363; Entry for 10 April 1766. G.H. Guttridge, 'The Early Career of Lord Rockingham', University of California Publications in History, xliv (1952), 1-49, passim.
12. B.B., x, 357. Entry for 4 December 1801.
13. V.C.H. Hull, 202; Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90, i, 248-9.
14. B.B., viii, 123.
15. W.W. Bean, The Parliamentary Representation of the Six Northern Counties of England. (Hull, 1890), 846n. Cited hereafter as Bean, Northern Representation.

In the first half of the eighteenth century there were about 900 freemen, the highest number of votes cast being the 773 for Nathaniel Rogers in 1722[16]. Between 1754 and 1780 the number of freemen rose to about 1,200 and the most votes given to a candidate were the 1126 given to William Wilberforce in 1780[17]. Between 1780 and 1832 the number rose to some 2,500: George Schonswar obtained 1564 votes in 1830, The town kept pace with its neighbour, York, but outstripped Norwich and Exeter[18]. The Reform Act of 1832 enfranchised those who occupied houses worth £10 a year, the resident freemen retaining the vote. It also extended the boundaries of the constituency. There were now estimated to be 4,500 electors in Hull of whom about one third were freemen[19], and in the election of 1835 David Carruthers polled 1836 votes[20]. Given the expansion of voters and population, and the exclusion of women and children, the proportion of male voters to male population remained at about 1:4 throughout much of the period[21].

With the exceptions of the rare honorary freedoms, freedoms granted gratis, and those acquired by purchase[22], Hull males acquired the parliamentary and muncipal franchise either by patrimony, or the completion of an apprenticeship. However there seems to have been a stipulation that to exercise the right to vote, sons on reaching their majority, and apprentices on successfully completing their time and having formally enrolled their indentures with the

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16. R.R. Sedgwick, (ed.), The History of Parliament: The House of of Commons, 1715-54 . (London, 1970), i,359. Cited hereafter as Sedgwick, Commons 1715-54.

17. Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90, i,434-5.

18. H. Stooks Smith, (ed.), The Register of Parliamentary Contested Elections. (London, 1841), 52, 174, cited hereafter as Stooks Smith, Contested Elections. Namier and Brooke, Commons, 1754-90 i,253, 342.

19. V.C.H., Hull, 240.

20. Stooks Smith, Contested Elections, 52.

21. This ratio is calculated by comparing the numbers of voters and the population figures, which must be at least halved, for the period. The result is hardly mathematically accurate, but at least it gives some idea of the consistency of the proportion of voters. (For population figures see V.C.H. Hull, 190, 215).

22. Freedoms could vary in price. A minimum of £31.10.0. was agreed in 1767, but in 1830 Captain William Bunney paid £300. (B.B., ix,375; x,241).

Bench, had to take the burgess oath and pay the necessary dues, on pain of payment of a fine varying between 30/- and 10/-. Throughout the years the Bench Books reveal a steady stream of admissions to freedoms, which sometimes swells to a torrent with the approach of a parliamentary election which seems likely to be contested. Exeter provides a similar story[23]. Apart from the by-election of 1724, the corporation seems to have made some attempt to regulate the admissions of freemen who became conscious of their franchise by the prospect of receiving polling money from the candidates. For example in 1741, a month before polling, the bench ruled that 'No more persons shall be admitted to their freedoms before the next election'[24]. This was probably followed in the elections of 1754 and 1774, but in 1768 the period had contracted to a fortnight. For the elections of 1780 and 1790 this had slipped down to a week or less, and in 1784 and all contested elections from 1796 to 1818 freemen were admitted right up to the actual polling days. The town clerk did his best to examine the credentials of potential voters, and from 1780 the numbers of fines for lateness rose rapidly[25]. By 1818 the situation threatened to get out of hand, as hurry, confusion and fraud mounted. Legal advice was taken[26] and in August 1819 the Bench ruled 'All persons hereafter intending to apply for their freedom, do leave at the Town Clerk's Office a State of their Claims with the requisite Documents for Substantiating the same at least fourteen days before they appear at a Bench to be sworn. And that no person in future be admitted who shall not comply with the terms of this Order'[27]. The order was reiterated at the time

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23. See Burgess Books ii (1645-1740), iii (1741-1802), iv (1802-1835), H.R.O. BRG passim. For Exeter, see Newton, Exeter, 36,43.
24. B.B., viii, 911. Entry for 2 April 1741.
25. B.B., ix, x, xi, passim.
26. B.B., xi, 183. Entry for 4 August 1818.
27. B.B., xi, 198. Entry for 3 August 1819.

of the 1820[28] election and whilst freemen were still admitted up to polling day the number of lateness fines dropped considerably[29]. Three weeks before the 1826 election, the Bench resolved to deal with the admission of suitably qualified freemen on 'Tuesdays and Fridays'[30]: in 1830 and 1831 they sat three times a week[31] for this purpose.

Not all freemen lived in the borough. Between 1790 and 1820 almost one third are said to have resided in the surrounding counties and some in London[32]. There were some restrictions on freemen. The Durham act preventing honorary freemen from voting in elections unless they had held their freedom for at least twelve months, did not really affect Hull where such people were few. Crewe's act of 1782 was said by T.H.B. Oldfield to have disfranchised about fifty customs and excise officers[33]. Mariners and men in the king's service were frequently away from Hull at election time. A particularly unfortunate individual was the freeholder living in the county of the town of Hull. He was not a freeman of Hull or a freeholder of Yorkshire, consequently he had no franchise. Attempts were made to help, particularly by Daniel Sykes who introduced a bill in the Commons, but to no avail. It is not clear whether the 1832 Reform Act and the boundary changes alleviated his plight.

It is difficult to be consistently precise about the social composition of the freemen, although their names and many of their occupations survive[34]. At the top were men described as 'Gent' or 'Esquire', who were probably the scions of successful merchant

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28. Hull Advertiser, 26 February 1820.
29. B.B., xi, 216-25, passim.
30. B.B., xi, 428. Entry for 23 May 1826.
31. Hull Advertiser, 9 July 1830, 8 April 1831.
32. Ex.Inf., History of Parliament Trust; V.C.H., Hull, 193. See Appendix II.
33. T.H.B. Oldfield, The Entire and Complete History, Political and Personal, of the Boroughs of Great Britain. (London, 1792), iii, 254.
34. In the Poll Books, for example. See Appendix II.

families like the Maisters and Wilberforces. Beneath them, and aspiring to their status, was a middle rank of ship owners, merchants, attorneys and bankers; then came the mass of the freemen, small tradesman and craftsmen of varying degrees of prosperity[35].

The distinctions and relationships between the various groups were highlighted at election times. Oldfield wrote, in 1792: 'for upwards of thirty years the candidates have paid the poorer order of voters two guineas for each vote. The number who took the money was commonly two thirds of the voters. So established is this species of corruption, that the voters regard it as a sort of birthright. Very few of the voters are independent of the higher ranks of people in the town'[36]. Oldfield here describes the most usual feature of Hull elections. Indeed the system of paying voters was more extensive than he suggests. Hull freemen had two votes and it was the custom to pay two guineas for a vote - four guineas for 'plumpers' - even when there was no contest. The origins of this system are not known: Oldfield's account suggests that it had been established at least by the general election of 1754. It existed in 1766, for Thomas Johnson wrote in 1784 from Great Yarmouth to Walter Spencer Stanhope to ask for his two guineas. 'I did not know', he added 'my Preasence was requierd. I recived the Bountey here when Mr Weddel first was Chose with oute Opsition [i.e. in 1766] and I gave him my Vote on that Acount and have allways kept to one partey at the Poll Books can prove'.[37] It was certainly followed in 1768[38], and can be studied in considerable detail in the accounts of Walter Spencer Stanhope for 1784 and 1796[39]. In 1830 William Battye Wrightson continued the payments[40], as did David Carruthers in 1832[41].

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35. Classification is arbitrary, but not impossible. An attempt has been made for several other constituencies by J.A. Phillips in Electoral Behaviour in Unreformed England: Plumpers, Splitters and Straits. (Princeton, 1982), 321-2. See Appendix II.

36. Oldfield, History of Boroughs, iii, 254.

37. Thomas Johnson to Walter Spencer Stanhope, 19 September 1784. Spencer Stanhope MSS., 60567/57 (See No.216).

38. Pocket Book of Robert Broadley. Hull University Library. D.P.146 Entry for 28 March 1768.

39. Spencer Stanhope MSS., 60568, 3 bundles, passim.

40. Battye-Wrightson MSS., Leeds City Record Office, A/222.

41. Wilson-Barkworth Collection of Election Literature, Hull Public Library. 1832 election, passim.

Much has been made of the corruptness of Hull elections in this respect, but the freemen lost nothing by it and the poorer voters were better off by two or four guineas. It was an important fact of political life at Hull, and payment became essential for success. Candidates who refused courted disaster. In 1782 Henry Thornton objected to paying and found little support in the by-election of that year[42]. Similarly David Hartley was warned by the Sykeses of the dangers inherent in withholding the money[43]. In spite of the considerable influence of government and other groups, it was very difficult for any one interest to secure the return of both members. Hull had a large and often politically unruly electorate, and with the increasing number of contested elections from 1768 - 14 out of 20 were contested between 1768 and 1835 - the freemen developed zest for a three or four cornered fight particularly in the early nineteenth century. More than once a third candidate was supported merely because he was the cause of a contest.

'Polling money' was not the only expense to trouble the pockets of candidates. Out-voters had to be brought to the town, and according to Oldfield, 'the two guineas being paid for each vote, the out-voters have been paid one guinea for expenses, if resident twenty miles or under from Hull, and two guineas for above twenty miles, and under fifty; above fifty, as could be agreed'.[44] In the general election of 1780 William Wilberforce paid out as much as £10 per head[45]. Entertaining loomed large. Walter Spencer Stanhope's accounts for 1796 contain many bills for breakfasts, dinners and especially brandy and porter[46]. In 1832 George Steeple, David Carruther s'agent, signed innumerable tickets to enable freemen to acquire a free pint of ale[47]. Handbills and other election

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42. H. Thornton, Recollections. Cambridge University Library, Add. MSS., 7674/1/N, pp.16-19. See No.176.

43. Joseph Sykes to David Hartley, 22 July 1782; Richard Sykes to David Hartley, 2, 18 August 1782. Hartley MSS., D.EHy.017/3/64, 70, 74. See Nos.180, 185, 188.

44. T.H.B. Oldfield, The Representative History of Great Britain and Ireland. (London, 1816), v,276-7.

45. R.I. and S. Wilberforce, Life of Wilberforce, i,16.

46. Spencer Stanhope MSS., 60568, third bundle.

47. Wilson Barkworth Election Literature, 1832, passim.

literature had to be paid for, for example on 22 and 23 May 1796 Stanhope ordered 1,500 election addresses, 3,500 breakfast and compliment cards, and 100 pens[48]. Agents and runners were needed, although important political 'managers' like William Hammond of the Dock Company and the Reverend Richard Sykes gave their services, and considerable local influence, for the love of the Rockingham interest. Subscriptions to local clubs and charities, and the all-important races were not only necessary at election times, but vital to the maintenance of the members' local popularity. For example between September 1784 and August 1785 Stanhope paid regular subscriptions to at least three clubs in Hull[49]; in June 1796 Thornton and Stanhope donated £100 each to a subscription to 'give occasional assistance to distressed tradesmen of reputable character, by loan of small sums'[50]. Stanhope paid his subscription to the races in 1785 and all was well; Weddell by 1774 had grown to dislike the 'great idleness and disorder' of the races, ceased to subscribe, with an attendant falling-off of his popularity[51].

All in all, Hull was an expensive seat to contest, and only those of wealth and influence could seriously afford to stand. There is much information available concerning election expenses, although the figures may not always be authoritative. In 1768 the election cost Weddell £5,000, Manners £6,200 and the defeated Captain Lee, £3,000 'who gave nothing after the election'[52]. The elections of 1780 and 1784 cost Wilberforce £8,000 and £5,000 respectively, according to Richard Sykes[53], although Wilberforce's account with Smith, Payne and Smith's bank suggests that the 1784 election cost him £8,800 of which he had to meet all but £1,000 himself[54]. The

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48. Spencer Stanhope MSS., 60568. Account with J. Ferriby.

49. ibid., Accounts with Mr. Kent's, Mr. Johnson's, and Mr. Robinson's clubs.

50. Hull Advertiser, 18 June 1796.

51. Spencer Stanhope MSS., 60568; Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90, iii, 617.

52. Broadley's diary, Entry for 28 March 1768.

53. Richard Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 16 April 1784. Fitzwilliam MSS. (Northants R.O.), Box X1603. See No. 205.

54. Account with Smith, Payne and Smith's Bank. Lincolnshire MS. Microfilm in the Department of Western Manuscripts, Bodleian Library, Oxford. Brigadier A.W.A. Llewellyn Palmer, kindly allowed access to this microfilm.

uncontested by-election in 1784 cost Stanhope £3,000[55]. In 1790 Earl Fitzwilliam deposited £5,000 at Pease's Bank in Hull to support Lord Burford's campaign[56]. Burford himself only bore a minor part of the expense of his election, but his share still amounted to £2,500 which he did not pay until 1802[57]. In 1796, when Stanhope, who had not stood in 1790, was defeated in trying to regain the seat, he received 714 votes. His agent wrote that he thought 635 of those voters would accept 'the Forty two Pieces of Silver which the Worthies have been in the habit of receiving' and that about twenty of the plumpers would take four guineas apiece[58]. Stanhope certainly paid £1,320 18s 0d to 620 voters, the rest of the expenses amounts to £1,528 18s 3d[59]. In the same election Sir Charles Turner spent at least £8,000, 'and no Interest established - to come in again in the same ground, must be by the same profusion'[60]. To elect J.R.G. Graham in 1818 cost £8,500[61]. Finally William Battye Wrightson spent £5,402 to hold his seat from 1830-32[62]. There is some evidence that successful candidates paid their polling money in installments in an attempt to ensure their re-election. At any rate Wrightson appears to have paid half his polling money for the election of 1830 in 1833. Hull was no exception, similar payments were made at York, and in 1807, Fitzwilliam met a reputed bill for £200,000 for the Yorkshire election[63].

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55. Sir Henry Etherington to Fitzwilliam, 26 May 1789. Fitzwilliam MS. See No.245.

56. Earl Fitzwilliam's Account Books, Fitzwilliam MSS.

57. St Albans to Fitzwilliam, 22 July 1802. Fitzwilliam MSS. See No.307.

58. Edward Codd to Spencer Stanhope, 16 June 1796. Spencer Stanhope MS., 60570/13. See No.282.

59. Spencer Stanhope MS., 60568, bundle 3.

60. Robert C. Broadley to Sir Christopher Sykes, 18 June 1796. Sykes MS., Hull University Library, DDSY.101/67.

61. J.R.G. Graham to Fitzwilliam, 21 August 1818. Fitzwilliam MS., W.W.M. F36/39. See No.373.

62. Battye Wrightson MS., A224a. This total may include some non-Hull expenses.

63. ibid., J.F. Quinn, 'York Elections in the Age of Walpole', Northern History (1986), forthcoming; E.A. Smith, 'The Yorkshire Elections of 1806 and 1807', Northern History, ii (1967), 62-90.

In the late seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries in particular, there were complaints of corruption, in the form of petitions to parliament and demands for a scrutiny of votes, from defeated candidates and freemen who had some kind of grievance. Most came to nothing, several were motivated by sour electoral grapes, but at least they throw some light on the proceedings and practices of candidates. In 1679 William Gee was defeated in the election at Hull, his petition availed him nothing, but he was returned later in the year[64]. The Corporation supported the elected members[65]. Sir James Bradshaw was defeated at the contested election of 1695, and petitioned on the ground that the mayor had deliberately brought forward the election date to reduce Bradshaw's share of the poll. The Commons committee confirmed the election, but would not discuss Bradshaw's petition as 'vexation, frivolous and groundless'[66]. Bradshaw was asked to stand again in January 1700/01, but before allowing his name to go forward, felt compelled to justify his attitude to the penal laws against Catholics which had come under consideration[67]. He was again defeated at the poll and petitioned this time on the ground that the sheriff had refused a scrutiny. The other unsuccessful candidate, Charles Osborne petitioned on the grounds of 'bribes, entertainments and other indirect practices'. There was no report on either petition[68]. A scrutiny was agreed to for the by-election of 1724 but in the end was not needed[69]. No further occurrence of this nature took place until the general election of 1774, when Captain Thomas Shirley petitioned against David Hartley for using 'money, threats and other unwarrantable proceedings', and against the Sheriff for 'partiality and refusing

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64. P.A. Bolton, The Parliamentary Representation of Yorkshire Boroughs, 1640-1685. Unpublished Leeds University M.A. thesis, 1966, 136.

65. B.B., vii, 614-17.

66. Journal of the House of Commons, xi, 340, 481-2. Cited hereafter as C.J.

67. James Bradshaw to the Company of Carpenters, 24 February 1699/1700. B.L. Egerton MS., 3347, ff.1-2. See No. 75.

68. C.J., xiii, 330, 353.

69. Daily Journal, 29 January 1724.

a scrutiny'. Shirley later withdrew his petition[70]. The election of 1802 was remarkable for the presentation of three petitions against the returned numbers, alleging promises of 'money, meat drink and entertainment'. Two petitions from freemen were directed against Thornton, and one against John Staniforth. All came to nothing[71].

In 1818-19 two men petitioned against J.R.G. Graham and on a scrutiny it was discovered that several had voted for him who were not eligible[72]. However, the outcome was not affected. The plight of the Hull freeholders was ventilated in a petition of 1820, to no avail[73]. In 1826 the petition against Daniel Sykes followed the pattern of its predecessors[74]. There was no petition after the 1832 election, but from his cell in Bury St Edmunds gaol, James Acland, the radical, who came bottom of the poll analysed the voting figures for the benefit of the readers of his newspaper the Hull Portfolio[75], and later published his own poll book, thanking his small body of supporters, and attacking his opponents who were very much in the majority[76]. Finally in 1835 three electors petitioned against the return of Colonel Thomas Perronet Thompson at a by-election, on the grounds of 'bribery, treating and threats[77]. A Commons committee examined the allegation - their findings later being published as a pamphlet[78] - declared Thompson duly elected, but did not consider the petition and its supporters frivolous, and actually struck eighteen names from the poll for not having the right to vote[79]. A further petition of August 1835 accused

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70. C.J., xxxv, 20, 151.
71. C.J., lviii, 47-8, 61-2, 86, 112, 234, 324, 643.
72. C.J., lxxiv, 92-3, 145-6.
73. C.J., lxxv, 321.
74. C.J., lxxxii, 82-3, 121, 125.
75. Hull Portfolio, 31 December 1832.
76. J. Acland, Poll Book for the 1832 Election, passim.
77. C.J., xc, 407-8.
78. Hull Election: Proceedings before the Committee of the House of Commons. (Hull, 1835).
79. C.J., xc, 480, 482.

Carruthers of corruption at the general elections of 1832 and 1835, it levelled the same charge at the friends of Humphrey Mildway in the by-election of June 1835. It was ordered to lie on the table of the Commons and nothing further was heard of it. In the majority of these cases there is little direct evidence to substantiate the claims of the petitioners, but given the nature of elections at Hull, there was probably more than a grain of truth in their accusations. In all there were thirteen Hull petitions, Liverpool had eleven, but York only had five. The small borough of Hedon, just outside Hull, managed eight[80].

Apart from the turmoil of the 1680's, national issues played little part in Hull politics before the nineteenth century. In 1780 David Hartley attributed his defeat to his opposition to the American War, and in 1784 he suffered from the general unpopularity of the Fox-North coalition. But these defeats in fact can only partially be attributed to national politics, as was Edmund Burke's debacle, at Bristol in 1780. William Wilberforce who defeated Hartley in 1780 was also against Lord North's American policy, and by 1784 Hartley was so unpopular at Hull that dislike of the coalition is scarcely needed to explain his defeat. Sitting members in the eighteeenth century were usually defeated (or thought it best to withdraw from the contest) because of local circumstances, sometimes of only trivial importance. In the nineteenth century the freemen became increasingly keen on contests and all too frequently supported the 'third man' who caused the contest whatever the merits and services of their representations might be. Nor was party allegiance often involved in Hull elections. Contests in the eighteenth century were between Whigs, and in the nineteenth century the emergence of the new Whig and Tory parties does not seem to have exerted much influence at election times. There were no sharply defined party platforms even in the 1830's when the party names were used more frequently, and there existed some rudimentary local organization. Views might differ on Catholic emancipation, but no Hull 'Tory' candidate could hope to succeed if he placed himself implacably against parliamentary reform[81].

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80. C.J., xc, 536-37; Bean, Northern Representation, passim.

81. Wilson Barkworth Election Literature, 1832 Election. Letter of David Carruthers, dated 30 October 1832, printed as a broadsheet.

Party may not have had much meaning, but the electoral campaigns of candidates needed careful organization. Committees were established to canvass the freemen, organize the receptions and public speeches of their candidates, prepare the election literature, and pay the polling money. The Rockingham-Fitzwilliam interest was particularly fortunate in having men like the Reverend Richard Sykes, William Hammond and the influential local tradesman Thomas Scatcherd to act as their agents. Walter Spencer Stanhope had the services of James Smith in 1784, and Edward Codd, the town clerk, in 1790 and 1796[82], and in 1832 George Steeple acted for David Carruthers[83]. There were, of course, rival groups of political managers, but they do not seem to have divided over political issues until 1784. Stanhope was informed in that year that the merchant and shipowner Philip Green had 'got to Hull a red hot Foxite and much prejudiced against you'[84].

Hull was well served with newspapers from the mid-1780's, and both printers and agents were concerned to ensure that the contests received publicity. The Hull Packet, founded in 1787, at first contained brief non-committal political reports, but by the 1830's spoke for the Tories. The Hull Advertiser had a more varied history. Its political coverage was extended in the 1820's and it gave a qualified support to the Tories during the Reform Bill crisis, but in 1833 it changed hands and political sympathy, inclining more towards reform generally. The principal Whig organ was the Rockingham and Hull Weekly Advertiser established in 1808, it was said, by the Sykes family and their friends. The radicals in Hull had their opinions formed or confirmed by James Acland's short lived unstamped papers, the Hull Portfolio, the Libel and the Dauntless. As well as serious reporting, the newspapers attacked each other particularly during elections, and Acland took great

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82. E. Codd to Spencer Stanhope, 16 June 1796. Spencer Stanhope MS., 60570/13. (See No.282). E.A. Smith 'The Election Agent in English Politics, 1784-1832, E.H.R., lxxxiv (1969), 23.

83. Wilson Barkworth Election Literature, 1832 Election.

84. James Smith to Spencer Stanhope, 2 May 1784. Spencer Stanhope MS., 60570/8. (See No.209)

pleasure in berating his three substantial rivals[85]. This pattern of a mixture of Tory, Whig and Radical newspapers was to be found in other towns such as Leeds, Manchester and Sheffield as well as in the metropolis.

Newspapers and the broadsheets of candidates were accompanied by electoral literature in the form of squibs, poems and parodies. Much of this survives for general elections of 1790, 1796, 1802, 1812, 1818 and 1830-35[86]. Also different colours were used by the respective candidates in the form of flags, banners, ribbons, cockades, and in the 1830's, placards. The origin of this practice is obscure, there was no uniform agreement. A recent writer has suggested that colours were adopted by local groups or associations influenced by local traditions, tastes or families, and also the actions of other groups in pre-empting certain colours. In some cases colour was the only difference between the prospective candidate[87]. This may have happened at Hull. Throughout much of the eighteenth century Hull M.P.s were Whigs, and many adopted orange as their colour in honour of William III whose gilded Augustan statue was erected in 1733[88], and the centenary of whose accession was celebrated in 1788[89]. Opponents of whig candidates looked for alternative colours, but in the case of Hull it is by no means clear where such colours came from. When colours were first used is not known. In 1784 Stanhope was informed by his agent that he would be escorted into Hull by his friends 'with Colours' but what they were is not mentioned[90]. In 1789 Richard Sykes hinted that the Fitzwilliamite candidate for the ensuing election, Lord Burford had buff as his colour, and Stanhope's may have been blue[91].

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85. V.C.H., Hull, 429; D. Read, Press and People 1790-1850. Opinion in Three English Cities. (London, 1961), 108, 137, 169, 198.

86. Wilson Barkworth Election Literature, passim. The election literature for 1790 is printed in G. Hadley, A New and Complete History of the Town and County of the Town of Kingston-upon-Hull. (Hull, misdated 1788), 487-91. That for 1802 is in the poll book, for that year, in the British Library.

87. G.D.M. Block, A Source Book of Conservatism. (London, 1964), 74, 78.

88. B.B., viii, 797.

89. Hull Packet, 11 November 1788.

90. James Smith to Spencer Stanhope, 21, 22 May 1784. Spencer Stanhope MS., 60567/31, 32. See Nos.214, 215.

91. Richard Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 18 May 1789. Fitzwilliam MS., Box 40. See No.243.

In the 1796 election Sir Charles Turner was returned as a third candidate using pink[92]. Stanhope purchased cockades and ribbons but there is no indication of their colour[93]. In 1802 and 1806 Samuel Thornton, a government supporter was referred to as the 'blue candidate'[94]. Staniforth and Denys in 1812 were respectively pink and blue and had government connections, Lord Mahon was the orange candidate[95]. Again in 1818 the government supporters Staniforth and Mitchell were pink and blue and the Whig, J.R.G. Graham, orange[96]. The pattern was clearly set and in the ensuing elections of 1826, 1830, 1831, 1832 and 1835 the government supporters, or Conservative candidates after 1832 were blue or pink, and the Whigs orange[97]. Other places did not conform. In Cambridge Tory colours were yellow and pink, and red in parts of the north east.

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92. The Whole of the Chapters, Songs, etc., circulated during the late Election at Hull. (Hull, 1796), 11.

93. Spencer Stanhope MSS., 60568, bundle 3.

94. 1802 Poll Book, pt.iv, pp.3-4; Hull Advertiser, 25 October 1806.

95. A Selection of Squibs etc., circulated during the Election. (Hull, 1812), 42, 47.

96. Kingston Wit, Humour and Satire. (Hull, 1818), 78.

97. Hull Advertiser, 13 June 1826, 23, 30 July, 6 August 1830, 29 April 1831, 7 December 1832. Rockingham and Hull Weekly Advertiser (cited hereafter as Hull Rockingham), 10 June 1826, 15 December 1832. Wilson Barkworth Election Literature, 1832 and 1835 Elections.

IV

The Emergence of Political Stability, 1678-1690

During the dozen years which followed the death of Andrew Marvell Hull, together with other boroughs, experienced the attempts of royal government to impose its will. Interference in elections, the withdrawal of the town's charter, and the quartering of troops were all employed. At times the borough dug its heels in, at other times it prudently gave way, but from these struggles there emerged a workable modus vivendi, and a confidence in political matters which paralleled the growing commercial prosperity of the town.

Marvell expired on 16 August 1678, in the midst of the political tension over the Popish plot. The High Steward, the duke of Monmouth, promptly used his influence to try to secure the return of a Court candidate. He recommended Captain John Shales, a minor official, who had the support of Danby, and the duke of York. Shales later became infamous for providing rotten victuals in the Irish campaign of 1689[1]. Both Monmouth and Shales appealed to the corporation for support, and Prince James addressed Trinity House. The other member for the town, Colonel Anthony Gilby, was similarly approached[2]. Shales was a complete stranger and 'met with those discouragements there that he declined standing'[3]. The Corporation was now free to choose one of their own number, William Ramsden, who seems to have been returned unopposed when the writ reached Hull[4]. This

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1. B.D. Henning, (ed.), The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1660-90. (London, 1983), i, 476. (Cited hereafter as Henning, Commons 1660-90.). This chapter is based largely on the recent accounts of Henning, Bolton, Gillett and MacMahon (E. Gillett and K. MacMahon, A History of Hull. (Hull, 1980), 183-86), and particularly that of G.C.F. Forster in V.C.H. Hull, 112-120.

2. Monmouth to Corporation, 23 August 1678; Shales to Corporation, 24 August 1678, H.R.O. BRL. 893, 894. Duke of York to Trinity House, Trinity House MSS., Miscellaneous Letters. (See Nos.1-3). Calendar of State Papers (Domestic), cited hereafter as C.S.P.D., xx, 375, 379.

3. quoted in Henning, Commons 1660-90, i, 476.

4. Sir Anthony Irby to the Mayor, 31 October 1678; Sir Anthony Gilby to the Mayor, 6 November 1678, H.R.O. BRL. 899, 900, see Nos.7,8. B.B., vii, 594; Henning, Commons 1660-90, i, 477, iii, 312. The sending of the writ was hastened by the activities of Robert Stockdale, the Corporation's agent in London. (H.R.O. BRL. 1194, ff.324-29).

act of defiance was carefully tempered by sending Ramsden six broad pieces of gold' as an honorarium to be delivered to Monmouth[5]. The duke was surprised but accepted both gold and new member[6]. An explanatory letter and three barrels of Hull ale no doubt helped[7]. In spite of this, the Corporation had displayed their wish to assert the town's electoral independence, and had shown their disapproval of royal policy[8].

A general election was to be held early in 1679, and Monmouth again put pressure on the Corporation. He sent letters to several towns such as Worcester and Reading, and in a letter of 25 January to Hull he recommended Lemuel Kingdon, Paymaster to the Forces and another Court candidate. The burgesses were informed that his Grace must judge the reality of their affection to him by their reactions to gratify him in the acceptance of a person that he so earnestly concerns himself for[9]. A few days later Kingdon wrote in person[10]. Gilby offered himself again, but he was ignored[11]. Monmouth wrote again to the Corporation, and to Trinity House[12]. Under royal pressure Dr Thomas Watson of St John's College, Cambridge, a Hull man later to be Bishop of St Davids, added his weight[13]. At first the Corporation seemed obdurate and evasive: it 'thought fitt' that an answer to Monmouth's second letter 'be suspended for a small time', and regretted that 'the constitution of our Corporation in the election of their Burgesses to serve in Pliament is by a promiscuous number that wee are not capable to give your Grace that measure to expresse what wilbe the certaine effect thereof'[14].

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5. B.B., vii, 598.
6. C.S.P.D., xx, 561.
7. B.B., vii, 600, 601.
8. V.C.H., Hull, 113.
9. B.B., vii, 607; C.S.P.D., xxi, 53; Henning, Commons 1660-90, ii, 686-7; M.D. George, 'Elections and Electioneering 1679-81', E.H.R., xlv (1930), 575-6n.
10. Kingdon to the Mayor, c.29 January 1678/79. H.R.O. BRL. 925. See No. 18.
11. Gilby to the Mayor, 28 January 1678/79. H.R.O. BRL. 924. See No. 17.
12. B.B., vii, 608; Trinity House MSS., Miscellaneous Letters.
13. Watson to the Mayor, 4 February 1678/79. H.R.O. BRL. 926. See Nos. 19, 67.
14. B.B., vii, 607, 608.

The point had been made and the Corporation had no wish to permanently alienate their principal representative at Whitehall. On 11 February Kingdon was granted his freedom gratis and Monmouth's letters were read publicly[15]. Even so there was some opposition. Alderman George Crowle considered standing but deferred to Kingdon. Ramsden stood again and Kingdon was opposed by William Gee a country gentleman of Whig inclinations, whose family had long been connected with Hull[16]. Trinity House followed the lead of the Corporation and lent its support to Ramsden and Kingdon, to the delight of Monmouth[17]. The defeated candidate, Gee, petitioned against Kingdon's return on the grounds of illegal pressure on the burgesses by the Court interest. He was supported by his kinsman Sir John Hotham[18] who enlisted an active body of supporters in the House. Hotham presented the petition and the issue was referred to the Committee for Elections and Privileges. Ramsden warned the Bench that it should prepare for an expensive defence of its rights. It resolved to draw up a certificate signed by burgesses, denying pressure, and ordered £100 to be forwarded to the members to help defray costs. Monmouth was also asked to help. A conflict loomed but the early dissolution of this first Exclusion Parliament prevented a trial of strength on the case[19]. It is likely that the two Hull members paired for the division on the Exclusion Bill[20].

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15. ibid., 609.

16. ibid., 610; Henning, Commons 1660-90, ii, 382-3.

17. Trinity House to Kingdon and Monmouth (draft), 28 February 1678/79; Kingdon to Trinity House, 8 March 1678/79, Trinity House MSS., Miscellaneous Letters. (See Nos.25, 26). C.S.P.D., xxi, 96.

18. Sir John Hotham (1652-89), was member for Beverley at this time; in 1679 he sat on the Committee for Elections and Privileges. He became Governor of Hull in 1689. (Henning, Commons 1660-90, ii, 584-7).

19. B.B., vii, 610, 614, 615, 616, 617, 624; H.R.O. BRL. 927, 929, 930, 932, 933, 936, 937, 943, 946. (See Nos.27-31 passim.). Bolton, Yorkshire Boroughs, 52.

20. Henning, Commons 1660-90, i, 477.

By the time of the second election of 1679 things had changed. Ramsden did not offer himself again, probably on grounds of age and infirmity. Monmouth now had growing hopes of being declared heir to the throne and decided to make no recommendation[21]. Kingdon offered himself, but soon withdrew[22]. Instead Gee and another neighbourhood gentleman Sir Michael Warton were returned without a contest, both were ardent Whigs[23]. In the election of 1681 they were again returned unopposed, to the Oxford Parliament, to the joy of the Whig press[24].

Between 1680 and 1685 Hull's opposition to government policy grew and matters were complicated by the attack on dissenters[25] as well as the usual wish to maintain municipal independence. In May 1680 the Bench, under pressure from the Privy Council to enforce the law, resolved by seven to three votes to dismiss Alderman Daniel Hoare for refusing to take the Covenant. Hoare appealed to the Council which ruled in his favour, whereupon the majority of the aldermen objected and asked for their decision to be upheld. After a legal wrangle the Privy Council decided against the reinstatement of Hoare who nevertheless took his place on the Bench and had to be ejected by the mayor's officers before the Corporation could fill the vacancy caused by his dismissal. Throughout the dispute Hoare maintained his loyalty to the Church of England but his later career indicates connections with nonconformity, while his few supporters among the aldermen showed similar sympathies. It is therefore probable that the affair marked the beginning of the attack on dissent in the town, as well as a further stage in the curtailment of local liberties. As dissenters were not that numerous or powerful at Hull, there was never the sharp clash between them and the Anglican

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21. B.B., vii, 625.

22. Kingdon to the Mayor, 23 August 1679. H.R.O. BRL. 955 (see No.32); Gillett and MacMahon, Hull, 183.

23. Bolton, Yorkshire Boroughs, 54; Henning, Commons 1660-90, iii, 673-4.

24. B.B., vii, 704; George, E.H.R., XLV, 576n.; Warton to the Mayor 28 January 1680/81. H.R.O. BRL. 997 (See No.48).

25. V.C.H., Hull, 111-12, 312; W. Whitaker, Bowl Alley Lane Chapel. (London, 1910), 56-69; Carleton Monckton, View of Kingston upon Hull. (MS. in Hull Central Library, c.1700), ff.34-5.

corporation, as developed at Norwich. Here also, Tories were elected to all the Exclusion parliaments.[26] In the autumn of 1681, with tempers raised by the Exclusion crisis, a declaration of loyalty to the King by the aldermen of Hull now passed by only four to three votes, and in the following June it was decided, by seven to four votes not to send an address abhorring the Whigs' 'association' to promote the exclusion of the duke of York[27].

Following the fall of Monmouth, the government set about restoring its influence. Its first nominee for the vacant governorship, the Earl of Mulgrave, quickly found his commission cancelled because he was suspected of adhering to Monmouth's interest[28]. In his place a Tory, the Earl of Plymouth, was appointed in November 1682[29]. Shortly afterwards he became High Steward as well, at the request of the Corporation which at first considered an invitation to the Marquis of Halifax[30]. Its decision to ask Plymouth to serve instead was no doubt taken in the hope of securing the help of an influential patron at court[31].

In spite of this, the political disaffection of Hull was a reason for the government's attack on the town's privileges in the summer of 1684, as part of its general campaign to bring the parliamentary boroughs to heel. In June of that year quo warranto proceedings were threatened against the town, and the Corporation resolved nemine contradicente to surrender the charter immediately: there were, however, battles over the surrender elsewhere, such as at Norwich and Leicester. Hull aldermen attempted to enlist the support of Plymouth and Halifax to help prevent 'the troubles of a quo warranto against us'. The town clerk Edward Haslem, and the town solicitor James Kynvin were to be the intermediaries with

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26. V.C.H., Hull, 119, J.T. Evans, Seventeenth Century Norwich. (Oxford, 1979), 252, 257, 267.

27. ibid., 114; B.B., vii, 746, 770. Entries for 18 October 1681, 15 June 1682.

28. John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, later Duke of Buckingham and Normanby (1647-1721). (Handbook of British Chronology. [London, 1961], 419, 439-40; C.S.P.D., xxiv, 535).

29. Thomas, Lord Windsor (c.1627-87), created Earl of Plymouth after this appointment. (G.E.C. Cockayne, Complete Peerage, x, 561); A. Browning, (ed.), The Memoirs of Sir John Reresby. (Glasgow, 1936), 281; B.B., viii, 40.

30. B.B., viii, 55, 56, 60; C.S.P.D. (1683), 189, 192.

31. V.C.H., Hull, 114.

the peers[32], and the timing of the actual surrender was left to Plymouth's discretion[33]. A deputation of four aldermen accompanied the charter to London[34] to present the documents, and also to suggest several beneficial amendments. These included putting forward two lites at the election of aldermen, sheriffs and chamberlains; the procedure to be followed if the date of election fell on a Sunday; the deputising if the mayor was ill, and various problems concerned with the garrison[35].

During the ensuing negotiations, extending over a period of ten months Haslem, Kynvin, and occasionally Ramsden, kept the Corporation fully informed. Over sixty letters were received[36]. Amongst the numerous explanations of delays two issues arose. One was the possibility of compensation to the town for land taken by the citadel, together with the problem of responsibility for maintaining the banks on garrison side[37]. The other concerned the future of the Bench. At first it seemed that Thomas Johnson, an alderman of fourteen years' standing, was likely to be excluded on the advice of the High Steward because of his nonconformist leanings. Johnson strongly objected, pointing to his voting record. He also secured a declaration of support from some of his fellow aldermen, although it seems that the majority was against him. The mayor remarked that a formal motion in support of Johnson would not have carried[38]. Similarly Plymouth opposed the reappointment of Robert Carlisle who was believed to have supported Gee and the Whig interest in the election of 1685, but Carlisle's denial was endorsed by his brother aldermen, and after some hesitation, Plymouth agreed to

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32. B.B., viii, 98-99; Evans, Seventeenth Century Norwich, 289; R.B. Pugh, (ed.), The Victoria County History of Leicestershire: City of Leicester. (London, 1958), iv, 114. Cited hereafter as V.C.H., Leics.

33. B.B., viii, 101.

34. Aldermen Lambert, Maister, Mason and Sissons. (ibid., 102).

35. B.B., viii, 106. These were later recorded in T. Gent, History of Hull. (Hull, 1735), 179n., and J.R. Boyle, Charters and Letters Patent Granted to Kingston upon Hull. (Hull, 1895), 190-91n.

36. H.R.O. BRL. 1014-1101, passim.

37. See, for example, H.R.O. BRL. 1084 (No.63)

38. H.R.O. BRL. 1029 (No.55); B.B., vii, 40, 114-15; V.C.H., Hull, 119.

his inclusion[39].

Charles II died in February 1685 before the new charter was approved. The accession of James II was duly proclaimed at Hull and an address sent, after Plymouth had insisted on the inclusion of more fervently loyal phrases[40]. In this tense atmosphere, with the town awaiting the charter, the political influence of the royal government was at its height. The ensuring election was managed for the court by Plymouth. Sunderland, James's principal Secretary of State informed him on 13 February, 'His Majesty would have you use your utmost endeavours and employ all your interest as Governor of Hull or otherwise to secure the election of good numbers for the Parliament, but not to engage yourself to any particular person till your know his further pleasure'[41]. Plymouth set to work and two days later informed Lord Halifax that the Corporation had fixed on Ramsden's son John, and was willing to accept Halifax's dissolute and rebellious eldest son, Lord Elland, for the other seat[42]. Apparently this offer was not acceptable, and Ramsden was to be partnered by Sir Willoughby Hickman, Plymouth's cousin[43]. For good measure the court employed the Lord Chief Justice, George Jeffreys to urge the burgesses to choose members 'of unspotted loyalty to the Kinge[dom] [and of] unquestioned Zeale and affeccon for the Church of England [who have] passed through the late Times of Disorders untainted'[44]. The Corporation and Trinity House loyally promised to oppose the return of 'a person that was for the bill of exclusion', a sentiment which earned royal approval[45]. However the election

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39. H.R.O. BRL. 1071-2, and 1074 (No.62); V.C.H., Hull, 119.

40. B.B., viii, 118-19, 120-21.

41. C.S.P.D. (1685), 14; R.H. George, 'Parliamentary Elections and Electioneering', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, xix (1936), 169, 170.

42. William Savile, second Marquis of Halifax (1665-1700). He was known as Lord Elland from 1685, until he succeeded his father in 1698 (Dicticnary of National Biography. (London, 1920-21), xvii, 851-2, cited hereafter as D.N.B.).

43. Henning, Commons 1660-90, i, 477; ii, 546.

44. H.R.O. BRL. 1053 (No.56)

45. H.R.O. BRL. 1059, 1064 (No.57,59); C.S.P.D. (1685), 23.

was not to be uncontested and the two Whig ex-M.P.s Gee and Warton stood, but were heavily defeated. The figures were Ramsden 460, Hickman 422, Gee 127, Warton 32[46]. It is not clear whether the burgesses received polling money but 72 new freemen were enrolled just before the election.[47] Similarly, loyal members were also returned for Leicester and Shropshire, for example.

The Corporation and burgesses had been overawed and the local political tide was running in favour of the Stuart reaction. Perhaps it is not surprising that Monmouth's rebellion aroused no response in the town where he had once been popular. Writing from London, Kynvin and Haslem passed on what they heard of Monmouth's movements[48]. An official account of the duke's defeat at Sedgmoor followed immediately after the battle, together with instructions for dealing with any supporters in the town[49]. The military authorities confined a number of suspects to their houses and imprisoned twenty enemies of the government in the citadel[50].

Royal power was further strengthened by the charter which was finally granted in July 1685. Plymouth was named as recorder and it permitted the government to interfere in the choice of aldermen. Johnson and Carlisle were returned, but Francis Delacamp, Mark Kirkby and William Shires were removed, possibly because they were absent at the election[51]. Hull got off lightly: 10 aldermen and 16 councillors were removed at Norwich. The Charter generally confirmed the town's rights and constitution, but there was also a clause, normal in charters of this date, reserving to the Crown the right to remove office holders by Order in Council. There were some

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46. H.R.O. BRL. 1068,(No.61); B.B., viii, 123.

47. Burgess Book, ii, 147-50; V.C.H., Leics., 117, G.C. Baugh, The Victoria County History of Shropshire (London, 1979), iii, 257. Cited hereafter as V.C.H., Salop.

48. H.R.O. BRL. 1086-87.

49. B.B., viii, 132; H.R.O. BRL. 1092, 1093 (No.64)

50. V.C.H., Hull, 114; B.B., viii, 131, 132, 133; Reresby's Memoirs, 363n., (No.65)

51. H.R.O. BRL. 1068 (See No.61); Boyle, Charters, 191n.; Evans, Norwich, 292-3.

improvements: mayoral elections were not to be held on a Sabbath; the town was compensated for land lost to the citadel, although it still had to repair banks and jetties on the east side of the haven[52]. More vexing to the townsfolk over the next two years was the garrisoning of extra troops in Hull, partly no doubt to enforce obedience. They were to be billeted in local public houses, and the question of payment for this hospitality aroused strong feelings, reflected in a flood of letters[53].

The government took further steps to consolidate its hold upon the town. Following Plymouth's death in November 1687, Lords Langdale and Dover, both Roman Catholics, were named as governor and High Steward respectively[54]. Also, in support of the first Declaration of Indulgence which suspended religious tests and granted liberty of conscience to Roman Catholics and Protestant dissenters, the King wished to know if he could count on the loyalty of the Hull M.P.s. His agents assured him that the numbers 'will readily concurr with Your Majesty in establishing the Libertie proposed by Your Majesty's most Gracious Declaration'[55]. The Corporation readily accepted the offer, made in August 1687, of Hickman and Ramsden to represent the town in the next parliament[56]. But by the beginning of 1688 the two had returned negative replies to the King's questions[57], still retaining the good offices of most of the corporation who were turning against royal policy[58]. Langdale tried to force Sir James Bradshaw on the town, and the royal agents reported optimistically:

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52. H.R.O. BRL. 1084 (See No.63); V.C.H., Hull, 119; Boyle, Charters, 190-218, passim.

53. See, for example, H.R.O. BRL. 1106, 1109, 1111, 1112; Coppie Book of Letters, 1685-88 (H.R.O. BRL. 49, passim.); Reresby's Memoirs, 417, 423, 470, 481.

54. B.B., viii, 195-96. Marmaduke, second Baron Langdale (1627/28-1703), Henry Jermyn, Baron Dover. (G.E.C., Complete Peerage, vii, 431; iv, 447).

55. G. Duckett, 'King James II's Proposed Repeal of the Penal Laws and Test Acts', Yorkshire Archaeological Society, V (1879), 470.

56. B.B., viii, 188; Coppie Book of Letters 1685-88, H.R.O. BRL. 49, ff.22, 29. (See Nos. 66, 67)

57. Henning, Commons 1660-90, ii 546, iii 312.

58. Coppie Book of Letters, H.R.O. BRL. 49, f.38 (See No.68).

'They will choose Sir James Bradshaw, but have not pitched. They make some objection against Mr Popple, and intend to perswade Sir John Boynton to stand. If he decline, they will set up some other moderate, fit man'[59]

However the Corporation would not give way and Langdale was sent a polite, but firm refusal[60]. It has been said that James was so enraged by this defiance that he quartered 1100 troops on the town who behaved in an appalling manner[61].

In Hull, as at other places, the charter became the object of royal displeasure. In May 1688 quo warranto proceedings began again. At first the Bench was inclined to enter suit in defence of its rights[62], and ordered James Kynvin "to get a plea well drawn". However the expense involved soon persuaded the Bench to change its mind[63]. The deed of surrender included a dignified but firm assertion of the town's ancient liberties[64]. It was agreed to raise again the possibility of an extension of privileges, but before these requests could be pressed, an Order in Council of 23 July dismissed the entire Corporation[65].

For almost two months Hull lacked a governing body, but on two occasions at least the outgoing bench met to transact public business[66]. On 15 September the new charter was sealed, and it followed the pattern normal at the time: it named the corporation and principal officers, giving the Crown the unqualified right to remove them and to fill any vacancy; and it dispensed members of the Corporation from the provisions of the Corporation Act[67]. Among

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59. Duckett, Y.A.S., V, 471. Popple was Marvell's favourite nephew but had become a Roman Catholic in 1685; Boynton was the King's Sergeant. (Henning, Commons 1660-90, i, 477).

60. A. de la Pryme, Collections Relating to the History and Antiquities of Kingston upon Hull [c.1697-1700], ff.519-20, (MS. volume in Hull Central Library); Coppie Book of Letters, H.R.O. BRL. 49, ff.38-39.

61. de la Pryme, Collections, ff.521-2; Bean, Northern Representation, 845-6n.

62. B.B., viii, 207-8.

63. B.B., viii, 208; V.C.H., Hull, 119; Boyle, Charters, 219n.

64. Boyle, Charters, 219-220n.

65. R.H. George, 'The Charters Granted to English Parliamentary Corporations in 1688.', E.H.R., 1v (1940), 52n.; C.S.P.D. (1688), 222, 229.

66. V.C.H., Hull, 119-20; B.B., viii, 210-15 (July-August 1685, passim)

67. V.C.H., Hull, 120.

the office-holders under the 1685 charter, only the recorder and the high steward (both royal nominees), Alderman Thomas Johnson and Christopher Richardson, the sheriff, and the two chamberlains were retained. Daniel Hoare replaced Robert Carlisle as mayor, and there were eleven new aldermen in all; these included Francis Delacampe and Mark Kirkby who had been removed in 1685. Besides Hoare at least three others had nonconformist connections, namely Anthony Iveson, John Robinson (both of whom had been confined to their houses during the Monmouth rebellion) and John Yates[68]. The nomination of these men in particular shows that James took advantage of the relaxation of sacramental tests from the generality of his supporters in the town[69].

It is not certain whether the corporation named in this charter ever met, for during the short period of its nominal existence the pages of the bench book are blank[70]. This structure however was overturned on 17 October by a royal proclamation which in effect annulled the charters of 1685 and 1688 by restoring to the town the privileges enjoyed before the proceedings began in 1684[71]. The Corporation existing in July 1684 was thus reinstated under the mayor of the time, Alderman Francis Delacamp. The surviving nine members met on 6 November to recover official documents from the intruded officers, and to arrange an election to fill the vacancies. Three of the 1684 aldermen had died, and another, Mark Kirkby was allowed to resign because of financial and family difficulties. Thus four new aldermen were elected; one of them William Hydes, was at once chosen mayor, the fourth occupant of the office in five months. Three of the new aldermen had served on the bench under the charter of 1685[72], but two others, William Hayes and another William Skinner were removed in August 1689 for failing to take the new oath of allegiance and were later suspected

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68. B.B., viii, 132; Boyle, Charters, 221n.; Whitaker, Bowl Alley Lane Chapel, 39, 56, 62, 67.

69. V.C.H., Hull, 120.

70. B.B., viii, 217-29. The gap exists between the entries of 22 September and 6 November 1688.

71. V.C.H., Hull, 120; B.B., viii, 230; George, E.H.R., LV, 55-6.

72. ibid.

of Jacobitism.[72]. Removals were equally drastic elsewhere. Norwich removed 10 aldermen and 19 councillors, and at Leicester 11 aldermen and 16 councillors went.[73]

The conciliation over the charter was a reflection of the unease the royal government felt about Hull. Troops were moved from York to reinforce the garrison[74]. The Privy Council ordered the governor to strengthen the fortifications and be prepared to cut the dykes if a siege was threatened. The citadel was provisioned and troops of the county militia marched in only to be dismissed in the general administrative confusion[75].

The impending departure of William of Orange for England caused James's opponents in Yorkshire to make plans for the seizure of Hull as they were aware of its strategic value and the widespread hostility towards the King felt in the town. At first it was expected that William would land in the Humber or at Bridlington[76], but this did not happen. Nevertheless Danby was determined to make himself master of Hull. He calculated that possession of the town would cast him in the role of mediator in any negotiations between the King and the prince[77]. After York had fallen to Danby and his associates, a careful watch was kept on the movements of the Hull garrison. Langdale now activated the earlier plans made in case of a siege: the dykes were opened and a chain was drawn across the mouth of the haven. Reinforced by troops from the duke of Newcastle he secretly prepared to arrest his Protestant officers[78].

At the end of November Danby wrote to a trusted friend, Sir John Hanmer, who was one of Langdale's officers, urging him to lend his assistance in the surprise of the fortress[79]. The arrival of

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73. B.B., viii, 244-5, 268; Evans, Norwich, 312-13; V.C.H., Leics. 117-18.

74. Reresby's Memoirs, 506, 511.

75. V.C.H., Hull, 115.

76. de la Pryme, Collections, f.531.

77. V.C.H., Hull, 115. A. Browning, Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby. (Glasgow, 1951), i, 387, 402-3, 410; ii, 135, 144, 146.

78. Gillett and MacMahon, Hull, 185; Browning, Danby, i, 402n.

79. V.C.H., Hull, 115. Browning, Danby, i, 401-2; 405; ii, 142-3. P.M. Tillott, Victoria County History: City of York. (London, 1961), 194, cited hereafter as V.C.H., York.

the letter was delayed, however, and the deputy governor, Captain Lionel Copley[80] acted on his own initiative on the night of 3 December to frustrate Langdale's plans. A contemporary described what happened:

> "Captain Copley ... was informed on Munday night last that Lord Longdale the Governor, Montgomery and Lord Dunbar had framed a design to seize the Captain and all the Protestant officers and souldjers in garison on Tuesday night, which design he communicated to the mayor, aldermen, and the principle inhabitants, who all resolved to be armed at the time, and the Captain ordered that at the beat of the drum all windows should be illuminated. In the evening they observed the Governer to bring in boates all the popish souldiers out of the fort into the town, but tooke no notice of it. At 10 of the clock the tatoo beat, immediatly upon which the Captain and all his company were at the guard, and all the windows were full of lights, which startled the Governer, who was advanceing in the darke with about 400 popish souldiers to execute his design. But upon his first approach the Captain went up to him and took him by the cravat, saying, My Lord, you are my prisoner; and the Protestant souldiers seized his party and disarmed them and turned them out of the town, and comitted his Lordship and principle of his party. In the meane time the seamen gott into the fort, so all was over and without any bloud in two hours time."[81]

Copley then declared for King William. This exciting day, 3 December, was for long a public holiday and known as, Town Taking Day'[82]. There were no counter measures, and the possession of the town by the prince's supporters put an end to all resistance in Yorkshire. Elsewhere things were not so drastic. Exeter prudently gave way as William's army advanced, whilst Norwich 'joyously acclaimed him', - a similar display of good sense.[83]

To help secure William's position, arrangements were at once made for military stores to be sent to Hull[84], but Danby's request for the

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80. A Yorkshireman from Wadsworth, Copley was commissioned captain in the King's Regiment of Goot Guards on 2 March 1676. Subsequently, on 3 December 1681, he was appointed deputy governor of Hull. Ironically, at the time, the duke of York commented, 'I am glad Capt. Copley is at Hull, for I look on him as an honnest man'. (C. Dalton, (ed.), English Army Lists and Commission Registers, 1661-1714. (London, 1892), i, 188, 289).

81. Ballard MS., 45, f.20, quoted in Browning, Danby, i, 409n. See also Reresby's Memoirs, 535-6, and Hadley, History of Hull, 276-7. C. Monckton, View of Kingston upon Hull, ff.37-8, adds a few minor details.

82. Hadley, History of Hull, 277.

83. V.C.H., Hull, 115; Browning, Danby, i, 416, ii,147n2; Newton, Exeter, 1-3, 11-14; Evans, Norwich, 316.

84. V.C.H., Hull, 115.

governorship was not immediately successful, for Sir John Hotham who had landed at Torbay with William of Orange, was appointed. The Corporation approved of the choice of a man so heavily committed to the prince's cause and made a point of expressing this view in its address to William thanking him for the deliverance of the country[85]. Another firm supporter of the prince, the Earl of Kingston[86], became the new high steward at the request of the Corporation[87]. In view of these expressions of loyalty, prudence possibly dictated the choice of members with different standpoints for the Convention Parliament: one was Gee, the Whig gentleman, a close friend of Hotham, the other was John Ramsden, previously a court nominee, both 'freely and unanimously elected'. A similar compromise followed in Shropshire[88]. Danby may have entertained immediate fears of a Stuart restoration, but Hull saw Dutch William as 'our Great Deliverer'[89]. And so it remained: the charter was not seriously altered by the government until 1835; court interference in elections was never so blatant again; relations between town and Crown remained distant but cordial.

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85. B.B., viii, 233-34; Hadley, History of Hull, 277-8; J. Tickell, History of the Town and County of the Town of Kingston upon Hull. (Hull, 1798), 584-6.

86. William Pierrepoint, fourth earl of Kingston (1662-90). (G.E.C., Complete Peerage, vii, 306).

87. B.B., viii, 238-9; H.R.O. BRL. 1116.

88. V.C.H., Hull, 116; Henning, Commons 1660-90, i 477, ii 383, iii 312; V.C.H., Salop, 257.

89. Wording on the base of William III's statue, in the Market Place, Hull.

V

Elections 1690-1835

The Glorious Revolution opened a period of political stability in Hull which was not seriously challenged until the 1830's. Whatever the fears and annoyances inherent in the quartering of troops on the town, and irritations over the responsibility for maintaining the eastern side of the haven, Hull remained loyal to William and his Hanoverian successors. The excitement of elections did not disturb the underlying loyalty to 'King and constitution' and Hull could be counted on as a Government borough. In 1689 Danby - now Marquis of Carmarthen - was made governor of Hull on Hotham's death. Enemies interpreted this as providing a retreat in case James II returned[1]. Nevertheless, he was still in a position of power at Court, and in the 1690's cultivated an interest at Hull. After the death of the Earl of Kingston, Danby's influence was increased when he became high steward[2]. His brother Charles Osborne was made deputy governor, and in 1690 was returned as a member of parliament for the town. An entry in the Bench Book, a week before the election tells the whole story:

> 'This day Charles Osborne who is recommended to us by his brother the Lord Marquis of Carmarthen, to serve Our Corporation... in the ensuing Parliament came this Day into Court and moved to have his freedom of the Corporation in Order to qualify him to be Elected thereto and it was agreed that he be admitted to have the freedom....[3]

Osborne, a moderate Tory, was accompanied to Westminster by John Ramsden, a Court Tory and an alderman of the borough who had the respect of the Bench. Two Tories were similarly returned for Wiltshire, for example[4]. In the general election of 1695 Whig fortunes recovered. Danby - now duke of Leeds - was out of favour at Court, but his influence was still sufficiently strong to have his brother

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1. Horwitz, Parliament and Politics, 19; V.C.H. Hull, 116, 417.
2. Browning, Danby, i, 485-6; H.R.O. BRL. 1142.
3. B.B., viii, 255.
4. [Mayor] to Ramsden, 30 October 1694. H.R.O. BRL. 49 (No.72); V.C.H., Wilts., 198.

returned again. The other successful candidate was William St. Quintin a local Whig merchant and later on alderman, who enjoyed the support of the Corporation. The Whigs were even more successful at Exeter, securing both seats[5]. The defeated candidate at Hull was Sir James Bradshaw of Bromborough, Cheshire, an outsider who was suggested earlier in 1688. There was a rumour that he was in favour of repealing the penal laws against Papists and this was clearly sufficient to place him at the bottom of the poll at Hull[6]. However, he did not take his defeat lying down. On 28 November 1695 he petitioned the Commons on the ground that there had been some sharp practice over the polling date[7]. He had offered himself as a candidate on the day the sheriff received the writ for the election which was to take place on County Court day, ten days later. Then under pressure from the Mayor and several aldermen, the sheriff decided the election would be on the following day. Bradshaw further alleged that the aldermen threatened some of his supporters and created twenty seven new freemen on the day of election[8]. As a result he 'did not poll as many by two hundred as at other times'. The Committee of Privileges and Elections reported on 2 March declaring the sitting members duly elected and the petitions 'vexatious, frivolous and groundless'. The House accepted the confirmation but not the comment or the petition[9]. When the Corporation sent Danby his honorary, they dutifully announced the election result[10]. In 1698 the two were returned again without opposition, with the support of the Corporation and the endorsement of the Archbishop of York, whose letter was circulated among the 'Severall Wardens of the Companies, within this place, to be publickly read in their Hall to all members of their Societies'. A loyal supporter of William III, the Archbishop was probably prevailed upon to help as he had signed the Association to protect the King's life[11].

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5. Quinn, Yorkshire Constituencies, 62; Newton, Exeter, 55.
6. Bradshaw to the Company of Carpenters, 24 February 1699/1700. B.L. Egerton MS., 3347, ff.1-2. (No.75)
7. C.J., xi, 340.
8. That number were created on 23 October; four by purchase, seven by patrimony, and sixteen by apprenticeship. (B.B., viii, 382).
9. C.J., xi, 481-2.
10. B.B., viii, 383; Mayor to the duke of Leeds, 16 November 1695. Coppie Book of Letters, 1694. H.R.O. BRL. 50 (No.73).
11. Draft replies from the Mayor to the Archbishop of York, 11 June 1698. H.R.O. BRL. 1179 (No.74); D.N.B., xvii, 1346-49.

By the time of the next general election in January 1701 Danby was in disgrace and had lost his governorship. At this time Lord Wharton and the duke of Newcastle, both prominent Whigs, exercised political influence at Hull. Accordingly the Corporation seem to have given their support to St. Quintin and another local Whig merchant, William Maister. They were returned after a contest in which Osborne was defeated as well as Bradshaw who was chancing his arm again. The two losers immediately took action. Osborne complained to the Commons, in his petition of 14 February, that St. Quintin and Maister had won by 'Bribes, Entertainments and other indirect Means'[12]. Bradshaw petitioned on 25 February. He alleged Maister had been returned 'by the Votes of unqualified Persons', and that the Mayor had 'positively refused' to allow a comparison of the poll and the Register of Freemen' by which it would appear that the Petitioner had a majority'. He ended by accusing the victors, or their agents, of illegally procuring votes 'by Money, Entertainments and Promises of Reward'[13]. The election result was not affected and no report appeared on either petition. Whatever truth there might have been in their charges, the Bench did not admit freemen on the day of election as had happened in 1695[14].

By the beginning of the eighteenth century the Tory interest seemed to be in decline. For the next twenty years the representation of the borough was entirely Whig. Sir William St. Quintin and William Maister were described as Whigs, low churchmen and followers of Lord Wharton[15]. St. Quintin was afterwards a supporter of Walpole, giving up his seat on the Treasury Board in 1717, to follow Walpole into opposition. When Sir Robert returned to office, St. Quintin

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12. C.J., xiii, 330.
13. C.J., xiii, 353.
14. The most significant admission of freemen came at the end of September 1700, when 41 were admitted over two or three days. This was three months before the election took place. (B.B., viii, 468-70).
15. B.L. Add. MSS., Stowe MSS., 223 f.453; 354 f.162. R. Walcott, English Politics in the Early Eighteenth Century. (London, 1956), 201-2.

obtained a lucrative Irish sinecure[16]. The two members were returned unopposed at every general election between December 1701 and February 1715, and Hull was one of the fourteen seats which could safely return two Whigs; others included King's Lynn, Malton and Lyme Regis. Other places were less quiet and contests were held, for example, at Gloucester, Colchester and Aylesbury. There were of course eve-of-election nerves at Hull, and opposition was sometimes rumoured, but nothing happened. At the end of November 1701, for example, the two members wrote to the Duke of Newcastle, 'We hope we shall be elected on Wednesday next'[17]. In July 1702 Edward Barnard and Michael Warton wrote to Trinity House offering their services in the ensuing Parliament, but nothing came of it[18]. In 1704-5 St. Quintin temporarily fell foul of his constituents over issues such as visiting Hull without seeing the mayor, and appearing to take the Duke of Newcastle's side against the Bench in the choice of a new town clerk[19]. For a moment it seemed that he might be denied their interest in the 1705 election, but this was not to happen[20]. However as soon as parliament was dissolved and he had tied up some unfinished business, he hastened to Hull[21]. Finally in August 1710 Robert Harley was informed by a correspondent that '...if any stand for Hull both will be out'[22]. But again there was no opposition. Maister died in 1716 and was replaced by another Hull merchant and Whig, his brother-in-law, Nathaniel Rogers[23]. St. Quintin was re-elected in July 1720 after appointment to office[24].

In 1722 St. Quintin and Rogers were challenged by George Crowle, who was to become the dominant figure in Hull politics for a quarter

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16. Sedgwick, Commons 1715-54, ii, 405.
17. H.M.C., 13th Report, Portland, Appendix, pt.II, 182; W.A. Speck: Whig and Tory: The Struggle in the Constituencies, 1701-1715. (London, 1970), 122, 126-7.
18. Barnard to Trinity House, Warton to Trinity House, 4 July 1702. Miscellaneous Letters, Trinity House MSS.
19. St. Quintin to the Mayor, 29 October 1704, 23 January, 1 March 1704/5. H.R.O. BRL. 1195, 1199, 1200, 1214.
20. St. Quintin to the Mayor, 13 March 1704/5. H.R.O. BRL. 1215.
21. St. Quintin to the Mayor, 15 March 1704/5. H.R.O. BRL. 1216.
22. H.M.C., 15th Report, Portland, Appendix, pt.,iv, 575.
23. Sedgwick, Commons 1715-54, ii, 390-91.
24. ibid.

of a century. Crowle also came from a wealthy merchant family, and nearly succeeded: he received 420 votes, St. Quintin 448 and Rogers 773[25]. It is interesting to speculate why Crowle thought he could succeed. J.F. Quinn has suggested that in 1719 Rogers voted with the Whig government to repeal the Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts, thus during that year he swung away from the Opposition Whigs. Further, when Crowle was elected to parliament in 1724 he became a staunch supporter of Walpole, so Sir Robert back in office in 1721, may have put him up to get rid of the recalcitrant Rogers[26]. There may be some truth in this, but the staunch Walpole supporter, St. Quintin, also voted for repeal of the act, and anyway Rogers headed the poll with a majority of over two hundred above the next candidate.

St. Quintin died in June 1723, and in January 1724 a by-election took place. Initially there were three candidates: Crowle; Sir Henry Hoghton, a Presbyterian Lancashire Whig country gentleman very active against Jacobites in 1715[27], whose only connection with Hull was his brother-in-law Samuel Watson, a prominent manufacturer, and Christopher Kirby allegedly bought off by Hoghton before polling day[28]. Hoghton had the support of both the government and the corporation. Crowle, however, secured the backing of Trinity House. Hoghton wrote to Trinity House on 18 September 1723 asking for the votes and interest of that body: 'I have the honour to be recommended by Mr. Pulteney, and by Gentlemen of the first Quality and Interest in the Kingdome'[29]. William Pulteney, an influential minister and

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25. Bean, Northern Representation, 847.

26. Quinn, Yorkshire Boroughs, 66-7, 565.

27. Sedgwick, Commons 1715-54, ii, 143-4.

28. Hull Times, 3 January 1903. This contains an article by J.R. Boyle on the election called 'Bribery and Corruption at Hull in the Reign of George I.' Samuel Watson was involved in sugar refining and soap manufacture, and was connected with the Wilberforce and Thornton families. He was also an alderman of Hull. (Jackson, Hull, 196-97).

29. Hoghton to Trinity House, 18 September 1723. Miscellaneous Letters, Trinity House MSS.

member for Hedon[30], himself approached Trinity House but was rebuffed. By a vote of eleven to two Trinity House approved of a letter to Pulteney saying that they had not been hasty in reaching a decision, 'but having been solicited on all hands were obliged in order to keep their votes intire to come to a resolution' and had decided to support Crowle. This decision had been taken by a majority of eleven to one on 23 September, a fortnight before Pulteney's letter[31]. He replied:

> 'Mr Crowles Reputation and Character is such, that I am satisfied tis impossible for any one, to have the least personal Objection to him, but as I have satt long in Parliament with Sir Harry, never differing with him in any one Vote, tis natural to wish well to an old acquaintance, and to endeavor to serve that person with whom one has always agreed in Opinion. I could wish therefore t'was possible Sir Harry might meet with your assistance, but t'would be the utmost impertinence in me to pretend to urge you contrary to any engagements...'[32].

It was an exciting election. On 19 September 1723 the corporation voted, by a majority of eight to one, to give their support to Hoghton rather than Crowle[33]. Three weeks later a large number of freemen was created, fifty-one on 10 October and several more on 14 October, including the revocation of one disfranchisement. Three more were admitted on 30 December, two bringing writs of mandamus. On that day the Bench resolved to meet on 2 January to examine the claims of would-be freemen, but the next burgesses were admitted after the election[34]. Clearly there had been corporation pressure, but the creation of freemen ceased three weeks before the election was held. J.R. Boyle suggested that there was discrimination against Crowle's adherents, but his evidence is based exclusively on a heavily annotated poll book, since lost, embellished by Charles Pool, then a minor, who was a zealous supporter of Crowle. Boyle accepts

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30. He was later created Earl of Bath. (Sedgwick, Commons 1715-45, ii, 375-6.)

31. Minute Book, entries for 23 September, 8 October 1723, Trinity House to William Pulteney, 8 October 1723, Letter Book. Trinity House MSS.

32. W. Pulteney to Trinity House, 14 October 1723, Miscellaneous Letters, Trinity House MSS. (See No.77)

33. B.B., viii, 718.

34. B.B., viii, 719, 720, 721.

this evidence uncritically, and refers to Crowle as a 'staunch Tory'[35]. Thus he interprets the contest as one between a Whig and a Tory, suggesting a polarisation which did not exist at that time[36]. The annotations, however, do suggest in toto that Hoghton paid a great deal of money for his votes, but Crowle dare not have kept his purse too tightly closed. The surviving poll book reveals that the Recorder, Town Clerk and nine aldermen voted for Hoghton, while only two aldermen and the mayor supported Crowle - a slight shift of support since the vote of the previous September. Thirty three customs officers voted for Hoghton[37], as did some freemen who were brought specially from naval vessels for the purpose. However, Crowle brought in a number of out-voters and, it was claimed had sixty-four men made free for the purpose of voting for him[38].

Hoghton, nevertheless, was unpopular because he was a stranger to the town. Religious animosities were also a feature of the contest because Hoghton was a Presbyterian: but the dissenters in early eighteeenth century Hull were probably no more united in politics than they were in theology[39]. In the end Crowle received 448 votes and Hoghton 328. A scrutiny was demanded and granted, but Hoghton did not appear to carry it through, whereupon Crowle was declared elected amid great rejoicing[40]. This may be counted as a notable victory as not only did Crowle have to contend with the opposition of the government interest, but this was one of the rare occasions when the candidate supported by the Corporation was defeated. Also the opposition of the Ministry to Crowle may not

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35. Hull Times, 3 January 1903.

36. cf. Quinn, Yorkshire Boroughs, 162-3.

37. A copy of the 1724 poll book survives in B.L. Add. MSS., Lansdowne, 891.

38. Hull Times, 3 January 1903; Quinn, Yorkshire Boroughs, 68.

39. In the period 1715-18 there were said to have been about 500 dissenters in Hull, 50 of whom were enfranchised (Survey of Baptist, Congregational and Presbyterian Congregations in England 1715-18', (The 'Evans List'), MS. in Dr. William's Library, London, DWL.MS., 38.4, F.132.

40. Daily Journal and Daily Post, 29 January 1723/24.

have been on account of poltiical differences, but because they wanted Hoghton, a proven man, in parliament rather more keenly than they wanted Crowle[41]. Once Crowle was safely in the House he found that neither Walpole nor Pulteney intended to give Hoghton any further support, and 'the Latter hath Declared was it to Doe over again he would Show him the Countenance he had Done'[42]. Crowle proved to be a loyal supporter of Walpole and Pelham.

The next general election in 1727 was also contested. Crowle was retained with Joseph Micklethwaite, Viscount Micklethwaite in the Irish Peerage, a former protege of Stanhope who owned estates at Swine, near Hull[43]. The unsuccessful candidate at Hull was Matthew Chitty St. Quintin, nephew of Sir William. Despite his uncle's long connection with the town he received only 167 votes compared with the 717 cast for Crowle and the 719 for Mickelthwaite[44]. From the voting figures, it is possible that the two members elected stood on a joint interest. The corporation remained silent, 145 freemen were admitted in July, a full month before the election then no more. There was a similar three-cornered fight at Lincoln, but the voting here was much closer[45]. Mickelthwaite died in 1734 and was succeeded by Henry Maister without a contest; he was a wealthy merchant and son of William Maister[46]. In the same year Crowle and Maister were returned at the general election, with only a token opposition from Robert Thornton, another local merchant whose grandson was to represent the town for many years. Polling figures were low suggesting the whole electorate had not voted: Crowle 389, Maister 384 and Thornton 7. Elsewhere contests were more exciting. Voting was heavy at Exeter where Whigs took both seats for the first time since 1695, and in Cheshire old alignments were cut across[47].

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41. Quinn, Yorkshire Boroughs, 68-9.

42. Crowle to Trinity House, 1 February 1723/24. Miscellaneous Letters, Trinity House MSS.

43. Sedgwick, Commons 1715-54, ii, 256.

44. Daily Journal and Daily Post, 29 August 1727. In an attempt to win the interest and support of Trinity House, he enlisted 'the memory of my Dear Uncle'. (M.C. St. Quintin to Trinity House, 17 June 1727. Miscellaneous Letters, Trinity House MSS.)

45. B.B., viii, 743; Hill, Georgian Lincoln, 77-8.

46. Daily Journal, 30 January, 9 February 1734.

47. London Evening Post, 4-7 May 1734; Country Journal, 11 May 1734; Newton, Exeter, 61; V.C.H., Cheshire, 123-4.

In 1738 Crowle was appointed an extra Commissioner of the Navy. He resigned his seat, as he had done in 1733, and was returned unopposed[48].

The general election of 1741 is intriguing because of the fragmentary nature of the evidence concerning the electioneering. In January 1740/41, six months before parliament was dissolved, Maister heard the rumblings of opposition. He told Walpole:

> 'I find an opposition to us at Hull, is projecting and a Patriot is to struggle for my Seat; one of the top Dissenters who became my Enemy for not repealing the test Act, is at the bottom of this affair...'[49].

A relative of this dissenter wished for a minor government post, and Maister hoped Walpole would use his influence to make the place conditional on the withdrawal of opposition. The outcome of this is not known. However Crowle had similar forebodings in March, and wrote to Sir Tancred Robinson:

> 'You will have heard of the Great oposition raised against me and the ferment this town is in which I never expected and obligeth me to desire the Friendship of all my Friends.'[50]

Sir Tancred was urged to procure votes among the Hull freemen resident in York, and he seems to have complied[51]. Again the Corporation tried to regulate the admission of freemen. On 12 March it resolved to examine the qualifications of aspirants on 2 April, and on 26 March it ruled that persons claiming their freedom by apprenticeship had to have served it in Hull and those claiming by patrimony had to be born in the town[52]. Crowle expected 'above one hundred' to be enrolled on the appointed day; he was not far out as ninety seven names are recorded in the Burgess Book[53]. The Bench moved that no more would be admitted until after the election[54]. On Polling day

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48. York Courant, 16, 23 May 1738.

49. Henry Maister to Walpole, 31 January 1740/41. Cholmondeley (Houghton) MS. 3068a. (See No.78)

50. Crowle to Sir Tancred Robinson, 22 March 1740/41. Newby Hall MS., N.H. 2490. (See No.79)

51. Crowle to Robinson, 29 March 1740/41. ibid., N.H. 2490. (See No.80)

52. B.B., viii, 905, 907.

53. Burgess Book, iii. H.R.O. BRG.

54. B.B., viii, 911.

Crowle was returned unopposed with William Carter of Redbourne, a Lincolnshire squire. Maister had declined the contest a few days earlier[55], but it is not clear why. He may have not been able to have had his way over the question of the appointment to the government; Carter may have been a particularly threatening third man although this is unlikely as Maister was a native of Hull and Carter from south of the Humber; or perhaps the rumour of a third man unnerved Maister, and Carter was brought in at the last minute. The Hull election of 1741 settled nothing in local politics, but at York it ended contests at general elections until 1774. Maister seems to have considered standing again in 1744 when Carter died[56] but nothing came of this, bereavement may have been the motivation as in 1743 his family perished in a disastrous fire, however he died in December 1744[57]. General Harry Pulteney was returned unopposed.

Pulteney was said to be determined to stand the poll in the general election of 1747, 'If So,' wrote Luke Robinson, 'Lord and Lady B[ath] may have a good deal of Business on their hands, to manage two Boroughs, and that may make their Residence at Hull very necessary; They think themselves they are not to be resisted, their charms are so strong; tho' I beleive they'l ffind themselves Mistaken.'[58] The General asked Trinity House for their support, but received a polite refusal:

> 'We are far from being unanimous in the choice of Representatives for the Borough, at the approaching Election. Therefore we beg you wo'd Excuse us from giving an Invitation, as the Success will be doubtfull.'[59]

Pulteney finally gave up the idea of standing. Crowle also retired, heavily in debt[60]. There was already a new candidate in the field.

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55. York Courant, 12 May 1741.

56. Penny London Morning Advertiser, 4-6 April 1744; London Morning Advertiser, 4 April 1744; Quinn, Northern History, forthcoming.

57. Sedgewick, Commons 1715-54, ii, 239.

58. Luke Robinson to Richard Sykes, 4 April 1747, Sykes MSS. Lord Bath was the brother of General Pulteney. The other borough was Hedon which Pulteney represented from 1705 to 1734. D.N.B., xvi, 471-8. (See No.81)

59. H. Pulteney to Trinity House, 6 June 1747, Miscellaneous Letters; Trinity House to Pulteney, 16 June 1747, Letter Book, Trinity House MSS.

60. Sedgwick, Commons 1715-54, i, 597.

Thomas Carter, son of William Carter, who 'relys on and doubts not his being well Supported amongst the Placemen'[61]. Richard Sykes of Sledmere considered offering his services, and when he was known to have 'given up all thoughts of standing', Sir William Milner contemplated becoming a candidate[62]. Finally the two government candidates were Thomas Carter and Lord Robert Manners, a son of the second Duke of Rutland and brother-in-law of Henry Pelham[63]. They were opposed by Richard Crowle, younger brother of George, who stood without his brother's support. George plumped for Manners at the poll, the relationship between the brothers was not good[64]. Lord Robert enjoyed a virtual monopoly of the Customs House Officers' votes: of the 42 cast, 37 plumped for him, and of the five split votes three voted also for Carter and two for Crowle[65]. Once more the corporation made some attempt to regulate the admission of freemen: none were admitted three days before the election, and the order of 26 March 1741, concerning the patrimony of those born outside the town, was repealed[66]. At the poll Lord Robert received 594 votes, Carter 559 and Richard Crowle 353 The election passed off quietly enough, as at Southampton, but at Lincoln the contest was described as 'severe and costly'[67].

In 1753 Henry Pelham tried to persuade Richard Sykes of Sledmere to stand with Lord Robert, but he declined[68]. In the same year he informed Newcastle, 'Crowle, the lawyer is making way at Hull... I had rather another man than Crowle', and in April 1754 the duke noted: 'Mr West to send a letter to the collector at Hull, to be singly for Lord Robert Manners with orders to give their second

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61. Robinson to Sykes, 4 April 1747. Sykes MS., DDSY 101/97. See No. 81 .

62. Sir William Milner to Richard Sykes, 19 June 1747. Sykes MS., DDSY 101/47. See No. 82 .

63. Sedgwick, Commons 1715-54, ii, 241.

64. 1747 Poll Book (MS, copy in Hull Central Library); Letter Book of Thomas Hill, Attingham MSS., Shropshire Record Office. Entries for 8 July 1747, 24 July 1754.

65. 1747 Poll Book, passim.

66. B.B., ix, 101-2.

67. Bean, Northern Representation, 849; A. Temple Patterson, A History of Southampton. (London, 1966), i, 61-2; Hill, Georgian Lincoln, 87.

68. H. Pelham to Richard Sykes, 13 August 1753. Sykes MS., DDSY. 101/47. (See No. 83).

votes as he directs'[69]. Two other candidates made an appearance; Henry Maister son and grandson of previous members of the town; and a Mr Stephenson, who soon disappeared.[70] The poll was carried on with 'great warmth' for two days, and on the second day Maister declined, 'to preserve the peace of the town'[71]. The final figures were Crowle 724, Manners 496 and Maister 402.[72] Crowle was opposed by the government and, unlike his brother, never became a government supporter, being classified either as an Opposition Whig or once a Tory. A clearer Whig - Tory split was to be found at Newcastle upon Tyne, but Exeter produced two Tories, as did Leicester after a severe struggle[73]. When Crowle died in 1757 he was succeeded by a loyal follower of the Duke of Newcastle, Sir George Metham, who had property near Hull. Serious opposition was not anticipated[74]. Lady Townshend tried to secure the election of her favourite son, Roger, but his candidature vanished as mysteriously as it had started[75]. Lord Robert and Sir George were returned unopposed in 1761 as was the case at York, but they left nothing to chance, and a month before the polling date they began to canvass their supporters in the newspapers[76]. About this time hints were dropped that 'the four members for Hull and Hedon may be chose in one Interest'[77]. There was moreover, the rising power of the second Marquis of Rockingham who became high steward of Hull in 1766[78], and during his brief administration, Metham, who was poor, accepted a minor office which vacated his seat[79]. Rockingham and Savile recommended William

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69. Quoted in Sedgwick, Commons 1715-54, i, 279.
70. Public Advertiser, 20 April 1754.
71. York Courant, 23 April 1754.
72. ibid.
73. Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90, ii, 279; Sedgwick, Commons 1715-54, i, 350; Newton, Exeter, 63; V.C.H., Leics, 126-27.
74. ibid., ii, 133; Metham to Newcastle, 11 June 1757, B.L.Add.MSS., Newcastle Papers, 32871 f.286.
75. Namier and Brooke, Charles Townshend. (London, 1964), 33.
76. York Courant, 3, 10, 17, 24 March 1761; Stooks Smith, Contested Elections, 172.
77. Joseph Sill to [Rockingham], n.d., W.W.M. R.91/2.
78. B.B., ix, 363.
79. York Courant, 11 March 1766.

Weddell of Newby to the town[80]. There was no opposition, and the York Courant remarked: 'It is remarkable that the oldest Man living never knew an Election at that Place so much to the general Satisfaction of the Inhabitants'[81]. When he became member for Hull, Weddell was naturally a government supporter, but after the fall of the Rockingham administration he followed his patrons into the political wilderness. Manners on the other hand, supported every administration except that of Lord Rockingham.

The preliminaries of the general election of 1768 began early. Weddell hurried to Hull on 29 November having heard that Captain Thomas Lee of the Royal Navy, a native of the town, was about to arrive and begin a canvas[82]. Weddell wrote immediately to both Rockingham and Savile to engage their active support. Lee had some naval backers notably Sir Edward Hawke[83], and he claimed that the forty Custom House officials would vote for him. Weddell hoped for their second votes, and had written to the Duke of Grafton, First Lord of the Treasury, to secure his neutrality[84]. Lord Robert Manners also hastened to Hull, arriving on 4 December accompanied by Lord Granby. William Hammond, Rockingham's chief supporter in Hull, had been active since the middle of November[85]. He put the marquis and Savile fully into the picture[86], and during the early days of December dispatched regular accounts of the progress of the canvasses to Wentworth[87]. Weddell did likewise[88]. Lee also

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80. Rockingham to the Mayor, [March 1766], W.W.M. R1.592 (No.84)

81. York Courant, 18 March 1766.

82. William Weddell to Rockingham, 29 November 1767, Fitzwilliam MS., W.W.M. F.49/8. (No.85). In a letter of 18 November 1767, to Trinity House, Lee described himself as 'born in Hull, the son of an Elder Brethren of that House' (Miscellaneous Letters, Trinity House MS).

83. Edward Hawke (1705-81), Admiral of the Fleet, victor of Quiberon Bay, 1759. Made a baron in 1776. (D.N.B., ix, 192-200).

84. William Weddell to Rockingham, 29, 30 November 1767. Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.49/8, 11 (See No.85,88). No correspondence on this point survives in the Grafton MSS. at Bury St. Edmunds.

85. William Hammond to Sir George Savile, 14 November 1767. Fitzwilliam MS., W.W.M. F.49/7.

86. Hammond to Rockingham and Savile, 29 November 1767. Ibid., F.49/9, 10. (See Nos.86,87).

87. Hammond to Rockingham, 3, 7 December 1767. Ibid., F.49/13,16. (See Nos.90,93).

88. Weddell to Rockingham, 4, 6, 8, 13 December 1769. Ibid., F.49/14, 15, 17; R1, 914. (See Nos.91,92,94,95).

tried to enlist Rockingham's support, but met with a cool but polite refusal[89]. The canvas for Weddell was a success, and Hammond wrote jubilantly:

> '... almost every Person was Happy to Enlist under your Lordships Standard, I wish we Could ... have Catched this General Disposition we then might have played Some other Game, but now I am afraid It would be attended with too much Expence to attempt It and therefore I beleive for the present It will be most prudent to Rest It with Mr Weddell - but this I will begg Leave to Hint that the Second Man be who It will must Depend Greatly on your Lordship and Sir George Saviles Influence for His Success'

Lord Robert, already ailing, after the first day's work was over, acknowledged himself in the 'Greatest Distress from the Disagreeable Receptions He had met with'. As for Lee's 'Bold Stroke' Hammond could not 'concive any Solid Business must arise from it'[90]. Minor local squabbles were of course involved, concerning the shipbuilder Benjamin Blaydes and the irascible Henry Etherington[91], but by the beginning of 1768, there seemed little doubt of the result, and on 17 March the figures were Weddell 774, Manners 545 and Lee 308 votes[92]. A comfortable victory, but hardly a ten to one majority as Hammond claimed[93]. The Corporation acted with restraint admitting large numbers of freemen on 10 December 1767, 14, 20 January 1768 and finally on 10 March, a week before the election, but no more. They also insisted that freedom by purchase should not be for less than thirty guineas. Local organizations were important in Hull as in other places. Political clubs played a key role in Bristol and Wiltshire, for example.[94]

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89. Rockingham to Weddell, 1 December 1767. Ibid., F.49/12 (No.89).
90. Hammond to Rockingham, 7 December 1767. Ibid., F.49/16 (No.93).
91. Hammond to Rockingham, 3 December 1767, 18 March 1768. Ibid., F.49/13, 19. (Nos.90,97).
92. York Courant, 22 March 1768.
93. Hammond to Rockingham, 18 March 1768. Fitzwilliam MS. W.W.M. F.49/19. (No.97).
94. B.B., ix, 375-6; Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90, i, 284; V.C.H., Wilts., 200-201.

By 1774 the situation had greatly changed. Reading between the lines of the surviving correspondence it would seem that Hammond became over-ambitious and wished to bring in two Rockingham members. Although the marquis was High Steward, he was in opposition and the town had no wish to sever its useful connection with government. So it was probably for this reason that the Corporation resolved on 9 August 1774 that the mayor should write to Manners to acquaint him 'that this Corporation highly approved of his Lordship's being Continued one of the Representatives in Parliament of this Town'. They made their attitude even clearer by admitting a number of freemen on that day, and only one more before the ensuing election in October[95]. Weddell was not popular at Hull and had come under criticism. He and Manners, at the request of leading gentlemen of the town, had withdrawn the contribution they had usually made to the plate competed for at Hull races[96]. This seeming affront provided an opening for a new candidate, another naval officer, Captain Thomas Shirley, a brother of Earl Ferrers. Weddell was also accused of neglecting the business of the town. Rockingham, though admitting that Weddell's health had restricted his activities, denied that Hull had suffered. Weddell, he argued, should be regarded as a middleman between his constituents and Rockingham and Savile. 'Indeed I consider', he wrote, 'Lord Robert or any member who stands upon Ministerial Interest rather as a Middle Man for private jobs for Individuals, and the Member at our Recommendation as the Middle Man for all publick benifits to the Town of Hull'[97]. In the election Weddell did not stand. He was replaced by David Hartley, a close friend of Savile, who had probably originally been intended as Weddell's colleague. But it was by no means certain that Hartley would win a seat. Lord John Cavendish heard rumours that Shirley would be successful, he wrote from York 'The news of this town is that Shirley will carry Hull, but S^{r} W. Anderson from the E. Riding says the Contrary'[98].

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95. B.B., ix, 434-35.

96. Rockingham to Hammond, 9 August 1774; Rockingham to Savile, 9 August 1774; Savile to Lady Rockingham, 10 August 1774. Rockingham MSS., W.W.M. R1/1496, 1497, 1498. (See Nos. 98, 99, 100).

97. ibid., R1/1496.

98. Cavendish to Rockingham, n.d. ibid., R1-1000.

Hartley's canvass began on 23 August, and Savile visited Hull on his behalf[99]. Hammond joined in with his usual energy and organized his son and Hartley's brother to canvas Hull voters in London[100], and to ensure the speedy dispatch of the writ[101]. At first Rockingham was sceptical of Hartley's success, and in a letter to the duke of Portland referred to the election as a 'very awkward and disagreeable business'[102]. Handbills and paragraphs in the press underlined his canvas[103], and on election day, 12 October the voting figures were Manners 1065, Hartley 646, Shirley 581 Surprisingly, considering his views on imperial conciliation, Hartley made no display of his sympathy for the American colonists. At Bristol, his fellow-conciliator, Edmund Burke, spoke on the hustings in support of Rockingham's policy. America was also an important issue in London and Westminster, and the county of Middlesex, but was a minor issue at Worcester, Southwark, Newcastle upon Tyne and Great Yarmouth.[104]

The narrowness of his defeat moved Shirley to take action. In a paragraph which appeared in the local newspapers he deplored 'the many Non-Freemen and Paupers under Clerical Influence, who were allowed to vote', and berated the Sheriff for refusing him a scrutiny. These 'unconstitutional measures', he said, necessitated a petition to the House of Commons[105]. Hammond immediately urged Hartley's brother to engage counsel in London[106]. The mayor of Hull admitted to Hartley that there had been some confusion in making

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99. Savile to Rockingham, 27 August 1774. ibid., R1-1502 (No.101)

100. Hammond to David Hartley, 12 September 1774; Hammond to Winchcombe Hartley 14, 24 September, 6 October 1774. Hartley MS. D.EHy. 017/1/1,2; F.113/27, 31.

101. Hammond to Winchcombe Hartley, 5 October 1774. Ibid., D.EHy. F113/36 (See No.105).

102. Rockingham to Portland, 7 October 1774, Portland MS., PWF.9085.

103. Handbill addressed to the 'Worthy Burgesses of Kingston upon Hull', Hartley MS., D/EHy 08/3; York Courant, 11 October 1774.

104. Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90, i. 434; Rockingham to Portland 15 October 1774, Portland MS, PWF.9088; Leeds Mercury, 25 October 1774. As in previous elections customs officers supported Lord Robert as the government candidate. Of the 44 votes cast by these men, 35 plumped for Manners, and of the remaining nine, seven split between Manners and Shirley, and two between Manners and Hartley (1774 Poll Book, passim. See Appendix II). J. Brooke, The House of Commons 1754-90. (London 1968), 109.

105. York Courant, 18 November 1774; Leeds Mercury, 18 November 1774.

up the poll books which differed slightly from each other, but this did not materially affect the outcome of the election[107]. Shirley's petition was presented on 6 December 1774 and was to be heard on 10 March 1775[108]. His agent, John Baxby, had visited Hull and annoyed Trinity House by demanding to see their records concerning the election. However nothing came of the petition and Shirley withdrew it on 24 February[109], to the relief of the Mayor and Hartley's supporters[110], but Hartley was nevertheless faced with a bill of over £600 in preparing to answer the charges[111].

The election of Hartley, though it meant that the parliamentary Opposition kept one of the seats at Hull was really more pleasing to Savile than to Rockingham. Hartley was never really accepted by the Rockingham group, and the marquis made no attempt to sustain him at the following election[112]. The new member proved earnest and intelligent, though notorious for his long-winded speeches, but he alienated his constituents. The explanation of Hartley's extraordinary unpopularity at Hull is not easy to discover. It may be that he refused to pay polling money, or was just very economical in his expenditure[113]. Certainly his public criticism of the views of the Corporation on the American war did not endear

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106. Hammond to Winchcombe Hartley, 19 October 1774, Hartley MS., D/EHy. F113/38. (See No.107)

107. Ralph Darling to David Hartley, 7, 13 December 1774., Oakes Deeds, O.D.1393/161, 162. (Sheffield Central Library) (See Nos.110, 111).

108. C.J., xxxiv, 20, 133; Oakes Deeds, O.D.1380/552.

109. C.J., xxxiv, 151.

110. Ralph Darling to David Hartley, 20 February 1775, James Smith to Hartley [26 February 1775], Hartley MSS., D/EHy.017/1/3,4; W. Hammond to the Mayor of Hull, 9 March 1775, Oakes Deeds, O.D.1380/523. (See No.114-116). These may be compared with Hammond to Trinity House, 15, 22, 23 February, 1, 10 March 1775, Trinity House MSS.

111. Receipt of William Hammond for this amount, 9 May [1775], Hartley MS., D.EHy.017/1.

112. Rockingham to Portland, 22 September 1780, Portland MS., PWF. 9144.

113. Hammond to W. Hartley, 24 September 1774, Hartley MS., D.EHy. 017/12. (See No.104).

him to the bench[114]. He may also have suffered from the rising anti-Catholic feeling which had its most spectacular demonstration in the Gordon riots of 1780[115]. At any rate in 1780 the town was eager to see him go.

It was at this election that the young William Wilberforce, a local man prepared to spend money, appeared as a candidate. As early as mid-May 1780 Wilberforce began his canvas, and approached the corporation and Trinity House[116]. Towards the end of the month Lord Robert also declared his candidature, although too ill to pay a personal visit[117]. Hartley's supporters such as William Waller, Thomas Wharrie and Thomas Wasney rallied to his side[118] and forced him to declare himself[119]. Several printed handbills duly appeared in the town, and outvoters were canvassed[120]. However Wilberforce was winning the day: he too canvassed outvoters to considerable effect in Yorkshire and received pledges of support[121]; local characters such as the pugilist butcher Johnny Bell was not neglected[122]. London voters - said to be in the region of 300 - were

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114. G.H. Guttridge, David Hartley M.P., An Advocate of Conciliation, 1774-83. University of California Publications in History, xiv (1925-6), 271, 291-2.

115. William Waller to D. Hartley, 10 June 1780, Hartley MS., D.EHy. 017/2/56. (See No. 169)

116. Benjamin Pead to D. Hartley, 19, 26 May 1780. Ibid., D.EHy. 017/2/48,49. (See Nos. 158, 159).

117. Thomas Williamson to D. Hartley, 26 May 1780; Lord Robert Manners to the Mayor of Hull, 29 May 1780. Hartley MS., D.EHy. 017/2/50; H.R.O. BRL. 1386/58. (See Nos. 160, 162).

118. William Waller to D. Hartley, 27 May 1780; Thomas Wharrie to Hartley, 1 June 1780; Thomas Wasney to Hartley, 3 June 1780. Hartley MSS., D.EHy.017/2/51-53. (See Nos. 161, 165, 166).

119. D. Hartley to the Mayor, 30 May 1780. H.R.O. BRL. 1386/59. (See No. 164).

120. See, for example, Hartley MSS., D.EHy.016/4-6, 9, 10. In addition see Pead to Hartley, 6 June 1780; Waller to Hartley, 10 June 1780; Pead to Hartley, 20 June 1780. Ibid., D.EHy.017/2/54, 56-7. (See Nos. 168-70).

121. Replies were received from Robert Bartlett (25 May 1780), William Bethell (30 May), William St. Quintin (25 June, 16 July), Henry Tomlinson (30 June), Robert Faulding (2 September), and John Benson (22 September). They are in the Wilberforce MSS., Wilberforce House, Hull.

122. R.I. and S. Wilberforce, Life, i, 13-14.

entertained in the public houses of Wapping[123]. His birthday was celebrated by a lavish ox-roasting[124]. Hartley feared defeat by the beginning of August[125] and a month later his apprehensions were confirmed: Wilberforce secured 1126 votes, Lord Robert was safe home with 673, whilst Hartley trailed with 453. Hartley had annoyed his supporters over his stand on America and his support of catholic relief. Similarly at Bristol Burke had angered his constituents over the same issues, and also in his support of the proposals to relax the Irish trade laws, and to ameliorate the penalties for debt. Perhaps more importantly, he made no attempt to co-operate with his fellow M.P., Henry Cruger.[126]

This, however was not the end. Manners was ill and Hartley's supporters began to organize themselves into a club[127]. Rumours spread of a peerage for Wilberforce[128], but in May 1782 Manners death provided the sought after vacancy. Hartley appealed to the burgesses[129] and was returned without opposition on 6 June 1782[130]. This election was held during the second Rockingham Administration when Hartley was a government supporter. Robert Manners, son of Lord Robert, and Henry Thornton canvassed the town but did not stand; Thornton objected to paying polling money[131].

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123. ibid., 14. For Wilberforce's success with out-voters, see Appendix II.

124. ibid., 15.

125. Hartley to Portland, 7 August 1780, Portland MS., PWF.4875. (See No.171).

126. Hull Poll Book for 1780, 31; York Courant, 19 September 1780; Underdown, Burke and Bristol, 13-17.

127. George Taylor to Hartley, 10 February 1782, Hartley MS., D.EHy.017/3/4. (See No.172).

128. William Wilson to Hartley, 3 April 1782, Hartley MS., D.EHy. 017/3/9. (See No.173).

129. D. Hartley to the Hull Burgesses, 1 June 1782 [draft]. Hartley MS., D.EHy.016/2/15. (See No.174).

130. Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90, i, 434; York Courant, 11 June 1782; Leeds Mercury, 12 June 1782.

131. [Lord Robert Manners] to the Hull Burgesses, 19 July 1782, Hartley MS., D.EHy.016/2/16; Henry Thornton's 'Recollections' in 'Notebooks containing family letters copied by Marianne Thornton and Laura Mary Forster', ff.16-19, Cambridge University Library Add.MSS., 7674/1/N, (See Nos.175, 176)

In the political confusion which followed Rockingham's death in July 1782, Hartley became attached to the Fox-North coalition[132] while Wilberforce became its opponent. Rumours of a general election had spread towards the end of June, and besides the sitting members, Manners, Samuel Thornton and a Commodore Thompson of Hull were said to be potential candidates[133]. Hartley may have been unsure of his chances,and one of his supporters, William Thompson began to canvas Beverley to the perplexity of the Mayor of Hull[134]. The expected dissolution of Parliament did not happen, but Thornton canvassed Hull with an eye to a future election, and Manners applied himself to Hull voters in London[135]. The question of polling money was again aired. Hartley was encouraged by Richard Sykes to give each burgess a guinea, but he would not pay out for a future election[136].

Two years later this election materialised and whilst Hartley suffered from the general unpopularity of the coalition, his frugality was doubtless remembered. Wilberforce stood jointly with his cousin, Samuel Thornton, a wealthy member of the merchant class whose family had close connections with the Baltic trade so important to Hull. After attending the county meeting at York on 25 March, Wilberforce hastened to Hull for a busy four days' canvassing. He received 867 votes (including 72% of outvoters), Thornton 751 and the unfortunate Hartley 357. His intention to sit for the county if elected, did not impair his victory at Hull, the only

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132. Richard Sykes to Hartley, 6 August 1782, Hartley MS., D.EHy. 017/3/73. (See No.187)

133. Marmaduke Collins to Hartley, 22 June 1782, ibid., D.EHy.017/ 3/40. (See No.177)

134. William Thompson to Hartley, 14 July 1782; Mayor of Hull to Hartley, 10 July 1782, ibid., D.EHy.017/3. (See Nos.179,178).

135. Thomas Wasney to Hartley (30 July 1782), Daniel Tong to Hartley (1 August), Richard Sykes to Hartley (6 August), William Wilberforce to Lord St. John (30 July). ibid., D.EHy. 017/3/67, 68, 73; Wilberforce MS., MS. Eng. 415(48), Boston, Mass. Public Library (photocopy). (See Nos.182-84,187).

136. Richard Sykes to Hartley, 2, 6, 18 August 1782, Hartley MSS., D.EHy.017/3/70, 73, 74. (See Nos.185,187,188).

visible manifestation of resentment was the snowballing he received on his triumphal procession home. The Fitzwilliam interest suffered badly in Yorkshire generally: Cavendish and Milner were defeated at the city of York, and Foljambe and Weddell declined the poll for the county[137].

On Wilberforce's departure both government and opposition forces had hurriedly to look round for a candidate to stand in the resulting by-election. The Fitzwilliam interest, as successor to the Rockingham interest, would have liked Lord John Cavendish to stand after his defeat at York, but could not persuade him to face another contest, in spite of the efforts of the Sykes family[138]. Government supporters sought the services of Robert Manners, but Manners wrote that he had considered contesting Hull at the general election, but had feared to divide his father's old friends 'by my coming down, and by that means bringing in Mr Hartley'. He was in any case engaged for the succeeding Parliament, being elected for Great Bedwyn at government expense[139]. Wilberforce gave his support to Walter Spencer Stanhope who had assisted his candidature for the county, a choice endorsed by Pitt[140]. Stanhope left nothing to chance. For two months his appeal appeared in the York Courant and various men of consequence in Hull and the West Riding were solicited for support. Most of May and June he spent canvassing the town[141]. However as the opposition could not find a serious

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137. Wilberforce, Life, i, 59-60; Leeds Mercury, 6 April 1784; Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90, i, 441. See Appendex II.

138. Richard Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 16 April 1784, Fitzwilliam MS., X1603; James Smith to Spencer Stanhope, 16 May 1784, Spencer Stanhope MS., 60567/29. (See Nos.205, 212).

139. Robert Manners to John Stephenson, 6, 9 April 1784, ibid., 60567/1, 2; Pitt to Wilberforce, 18 April 1784, Wilberforce MS., Duke University Library, N.C. (photocopy). (See Nos.193, 195, 208).

140. Pitt to Wilberforce, 8 April 1784, Wilberforce, Life, i 60; Pitt to Stanhope, 10 April 1784, Spencer Stanhope, Memoirs, iii, n.p. (See Nos.194, 197).

141. York Courant, 20, 27 April, 4, 11, 18, 25 May, 3, 9 June 1784. . Bethell to Stanhope (9 April 1784), R.S. Milnes to Stanhope (11 April), W. Hammond to Stanhope and Philip Green to Stanhope (14 April). Spencer Stanhope MSS., 60567/3, 5, 9, 11. (See Nos.196, 199, 202, 203). Cf. Spencer Stanhope, Memoirs, iii, n.p.

candidate, Stanhope was elected almost without a contest. Hartley considered standing, writing a pro-reform pamphlet to his electors, but this came to nothing. Hull was not unique in two 1784 elections, Leicester followed suit but in a different order[142].

From 1784 to 1790 Hull was represented by two government supporters, Stanhope and Thornton, but clearly the Opposition was not prepared to acquiese in the total loss of the town. Stanhope had not been the genuine choice of the town and was not eager to spend money[143]. In February 1785 his agent, James Smith, reported

'The Sailors who were absent grumble hard and will certainly oppose you strenuously at a future Election, As will also the numerous Outvoters in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire who have sent in long lists and insist that they are equally well intitled with the Hull Burgesses - If you wish to promote and keep up your interest here it would be adviseable to pay <u>all</u> but it will be attended with great expence and you will consider that if you break into the line of distinction the business of the Election will be to go over again. However it is my duty to lay the matter fairly before you and you must judge and determine for yourself - Mr Foster of Selby Sent Me a long list of Burgesses in that Neighbourhood who had declared for you - And the Gainsbro' Brigg Lincoln and Grimsby Voters sent in their Names in expectation of being paid - But I gave a flat refusal to all who had not come to Hull in your favor'[144]. Stanhope does not seem to have been prepared to spend more money, moreover he seems to have lost the support of Trinity House[145].

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142. Richard Moxon to Fitzwilliam, 17 April 1784; Joseph Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 18 April 1784; Richard Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 3 May 1784. Fitzwilliam MSS., X1603, 4. (See <u>Nos.206-7, 210</u>). Hartley's pamphlet was entitled, 'Address to the Mayor and Corporation, Wardens and Corporation of Trinity House, and Worthy Burgesses of Hull'. There is a copy in the library of Merton College, Oxford. It also appeared in the press a little later: York <u>Courant</u>, 20, 27 July 1784. For Leicester see <u>V.C.H., Leics</u>., 135-6.

143. <u>V.C.H., Hull</u>, 204.

144. James Smith to Stanhope, 19 February 1785. Spencer Stanhope MS., 60571/3. (See <u>No.217</u>).

145. Hammond to Fitzwilliam, 16 November 1788. Fitzwilliam MS., Box 39. (See <u>No.222</u>).

Fitzwilliam considered 'the interest which Sir George [Savile] and my uncle [Rockingham] kept up there is still alive; ... its defeat was owing to its unfortunate champion: of all men David Hartley was the worst for that purpose'[146]. He therefore selected as his candidate his wife's nephew the Earl of Burford, heir to the Duke of St. Albans. Burford had recently married the niece, and former ward of Sir Henry Etherington, the rich and influential Hull merchant[147]. Stanhope visited Hull in early November 1788 to discover how much support he could expect[148]. An observer informed Fitzwilliam, 'he has pressed the leading People to declare themselves - they have uniformly given him for Answer - it is Time enough yet - the truth is they do not mean to elect him - he was distasteful to them when he came in, he has continued so and his behaviour now is by no means conciliatory - Hammond whom he values as his most intimate friend has told him so - he stands ill with both gentle and simple and declared he will hazzard no money'[149].

At the same time Thornton was regarded as secure: 'his interest here is in some degree establishd his Commercial Concerns at this place his Connections with the Dissenters and Methodists and other matters will fix him at the next Election'[150]. Burford could certainly count on the support of the Sykeses[151], but his candidature ran into some difficulties for Etherington was totally opposed to his standing. Etherington himself was a friend of Stanhope and a government supporter, and he stressed the difficulties that an Opposition

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146. H.M.C., Foljambe MSS., 15th Report, Appendix, pt.IV, 159-60.

147. The financial history of this match may be followed in the manuscript account in Spencer Stanhope, Memoirs, iii, passim. This was printed in A.M.W. Stirling, Annals of a Yorkshire House. (London, 1911), ii, 206-15.

148. The day to day peregrinations of this visit are chronicled in the manuscript diary kept by Stanhope, deposited at Sheffield. (Spencer Stanhope MSS., 60635, viii, passim.).

149. Joseph Beckett to Fitzwilliam, 11 November 1788. Fitzwilliam MS., Box 39. (See No.220).

150. Hammond to Fitzwilliam, 16 November 1788. ibid. (See No.222).

151. R. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 23 November 1788. ibid. (See No.223).

candidate would have to face - the support in Hull for the government and its members, the opposition to the power of the Dock Company, and also the expense he would encounter[152]. Burford, not wishing to oppose Etherington's wishes, temporarily withdrew in December 1788[153].

At this point Fitzwilliam suggested that Sir George Savile's nephew Francis Ferrard Foljambe might care to stand, and Richard Sykes applauded the idea of an outsider[154]. Nothing came of this. Etherington, however, was finally manoeuvred into saying that he would not oppose Burford, but would merely retire from the town to his estate at Ferriby[155]. When he tried to reassert his opposition Fitzwilliam explained: 'the business was originally begun, as a mark of attention from one of Lord B's family to Sir H: - it was drop'd on his expressing a disapprobation of it - it was reviv'd under sanction of his Letter of May the 12 [1789] - and it must be pursued for the sake of my honor, which is concern'd in not perpetually changing without a change of circumstances'[156].

Another difficulty was the ambiguous position of William Hammond. Apart from some friendship for Stanhope, Hammond was also embarrassed by the fact that his son had entered the diplomatic service under the patronage of the Foreign Secretary, the Duke of Leeds. It was awkward for him to support an Opposition candidate, especially with the arrival of his son en route for Denmark just before the election[157]. But when it came to the point both Etherington

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152. Sir Henry Etherington to Fitzwilliam, 25, 26 May 1789. ibid., Box.40. (See Nos.244-5).

153. Burford to Fitzwilliam, 30 November, 12 December 1788. ibid., Box.39. (See Nos.229-30).

154. H.M.C., Foljambe, 159-60; R. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 29 January 1789. Fitzwilliam MS., Box.40. (See Nos.234, 236)

155. Etherington to Fitzwilliam, 12 May 1789. ibid. (See No.241).

156. Fitzwilliam to Etherington, endorsed on Etherington to Fitzwilliam, 2 June 1789. ibid. (See No.246).

157. Hammond to Fitzwilliam, 11, 15 June 1790. ibid., Box.41, X1604. See Nos.251, 258).

and Hammond played their part in ensuring Burford's return. The Sykeses suggested to Fitzwilliam that Burford's candidature be kept secret to prevent a second government nominee from taking Stanhope's place,'and because the whole Body of inferior Burgesses are so obstinately attached to every Administration; that one of our Friends, should start at the Post; before they know he will ride in Buff Blue'[158]. Burford's position was strong: over 1,100 burgesses promised to vote for him[159], and Thornton seemed to have been so impressed that he promised not to join with another candidate[160]. Some attempts were made to find an opponent: John Porter and Robert Broadley,local merchants, Robert Manners, Wilberforce, and even Captain Shirley were mentioned[161], as was the sheriff of Yorkshire, Henry Duncombe, and on the day of the election Mr Cracroft, a Lincolnshire gentleman appeared but 'very genteely gave up his Intentions'[162]. Thornton delayed producing the writ, but Richard Sykes reported to Fitzwilliam,'Mr Thornton finding they could make no opposition has produced the writ today [16 June] which he says was left in his servant's pocket who arrived on Saturday night [12 June], and who took it for a piece of diachylon'[163]. Burford made his entrance into Hull on 14 June 1790[164], and on the same day

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158. R. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 18 May 1790, ibid., Box 40. (See No.243).

159. R. Sykes to Fitzwilliam,n.d., ibid., X516/5. (See No.271).

160. R. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 20 June 1790. ibid., Box 41. (See No.268).

161. Henry Broadley to Fitzwilliam, 10 November 1788, 2 May 1789. ibid., Boxes 30 and 40. (See Nos.219,240); Etherington to Fitzwilliam, 12 May 1789, ibid.; Box 40 (See No.241); Joseph Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 16 June 1790. ibid., Box.41. (See No.262); Burford to Fitzwilliam, 4 October 1790. ibid., Box 40 (See No.249). York Courant and Leeds Mercury, 22 June 1790.

162. Hammond to Fitzwilliam, 21 June 1790, ibid., Box.41 (See No.273); R. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 'Monday, Eleven O'Clock', ibid., Box. X516/5 (See No.271).

163. R. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, [15 June 1790], ibid., Box.X516/6; J. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 16 June 1790, ibid., Box.41. (See Nos.259,262).

164. John Staniforth to John Beckett, 14 June 1790; Hammond to Fitzwilliam, 14 June 1790. ibid., Box.41. (See Nos.256,257). A pamphlet was issued supporting Burford, printed in Hadley, History of Hull, 487-91.

Stanhope declined the poll, recording in his diary, 'did not sleep a wink the whole night very unwell, determined to give up to the great disappointment of my Friends'. He left Hull the next morning before 5 a.m.[165] Burford and Thornton were thus returned unopposed, and Hammond commented in conclusion 'we had not to Encounter those animadversions which was the Clamour at the last Elections no Names or party abuse all is seemingly forgot and it is to me a good Sign that the Country is again in a state of Recovery'. Similarly at York Milnes and Milner were returned unopposed. There was no contest at Leicester, to the anger of the burgesses who caused a disturbance[166].

Burford did not stand at the general election of 1796, despite the fact that Richard Sykes reported to Fitzwilliam: 'There would have been no Opposition at Hull to Lord Burford, whose name was very popular with the Mob'[167]. His retirement was due to changes in national politics. His patron Lord Fitzwilliam, had gone over to Pitt with the rest of the Portland Whigs in 1794 - one of the major political consequences of the French Revolution. But after his unhappy experience as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Fitzwilliam had ceased to be on good terms with either Pitt or Portland. Moreover he was defying the tide by remaining opposed to peace with France, and declared to his and Burford's friends at Hull 'we have now the mortification of finding ourselves left almost single, and without prospect of supporting those opinions with success — thus circumstanced we feel, that to make any great effort would be to give Trouble to our friends in a hopeless cause'[168]. Burford announced his intention in May 1796, but seems to have taken the decision in the previous September. At that time Richard Sykes recommended the

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165. Stanhope's diary, X, entries for 14, 15 June 1790. (Spencer Stanhope MS. 66635).

166. Hammond to Fitzwilliam, 21 June 1790, Fitzwilliam MS., Box 41, (See No.273); Stooks Smith, Contested Elections, 173; V.C.H., Leics., 136.

167. R. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, [30 May 1796]. Fitzwilliam MS. W.W.M. F.34/205. (See No.280).

168. Draft letters to Hull, May 1796. ibid., W.W.M. F.115/70,73 (See Nos.278-9); Hull Advertiser, 21 May 1796.

matter be kept quiet to prevent the early appearance of an opposition candidate, in particular Etherington was to be kept in the dark until the right moment[169].

With Burford out of the running two candidates were in the field: Samuel Thornton retained his popularity; and Stanhope stood again with the support of Pitt and Wilberforce[170]. However at the last moment, a third candidate appeared, Sir Charles Turner of Kirk Leatham Hall[172]. The result was a strenuous and expensive contest. For the first time a Hull newspaper gave a full account of the election and the townspeople did not have to rely on the brief references contained in journals produced at York and Leeds. There was a lively exchange of Biblical parodies and songs, gathered together after the election and published as a pamphlet[173]. The Corporation admitted freemen up to and including the days of the election and pointedly thanked Thornton for his 'unremitted attention to duties' during the last session of parliament[174]. Whatever implicit support he may have received from the Bench, Thornton almost lost his seat because of the cry that he favoured 'barley bread' for the poor at a time when the price of wheat was high - there had been a serious riot over the price of flour in April[175].

Turner arrived at the prompting of the grocer Thomas Scatherd, promised to be a friend of the poor, to re-establish the annual horse races, and ordered large casks of ale to be given to the people[176].

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169. R. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 25 September 1795, 12 May 1796. ibid., W.W.M. F.42/51, F.115/71. (See Nos.276,277).

170. Wilberforce, Life, ii, 148-49.

171. Hull Advertiser, 28 May, 4 June 1796. Arthur Maister to John Maister, 2 June 1796, Maister MS., D.A.S. 26/6 (Hull University Library). (See No.281).

172. Charles Turner (1773-1810), succeeded his father as second baronet in 1783. Ex.Inf. History of Parliament Trust.

173. Chapters, Songs etc. circulated during the late Election at Hull. (Hull, 1796), passim.

174. B.B., x, 253-9, passim.

175. Hull Advertiser, 30 April 1796.

176. A. Maister to J. Maister, 2 June 1796, Maister MS., D.A.S. 26/6; Charters, Songs etc., (1796), 11.

This largesse cost him over £8,000[177]. Wilberforce helped Stanhope[178] in his canvas and at the end of the first day of the poll he was sixty one votes ahead of Thornton and just one in front of Turner[179]. Throughout the night and the following morning the Sykeses worked hard and by the time the poll closed Thornton was secure[180]. Richard Sykes reported to Fitzwilliam: 'It appeared to me that Sir C. Turner was more likely in some future arrangement of things, to be of your Lordship's Party, than Stanhope; on this account, and to keep up our interest at Hull, I joined him. We brought him into Security first; and then elected Thornton, who would have been 200 votes behind Stanhope, but for our Assistance; and of this, Thornton and his Friends are well aware'[181]. Turner headed the poll with 886 votes, Thornton 733 and Stanhope 715[182]. A good deal of bitterness was felt by Stanhope's friends at this result. They felt that Thornton had let them down. Stanhope's agent indeed reported that many felt that Stanhope had really been elected and a scrutiny was hinted at. But of course the result could not be challenged as Thornton and Stanhope were political allies. York again was peaceful with no contest, but the Pittite members for Leicester faced a sharp contest[183].

Sir Charles Turner proved a most unsatisfactory member[184]. He was the first candidate who could be described as successful Third Man - that is a person nominated purely to make a contest. The voters had long established their right to be paid for their votes whether there was a contest or not. Nevertheless a poll was an exhilarating affair, accompanied as it was by a plentiful supply of liquor and other benefits. While some

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177. R.C. Broadley to Sir Christopher Sykes, 18 June 1796. Sykes MS., DDSY 101/67.

178. Wilberforce, Life, i, 149-50.

179. Hull Advertiser, 28 May 1796.

180. ibid., 4 June 1796.

181. R. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, [30 May 1796], Fitzwilliam MS., W.W.M. F.34/205.

182. Poll Book for 1796.

183. Edward Codd to Stanhope, 16 June 1796, Spencer Stanhope MS., 60570/13. (See No. 282); Stooks Smith, Contested Elections. 173; V.C.H., Leics., 136.

184. During the years Turner sat for Hull, 1796-1802, no letter to or from him survives in the Corporation archives. (H.R.O. BRL. 1708-1790, passim.)

earlier contenders for the honour of representing Hull might be described as Third Men, the evil did not become fully mature until the election of 1796. A Third Man required assurances of support in order to stand at all, and sufficient support was usually promised to give a good chance of victory. Once elected he could ignore his constituents, unless he were determined to stand again. If he did stand again he would no longer be a Third Man and would not have the support of the burgesses who had brought him into Parliament because they were determined that there should be a contest. Turner, all the evidence suggests, took little interest in the affairs of Hull. The Corporation addressed its requests to Thornton alone, describing him on one occasion as 'our Member in Parliament'[185]. The natural consequence was to increase Thornton's prestige especially after he had obtained the Dock Act of 1802[186]. Despite the weaknesses he had shown in 1796, Thornton therefore found himself certain of re-election in 1802. The three corporations - the Bench, Trinity House, and the Dock Company passed resolutions in his favour. The Bench indeed resolved with only one dissenting voice that it would 'collectively and individually exert themselves to secure his being elected a Member for this Borough in the ensuing Parliament'[187]. This was not all, he was accorded a public dinner and presented with his freedom in a gold box, and made an honorary Brethren of Trinity House[188].

In April 1801 Michael Angelo Taylor[189] persuaded William Joseph Denison to stand. Denison was a very wealthy merchant banker whose family had their roots in Hull; politically he was a supporter of Fox[190]. Fitzwilliam approved of him as his candidate, and the Sykeses

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185. B.B., x, 336. Entry for 7 October 1800.

186. The story of Thornton's work for the new dock may be followed in letters in the Corporation archives. (H.R.O. BRL. 1699-1764, passim).

187. B.B., x 366. Entry for 27 April 1802; Hull Advertiser, 26 June 1802.

188. B.B., x 369. Entries for 15, 22 June 1802; Hull Advertiser, 17 July 1802.

189. Michael Angelo Taylor, (?1757-1834). In a parliamentary career extending from 1784 until his death, he represented seven different constituencies, sitting for Poole on three occasions, and Durham twice. He was a prominent member of the Whig opposition under Fox and Grey. (Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90, iii, 517; Bean, Northern Representation, 156).

190. Robert Croft to Fitzwilliam, 11 April 1801. Fitzwilliam MS., W.W.M. F.36/1. (See No.284).

gave their support provided one of their Sledmere cousins stood[191]. Others such as Colonel Henry Maister proved somewhat cool[192]; Fitzwilliam paid a visit to Hull in the autumn of 1801 for a round of social activities, including a public dinner and a ball: 'all this for a little Election popularity - but I think we shall coax up an interest and give Mr. Denison a fair chance'. He ordered a buck and a stag to be sent to Hull to 'feed the Town with good things'[193]. At the end of the year Fitzwilliam became High Steward of Hull, in succession to the Duke of Leeds, although the Earl of Carlisle was mentioned as a rival candidate, and there was some opposition on the Bench[194].

Denison was criticised for not courting the burgesses immediately and remaining in London[195], and also for not paying due attention to the Hull delegates at Westminster to lobby for the Dock Act[196]. Fitzwilliam was urged to write to Trinity House and other prominent supporters without delay, as feelers for another candidate were being put out. 'There has lately appeared a greater wish for an Opposition', Robert Croft reported 'than was expected; A Mr. Cracraft a Gentleman in Lincolnshire has certainly been Applied to'[197]. Six hundred and seventy three of the burgesses got together and 'Signed a Paper to Support a Third Man'[198]. The immediate result of this move was a comedy. William Bell, a bookseller, announced his candidature, attacking corruption and, by implication, undertaking not to pay polling money. He congratulated the 673 burgesses who

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191. R. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 25 April 1801; W.J. Denison to Fitzwilliam, 11 September 1801, ibid., W.W.M. F.36/2, 4. (See No.285,287).

192. Henry Maister to Fitzwilliam, 9 May 1801. ibid., F.36/3. (See No.286)

193. Fitzwilliam to Lord Milton, September 1801. ibid., G.64/12,13.

194. Thomas Scatcherd to Robert Croft, 23 November 1801; Robert Croft to Fitzwilliam, 24 November 1801; Edward Codd to Fitzwilliam, 5, 16 December 1801; Thomas Scatcherd to Fitzwilliam, 3 March 1802. ibid., F.36/5,6,7., F.122/71,21. (See Nos.288-92). B.B. x, 357, 364-5. Entries for 4 December 1801, 2 March 1802.

195. Scatcherd to Fitzwilliam, 3 March, 19 May 1802, ibid., F.36/7,8. (See Nos.292-93).

196. Croft to Fitzwilliam, 22 May 1802 . ibid., F.36/9. (See No.294).

197. ibid.

198. Etherington to Fitzwilliam, 19 June 1802. ibid., F.36/14. (See No.299).

had decided to support a Third Man 'as that of course means me'. A little later he sadly confessed that he misunderstood the purposes of the burgesses and withdrew[199].

By that time the Third Man had been selected: John Staniforth, nephew and heir of Philip Green a wealthy Hull shipowner 'who Supports him with both his Purse and Interest neither of which is small'[200]. The result was that Denison found himself squeezed between two forces. Scatcherd reported to Fitzwilliam: 'Our Great Interest at this Place - has had a most severe Shock - The New Dock has coalesd all Partys, in favr of Thornton (This amongst the Rich)...and the Lower order with Philip Greens Interest are universal, for what they call a Third Man - This puts us betwixt Two'[201]. Daniel Sykes urged Fitzwilliam to solicit Philip Green's help in obtaining the second votes of Staniforth: 'our Success depends not a little upon the assistance we shall derive from the 2nd votes of Staniforth. Mr. Green inclines to favor us in this way, and I think a Letter from you would make that Inclination very decisive.' He suggested other precautions: 'if toward the conclusion of the Poll, our Defeat should appear inevitable, I propose to start a fourth Candidate who upon apolling a few votes may petition on the grounds of treating and Bribery; the Laws against which have been broken in my opinion by all the Candidates'[202].

Denison's opponents were indeed formidable: the three corporations supported Thornton and in the fortnight before the election the Bench admitted nearly 400 burgesses including several on the first day of the poll[203]; the songs and parodies which again circulated the town spoke of shouts of 'long live the Third Man', an enthusiasm underwritten by his uncle's wealth. The first day of the poll concluded with Thornton receiving 861 votes, and Staniforth and Denison 752 and 495 respectively. On the second day William

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199. Hull Advertiser, 12, 19 June 1802.

200. Etherington to Fitzwilliam, 19 June 1802. ibid.

201. Scatcherd to Fitzwilliam, 1 July 1802, ibid., F.36/18 (See No.303).

202. Daniel Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 1 July 1802. ibid., F.36/17. (See No.302).

203. Denison to Fitzwilliam, 7 July 1802. ibid., F.36/20. (See No.305); B.B., x, 368-90, passim; Gillett and MacMahon, History of Hull, 212.

Wrightson of Cusworth was nominated to take votes from Staniforth who countered this move by nominating Philip Green who might obtain a considerable share of the unpolled votes. After a short time, however, during which no votes were cast, the names of the two last candidates were withdrawn by mutual consent, and the vote went on as before. Finally William Bell again decided to stand as a token protest against corruption, although the excitement was such that he could not be heard. The final figures were: Thornton 1266; Staniforth, 1183; Denison, 767; Bell 3. Two Whigs were returned for Exeter after a quiet contest; on the other hand, Liverpool produced two Tories. At Leicester a London radical, Felix McCarthy, unsuccessfully put himself forward[204].

At Hull the defeated Bell thereupon petitioned the House of Commons, against Thornton's use of bribery and drink, the petition was signed by 25 burgesses[205]. Daniel Sykes explained to Fitzwilliam: 'Bell has continued hearty in the Cause and, at the expence of much Odium here and loss of Business in consequence of it.... His object is a Petition against Thornton only, He would at my Instance, I dare say, have made it against both. But I did not press him; as I wished to be able to say that he did not act under my directions: though at the same time I felt Mr. Denison's Cause to be more directly opposed to Staniforth than Thornton.... the Friends of the sitting Member are much alarmed. In consequence, from an Idea that Bell acts under my Influence, I have been repeatedly applied to, to use that Influence to stifle the Petition. I have as yet disclaimed all Authority over Bell, and have likewise refused to exercise it. And certainly I would not consent that the Petition should be stopped gratuitously. However if an offer should be proposed to procure Mr. Denison a Seat in the present Parliament by means of Mr. Thornton's friends, I think I should find no Dificulty in quieting Bell.'[206]

Sykes added that Bell had undertaken the work 'upon my single promise that he should be indemnified', and asked Fitzwilliam if

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204. Charters, Songs etc., (1802), 6; Hull Advertiser 10 July 1802; Newton, Exeter, 108; Stooks Smith, Contested Elections, 181; V.C.H., Leics., 138.

205. C.J., lxviii, 47-8, 60-2. Hull Advertiser, 1 January 1803.

206. D. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 12 November 1802. Fitzwilliam MS., Box X1605 (See No.308).

he would add to the £200 already promised by Denison[207]. Later Sykes told Fitzwilliam that Bell's petition had been withdrawn 'in conformity with our wishes and desires, meaning yours as well as mine'[208]. Bell applied to Fitzwilliam for a post for his son on the basis of a promise of service made on the withdrawal of the petition and received a favourable reply[209]. Other petitions had followed that of Bell, but came to nothing: one was presented against Staniforth and signed inter alia by Sir Henry Etherington, Aldermen William Osborne and John Melling, and Charles Shipman, an Elder Brethren of Trinity House; a second was directed against Thornton[210]. Both contained accusations of bribery. Thornton was securely returned, but not popular with the mob who 'demolished the Chair prepared for him, and would have torn him to pieces, if he had not escaped privately'[211].

The election of 1802 had again demonstrated the advantages of being a Third Man. In the ensuing general election, held in 1806 to strengthen the Ministry of All the Talents, this was again shown in a remarkable fashion. Fitzwilliam could count on the support of Trinity House whenever the election came[212], but Denison in October 1805, decided not to stand again and informed his patron: 'We know Thornton's Interest to be strong; and Mr S[taniforth] from his contracts, and always voting with the Minister , has obliged so many people, that it would require a good deal to beat him. An untried man, with the charm of novelty, would have the best chance of success. From my Politicks, and various local reasons, which it is unnecessary to detail to your Lordship, I have many Enemies there, which a new Candidate would not have!'[213] However a new man

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207. ibid.

208. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 25 November 1802. Fitzwilliam MS., W.W.M. F42/60. (See No.337).

209. William Bell to Fitzwilliam, ? November 1802. ibid., F36/34.

210. C.J., Iviii, 61-2; Hull Advertiser, 1 January 1803.

211. Denison to Fitzwilliam, 7 July 1802. Fitzwilliam MS., W.W.M. F36/20. (See No.305).

212. Scatcherd to Fitzwilliam, 21 October 1805, ibid., F41/3. (See No.309).

213. Denison to Fitzwilliam, 5 November 1805. ibid., F41/4, 5. (See No.310).

was not selected at this stage.

Thornton and Staniforth supported the Government, and were promised ministerial backing by Lord Grenville who also lent his favour to their claims to use local patronage against the interest of Fitzwilliam[214]. With the dissolution of Parliament Staniforth began to canvas Hull, he was reckoned to be in a very strong position, and Thornton 'very weak indeed', so weak that his son declared himself to be a candidate[215]. However Fitzwilliam considered it likely that the two would be returned without opposition and did not want to bear the expense of running an unsuccessful Third Man, so he took no direct part in the election[216]. Nonetheless he discreetly used his influence to secure the peaceful return of the existing members: he remarked to Lord Grenville 'I have done what I can to secure a peaceable election for the two old Members, and hope I have succeeded'. A few days later he said: 'I have done my best to keep Hull quiet'[217]. This, however, did not suit the burgesses who were determined that there should be a contest. Daniel Sykes proposed to Grenville, by way of Michael Angelo Taylor, that Taylor himself, 'or any other person of respectability might come in to the exclusion of Mr. Staniforth'. But Grenville refused underlining his support for Thornton and Staniforth[218]. A Third Man may have been sensed in the town, and during the three previous days and on polling day, the Bench admitted 260 new burgesses[219]. When the election began on 31 October Daniel and Richard Sykes put

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214. H.M.C., Fortesque, viii, 286, 288, 308. Thornton to Grenville, 27 August 1806; Grenville to Thornton, 28 August 1806; Staniforth to Grenville, 29 August 1806. B.L. Add.MSS., Grenville MSS., 59387 ff.48, 61, 65-6.

215. R. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 17 October 1806. Fitzwilliam MS., W.W.M. E210/10. (See No.311).

216. D. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 19 October 1806. ibid., E210/6.

217. H.M.C., Fortesque, viii, 392, 394. (See No.312). Hull Advertiser, 25 October 1806.

218. M.A. Taylor to Grenville, 23 October 1806; D. Sykes to Taylor, 22 October 1806; Grenville to Taylor, 25 October 1806. B.L. Add.MSS., Grenville MSS., 59390 ff.45, 47, 91. (See Nos. 313-15).

219. B.B., x, 471-79, passim.

up Denison to the delight of the assembled crowd, and the day's voting closed with Staniforth having 638 votes, Denison 582 and Thornton 422. The trend was continued the following day and the final figures were Staniforth 1133, Denison 1062 and Thornton 733.

It seems that Denison's candidature had been announced on 29 October and that Scatcherd had conducted a hasty campaign for him aided by Denison's ample resources[220]. However Richard Sykes assured Fitzwilliam that the 'signal victory' was obtained 'without giving any Liquor, and Ribbands, or having made any Canvas'[221]. The earl confessed to Grenville that this was done without his 'knowledge or interference'[222], and Daniel Sykes added his assurance: 'Mr. Thorntons friends at Hull will attribute our success there *a t* trick and management and are inclined to include your Lordship in the Conspiracy. The Idea is however contradicted by reason a Reference to the Poll Book, for all those whom your Lordship might be supposed to influence as the Moxons — Prance (for whom you got the promise of a Place) and others voted either against Denison or not at all — And I do assure you we never made use of your name or influence in any degree. The Election was gained by the unaccountable eagerness of the lower Class of voters together with some Dexterity in taking advantage of it.'[223] A further misunderstanding concerned alleged support by Fitzwilliam, a member of the cabinet, for Thornton a Ministerial candidate, but this seems to have been smoothed out by Richard Sykes[224]. After twenty two years Thornton had lost his seat, he was compensated by the official thanks of the town[225].

The fall of the government produced another election and Denison declined to stand partly because his agents had been 'unguardedly paying polling money' and a petition against this would make his

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220. Hull Advertiser, 1 November 1806; Hull Packet, 4 November 1806.

221. R. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, [31 October 1806]. Fitzwilliam MS., W.W.M. E210/11. (See No.316).

222. H.M.C., Fortesque, viii, 420-21.

223. D. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 13 December 1806, Fitzwilliam MS., Box 70. (See No.322).

224. R. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 14 December 1806. ibid. (See No.323).

225. B.B., x, 481. Samuel Thornton to the Mayor, 8 December 1806; Henry Maister et.al. to the Mayor, 26 December 1806. H.R.O. BRL. 1980, 1985. (See Nos.321,324).

seat untenable[226], and partly, it would seem, because of 'A Sort of Despair about the Country, and a weariness of the teizing Requests of his Constituents'[227]. Richard Sykes was forced to admit that Denison was 'not so popular as I could wish'[228], but he advised keeping the withdrawal secret and continuing a canvass[229]. An eminent Russian merchant Mr. Warse was rumoured to be standing and Daniel Sykes considered him 'against us in Politics and in every Respect a dangerous Man'[230]. The old friends of Thornton tried to put up his son, John Thornton, who had shown an interest in Hull in 1806[231]. The Sykeses suggested Lord Milton, - Fitzwilliam's son -, the Dundases and even Wilberforce, but nothing came of these[232]. This allowed Lord Mahon, heir to Earl Stanhope, to come to Hull with Denison's blessing, as it enabled him to stand as the Third Man[233]. Mahon was prepared to spend money, and he was reputed to have disbursed between three and four thousand pounds[234]. The Sykeses urged Fitzwilliam to persuade the mayor, Mr. Moxon, and Sir Henry Etherington to support him[235]. However John Thornton, like his uncle Henry, would not consider paying polling money, and announced that he could not accept a seat 'except on the terms of having the Free and unbought Suffrages of the Electors', and Staniforth and Mahon were returned without opposition. The two

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226. Denison to Fitzwilliam, 28 April 1807; D. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, R. 29 April 1807. Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F36/30,32 (See No. 329-30).

227. D. Sykes to Fitzwilliam. ibid., F36/30. (See No. 330).

228. R. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 28 April 1807. ibid., E171/4. (See No. 328).

229. R. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 30 April 1807. ibid., F36/33. (See No. 333).

230. D. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, [R. 29 April 1807]. ibid., F36/30.

231. Hull Packet, 5 May 1807; Hull Advertiser, 9 May 1807; R. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 17 October 1806. Fitzwilliam MS., W.W.M. E210/10. (See No. 311).

232. D. Sykes to Fitzwilliam,[R.29 April 1807]; R. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 20 April 1807. ibid., F36/31, 33.

233. Denison to Fitzwilliam, 30 April 1807. ibid., E171/2. See No. 332)

234. Ex.Inf., History of Parliament Trust., Fitzwilliam to Grenville, 18 September [1812]. B.L. Add.MSS., Grenville MSS, 58955, f.131 (See No. 342).

235. D. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, R. Sykes to Fitzwilliam [R.3 May 1807]. Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. E171/1, 3. (See Nos. 334-35).

elections were interesting elsewhere. Whig members were returned for Exeter without contests; at York the 1806 election was uncontested but in the following year Sir Mark Masterman Sykes of Sledmere unseated Lawrence Dundas, Liverpool had a more exciting time with both elections fought over seven and eight days respectively[236].

The next general election took place in 1812. Mahon's uncle Lord Carrington, head of the influential banking family of Smith, hoped to found a permanent interest at Hull 'but the principal agent falling into great indisposition, or, I rather believe, fatuity, this was found proper to be abandoned'[237]. Lord Mahon was out of the country, first in Malta and then Sicily, so Fitzwilliam tried to interest Robert Vyner of Gautby in the seat[238]. After this fell through he asked Lord Grenville to suggest a candidate[239]. However despite his absence and lack of popularity, Mahon was expected to be re-elected 'at a very modest expense'. 'I never knew the Whigs in greater force at Hull', wrote Daniel Sykes, 'Mr. Staniforth the Government Member is much afraid of an Opposition and will do any thing we please to forward Lord M's election or that of any other person we may propose'.[240] But there was still a determination among the burgesses to have a contest. George Blackman, a London merchant, was 'announced as the First Third Man, and one of our Townsmen as the Second'[241]. The latter was J.K. Picard[242].

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236. Hull Packet, 5 May 1807; Newton, Exeter, 110; Stooks Smith, Contested Elections, 173, 181-2.

237. Carrington to Grenville, 8 October 1812. B.L. Add.MSS., Grenville MSS., 58983, ff.190-91. (See No.344).

238. Lord Yarborough to Fitzwilliam, 14 September 1812. Fitzwilliam MS., W.W.M. F83/6. (See No.341).

239. Fitzwilliam to Grenville, 18 September [1812]. B.L. Add.MSS., Grenville MSS., 58955, f.131. (See No.342).

240. D. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 30 September [1812]. Fitzwilliam MS., W.W.M. F42/17. (See No.343).

241. Hull Rockingham, 3 October 1812.

242. A Selection of Squibs etc., circulated during the Election, (Hull, 1812), 41; Hull Advertiser, 10 October 1812.

Blackman however was slow in coming to Hull, and the burgesses therefore requested George William Denys, a relative of the Earl of Pomfret, who was on his way to contest Beverley, to stand in his place. Picard withdrew as he would not pay polling money[243], and when Blackman finally arrived he found Denys in possession of the field and could not stand[244].

Once again this was an exciting election: the Bench resolved to give their support to Staniforth, and freemen were admitted up to and including the first day of polling[245]; squibs and broadsheets circulated the town with cumbersome puns on Blackman's name and insinuating queries as to the background of Denys[246]. No candidate dare oppose the rising tide of feeling against the renewal of the East India Company's Charter[247]. Oldfield later recorded with some exaggeration: 'At the last general election in 1812, the freemen of Hull wanted a contest, but no candidate appeared to gratify their wishes, a great number of the lower order stopped a gentleman who was passing through the town on his way to Beverley, who was a perfect stranger to them in name and character and offered to support him if he would become their champion on this occasion. The offer was accepted, and the following day he was chosen their member by acclamation'[248]. There was in fact a poll: on the first day Staniforth secured 737 votes, Denys 395 and Mahon 158; the final figures were Staniforth 1446, Denys 905 and Mahon 364[249]. The Hull Rockingham lamented the fact that a 'true Whig' had not been returned. There were significant divisions of opinion in other constituencies. A Whig and a Tory were returned for Bristol, and the radical Henry Hunt secured 455 votes; Liverpool elected the young George Canning with another Tory, the Whig Henry Brougham

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243. Hull Advertiser, ibid.

244. Hull Rockingham, 10 October 1812.

245. B.B., xi, 23-33, passim.

246. Selection of Squibs, 40, 45.

247. Hull Advertiser, 10 October 1812.

248. T.H.B. Oldfield, The Representative History of Great Britain and Ireland. (London, 1816), v, 278.

249. Hull Advertiser, 10 October 1812; Hull Poll Book (1812).

was defeated; at Leicester the radicals ran a candidate, William Roscoe, without effect[250].

Fitzwilliam's interest remained unrepresented until the general election of 1818. Denys did not offer again[251], and on 14 May 1818 Richard Sykes assessed the political situation at Hull: Staniforth was 'supposed to be secure'; a rich West Indies merchant, John Mitchell, was canvassing the town probably on the prompting of Lord Liverpool the Tory Prime Minister, but his party was 'very weak indeed' and Coulson his agent 'a Vain Man, of little Weight and Estimation'. A Third Man, supported by Fitzwilliam, could, Sykes considered, be returned at a cost not exceeding £4,000[252]. At first the earl did not propose a candidate, so Sykes suggested a local merchant, Joseph Eggington who would not commit himself because of 'some engagement to Mr. Staniforth'[253]. Thomas Thompson, a native of Cottingham, near Hull and member for Midhurst, was also rumoured to be in the running[254]. However, Fitzwilliam chose as a Third Man, J.R.G. Graham, the son of Sir James Graham of Netherby, Cumberland. The new man was young, able, and prudent in money matters[255]. He stood for peace, retrenchment, moderate parliamentary reform, and for religious liberty, that is for Catholic emancipation. He also favoured the abolition of slavery, Wilberforce being a friend of his family[256]. His Whig principles reiterated in speeches and

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250. Hull Rockingham, 10 October 1812; Stooks Smith, Contested Elections, 182, 289; V.C.H., Leics., 139.

251. Hull Advertiser; 6 June 1818.

252. R. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 14 May 1818. Fitzwilliam MS., W.W.M. F36/35. (See No.345): Joseph Daubney to Charles Tennyson, 30 January 1820. Tennyson MS., South Humberside Area Record Office, Grimsby. The latter reference was kindly provided by the History of Parliament Trust.

253. R. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 27 May, 1 June 1818. Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F36/36, 37. (See No.346-7).

254. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 6 June 1818. ibid., F36/39. (See No.349); Hull Rockingham, 16 May 1818; Hull Advertiser, 6 June 1818.

255. J.R.G. Graham to Fitzwilliam, [5 June 1818]. ibid., F36/38. (See No.348).

256. T.M. Torrens, The Life and Times of Sir James R.G. Graham. (London, 1863), i, 88; C.F. Parker, The Life and Letters of Sir James Graham, (London, 1907), i, 50-52.

broadsheets may have impressed the discerning, but the prospect of a keenly contested poll appealed more to the mass of the burgesses. Staniforth was criticised for not opposing the suspension of Habeas Corpus and the activities of Oliver the Spy, and praised for his alleged opposition to the Corn Laws of 1815[257]; Mitchell was known to be a supporter of the Tory government, but political issues did not count for much in spite of the efforts of local literary wits.

The campaign had started before the dissolution of parliament was announced. At the beginning of March 1818 Mitchell had offered himself as a candidate 'encouraged by many kind offers of Support from several Friends'[258], and Staniforth quickly followed[259]. Graham arrived in the East Riding on 7 June and earned the approval of the Sykeses at West Ella and Charles Langdale at Houghton[260]. Serious canvassing then began. On 8 June the mayor, several aldermen and members of Trinity House escorted Staniforth into the town. He was followed an hour later by Mitchell, who was received with similar enthusiasm[261]. Despite the prudent counsels of his friends, Graham was determined not to be left at the starting post: he issued a handbill on 9 April announcing himself as the Third Man, and in the afternoon entered the town with Richard Sykes, to the delight of the multitude, whom he addressed[262]. Sykes considered that a Third Man 'never yet started with a fairer Prospect'[263]. Faced with the probability of an expensive election, Staniforth withdrew on 11 June, to the regret of the corporation[264]: He was to go bankrupt in the following year. His friends, however, raised a large subscription, said to be over £10,000, which enabled him to re-enter the contest[265]. The canvassing now continued in earnest.

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257. Kingston Wit, Humour and Satire. (Hull 1818), 7, 10. Hull Advertiser, 13 June 1818.

258. Hull Advertiser, 7, 14 March 1818.

259. ibid., 21 March 1818.

260. R. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 8 June 1818. Fitzwilliam MS., W.W.M. F36/40. (See No.350).

261. Hull Advertiser, 13 June 1818.

262. ibid.

263. R. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 9 June 1818, Fitzwilliam MS., W.W.M. F36/41. (See No.351).

264. Graham to Fitzwilliam, 11 June 1818. ibid., F36/42. (See No.352) B.B., xi, 166. Entry for 12 June 1818.

265. Kingston Wit., 31, 34-5. R. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 12, 15 June 1818. ibid., F36/43, 47. (See No.353,355).

The usual abuse was bandied about: Staniforth was denounced as a 'docile hack'; Mitchell 'a hard-hearted Negro driver', and the young Graham was castigated as a 'Bond Street lounger', 'Yorkshire Dandy', and 'Cock of the North'[266]. The radical T.J. Wooler who founded his Political Protestants at Hull in July 1818, considered standing, but nothing came of this in spite of his plea for purer elections and an alleged 'strong party and larger subscription'[267]. The excitement was reflected in the number of burgesses admitted. Between 2 and 19 May 540 new freemen were enrolled and it proved difficult to check fraudulent claims in so short a time, especially non-residents[268]. In the final run up to the poll Richard Sykes and his friends worked hard for Graham, although he thought Mitchell would head the poll[269].

On 17 June the hustings were built in front of the Mansion House in Lowgate, as they had for previous elections. In the presence of the sheriff, the candidates were proposed, seconded and made their preliminary speeches. Mitchell was proposed by Alderman Coulson and seconded by Josiah Prickett; Graham was proposed by Richard Sykes, and seconded by Thomas Thompson. By this time the clamour was so intense that B.B. Haworth of Burton Hall, Staniforth's proposer, could not be heard, so John Broadley of Kirk Ella performed the office, seconded by the mayor, George Schonswar. The first day's polling closed with Mitchell receiving 1203 votes, Graham 936, and Staniforth 893[270]. Speeches continued on the second day, the Mayor in particular waxing eloquent in favour of Staniforth[271]. Opinions varied as to the precise state of the poll, but the trend was clear: W. Lunn put the figures at Mitchell 1035, Graham 800 and Staniforth 736; Richard Sykes reported Mitchell 980, Graham

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266. Torrens, Life of Graham, i, 96; J.T. Ward, Sir James Graham. (London, 1967), 31.

267. Kingston Wit., 26-7, 94-5; Bean, Northern Representation, 852n.; Hull Packet, 16 June 1818.

268. B.B., xi, 158-183. passim.

269. R. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 12, 13, 14, 15 June 1818; Samuel Martin to Fitzwilliam, 15 June 1818. Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F36/43-45, 47-48. (See Nos. 353-56).

270. Hull Advertiser, 20 June 1818.

271. Kingston Wit., 113.

764 and Staniforth 689[272]. The election closed on 19 June and the final figures were Mitchell 1323, Graham 1074 and Staniforth 1036[273]. John Broadley, on behalf of Staniforth, immediately demanded a scrutiny on the grounds of the accusation that 'many improper votes' had been cast for Staniforth[274]. The sheriff did not commit himself[275], but on the following day he appeared with his assessor, the York barrister S.W. Nicoll. He heard arguments from Staniforth's committee and received the concurrence of Mitchell and Graham, thereupon a scrutiny was announced to be conducted before 4 August when the election writ was due to be returned[276].

The business was to start on 29 June and Graham hoped his total expenses would not exceed £6,000. He was particularly worried over whether a pauper who had legally given his vote could be struck off the poll book on account of his pauperism. Accordingly he departed for London to consult Sergeant James Scarlett[277] on the point, and to ask the learned gentleman to recommend counsel to act for him at the scrutiny[278]. Scarlett and his colleague Sergeant Lunn ventured the opinion that paupers could not be struck off as unlike scot and lot voters, their franchise did not involve contributing to local rates[279]. A young barrister, Edward Hall Alderson who had cut his legal teeth on the Northern Circuit, was dispatched to defend the Whig cause[280]; Staniforth's committee was

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272. W. Lunn to Mr. Biram, R. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 18 June 1818. Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F36/49-50.

273. Hull Poll Book, (1818), 48. Slightly different figures are given in the Hull Advertiser, 27 June 1818, and in the letters of Samuel Martin and Richard Sykes to Lord Fitzwilliam of 19 June. (Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F36/51-2. (See Nos.357).

274. Hull Advertiser, 27 June 1818.

275. Graham to Fitzwilliam, 19 June 1818. ibid., F36/54.

276. Hull Advertiser, 27 June 1818.

277. James Scarlett (1769-1844), first Baron Abinger, K.C. 1816, M.P. for Peterborough in the Fitzwilliam interest, 1819-22. He worked extensively on the North Circuit. (D.N.B., 1, 399-402).

279. Graham to Fitzwilliam, 26 June 1818. ibid., F36/56. (See No.359).

280. Edward Hall Alderson (1787-1857), called to Bar, 1811; Commissioner for the Amendment of Laws, 1828; Judge in Common Pleas, 1830. (J. Foss, Judges of England, (London, 1870), 9-10.)

represented by Sergeant John Hulloch[281] and a Mr. Wray[282].

The first day of the scrutiny was 'occupied with preliminary discussions as to the mode of proceeding', but on 30 June hostilities began. The main issue then was the voting rights of otherwise qualified paupers. Alderson repeated the view previously expressed by Scarlett; Hulloch disputed the point, citing his friend Sergeant Heywood. In the end Nicoll the assessor, basing his opinion on a variety of legal texts, decided that paupers were disfranchised. It was also decided that burgesses who had not legally completed their apprenticeships but who had had their freedoms granted by the Corporation, should be allowed to vote. Neither decision pleased the Whig camp[283], and Richard Sykes found the assessor 'unaccountably hostile to us'[284]. As the proceedings wore on the various cases considered revealed the imperfections and inadequacies of the electoral system: freedom had been acquired by fraudulence or inadvertence; certificates of freedom had been lost; places of birth were not carefully recorded. Staniforth's friends wanted 520 freemen disfranchised as their admissions had not been stamped by the Town Clerk[285]. Gradually the number of acceptable votes changed and when the scrutiny closed on 13 July Staniforth lost 109 votes, Graham 143 and Mitchell 168, and of their original 327, 273 and 251 'bullets' (or 'plumpers') they lost 37, 47 and none respectively. After these illegal votes had been struck off, Mitchell and Graham were confirmed as members, with 1155 and 931 votes to Staniforth's

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281. John Hulloch (1767-1829), joined the Northern Circuit in 1794, Sergeant at Law 1816, Baron of the Exchequer. (D.N.B., xxiii, 200).

282. Hull Advertiser, 4 July 1818; Hull Rockingham, 27 June 1818.

283. R. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 4 July 1818. Fitzwilliam MS., W.W.M. F36/57. (See No.360); Hull Rockingham, 4 July 1818.

284. R. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 5 July 1818. ibid. F36/58. (See No.361)

285. Hull Advertiser, 11, 18 July 1818. R. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 6 July 1818; Fitzwilliam to Milton, 6 July 1818; Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 8, 9 July 1818; Graham to Fitzwilliam, 11 July 1818; Sykes to Fitzwilliam, R.10 July 1818; Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 11 July 1818. Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F36/59-64, G65/15. (See Nos.362-367).

927[286]. The usual triumphant chairing of successful candidates and effusive speeches followed, and even the unsuccessful Staniforth was accorded a sumptuous dinner at the Neptune Inn by his supporters[287].

Although they conceded defeat over the scrutiny, Staniforth's friends did not intend to let matters rest. On the final day of the scrutiny they threatened a petition to the House of Commons[288]. As the Town Clerk had acted as Staniforth's agent and the Corporation had given him their implicit support, there seemed a possibility that the bench might add its weight to the petition, but this did not happen. Graham was taking no chances and engaged Sergeant Scarlett to act on his behalf, and kept Fitzwilliam fully informed of developments[289]. He certainly had no real wish for a prolonged and costly examination of voters qualifications if a Quo Warranto were granted. The progress of the petition throughout the remaining four months of 1818 caused Graham concern. The mayor of Hull was known to have visited London; Staniforth's committee was collecting evidence of 'bad votes'; Graham's agents in Hull, Martin and Scholefield, together with Vizard his London lawyer counselled 'offensive measures, such as commencing actions against Mr. Staniforth for Bribery and against the Mayor and Returning Officer for partial exercise of their authority'. Moreover Graham was short of money and had to apply to his patron Fitzwilliam for a further £2,000. The bringing of Hull witnesses to London seemed a particularly expensive prospect, and even the preparation of a new case by Scarlett on his behalf, whilst it enhanced the prospect of success, would add to the cost[290].

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286. Poll Book for 1818, 48; Hull Advertiser, 18 July 1818.

287. Hull Advertiser, 18, 25 July 1818; Hull Rockingham, 18 July 1818.

288. Graham to Fitzwilliam, 13 July 1818. Fitzwilliam MS., W.W.M. F36/65. (See No.368).

289. Graham to Fitzwilliam, 17 July, 21 August 1818. ibid., F36/67-8, 69. (See No.370,373).

290. Graham to Fitzwilliam, 3, 13 September, 12, 27 November, 9 December 1818. ibid., F36/70-4. (See Nos.374-6).

Ironically financial problems proved the undoing of Graham's main rival. Early in January 1819 Staniforth's anticipated bankruptcy materialised, and Graham suspected that the petition had been motivated by 'a wish to tamper and gain time with his creditors'. This may or may not have been true, but Staniforth's committee at Hull resolved to drop the petition[291]. Trinity House and the Broadleys similarly withdrew their opposition[292]. This was not quite the end. On 4 February two Hull burgesses living in London - William Wilkinson and John Firth - petitioned the Commons against Graham on the grounds that paupers had voted for him, together with other burgesses whose admissions had not been properly stamped. Clearly Staniforth was behind this manoeuvre and Graham suspected he was supported by Mr. Wray and the Becketts, enemies of Fitzwilliam, and possibly the Lowthers enemies of the Graham interest in Cumberland. Whatever the deeper implications nothing happened: recognisances were not entered into, and the petition was discharged on 19 February[293]. Graham was now secure and congratulations crossed the Pennines from the Earl of Derby who found the victory 'highly gratifying to [my] feelings'[294].

After the election came the reckoning; the cost of returning Graham was high. In all he spent in the region of £8,500: the scrutiny cost £2,000, and about £2,500 was paid in polling money. Much of this expense was met by Fitzwilliam, and the money was passed discreetly to Graham's bankers[295]. Some poorer burgesses seem to

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291. Graham to Fitzwilliam, 8 January 1819; R. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 23 January 1819; J.K. Watson to Fitzwilliam, R.23 January 1819. ibid., F36/75-77. (See Nos.378, 379-80).

292. Graham to Fitzwilliam, 24, 26 January 1819. ibid., F36/78-79. (See No. 381).

293. Graham to Fitzwilliam, 4, 5, 9, 13, 19 February 1819. ibid., F36/81-86. (See Nos. 382-86); C.J., Ixxiv, 92-3, 145-6; Hull Advertiser, 6, 13, 27 February 1819; Hull Packet 8 February 1819.

294. Lord Derby to Graham, 20 July 1818. Graham MS. (Netherby), Bundle I. (Microfilm in Cambridge University Library).

295. Graham to Fitzwilliam, 21 August 1818; 1, 3 April, 11 May, 7 July 1819. R. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 23 January 1819. Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F36/69, 76, 88-90. (See Nos. 373, 379, 387-90).

have been discharged by their employers for not voting according to the wishes of their masters. The Hull Rockingham opened a subscription to remunerate such people. Only twenty four pounds was raised to the disappointment of the newspaper. There is no indication of who received this money or how many burgesses had been dismissed[296]. The Corporation tried to regularise matters concerning the frantic admissions of burgesses, and took Sergeant Hullock's advice on the matter: all prospective freemen were to leave their claims and 'the requisite Documents substantiating the same' with the Town Clerk at least fourteen days before appearing to be sworn[297]. In spite of these good intentions, Graham remarked ruefully that the contest would not bring Fitzwilliam any 'permanent advantage; since the Venal character of the Place baffles my hopes, which adherence to Principles might inspire, and I fear the longest Purse and the newest face will continue paramount recommendations to my worth Constituents'. Hull was not the only place to have an exciting election contest. No fewer than nine candidates appeared at Liverpool although this was a deliberate ploy to split the votes of the most popular aspirants. As in 1812 Canning and General Gascoyne, both Tories were returned. Bristol, on the other hand, experienced a quieter poll, returning one Whig and one Tory[298].

The death of George III in February 1820 caused a general election at Hull as elsewhere. Graham was not prepared to stand again: an interest in the politics of his native Cumberland, and family matters were of importance, but the question of the expense at Hull was paramount. He told Fitzwilliam his present seat was 'a Pit of fathomless corruption,...where the flagrant abuse of Polling money exists to such an extent, that not 200 men out of 3,000 ever vote without the Payment of Two Guineas for their single, and Four for their double Suffrage. Thus even the return without a Contest amounts to 3,000 guineas'. For a while he waited on events, but

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296. Hull Rockingham, 25 July 1818; Hull Advertiser, 1 August 1818.

297. B.B., xi, 184-5, 198.

298. Graham to Fitzwilliam, 7 July 1819. Fitzwilliam MS., W.W.M. F36/90. (See No.390); Stooks Smith, Contested Elections, 182 289.

expecting the appearance of a third candidate, he finally informed Fitzwilliam of his withdrawal on 23 February[299]. He thought the Whigs had a good chance of securing one seat, as he had built up an interest in the Corporation and Trinity House, and thought a candidate should declare himself only on the day of nomination[300].

Mitchell, although 'very weak and very unpopular'[301] intended to stand again in the ministerial interest[302], but because of the enormous expense involved, it proved difficult to find a Whig candidate to stand with him. At first Pascoe Grenfell seemed willing to stand if Graham stepped down, but he canvassed the Cornish borough of Penryn and was returned[303]. Then Edward Alderson who had acted for Graham during the 1818 election scrutiny was approached without success[304]. Finally Daniel Sykes, the Recorder of Hull was persuaded to stand on the day before the election, pressurised no doubt by his brother Richard who by 1820 was tiring of politics[305]. Daniel was not keen, and later informed Fitzwilliam, 'Another Whig could not be found, and therefore I consented to give up my own Wishes to my Public Duty'[306]. As usual excitement rose in Hull as polling drew near. The Corporation reiterated their decision of 1819 concerning the admission of freemen[307], and in the two weeks before the election only 128 burgesses were enrolled[308].

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299. Graham to Fitzwilliam, 4, 23 February 1820. ibid., F49/57, 60. (See Nos.392,395).

300. Graham to Fitzwilliam, 4, 9 February 1820. ibid., F49/57, 59. (See Nos.392-93).

301. R. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, R. ? March 1820. ibid., F49/28. (See No.397).

302. Hull Advertiser, 26 Februry, 3 March 1820; Hull Rockingham, 26 February, 4 March 1820.

303. Graham to Fitzwilliam, 9 February 1820; R. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 17 February 1820. Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F49/59, 24. (See Nos.393-4). Pascoe Grenville (1761-1838), M.P. for Great Marlow (1802-20) and Penryn (1820-26). A financial expert, and supporter of Wilberforce over the slavery issue. (D.N.B. xxii, 110).

304. R. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, R. 18 March 1820. Fitzwilliam MS., W.W.M. F49/25. (See No.396).

305. R. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 17 February, R.18 March 1820. ibid., F49/24-25. (See Nos.394,396).

306. D. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, R.March 1820. ibid., F49/29. (See No.398).

307. Hull Advertiser, 26 February, 3 March 1820.

308. B.B., xi, 216-225. passim.

Speculation rose until Graham's intentions were announced[309], and until the day before the election only Mitchell had declared himself as a candidate, although rumours concerning Alderson persisted[310]. On the hustings Mitchell was proposed by E.F. Coulson and Josiah Prickett, and Sykes by Thomas Thompson and William Jarratt. Before Sykes could speak Wooler's supporters appeared - a 'shabby little mob' according to Richard Sykes - carrying a white banner inscribed 'Wooler and Purity of Election'[311]. However this was mere show, and the two candidates were elected without a poll, to the anger of some of the populace who smashed Mitchell's coach[312]. Election expenses in no way rivalled those of 1818. Sykes was elected for £300 but he felt obliged to pay just over £2,000 in polling money even though there was no contest. The family rallied to his support: Richard provided £500, and other members also contributed. Fitzwilliam does not seem to have been financially involved this time. The lack of electoral fireworks at Hull contrasted sharply with the struggle between the Corporation and freemen at Leicester, and the last-minute machinations in Cheshire to preserve the unity of the county's political élite[313].

The parliament of 1820 ran its course and a general election was to take place in 1826. Sykes expected it to be contested and was rightly fearful of the expense. In September 1825 he seems to have approached Lord Yarborough about the possibility of standing for Grimsby, however after he had changed his mind, Yarborough

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309. Hull Advertiser, 18, 26 February, 3 March 1820; Hull Rockingham, 26 February, 4 March 1820.

310. Hull Rockingham, 11 March 1820.

311. Hull Advertiser, 10 March 1820; R. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, R. ? March 1820. Fitzwilliam MS., W.W.M. F49/28. (See No.397).

312. Hull Advertiser, 11, 24 March 1820.

313. D. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, ante 24 March 1820; R. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 27 March 1820. Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F49/26, 27. (See Nos.402-3); V.C.H. Leics., 141; V.C.H., Cheshire, 126.

offered to pay expenses in excess of £4,000. Sykes hoped to keep Grimsby in reserve if he did not succeed at Hull[314]. 'Symptoms of electioneering' at Hull began on 10 May when a placard appeared addressed to the burgesses stating that 'a Third Man - a gentleman every way qualified for the high and important trust of representing them - highly connected by family, strongly opposed to Catholic claims, and a strong advocate for free trade and cheap corn - proposed offering himself'. Clearly a government supporter, he invited the burgesses who felt desirous to support a Third Man to sign a requisition to that end[315]. Figures for the response varied: the Hull Advertiser mentioned 512, the Hull Rockingham reported 700[316]. Whatever the figure may have been, the gentleman was emboldened and paid a brief visit to Hull. He turned out to be Augustus John Henry O'Neill and was rapturously received by the lower freemen as a third candidate. As might be expected, his visit was marked by several speeches and letters in the local newspapers[317]. Naturally the town was curious as to his antecedents and the mayor approached the government. Lord Clanricarde[318], George Canning's son-in-law, replied that O'Neill sprang from the Irish gentry: he was said to be related to the Earl of Antrim and Sir George Featherston, member for county Longford[319].

During the first week of June John Mitchell announced his withdrawal, and there was talk of another candidate in the shape of Mr W. Wilmot Horton, an under secretary for the colonies, and a moderate supporter of Catholic relief who had solicited the patronage of no less a catholic than the duke of Norfolk[320]. Clearly the

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314. D. Sykes to Lord Milton, 25 September 1825. Fitzwilliam MS., Box X1610. (See No.404).

315. Hull Advertiser, 12 May 1826.

316. ibid., Hull Rockingham, 17 June 1826.

317. Hull Advertiser, 26 May 1826; Hull Packet, 30 May 1826.

318. Lord Clanricarde to the Mayor of Hull, 1 June 1826, Wilson Barkworth Election Literature. (See No.405) Ulick John Bourke, 14th earl and first Marquis of Clanricarde (1802-74), Under Secretary at the Foreign Office, married Lady Henrietta Canning. (W. Hinde, George Canning. [London, 1973], 391n., 427).

319. Hull Advertiser, 2 June 1826.

320. ibid., Hull Rockingham, 3 June 1826; The Times, 6 June 1826.

Liverpool administration were not going to abandon a Hull seat without a fight. The Whig opposition also had their problems: Daniel Sykes at first withdrew because of the expense involved, but was later persuaded to re-enter the contest by his friends who opened a subscription to defray the cost[321]. On this occasion there is no evidence of support - financial or otherwise - from Lord Fitzwilliam, perhaps the Whigs of Hull were beginning to stand on their own feet. Sykes found he had much support simply because he was a local man; he was described as being supported by 'Whigs and Tories, Loyalists and Radicals[322].

The withdrawal of Mitchell had deprived O'Neill of some of the advantages of being a Third Man, as Horton's candidature did not materialise. A further visit to Hull, accompanied by long-winded bluster, could not alter this fact[323]. The mantle was claimed by Charles Pelham Villiers, a nephew of the earl of Clarendon, who had been residing in Hull in order to assist his brother at Hedon[324]. An opponent of Catholic claims, Villiers contended that he was a real Third Man, as he had caused the contest[325]. The Corporation had not learned the lesson of 1818 and burgesses were admitted up to the opening of the hustings[326]. On 5 June Sykes formally declared himself: he resolved to stand on his record of support for the commercial interests of the town, a revision of the Corn Laws, civil and religious liberty, repeal of the Combination Acts and opposition to slavery[327]. The poll opened on 9 June: Sykes was proposed by Charles Whitaker and seconded by the Reverend J.H. Bromley; O'Neill by S.S. Walton and Lieutenant Hilyard R.N., and Villiers by Edward F. Coulson and the mayor George Coulson, the proposer's father. The day closed with O'Neill ahead with 406 votes followed by Sykes with 329 and Villiers with 242[328]. On the following day the final

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321. Hull Rockingham, 9 June 1826.

322. ibid., 9 July 1826.

323. Hull Advertiser, 9 June 1826.

324. ibid.

325. ibid.

326. B.B., xi, 438.

327. Hull Advertiser, 9 June 1826.

328. ibid.

figures were O'Neill 1537, Sykes 1138 and Villiers 1055[329]. O'Neill attributed his position at the head of the poll to the victory of the 'independent freemen' over 'powerless Whiggism'[330], stimulated no doubt by his purse. The usual celebratory dinners followed[331], and in December an unsuccessful petition to Parliament complained of bribery by Sykes and his agents. Fortunes varied elsewhere. At Liverpool General Gascoigne was joined by William Huskisson who had previously won the 1823 by-election. There was no serious Whig opposition. Bristol was divided between a popular Tory and a local Whig. A colourful contest at Leicester produced two local Tory landowners[332].

The death of George IV in June 1830 caused the next general election. The Bench immediately attempted to tighten up on the admission of burgesses by making them submit their claims a fortnight before being sworn[333]. As usual in the early days of the pre-election period, rumours flew about. The Hull Advertiser and Hull Rockingham did not think Sykes would stand again because of the expense involved and his interest in Beverley, but offered him their support; the Hull Rockingham in particular thought 'a more faithful, intelligent and useful member, Hull never had'[334]. O'Neill's intentions were uncertain at this stage[335]. More shadowy candidates offered the prospect of a contested election: Lane Stephens, a wealthy, pro-government officer of the 10th Hussars paid a brief visit to Hull[336], and a Sergeant Wilde was also mentioned[337]. Nothing came of either of them.

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329. ibid., 7 July 1826; Hull Packet, 13 June 1826.

330. Hull Advertiser, 16 June 1826.

331. ibid., 30 June, 14 July, 4 August 1826.

332. C.J., lxxxii, 82-3, 121, 125; Stooks Smith, Contested Elections, 183, 289; V.C.H. Leics., 144-46.

333. Hull Advertiser, 9 July 1830.

334. ibid., Hull Rockingham, 10 July 1830.

335. Hull Advertiser, 9 July 1830.

336. ibid., Hull Rockingham, 10 July 1830.

337. Hull Packet, 13 July 1830.

The scene soon changed. O'Neill intended to stand again, notwithstanding family difficulties and involvement in a notorious gambling scandal. However he admitted 'I know that a Third Candidate is about to start, and I know how advantageous is the position of a Third Man'[338]. The Third Man on this occasion was Thomas Gisborne Burke, a very distant cousin of Lord Clanricarde[339]. Sykes was pressed to declare himself, but declined and intended to contest Beverley[340]. O'Neill also withdrew[341]. Thus the Third Man was left in sole possession, and he entered Hull in anticipation of triumph. Once again various outsiders were considered as candidates: Mr. Hopkinson, a London banker; Charles Villiers; a Colonel Wilson of York, and Admiral Sir Sidney Smith[342].

However a 'numerous and highly respectable' meeting of burgesses took place to consider the nomination of an acceptable townsman. All political parties were said to be represented at this meeting. John Broadley was to be nominated, but was busy assisting Richard Bethell in the county election. After an initial reluctance George Schonswar a Hull merchant and alderman was chosen. He had been sheriff and twice mayor of the borough. At first it seemed that a Mr. Heathcote, a former member for Boston would stand in the Whig interest but he declined on account of the expense involved. At this point Sykes sent for William Battye Wrightson of Cusworth Hall, Doncaster, the son of William Wrightson who had stood in the 1802 election [343]. Sykes wrote afterwards: 'I was misled by advice on Hull, or I might have come in on my own terms. As soon as I found out how things stood, I sent for a good Liberal, Wrightson who was elected without difficulty'[344].

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338. Hull Advertiser, 23 July 1830.

339. ibid., Hull Rockingham, 24 July 1830.

340. Hull Advertiser, 23, 30 July 1830.

341. Hull Advertiser, 30 July 1830.

342. ibid.

343. Bean, Northern Representation, 883.

344. Pryme, Daniel Sykes, 36.

There seemed little to choose between the candidates: all three opposed the renewal of the East India Company's charter, were opposed to slavery, and supported retrenchment in public spending. Burke claimed to be the 'true Third Man'; Schonswar resolved not to pay polling money, whereas Wrightson did and kept a careful account[345]. On the hustings Burke was proposed by John Jeffreys and seconded by M. Ward, Schonswar by Edward Gibson and Henry Blundell, and Wrightson by William Bourne and Thomas Thompson. On the first day Schonswar polled 781 votes, Wrightson 590 and Burke 361, final figures were Schonswar 1564, Wrightson 1213 and Burke 869. The usual celebratory dinners and congratulatory addresses followed[346]. Burke was singularly unfortunate in this election, since he was the only Third Man not to win a seat. This was the last election fought before the reform crisis. At York and Exeter a Whig and a Tory were returned without difficulty. Liverpool remained solidly Tory, but the radical James Acland stood at Bristol, attracting only five votes[347].

In under a year a further general election followed. The first Reform bill introduced by Lord Grey's government had been lost in committee and parliament had been dissolved. Reform was popular in Hull although there were worries over the rights of existing burgesses. The Bench expected a rush of freemen to register their franchise before any change, but this did not happen - only nineteen came forward[348]. Three weeks before the election Schonswar underlined his support for reform and was expected to stand again[349]. No more campaigning seems to have been undertaken until four days before the poll when both members arrived in Hull and began their canvas. Naturally parliamentary reform dominated their utterances and both spoke for it. Anonymous placards announced a Third Man 'but they obtained little credit'. T.W. Gleadhow and Henry Blundell proposed

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345. Hull Advertiser, 30 July 1830; Battye Wrightson MS., B.W., A.222.

346. Hull Advertiser, 20, 27 August 1830; Hull Rockingham, 20, 28 August, 25 September, 2 October 1830; B.B., xii, 16.

347. Hull Advertiser, 30 July, 6 August 1830; Stooks Smith, Contested Elections, 173-4, 183, 289; Newton, Exeter, 153-4.

348. Hull Advertiser, 8 April 1831; B.B., xii, 40-41.

349. Hull Advertiser, 15 April 1831; Hull Rockingham, 16 April 1831.

and seconded Schonswar, and William Bourne and Thomas Thompson, Wrightson. No other candidate appeared and the two were returned without a poll. It was one of the quietest elections the town had witnessed. There was similarly no contest at York or Bristol. Reform was a major issue at the Exeter election and two reformers were returned for Leicester. Even the somnolent county of Shropshire took an interest in the changes proposed by the bill and held a poll[350].

The passage of the Reform Act in 1832 was the occasion of the next general election. By this time Wrightson's popularity at Hull had waned. Local Whigs attacked him for not supporting the petition against the continuance of the assessed taxes, and for giving his support to the retaining of flogging in the navy, and of a proposed loan to Russia. The languishing state of trade was also laid at his door and that of his parliamentary colleagues[351]. Schonswar had long been under attack from Acland's Portfolio[352], and clearly neither member enjoyed the support of liberal opinion in the town, be it middle of the road or radical. They decided not to stand again[353].

The campaign for the act, and the rumoured dissolution of Parliament sharpened existing political organizations. Informal Whig bodies had appeared at election time since the days of Lord Rockingham, and as early as 1822 the Whig newspaper bearing his name had lamented the absence of a permanent party organization[354]. The Society of Liberals seems to have come into existence before 1832 and may have preceded the Parliamentary Reform Association, the two having members in common[355]. A similar Tory body in Hull is more difficult to trace. Opposition to the Whig group began

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350. Hull Advertiser, 29 April 1831; Hull Rockingham, 30 April 1831; Wilson Barkworth Election Literature (Speech of Wrightson, 27 April 1831); Stooks Smith Contested Elections, 174,289; Newton, Exeter, 154-5; V.C.H., Salop., 263-4.

351. Hull Advertiser, 6 July, 3 August 1832; Hull Rockingham, 14 July 1832.

352. Hull Portfolio, 20 August, 3 September 1831.

353. Hull Advertiser, 27 July, 31 August, 7 December 1832; Battye Wrightson MS., B.W., A.222.

354. Hull Rockingham, 9 November 1822.

355. Hull Advertiser, 20 July 1832; Ram, Political Activities of Dissenters, 149-50.

at the time of Wilberforce, and in several subsequent elections candidates had been referred to as 'Anti-Ministerial' or 'Tory', and ad hoc bodies had emerged to support them. If nothing else, there was an intermittent anti-Whig feeling. However, as soon as the Reform Act became law a 'Conservative or Constitutional Society' was established at Hull. On 6 April 1832 two hundred 'of the most wealthy and influential gentlemen in the town and neighbourhood' met together to form 'a permanent association...founded on constitutional principles'. This august assembly included the mayor, four aldermen, a warden of Trinity House and five East Riding magistrates. It accepted the Reform Act, but had as its object 'to stay the hand of destructive innovation' and 'to cherish, support and preserve...established institutions'[356]. A reflection of the position of many Tories at that time. The radical element in Hull was divided: the more 'respectable' Reform Association looked to the reformist members of the Whig party, whilst the more extreme supporters of the Political Union turned to their leader, James Acland.

Parliament was not dissolved until December 1832, but throughout the summer and autumn of that year the process of selecting candidates and the run-up to the hustings went ahead. It was rumoured that J.C. Parker, the chairman of the Dock Company might offer himself as the candidate of local business, but nothing came of this[357]. In mid-August two reforming Whigs were invited to stand by a 'numerous and respectable body of electors' or more precisely, the Reform Association and the Society of Liberals[358]. William Hutt came from an established Anglican family and had married the daughter of the dowager Countess of Strathmore of Streatham Castle, Durham[359]. Matthew Davenport Hill, a barrister, was the son of a Birmingham school-master and brother of Rowland Hill inventor of the penny post[360].

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356. Hull Advertiser, 10 August 1832.

357. Hull Rockingham, 11 August 1832; Hull Advertiser, 17 August 1832.

358. Hull Advertiser, 17 August 1832; Hull Rockingham, 18 August, 22, 29 September 1832.

359. D.N.B., xxxviii, 349.

360. ibid., xxvi, 402.

At the same time rumours of a Tory candidate 'well acquainted with commercial and maritime affairs' were current[361]. The Conservative Society had sent two of its members to London for 'confidential communication with leading characters there'[362], with the result that David Carruthers a wealthy insurance broker at Lloyds' was invited to stand[363]. Thomas Gisbourne Burke again proposed to stand, and the Hull solicitor William Woolley claimed he was 'in the Independent Interest'[364]. The radical element in the town was not to be outdone. Acland may well have been languishing in gaol at Bury St Edmunds, but he offered his services and was prepared to run with Hutt, with whom he had been at school, and who initially seemed sympathetic to his political viewpoint[365].

The Whig candidates offered their support for a number of liberal reforms: triennial parliaments, secret ballot and even universal suffrage but not until the poor had been educated; the abolition of the 'tax on knowledge'; the reduction of assessed taxes; freer trade and alteration of the Corn Laws; municipal reform; the end of the East India Company's monopoly; payment of poor clergy; the end of Negro slavery, and the end of the impressment of seamen[366]. Burke's appeal was less comprehensive but he broadly followed this lead. Carruthers was more cautious on these issues: he favoured moderation over municipal reform and the Corn Laws; he supported freer trade, but was predictably cautious over currency reform, the renewal of the East India Company's charter, and the emancipation of Negroes. He had no intention of upsetting the merchants and bankers of Hull. As was expected Acland had a full radical programme which included not only the proposed measures of the Whigs but also the end of the peerage, the disestablishment of the Church of England, and the granting of suffrage to tax- and rate-paying women, although females were to be excluded from the Throne[367].

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361. Hull Advertiser, 17 August 1832.

362. ibid., 21 September 1832.

363. Hull Packet, 18 September 1832; Hull Advertiser, 7 December 1832; Bean, Northern Representation, 868.

364. Hull Advertiser, 28 September 1832.

365. Hull Portfolio, 14 August, 22 September 1832; J. Symons, Kingstoniana (Hull, 1889), 33-4.

366. Hull Advertiser, 13, 24, 31 August 1832.

367. ibid., 21, 28 September 1832; Hull Portfolio, 22 September 1832. (See No. 407).

Between August and December Hill, Hutt and Carruthers made regular visits to Hull, spoke to a wide range of audiences and carefully canvassed voters. They were fully supported by their party organizations who arranged both venues and receptions. Accounts in the press reveal a great deal of constituency work by supporters[368]. Burke too canvassed the town and had a committee of supporters chaired by John Collinson[369]. Acland's friends worked on his behalf, and a series of letters from Bury gaol urged support for himself and Hutt[370]. Newspaper coverage of the candidates' activites were extensive, and broadsheets giving accounts of their speeches, and the usual electoral squibs circulated the town[371]. Carruthers certainly paid polling money, together with the issuing of vouchers for pints of ale[372]; the other candidates may well have followed suit. The campaign was not without violence. The period before polling coincided with municipal elections, and a heavily signed declaration was sent to the magistrates requesting them to deal with the disorder. Later on Hill was assaulted on his way to the hustings by Acland's supporters[373].

Accusations and insinuations were to be expected. Hutt was attacked for his alleged political connections with Acland[374]. Hill was wrongly accused of being a Unitarian, but the charge was rebutted and the position of the Unitarians stoutly defended in the Hull Rockingham by the Rev. E. Higginson[375]. Hill also survived an attempt to disqualify him on the grounds of his being a barrister and of receiving a government pension[376]. Burke denied jibes of being a Tory and of coalescing with another candidate[377]. Carruthers' connections with Lloyds and the City of London brought him into conflict with Liberal opinion at Hull. The Reform Association drew

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368. Hull Advertiser and Hull Rockingham, August-December 1832. passim.
369. Hull Advertiser, 28 February 1832.
370. Hull Portfolio, 27 November, 1, 4, 6, 12 December 1832.
371. Wilson Barkworth Election Literature, 1832 Election. passim.
372. ibid.
373. Hull Advertiser, 12 October, 14 December 1832.
374. ibid., 17 August 1832.
375. Hull Rockingham, 9 November 1832.
376. Hull Advertiser, 2 November 1832.
377. ibid., 5 October 1832; Hull Rockingham, 8 December 1832.

up a list of forty four questions accusing him of being a slave owner and fudging the issue of abolition, and of supporting the monopolies of the Bank of England and the East India Company - all of which he denied[378]. Acland's incarceration was obviously used by friend and foe.

Hull nonconformity played a significant part in the campaign. Both Hutt and Hill received dissenting support through the Reform Association and the Society of Liberals, but Hill seemed to be their hero,with twelve dissenters on his committee[379]. The Conservatives attempted to get Methodist support, and the attempt was described in a very long letter to the Hull Rockingham by George Cookson, a prominent lay member of the faith[380]. Carruthers' initial vagueness over negro emancipation did not endear him to the town's Methodist ministers[381].

At length Parliament was dissolved and polling was to take place in early December. The provisions of the Reform Act had now to be implemented at Hull. The Burgesses Association, founded in October 1832, was anxious to safeguard the voting rights of freemen[382]. Those engaged in the Greenland fisheries seemed at risk because of their prolonged absence from home. The Bench was careful not to admit large numbers of burgesses, and there was only a handful receiving their freedoms each month from August onwards[383]. In November the whole question of registration of voters was put into the hands of Thomas Henry, the revising barrister. His task was to consider the claims of freemen and list the newly-enfranchised £10 householders. Of the dubious cases he disallowed 419 claimant freemen and allowed 313, and only 32 out of a total of 248 claimant householders. The candidates either appeared in person at the hearings or were represented by their agents[384]. Eight polling

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378. Hull Packet, 25 September 1832.

379. Ram, Political Activites of Dissenters, 132.

380. Hull Rockingham, 3 November 1832.

381. ibid., 9 November 1832.

382. Hull Advertiser, 12 October 1832.

383. B.B., xii, 94-5, 100, 102.

384. Hull Rockingham, 27 October, 3 November 1832; Hull Advertiser, 2 November 1832.

booths were set up in the various wards of the borough, including one for the parish of Drypool. Out-voters could poll where they liked in the town, and voting was limited to two days[385].

The day before polling the candidates were formally proposed before the sheriff. Hill had been attacked by Acland's supporters on his way to the hustings and was too ill to appear; Acland was proposed, by two of his supporters; Carruthers was shouted down three times when he tried to speak; and with considerable embarrassment, John Collinson announced the non-appearance of Burke for no apparent reason. The sheriff then called for a show of hands, and Acland and Hutt seemed to carry the day. According to the newspapers, Acland's supporters stood immediately before the sheriff and many held up two hands[386]. Carruthers' proposer, John Beadle, promptly objected and demanded a poll. Over the following two days there was 'little more bustle and excitement than on an ordinary market day'. Hill took the lead on the first day, closely followed by Carruthers, but before noon on the next day Hutt had climbed firmly into second place. The final figures were Hill 1674, Hutt 1610, Carruthers 1429, and Acland 433. Carruthers had the highest number of plumpers (687), but the split voters went heavily for Hill and Hutt[387]. The usual celebratory junketings followed; Carruthers was defeated but not crushed, and Acland thanked his supporters roundly. For the moment the Whigs had won the day. At Exeter there was great activity over the registration of new voters, and two moderate reformers were returned. Leicester, Liverpool and York followed this pattern. Bristol was more cautious, electing one Whig and one Tory[388].

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385. Hull Advertiser, 14 December 1832; J. Acland's Poll Book 1832-35, (Hull, 1835), 79.

386. Hull Advertiser, 14 December 1832; Hull Rockingham, 15 December 1832.

387. Bean, Northern Representation, 853.

388. Hull Advertiser, 14 December 1832; Hull Portfolio, 18December 1832; Newton, Exeter, 157-8; V.C.H., Leics., 147-8; Stooks Smith, Contested Elections, 174, 183, 290.

In November 1834 Lord Melbourne was faced with a serious crisis within his party and resigned. The King immediately sent for the Duke of Wellington who very briefly held office until Sir Robert Peel returned from Italy and became prime minister. A general election was needed to consolidate the Conservative government. At Hull the situation of 1832 seemed to revive: Hutt, Hill, and Carruthers all resolved to stand again[389], even James Acland considered allowing his name to go forward, a triumph of optimism over reality[390].

The political issues at Hull were as in 1832, but with more stress on Church reform and the abolition of church rates, and particularly the question of municipal reform, and the position of freemen in borough elections. Hutt stood on his parliamentary career and made comparatively few public utterances, although the Society of Liberals, with its non-Conformist supporters, worked hard on his behalf[391]. Even Acland threw what was left of his influence behind him[392]. Hill gave a number of popular public speeches around the town, although his dubious conduct in parliament on Irish matters was criticised[393]. There were rumours of a coalition of Hutt and Hill[394]. The Whig candidates had the support of the Hull Rockingham, and also the Hull Advertiser recently acquired by a radical proprietor, and also the new Hull Observer[395]. Carruthers and his supporters worked very hard, he was, the Hull Rockingham sneered, 'an untirable canvasser, and the very peak of obsequiousness'[396]. His cautious stand on all issues especially municipal reform appealed to Conservative elements in the town: the Corporation largely plumped for him in 1832 and were to do so

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389. Hull Advertiser, 21, 28 November, 5 December 1834.

390. Hull Advertiser, 21 November 1834; The Dauntless, 29 November 1834.

391. for example, Hull Advertiser, 12 December 1834; Ram, Political Activities of Dissenters,, 150.

392. The Dauntless, 29 November, 6, 17, 20, 24 December 1834.

393. Hull Advertiser, 5, 12 December 1834, 2 January 1835; Hull Rockingham, 10 January 1835.

394. Hull Packet, 5 December 1834; Hull Rockingham, 6 December 1834.

395. The Hull, East Riding, and North Lincolnshire Observer, first appeared in May 1834. (V.C.H., Hull, 429.)

396. Hull Rockingham, 20 December 1834.

again[397]. The Hull Packet was ever-faithful[398].

During the run-up to the election Carruther's committee used all their considerable resources: Tory ship owners were urged to hoist blue flags; plumping debtors in the town gaol were at the least, canvassed; processions with blue flags and bands disturbed the peace of the town; liquor flowed freely and vouchers for pints of ale were endorsed by the chairman of the Conservative committee; it was even suggested that pro-Tory public houses should be made temporary committee rooms[399]. Their efforts bore fruit: on the first day Carruthers took the lead with 1021 votes against 951 for Hutt and 903 for Hill; it was sustained on the second day, and the final figures were Carruthers 1836, Hutt 1536 and Hill 1371[400]. Carruthers also had the highest number of plumpers, 1441 as against 38 for Hutt and 27 for Hill, however the two Whigs shared the largest number of splitters - 1185. The new £10 householders favoured Hutt, but Carruthers remained the favourite of the burgesses[401]. There were cries of Tory bribery[402], but only one ineffective petition appeared against Carruthers. Caution on reform matters was widespread, as municipal government and the Church were under threat. Leicester and Bristol returned two Conservatives. York and Liverpool elected one Conservative and one Whig.[403]

The death of David Carruthers in June 1835 was the occasion of an exciting by-election. Hutt's seat was not in question, but the Whigs needed a new second man. Joseph Sykes of West Ella, the Honourable Mr. Langdale and a Mr. J.A. Yates were all considered, although the final choice was Colonel Thomas Perronet Thompson[404].

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397. B.B., xii, 201, and Acland's Poll Book, passim.

398. for example, Hull Packet, 5 December 1834.

399. Wilson Barkworth Election Literature, 1835 Election, passim.

400. Hull Advertiser, 9 January 1835.

401. Bean, Northern Representation, 854.

402. Hull Advertiser, 9 January 1835.

403. Bean, Northern Representation, 854; V.C.H., Leics., 149; Stooks Smith, Contested Elections, 174, 183.

404. Hull Rockingham, 13 June 1835. Yates stood down in deference to Thompson (William Barkworth Election Literature).

He was a local man, the son of Thomas Thompson a Hull banker, former Chairman of the Dock Company, and M.P. for Midhurst, Kent 1807-1818. The colonel had had a successful career in the army and was a radical in politics, being the author of various pamphlets on political economy, and proprietor of the Westminster Review[405]. Even before Carruthers' demise he considered standing, but would not spend over £300 on the election, and would not oppose Hill in a contest[406]. Similarly the Conservatives needed a candidate. Henry Broadley, an agent of Carruthers, Sir George Murray, and Mr. Wortley lately unsuccessful in the West Riding, were discussed[407] by the Conservative Society, but the man chosen was Henry St. John Mildmay, son-in-law of Lord Ashburton, and a partner in Barings Bank[408].

Both men appeared in Hull in mid-June. Thompson took the moderate radical line: pro-free trade; a progressive property tax; opposition to the Corn Laws; against impressment and flogging in the forces; the spreading of the wealth of the Established Church, and firm support for corporate reform. Mildmay supported the alliance of Church and State, although admitting the Established Church had 'its blemishes. He gave cautious support for the Municipal Corporations Bill, supporting the rights of existing freemen. The Hull Reform Association was determined to have them properly registered[409].

In the short time which elapsed between arrival and polling, Thompson, his father and brother, canvassed hard to try 'to check the bribery which we knew would be employed by the Tories'[410]. Mildmay's campaign was orchestrated by the Conservative Society and loyally supported by the Hull Packet, which berated the Whigs for not honestly completing the registration of voters and safeguarding

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405. Bean, Northern Representation, 801; D.N.B., lvi, 224-26.

406. T.P. Thompson to Charles Thompson, 25 May, 10 June 1835. Thompson MSS. (Hull University Library). (See Nos.409-10).

407. Hull Rockingham, 13 June 1835.

408. Bean, Northern Representation, 874.

409. Hull Advertiser, 29 May, 19 June 1835; Hull Rockingham, 20 June 1835.

410. T.P. Thompson to Charles Thompson, 17, 18, 21 June 1835, Thompson MSS. (See Nos.411-13).

the position of freemen[411]. This was not entirely fair as the Hull Reform Association now united with the Society of Liberals, had been assiduously pursuing its labours since May 1835[412]. On the first day of polling Thompson's lead gradually sank from 300 to 79, and on the conclusion of the poll he led by a mere five votes[413].

Inevitably such a slender majority raised the political temperature. Three electors petitioned the House of Commons against the return of Thompson on the grounds of bribery and the non-qualification of certain voters - in all nineteen separate charges were brought[414]. A scrutiny was ordered, and although Thompson was confident of winning, he thought it might cost both sides £5,000[415]. The local newspapers lined up behind their candidates. The Hull Advertiser shouted Tory corruption and subscribed to a fund to support Thompson; the Hull Rockingham accused the petitioners of being 'the catspaws of aristocratic mortification', and the Hull Observer applauded Thompson's 'noble stand against the Anti-Reform faction[416]. The Hull Packet stood by Mildmay and raged against the conspiracy of 'Whigs, Radicals, and Papists'[417].

For six days a Commons Committee considered the petition. Sergeant Spankie appeared for the petitioners and Mr. Austin for Thompson. Election officials and voters were cross-examined in some detail, and Thompson was finally declared elected although eighteen voters were struck off. The proceedings were well reported in the Hull newspapers, and the Hull Packet later produced its reports as a pamphlet[418]. This was not quite the end. In August some Whig

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411. Hull Packet, 19 June 1835.

412. Hull Advertiser, 29 May 1835; Ram, Political Activities of Dissenters, 150.

413. Hull Advertiser, 19 June 1835; Hull Observer, 23 June 1835; Hull Rockingham, 27 June 1835. T.P. Thompson to Charles Thompson, 18, 21 June 1835, Thompson MSS. (See Nos.412-13).

414. C.J., xc, 407-8; Hull Advertiser, 10 July 1835.

415. T.P. Thompson to Charles Thompson, 24 June 1835. Thompson MSS., (See No.462).

416. Hull Advertiser, 17 July 1835; Hull Rockingham, 11 July 1835; Hull Observer, 23 June 1835.

417. Hull Packet, 19 June, 10 July 1835.

418. ibid., 31 July 1835; Hull Advertiser, 31 July 1835. A copy of the pamphlet is to be found in Hull Public Library.

supporters petitioned the Commons complaining of the bribery and malpractice of Carruthers in 1832, and Mildmay in 1835; the Conservative petitioners were also accused of abandoning their petition during the hearing to prevent further disclosures[419]. Mildmay's committee strongly denied the charges[420]. Nothing came of this petition, and Thompson's seat was secure.

419. C.J., xc, 536-7.

420. Hull Advertiser, 14 August 1835.

VI

The Members in Parliament

Hull probably thought itself best represented in parliament during most of the period under consideration when one of its members was a Yorkshire or Lincolnshire country gentleman, preferably connected with the government of the day, and when the other sprang from the mercantile class, though rivalries within the town often made it difficult for a purely local merchant to be chosen. In 1678, and in the first fifteen years of the eighteenth century, the two members conformed to that pattern. The death of Andrew Marvell in 1678 resulted in Hull being represented by Sir Anthony Gilby, the other sitting member who came from a Lincolnshire landed family, and the new man, William Ramsden, a successful merchant of the town[1]. In 1700 Sir William St. Quintin, a baronet with property in the East Riding, and William Maister, a Hull merchant were returned. They were later unopposed at the general elections of 1701, 1702, 1705, 1708, 1710, 1713 and 1715. A succession of gentlemen were returned between 1679 and 1698, but the best example of gentry representation of Hull was Lord Robert Manners. His career was unique in that although a stranger to Hull when first chosen in 1747, he managed to hold his seat until his death in 1782 standing at the elections of 1754, 1761, 1768, 1774 and 1782, only one of which was uncontested. Other members from the mercantile class who became successful representatives of the town were George Crowle who sat from 1724 to 1747; William Wilberforce was elected in 1780 and 1784, when he chose to sit for the county; Samuel Thornton, returned in 1784, 1790, 1796, and 1802, and defeated only in 1806; and John Staniforth, elected in 1802, 1806, 1807 and 1812 before being defeated in 1818. There were, of course, exceptions to this pattern. Neither member was of the mercantile class between 1747 and 1754, 1757 and 1780, and 1818 and 1820. Neither member could be described as a local country gentleman between 1734 and 1741,

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1. William Ramsden was a resident of Hull, whereas his son John lived on an estate in the West Riding (Henning, Commons 1660-90, i, 475-6).

1744 and 1747, 1782 and 1790, and 1802 and 1830.

Members for Hull, whatever their background were judged by their constituents on the practical services they were able to render the town. They were expected to work for local legislation supported by the Corporation, to seek naval protection and arrange for convoys in war-time, and to obtain special favours for their supporters. This was not all: in the later years of the seventeenth century the members were very much involved in the vexed question of the quartering of soldiers on the town. It was also part of their function to keep the Corporation informed of happenings in Parliament and at Court. In the days when newspapers were scarce, members such as Sir Anthony Gilby, Sir Michael Warton, William and John Ramsden, Charles Osborne and Sir William St. Quintin acted as news-letter writers, and also sent the mayor the printed notes of the House and copies of the Gazette. Members for York also wrote weekly newsletters[2]. To perform their functions efficiently it was advisable for the members to stand well with the government of the day, and Hull was never comfortable if its members were too closely linked with the Parliamentary Opposition. It was no sinecure to represent Hull. It was said that the younger Pitt established the 'limitation of franking ten and receiving fifteen letters daily' after consulting Samuel Thornton as to 'the number of his letters connected with the representation of that place during a period of much local business[3]. Many members found the business of the town in Parliament altogether too arduous. In 1764, when the Corporation was trying to secure a Scavengers Act, the Mayor wrote: 'The Members must be heartily tired that are oblig'd to attend so Long, I believe it was Some Such Long affair that Kill'd old Mr. Carter'[4]. The sheer weight of business they were expected to transact on behalf of the town may be judged from the resolutions

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2. H.R.O. BRL.92, for example. See also No.4-76 passim. For York see J.F. Quinn, 'The Parliamentary Constituencies of Yorkshire from the Accession of Queen Anne to the Fall of Walpole', Unpublished Lancaster University M.Litt. thesis, 1979, p.279. For other examples see J.H. Plumb, 'Elections to the House of Commons in the Reign of William III', Unpublished Cambridge University Ph.D. thesis, 1934, p.92.

3. Pryme, Daniel Sykes, 21n.

4. C. Scott to C. Monckton, 21 February 1764. H.R.O.BRL.1263. This reference is to the death of William Carter in 1744.

of the Corporation in their official bench books, the letter books of the Mayor and the surviving general correspondence. Likewise Trinity House and the Dock Company sent their requests, though not in such volume. Petitions from groups or individuals may be traced in the local newspapers and journals of the House of Commons. Requests from individuals abound in the surviving papers of such members as David Hartley and Walter Spencer Stanhope.

Whatever work they did for their constituents, the members had to take part in the affairs of the House of Commons at large. Until 1774 speeches from Hull representatives were rare, and several appear to have said nothing whatsoever. Oratory was largely the preserve of the politically important. Nonetheless Hull would not tolerate dead wood in parliament for very long. Sir Anthony Gilby had represented the borough throughout the Cavalier Parliament. He was deputy governor and proved a steadfast supporter of the Court party in the Commons. No speech or vote of his is recorded during the dying days of this parliament, but the steady stream of letters to the corporation testified to his diligence[5]. Andrew Marvel was replaced by William Ramsden who sat briefly in 1678 and then in the first Exclusion Parliament of 1679. There is no record of his having spoken but he was on the inquiry into the Post Office, and he was absent for the division on the second reading of the first exclusion bill on 21 May 1679[6]. Siding with the 'Country party' and regarded as 'worthy' by Shaftesbury[7], he seems to have been a popular figure and kept his constituents well supplied with letters[8] and probably incurring Gilby's jealousy[9].

A court nominee, Lemuel Kingdon, was returned in 1679, and his time as a representative for Hull was not particularly distinguished. As paymaster of the armed forces he served on a number of committees concerned with the army and navy. He made a brief speech in April 1679 on the delay in presenting the army

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5. See Nos.5-16, for example.
6. W. Cobbett, Parliamentary History of England. (London, 1806-20), iv, 1136, cited hereafter as Parl.Hist.; Henning, Commons 1660-90, iii, 312.
7. Bolton, Yorkshire Boroughs, 147.
8. See No.17, for example.
9. Gilby to the Mayor, 17 December 1678. H.R.O.BRL.915

accounts to Parliament[10] - the first recorded speech of a Hull M.P. in the period under consideration. He too was absent for the important division of 21 May 1679[11]. In that month, however, he 'did oblige himself to the House in offering £30,000 upon the security of the act for the present disbanding of the army, which was well ... accepted'[12].

Throughout the second Exclusion Parliament, and the third which met at Oxford, Hull was represented by Sir Michael Warton and William Gee, both Whig candidates. Again no speeches or votes are recorded, but Warton kept the town well informed on what was happening. His letters are particularly valuable on matters such as the Popish plot and the Oxford Parliament[13], where he was named to the committee of privileges[14]. Gee served on a committee of 21 December 1680 on a bill for the securing of the Protestant religion[15].

In 1685, under considerable government pressure, Sir Willoughby Hickman and John Ramsden were returned as court candidates. Hickman served on three committees, including the committee of 5 June 1685 to maintain the price of wool and iron, and that of 22 June to modify the laws against bankrupts, and spoke in the debate of 16 November on supply, moving that the House grant the relatively small sum of £400,000 to the army[16]. John Ramsden has left scant record of his part in the House; he only served on two committees; but his letters were important in keeping Hull informed of the progress of Monmouth's rising[17]. He sat with William Gee in the Convention Parliament, and with Charles Osborne between 1690 and 1695. Osborne was the brother of Danby and became deputy governor of Hull; he signed the Association in 1696[18] and is recorded as voting to reduce

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10. C.J., ix, 581.
11. Parl.Hist., iv, 1136.
12. William Ramsden to the Mayor, 3 May 1679. H.R.O.BRL.940
13. See Nos.5-54, passim.; Henning, Commons 1660-90, ii, 383, 673.
14. C.J., ix, 706.
15. C.J., ix, 687.
16. A. Grey, Debates in the House of Commons, 1667-94. (London, 1763), viii. Cited hereafter as Grey's Debates. Henning, Commons 1660-90, ii, 546.
17. Henning, Commons 1660-90, iii, 312.
18. Browning, Danby, iii, 200.

the price of guineas in 1696 and against the disbanding of the army in 1699; he was described as a court supporter in Samuel Grascome's list of 1693[19] and was probably a Tory. He sat until 1701.

In 1695 Sir William St. Quintin was returned and sat until 1723. He was a Whig, had held posts in customs and Treasury. One speech of his is reported on 10 December 1697 against disbanding the army[20]. However during a parliamentary life of over twenty five years he is recorded as voting on many occasions. Like Osborne he signed the Association[21], and in the same year voted for the proposed council of trade, the recoinage proposals and Fenwick's attainder[22]. Throughout 1698/9 he supported a standing army and voted against its disbandment[23]. In 1701 William Maister joined St. Quintin and their parliamentary partnership lasted until the former's death in 1716. Both supported the Lords' amendment to the bill to secure the Protestant succession on 13 February 1702/3[24]. They both opposed the Tack in 1704[25], supported the court candidate - John Smith - as Speaker in 1705[26], supported the Court interest over the Regency Bill of 1706[27], over the Bill for Naturalising Foreign Protestants[28], and the impeachment of Dr Sacheverall in 1709[29]. Maister alone, it seems, voted in the division on 'no peace without Spain' on 7 December 1711[30], and St. Quintin on the South Sea Bill, 25 May 1711[31]. In 1713 both voted against the French

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19. H. Horwitz, Parliament, Policy and Politics in the Reign of William III. (Manchester, 1977), 352.
20. ibid., 227.
21. Browning, Danby, iii, 200.
22. I.F. Burton, P.W.J. Riley, E. Rowlands, 'The Political Parties in the Reign of Anne and William III: The Evidence of Division Lists', Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, Supp.7 (1968), 56. Cited hereafter as B.I.H.R.
23. Horwitz, Parliament and Politics, 354.
24. Burton, et.al., B.I.H.R., Supp.7, 56.
25. ibid.
26. W.A. Speck, 'The Choice of a Speaker in 1705', B.I.H.R., xxxvii (1964), 46.
27. B.B. Walcott, 'The Division Lists of the House of Commons, 1689-1715', B.I.H.R., xiv (1936), 32.
28. E. Cunnington, 'The General Election of 1705', Unpublished London university M.A. thesis (1939), 205-6, 267.
29. ibid.
30. G. Holmes, 'The Commons Division on 'No Peace without Spain', 7 December 1711', B.I.H.R., xxxiii (1960), 234.

commerce bill[32], St. Quintin against the expulsion of Steele from the Commons in 1714[33]. Both supported the Septennial bill in 1716[34], and St. Quintin, after Maister's death, voted for the repeal of the Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts 1719, and against the Peerage Bill 1719[35]. Maister was succeeded by his brother-in-law, Nathaniel Rogers who voted against the government in the division of 4 June 1717 on Cadogan, with them on the repeal of the Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts, and against them on the Peerage Bill[36].

St. Quintin's long parliamentary service ended with his death in 1723, and after the election of 1724 he was followed by George Crowle who sat until 1747. In the Commons he steadily supported Sir Robert Walpole who gave him a place in the Victualling Office in 1733 and a supernumary naval post. He voted with the government over the civil list in 1729 as did his partner Lord Micklethwaite who sat from 1727 to 1734[37], both voted for the payment of Hessian troops in 1730 and for the Excise Bill in 1733[38]. Henry Maister was returned after Micklethwaite's death and he and Crowle both voted against the attempt to repeal the Septennial Act in 1734, for the Convention of Pardo in 1739, and against the Place Bill in 1740[39]. William Carter was returned in 1741 and with Crowle, voted for the government candidate Giles Earle as chairman of the committee on privileges and elections[40]. Carter supported government

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31. J.G. Sperling, 'The Division of 25 May 1711 on an Amendment to the South Sea Bill: A Note on the Reality of Politics in the Age of Anne', Historical Journal, iv2 (1961), 193.
32. Cunnington, 1705 Election, 205-6, 267.
33. ibid.
34. R. Chandler, The History and Proceedings of the House of Commons. (London, 1741-4), xii Appendix. Cited hereafter as Chandler, Proceedings.
35. ibid.
36. Sedgwick, Commons 1715-54, ii, 390-91.
37. Chandler, Proceedings, viii Appendix.
38. ibid.
39. J. Torbuck, A Collection of the Parliamentary Debates in England. (London, 1744), xi, 57-70, passim. Cited hereafter as Torbuck, Debates.
40. Chandler, Proceedings, viii Appendix.

over all issues until his death in 1744 such as the 1742 division on Hanoverian troops[41]. General Harry Pulteney, governor of Hull was brought in by government, and although he spent some time in Flanders arranging for the return of British forces he voted for taking Hanoverian troops into British pay, in April 1746[42].

The election of 1747 brought Lord Robert Manners and Thomas Carter, both government supporters. Lord Robert supported each successive Administration except that of Rockingham, against which he voted over the Anstruther election in January 1766, and the repeal of the Stamp Act in March 1766[43]. Evidence of other recorded votes is slim, but in March 1755 he supported the government candidate in the Mitchell election[44], and opposed Dunning's motion on 6 April 1780, his last recorded vote was on 24 April 1780 with government against adjournment[45]. In the period under consideration his tenure as member was the longest although he never seems to have spoken. Thomas Carter seems to have left little mark on the Commons between 1747 and 1754. Richard Crowle was the only Hull member in the eighteenth century to be classed as a 'Tory'; he appears as such in Henry Fox's list[46] over the Mitchell election petition[47] and in the division list on the election of 24 March 1755. 'At the Horn' is the heading[48], a reference to the Horn Tavern where the Tories met at the time of this minor controversy. He sided with the Tories over the Oxfordshire election petitions[49], and was one of the two Tory members on the joint parliamentary committee on the Militia Bill, appointed on 21 January 1756[50]. He spoke against

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41. ibid.
42. Sedgwick, Commons 1715-54, i, 553; Parl.Hist., xii, 1054.
43. Sedgwick, Commons 1715-54, ii, 374; B.L. Add. MSS., Newcastle Papers, 33034, ff.110-11.
44. Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90, iii, 107.
45. L.J. Colley, 'The Mitchell Election Division, 24 March 1755', B.I.H.R., xlix (1976), 101.
46. Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90, iii, 107.
47. Sedgwick, Commons 1715-54, i, 279.
48. Colley, B.I.H.R., XLIX, 101.
49. Sedgwick, Commons 1715-54, i, 120.
50. L.J. Colley, In Defiance of Oligarchy: The Tory Party 1714-60. (London, 1982), 275.

the subsidy treaties on 10 December 1755[51]. On Crowle's death Sir George Montgomery Methan was returned, and again in 1761. He voted against the peace preliminaries to end the Seven Years War on 9 December 1762[52], opposed the motion on general warrants on 17 February 1764[53], opposed the Grenville administration and was classed by Newcastle on 10 May 1764, as a 'sure friend'. His only reported speech in March 1764 concerned a dispute over a Yorkshire turnpike. On being appointed to a government office, he vacated his seat[54].

William Weddell, a follower of Rockingham, was elected in 1766. Like Methan he did not have an impressive record: he voted for an amendment to the Address to the Crown on 9 January 1770, against the motion on John Wilkes on 30 January 1770, and in favour of perpetuating Grenville's election act[55], but there is no record of him having spoken. By 1774 his popularity had declined.

The election of that year brought one of the most earnest of all Hull's members. David Hartley was described, perhaps unfairly, by Wraxall as '... destitute of any personal recommendations of manner [he] possessed some talent, with unsullied probity, added to indefatigable perseverance and labour'. In the Commons 'the intolerable length, when increased by the dullness of his speeches, rendered him an absolute nuisance even to his own friends'. Yet his benevolence was unquestioned, and many of his ideas were far ahead of his time[56]. During his time as Hull's representative he

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51. Sedgwick, Commons, 1715-54, i, 280.
52. Parl.Hist., xv, 1273.
53. Parl.Hist., xv, 1405.
54. Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90, iii, 133.
55. Parl.Hist., xvi, 727, 799; xvii 1076.
56. Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90, ii, 592. For a sympathetic re-appraisal see J. Major, Cementing the China Vase: David Hartley and America 1774-84. (Hull, 1983), passim.

made nearly a hundred parliamentary speeches, all on the American war or finance; and between 1775 and 1779 he made eight motions for conciliation with the colonies. His proposals varied according to circumstances, but his assumptions were always the same: the British Government was bent on tyrannizing the colonists, and whatever the Americans did was justifiable. For example, when Lord North was implementing his legislation against the colonists, Hartley urged the suspension of the act for closing the port of Boston[57]; when hostilities started he did not want the trade of the colonists completely throttled[58]; he was opposed to hiring German mercenaries to fight in America[59]; he tried to estimate the probable cost of the war[60], and throughout ran his pleas for conciliation, and then peace and the recognition of American independence. He expressed his ideas also in a series of letters written to his Hull constituents[61], which were not at all well received. Defeated in 1780, he returned two years later and concerned himself with peace negotiations and trying to reach a trade agreement with the Americans[62]. Other issues engaged his attention. In 1774-5 he spoke against the expulsion of John Wilkes[63], condemned the cruelties of the slave trade[64], supported a bill to exclude contractors from the Commons, and voted for Dunning's motion[65]. He deserved better treatment than he received at Hull, but he was by no means the only member to fall foul of his constituents. Edward Burke was defeated at Bristol in 1780, after gradually alienating his brother member and his supporters[66]. Hartley at least worked fairly well with his fellow representative.

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57. Parl.Hist., xviii, 44. Speech of 13 December 1774.
58. ibid., xviii, 393, 411, 599. Speeches of 8, 9 March, 5 April 1775.
59. ibid., xviii, 1170. Speech of 29 February 1776.
60. ibid., xviii, 1302-5; xix, 549-50. Speeches of 1 April 1776, 5 December 1778.
61. D. Hartley, Letters on the American War. (London, 1778).
62. Parl.Hist., xxiii, 640, 727. Speeches of 11 March, 2 April 1783.
63. ibid., xviii, 378.
64. ibid., xix, 315.
65. ibid., xix, 1090; xxi, 367.
66. P.T. Underdown, Burke and Bristol, (Bristol, 1961), 10-17.

William Wilberforce was elected in 1780, and whilst his time as a representative of Hull was confined to four years, he continued to serve the town indirectly, as member for Yorkshire until returned for Bramber in 1812. By character and circumstances Wilberforce was an independent. However in the first few months in the Commons he seems to have sided with North's administration and he voted with them on the choice of a Speaker on 31 October 1780[67], and was at first opposed to the associated counties movement[68]. His first speech seems to have been on 17 May 1781 during a debate on the revenue laws, when he presented a petition from Hull against them[69]. Later, in December during a debate on the navy estimates, he urged the building of ships in Hull yards[70]. His friendship with the younger Pitt soon brought him over to the Opposition, although on 31 May 1781 he voted against Pitt's motion on the commission of accounts[71]. In his first speech of consequence, 22 February 1782, on Conway's motion against the war, he 'declared that while the present ministry existed there were no prospects of either peace or happiness in the kingdom'[72]. Thereafter in a crucial division of the last weeks of North's government, he voted with the Opposition[73].

Wilberforce was a strong supporter of the Shelburne administration in which Pitt was Chancellor of the Exchequer; and he seconded the Government motion on the peace preliminaries on 17 February 1783[74]. On 7 May he voted for Pitt's motion on parliamentary reform. He opposed the Fox-North coalition, and spoke and voted against Fox's East India Bill[75]. Certainly by the time of the crucial election of 1784 he had made his mark as a young member of whom Hull could

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67. R.I. and S. Wilberforce, Life of Wilberforce, i, 19.
68. Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90, iii, 636; Wilberforce, Life, i, 20.
69. Wilberforce, Life, 20-21.
70. Parl.Hist., xxii, 800-1.
71. Namier and Brookes, Commons 1754-90, iii, 636.
72. ibid.
73. I.R. Christie, The End of Lord North's Ministry, 1780-82. (London, 1958), 402.
74. Parl.Hist., xxii, 439.
75. Parl.Hist., xxiii, 1247; xiv, 50, 485.

be proud, but however bright the future might seem he was not always pleased with his efforts, for example he noted in his diary on 8 December 1783 'House sat till near four, spoke ill - confused', however by Christmas eve his spirits had revived, 'spoke very well'[76].

The elections of 1784 at Hull produced two new members, Samuel Thornton who sat for twenty two years, was returned in March, and Walter Spencer Stanhope who represented the town between 1784 and 1790. From his diaries it would appear that Stanhope was 'an assiduous attender of parliamentary debates', but the entries merely note his presence on particular occasions, not what he said, and rarely how he voted. Without acknowledging any party tie, he supported Pitt and was very strongly under Wilberforce's influence. At the outset of his parliamentary career he voted for Sawbridge's motion[77], and supported Pitt as Chancellor of the Exchequer[78]. In 1785 he spoke on a bill for the future regulation of trials of controversial elections, complaining of the large number of lawyers on the committees[79]. In the following year he spoke in the debate on the civil list[80] and was particularly concerned over the excising of wines and the shop tax, both of which threatened his constituents[81]. More serious matters arose with the impeachment of Warren Hastings. Stanhope took the same line as Wilberforce, and considered Sheridan's speech on the charge respecting the Begums of Oude on 7 February 1787 'the best ... I have ever heard'[82], and told the House it had determined him to vote for impeachment[83]. Later he was much concerned with the wool and corn bills as again the interests of his

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76. Wilberforce, Life, i, 48-9. Unfortunately the manuscript diary Wilberforce kept between 1783 and 1785 has been lost. R. Coupland used it for the first and second editions of his biography in 1923 and 1945, and says the substance of it appears in the Life. (R. Coupland, Wilberforce: A Narrative. (London, 1923, 1945), passim.

77. Parl.Hist., xxiv, 977.

78. J. Stockdale, The Parliamentary Register (London, 1804-13) ii, 251. Cited hereafter as Stockdale, Register.

79. Parl.Hist., xxv, 402-3.

80. Stockdale, Register, viii, 125.

81. Stockdale, Register, viii, 292; Parl.Hist., xxv, 1170-71; Spencer Stanhope, Memoirs, viii, entries for May and June 1786, passim.

82. Spencer Stanhope, Memoirs, ix, entries of 7, 8 February, 1787.

83. Stockdale, Register, x, 112-113.

constituents were involved[84]. In December 1788 he supported Pitt's resolutions on the King's illness[85] and in the following year took an interest in the beginning of the campaign against the slave trade and a new dock bill for Hull[86]. He entertained important Hull people when they were in London, such as William Hammond and Robert Broadley, and he dined regularly with Pitt, but in spite of his efforts he was never really popular with his consituents.

Samuel Thornton came from and was subsequently head of, a rich merchant family, heavily involved in the trade with Russia. Added to this he was a director, and for a while, governor of the Bank of England. Such a concentration of commercial power endeared him to the Corporation of Hull, Trinity House and the Dock Company, and he was probably the most influential member for Hull in the eighteenth century. In his first parliament (1784-90) more than a dozen speeches by him are reported all on commercial or economic matters. He seems to have been the spokesman for the Greenland merchants: during the debate on the Greenland fishery, 12 April 1786, he told the House that the committee of Greenland shipowners in London had authorised him to state their views in the debate; and as their spokesman he was consulted by Jenkinson about Russian and North European trade in April 1786[87]. The Greenland whaling interest at Hull clearly had cause to be grateful to their representative[88].

In 1787 he supported Pitt's plan for the consolidation of customs and excise duties, adding that the merchants were perplexed by the present state of the duties[89]. At the local level he was involved in the activities to extend the docks at Hull. As he put it:

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84. Spencer Stanhope, Memoirs, x, entries for March, April, May 1788.

85. Parl.Hist., xxvii, 779.

86. Spencer Stanhope, Memoirs, xi, passim.

87. Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90, iii, 525.

88. Jackson, Eighteenth Century Hull, 172-76.

89. Parl.Hist., xxiii, 635.

> 'I was a good deal employed myself by a Bill which I introduced for extending the dock and accommodations of shipping..., and not a little harassed by the contending interests of two parties in this business, between whom it was my earnest desire to hold an even balance, and not be swayed from it by the evident rules of justice. Fortunately the parties are in a measure since united, and I hope to execute the work with more ease and satisfaction by its postponement to the present sessions'.[90]

On the general political scene, he supported Pitt's motion for parliamentary reform on 13 April 1785 and the motion concerning the King's illness on 16 December 1788[91].

The end of this parliament in 1790 co-incided with the death of Thornton's father and Samuel becoming head of the family business, inheriting a fortune of about £600,000. Also he became increasingly the spokesman for the Bank of England in the Commons. As such he co-operated with government whenever he could; but sometimes disagreed with them. Thus he opposed Pitt's proposal to take £500,000 from the unclaimed dividends at the Bank, on 15 December 1790, as 'a stab to public credit[92]. He defended Bank policy during the crisis in commercial credit on 11 and 29 April 1793[93], approving the issue of Exchequer Bills to meet it. He admitted that the Bank had advised against the loan to the Emperor on 14 December 1796[94], but opposed Opposition clamour for a bill of indemnity to justify it. As deputy governor, for example, he assured the House on 28 February 1797 that the Bank welcomed an inquiry into the stoppage of cash payments, having nothing to fear by it[95]. Between this date and his defeat

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90. The two contending parties were the Dock Company and the Corporation. The new dock did not materialise until 1802. (J. Thornton (ed), The Book of Yearly Recollections of Samuel Thornton. (printed privately, 1891),45.There is a copy in the library of King's College, Cambridge).

91. Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90, iii, 525; Parl.Hist., xxvii, 779.

92. Parl.Hist., xxviii, 1009.

93. J. Almon, The Debates and Proceedings of the British House of Commons. (London, 1766-75), xxxv, 209-10; cited hereafter as Almon, Debates. Parl.Hist., xxx, 759.

94. Parl.Hist., xxxii, 1333.

95. Parl.Hist., xxxii, 1547.

in the 1806 election, another dozen speeches on banking and currency matters are reported[96].

On other issues he was less forthcoming, but nonetheless he spoke and voted on a variety of matters. In March 1791 he criticised frauds arising out of the drawback on sugar[97]. As in 1790, he spoke for the Greenland Whale fishing on 24 February 1792[98]. He associated himself with Wilberforce's campaign against the slave trade, voting with him in 1791 and 1796[99], and opposed the West Indies sugar planters' lobby on 22 May 1792[100], but there seems to be no speech of his on abolition. He did not think the French wars caused much upset to commercial credit[101], and denied that convoy protection for the merchant navy was inadequate[102]. In May 1796 in defence of the London wet dock, he cited the example of the Hull dock[103]. Thornton was an admirer of Pitt and said little during Addington's administration, although he was critical of the new premier's financial policy in 1802[104]. He did not join Pitt in opposition to Addington until 15 March 1804[105]. He went on to vote with the minorities that forced the ministry to resign, 23, 25 April 1804[106]. Thereafter he gave his support to Pitt until the latter died in 1806.

Apart from Stanhope, Thornton's other colleagues as representatives for Hull were ineffective. Lord Burford, elected in 1790, sided with the Opposition in the Oczakov division, by pair on

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96. Almon, Debates, 1797-1803, passim.; Parl.Hist., 1797-1803, passim.
97. Almon, Debates, xxviii, 573.
98. ibid., xxxi, 269.
99. ibid., xxix, 28; Parl.Hist., xxxii, 902.
100. ibid., xxxiii, 108.
101. Parl.Hist., xxx, 765.
102. Almon, Debates, xxxvii, 240.
103. ibid., xliv, 338.
104. Parl.Hist., xxxvi, 897.
105. T.C. Hansard, Parliamentary Debates, 1st Series, i, 927. Cited hereafter as Hansard.
106. Hansard, 1st Series, i, 251, 319.

12 April 1791[107], and by vote on 1 March 1792[108]. In December 1792 he was listed as a Portland Whig and ceased to act with the Opposition[109]. Sir Charles Turner, returned in 1796 made even less impact. No speech is known and he is not known to have opposed government except on parliamentary reform on 26 May 1797[110].

The next member to represent Hull for any length of time was the London merchant John Staniforth who sat between 1802 and 1818. He was the nephew of the Hull merchant Philip Green; a government supporter, and like Thornton, a director of the Bank of England. He did not vote against the Addington administration until Fox's motion on defence on 23 April 1804[111]. He supported Pitt's second government, voting against Whitbread's motion of censure on Melville on 8 April 1805[112]. Although he opposed the American Intercourse Bill on 17 June 1806[113], he had supported the repeal of the Additional Forces act on 30 April 1806 and had made known his intention of giving the Ministry of all the Talents 'a fair and liberal support'[114]. Accordingly Lord Grenville referring to him as one of 'our most respectable and steady friends in the House of Commons' supported his claim to the patronage of Hull against those of Earl Fitzwilliam in August 1806, and was not prepared to withhold government support from him at the general election[115]. He was listed among the staunch friends of the abolition of the slave trade but did not support Brand's motion on 9 April 1807, and in 1810 the Whigs listed him 'Government'[116]. His only recorded votes against the Portland ministry

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107. Almon, Debates, xxix, 107.
108. Hansard, 1st Series, xxix, 1002.
109. Ex.Inf., History of Parliament Trust.
110. Almon, Debates, 2nd Series, ii, 656.
111. Hansard, 1st Series, ii, 251.
112. ibid., iii, 48.
113. ibid., vii, 730.
114. Ex.Inf., History of Parliament Trust.
115. H.M.C., Fortesque, vii, 288-9; John Staniforth to Lord Grenville, 29 August 1806, Lord Grenville to M.A. Taylor, 25 October 1806. B.L. Add.Mss., Grenville MSS., 59387 ff.65-6; 59390 f.91.
116. Ex.Inf., History of Parliament Trust.

were on the Duke of York's alleged corruption on 16, 17 March 1809[117]. He voted for Porchester's motion for an inquiry into the Scheldt expedition on 26 January 1810[118] and Whitbread's motion critical of Chatham's conduct 23 February 1810 and did so again on Porchester's final resolutions on the expedition on 30 March 1810[119]. On 8 June 1810 he presented a Hull petition hostile to Burdett and reform[120]. He again voted with government on the Regency, 1 January 1811[121]. On 27 February 1812 he presented a Hull petition against the Orders in Council[122].

In the following parliament he spoke against the renewal of the East India Company's monopoly and complained of the delay in issuing licences[123]. He voted with the government on the civil list, 14 April 1815, but for the postponment of the grant to the Duke of Cumberland on 3 July 1815[124]. He presented a petition from his Hull constituents against the property tax on 29 February 1816 and voted against its renewal on 18 March[125]. He supported government on the public revenue bill on 17 June 1816[126] and Ridley's motion for a reduction of the Lords of the Admiralty on 25 February 1817[127], but voted against them on the additional grant to the Duke of Cumberland on 15 April 1818[128]. However he opposed Catholic relief on 24 May 1813, repeating his vote on 9 May 1817[129]. Staniforth was criticised at Hull during the 1818 electoral campaign for his participation in the profits of the East India Company monopoly, for his failure to oppose the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act and the Corn bill. Although a supporter, W.W. Bolton,

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117. Hansard, 1st Series, xiii, 639-40, 708-9.
118. ibid., xv, 209.
119. ibid., xvi, 425.
120. C.J., lxxvi, 135.
121. Hansard, 1st Series, xviii, 601.
122. ibid., xviii, 979-82.
123. ibid., xxvi, 550.
124. ibid., xxxi, 1080.
125. ibid., xxxiii, 453, 1020.
126. ibid., xxxiv, 1130.
127. ibid., xxxv, 496.
128. ibid., xxxviii, 116.
129. ibid., xxvi, 362; xxxvi, 440.

assured the electors that Staniforth 'came over from France expressly for the purpose of opposing the [Corn bill]; and that he Voted against it upon every Division of the House', there seems to be no record of his opposition[130]. He was defeated in the 1818 election.

Three members sat for Hull between 1806 and 1818 as colleagues of Staniforth. W.J. Denison had unsuccessfully contested the 1802 election, and was returned in 1806 with the support of Lord Fitzwilliam. He supported the Grenville ministry, but voted against their successors on 9 April 1807[131]. In the election of that year he declined to stand and his place was taken by Lord Mahon. When the Whig opposition faced their critical divisions of 26 June and 6 July 1807 Mahon voted for them, and also for Lord Cochrane's motion for an inquiry into places and pensions, 7 July 1807[132]. He voted against the Copenhagen expedition of 3 February 1808, and on 29 February he spoke in favour of, and was teller for Whitbread's motion for a mediated armistice[133]. He was in the minority against the Orders in Council[134], and on Irish questions on 3 and 25 May 1808[135]. He opposed the Convention of Cintra on 21 February 1809[136] and was in the minorities against the duke of York, 15, 17 March[137]. He opposed the Address to the throne of 23 January 1810[138], and supported the Scheldt inquiry on 26 January[139], although he opposed the censure on Chatham on 23 February[140], he rejoined the Opposition on 30 March[141]. On 21 May 1810 he opposed parliamentary reform

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130. Kingston Wit, Humour and Satire, 7, 11.
131. Hansard, 1st Series, ix, 347.
132. ibid., ix, 688, 733, 739.
133. ibid., x, 311, 866-7, 870.
134, ibid., x, 895.
135. Stockdale, Register, xii, 185; Parl.Hist., xi, 895.
136. Hansard, 1st Series, xii, 974.
137. ibid., xiii, 639-40, 708-11.
138. ibid., xv, 105.
139. ibid., xv, 208.
140. ibid., xv, 584.
141. ibid., xvi, 423.

although on 28 May he presented a petition from Hull for economy and reform[142]. He spoke three times during that session: on 29 January he called for an inquiry into the apparently inadequate proportion contributed by Scotland in taxation; and on 16 February he seconded the Lord Advocate's explanatory motion for evidence on the subject. Then on 26 February he ridiculed complaints about the employment of foreign troops[143]. After this he seems to have been disillusioned with parliamentary life, and in the session of 1811 only one vote, against Catholic relief is known on 31 May[144]. In 1812 he went abroad to Malta and Sicily and there is no further evidence of parliamentary attendance. He was defeated in the 1812 election and replaced by G.W. Denys, a government supporter. The new member made little real impact at Westminster. No speech of his is reported. He voted against Catholic relief throughout 1813[145], and again in 1817[146]. His only other known votes were with ministers on the civil list 8 May 1815[147], and in the minority for the property tax on 18 March 1816[148]. He did not seek re-election in 1818.

In 1818 two new and untried members were returned for Hull. J.R.G. Graham, a young Whig from the Cumberland gentry, made his maiden speech on 18 March 1819 in support of Ridley's motion for a reduction in the numbers of lords of the Admiralty, he called for 'an administration relying honestly on public opinion for its support, and not one placed by the Crown beyond the reach of public opinion and defying it'[149]. Generally the speech was well received but George Agar Ellis who three weeks earlier had described Graham as 'disagreable besides being a Whig incarnate', considered it to be a failure[150]. Following Lord Fitzwilliam's dismissal from

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142. Hansard, 1st Series, xvii, 194.
143. ibid., xv, 212-13, 430, 461.
144. ibid., xx, 428.
145. ibid., xxiv, 1077; xxvi, 362.
146. ibid., xxxvi, 439.
147. Ex.Inf. History of Parliament Trust.
148. Hansard, 1st Series, xxxiii, 454.
149. ibid., xxxiv, 1063-4.
150. George Agar Ellis to Ralph Sneyd, 1, 20 March 1819. Sneyd MSS., deposited in the library of Keele University.

the Lord Lieutenancy of the West Riding over his criticism of the government's conduct at Peterloo, Graham resigned his commission in the West Riding Yeomenry Cavalry[151]. His actions in the House reflected this and he voted in all recorded divisions against the government's repressive legislation of November-December 1819 which culminated in the Six Acts[152]. On 7 December 1819 he enquired whether the Seditious Meetings bill would apply to nomination meetings in parliamentary constituencies, and on 20 December he spoke strongly against any extension of press censorship[153]. Graham was unwilling to incur the expense of a further Hull election and did not stand again in 1820.

John Mitchell a government supporter, was Graham's partner for two years and continued to sit until 1826. He is not known to have spoken throughout the eight years. He voted with government against an inquiry into the state of the nation, 18 May 1819[154] and paired in favour of the Foreign Enlistment Bill on 10 June[155]. He voted with government against Tavistock's motion on the conduct of ministers during the proceedings against Queen Caroline, 6 February 1821[156], and against Plunkett's motion for a committee to examine Catholic claims, 28 February[157]. In both cases he differed from his colleague, Daniel Sykes. He opposed Hume's motion for economy and retrenchment in public spending on 21 June[158]. In 1822 he voted against Brougham's motion on the distressed state of the country, 11 February[159], and against Althorp's resolution on a proposed plan for the relief of distress[160]. However both he and Sykes voted on the majority for Ridley's motion for the reduction of the Lords of the Admiralty, 1 March[161]. He voted with government on the

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151, Graham to Fitzwilliam, 29 October 1819. Fitzwilliam MS., Box.98.

152. Hansard, 1st Series, xli, 229, 569, 678, 805, 879, 1013, 1091, 1163, 1179, 1233, 1568.

153. Hansard, 1st Series, xli, 840, 1331-36.

154. ibid., xl, 551.

155. Ex.Inf., History of Parliament Trust.

156. Hansard, 2nd Series, iv, 509.

157. ibid., iv, 1033.

158. ibid., v, 1443.

159. ibid., vi, 278.

160. ibid., vi, 611.

161. ibid., vi, 882.

Catholic Peers Bill, 30 April[162], and against Burdett's motion to consider catholic claims[163], he paired in the minority on the third reading of a Catholic Relief bill, 10 May 1825[164].

In the uncontested election of 1820 Mitchell was joined by Daniel Sykes, a Whig barrister who became Recorder of Hull. Over the next decade Sykes won the affection of his constituents by sheer hard work and his support of a number of worthy causes. He was the most active of all the members considered in this study. His speeches were many but never rivalled Hartley's in length and dreariness. On 5 June 1820 he made his maiden speech in support of a petition from the freeholders of the county of Hull who were unable to vote in parliamentary elections. Sykes presented a petition from them, and said they numbered between six and seven hundred[165]. Throughout his years as a member for Hull he campaigned for these unfortunates. During the rest of this session he voted against government in ten divisions, for example on the civil list, the Aliens bill, the Mutiny bill and Wilberforce's motion for 'adjusting the differences existing in the Royal Family'[166]. By the second session he was well into his stride. He presented petitions from Hull and Cottingham complaining of the treatment of the Queen by the Bill of Pains and Penalties 24, 26 January 1821, and urged that her name might be restored to the Liturgy[167]. Moderate parliamentary reform engaged his interest and in a speech of 19 March 1821 he hoped that the two seats from Grampound might be transferred to Yorkshire[168]. In the following month he supported Lambton's motion for reform, but observed that whilst he was no friend of universal

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162. Hansard, 2nd Series, vii, 279.

163. ibid., xii, 843.

164. ibid., xiii, 560.

165. ibid., i, 884.

166. ibid., i, 164, 227, 388, 459, 798, 1086, 1315, 1399; ii, 190, 300.

167. ibid., iv, 69-70, 122, 313-14.

168. ibid., v, 338.

suffrage, the motion excluded all artisans who were not house-holders[169]. The economic life of his constituents was not forgotten, and he spoke on the Hull Poor Rates Bill, 10 February 1821, presented the views of shipowners to the committee on the Timber Duties Act, 5 April, sought a reduction of the army estimates 13 April, and was critical of the navigation laws, 25 June[170]. Twenty votes are recorded during this session. In five motions he sided with the Opposition over the treatment of the Queen 23, 26 January, 6, 13 and 15 February[171]. He voted against the renewal of sugar duties, 9 February 1821, and for Hume's motion for a detailed consideration of the ordnance estimates, 28 February[172]. On two occasions he voted for a committee to consider Catholic claims 28 February, 2 March[173]. Other votes supported the Husbandry Horse Duty Act, opposed the bill to repeal the duties on malt, opposed a grant to the duke of Clarence, and on four occasions he supported a reduction of expenditure on the army[174]. On European matters he was a liberal, voting in the minority on Hutchinson's motion on the state of Europe, 20 June 1821, and Lord William Bentinck's on the revolt in Sicily, 21 June[175].

During the session of 1822 the depression in agriculture dominated his speeches, and he advocated a reduction of taxes as a contribution towards relief, 18 February, 13 May 1822[176]. He attacked the tax on candles as 'a tax on labour itself', as the 'industrious mechanic worked many hours ... by candle light'. Twenty three votes are recorded for this session, most of them concerned with proposed reductions in public spending, duties, or government offices. In all cases he voted for the matter in hand, albeit

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169. Hansard, 2nd Series, v, 442-4.
170. ibid., iv, 795-6; v, 54, 211, 1299.
171. ibid., iv, 36, 220, 511, 666, 715.
172. ibid., v, 574, 742.
173. ibid., v, 1032, 1076.
174. ibid., iv, 1245, 1263, 1401; v, 38, 201, 213, 1081, 1210, 1213.
175. ibid., v, 1228, 1253.
176. ibid, v, 1211; vi, 489-91; vii, 533.

in the minority[177].

In the fourth session Sykes urged the amendment of the Insolvent Debtors Act, 18 March 1823, and complained at the haste with which the Merchant Vessels Apprentices Bill was being carried through, 24 March[178]. He continued his support for parliamentary reform supporting a petition from Lincolnshire to that end, 21 April[179]. Towards the end of the session he spoke on the laws affecting merchandise, 15 May 1823, and on the same day made a long speech against slavery in support of Fowell Buxton's motion for abolition[180]. A further peroration followed on 21 May against the tax on tallow candles, and in his final speech, 6 June, he wanted Huskisson's Reciprocity of Duties bill held over until the next session to give the shipping interest a chance to digest it[181]. As in the previous session most of Sykes's recorded votes were in unsuccessful support of either retrenchment in government spending or some aspect of taxation. He supported the reduction of the national debt 14 March 1823[182], and expenditure on colonies and foreign embassies, 14, 24, 25 March[183]; he voted for Maberly's motion for a repeal of the Assessed taxes, 18 March[184], and for an inquiry into the malt and beer tax, 28 May 1823[185]. Two votes were cast for reform of parliament: for Russell's motion of 24 April 1823, and Hamilton's on the state of Scottish county representation[186]. The remaining votes concerned the Merchant Vessels Apprentices Act, 24 March, the conduct of the Lord Advocate of Scotland, 3 June, and the delays in Chancery, 5 June[187].

Several of Sykes's speeches and votes in the 1824 session were devoted to humanitarian causes. On 5 and 15 March he voted in the minority on Hume's motion to reduce corporal punishment in the

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177. Hansard, 2nd Series, vi, 276-1400, passim.; vii, 49-670, passim.
178. ibid., viii, 612, 664.
179. ibid., viii, 1149.
180. ibid., ix, 256, 318-26.
181. ibid., ix, 390-4, 799.
182. ibid., viii, 590.
183. ibid., viii, 597, 657, 695.
184. ibid., viii, 609.
185. ibid., ix, 598.
186. ibid., viii, 1288; ix, 643.

armed forces[188], and on 11 March he spoke out strongly against flogging 'which he considered as nothing else than an anatomical experiment upon a living subject'[189]. He spoke, on 18 March, in support of a petition to end the impressment of seamen, he intended to present a similar petition from his constituents 'very numerously and respectably signed'[190]. On more general matters, he spoke twice on the bill to repeal the usuary laws, 31 March, 8 April[191]; spoke and voted in support of Hobhouse's motion to repeal the window tax[192], and opposed the second reading of the East India Company bill as it seemed 'to the great prejudice of the public interest'[193]. Fifteen votes are reported for this session. Excluding the above three, Sykes voted with the Opposition for Abercrombie's motion on the state of the representation of Edinburgh[194], for Hume's motion for reducing the grant for the civil establishment of the Ordnance, 27 February[195], and for Abercrombie's complaint against the Lord Chancellor[196]. He also gave his support to worthy issues as diverse as the Welsh Judicature Bill, 11 March, and a grant for the Propagation of the Gospels in the colonies, 12 March[197]. In addition he voted for Maberly's motion to collect beer and malt duties separately, 15 March; Hobhouse's amendment to the Aliens Bill 23 March, and Hamilton's motion on the enquiry into the Scottish Courts of Justice, 30 March[198]. He opposed the second reading of the Aliens Bill, 2 April, Maberly's motion to advance capital to Ireland, 4 May, and supported his motion to repeal the Assessed Taxes[199].

Sykes's speeches out-weighed his votes in the 1825 sessions. The activities of Daniel O'Connell's Catholic Association were giving cause for concern and a bill was introduced to deal with 'unlawful

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187. Hansard, 2nd Series, viii, 660, ix, 690, 794.

188. ibid., x, 776, 1039.

189. ibid., x, 928-9.

190. ibid, x, 1220.

191. ibid., xi, 38, 294-8.

192. ibid., x, 701-2, 703.

193. ibid., xi, 610-11, 617.

194. ibid., x, 486.

195. ibid., x, 535, 550.

196. ibid., x, 622.

197. ibid., x, 927, 970.

198. ibid., x, 1031, 1376; xi, 32.

199. ibid., xi, 115, 406, 628.

societies in Ireland'. Sykes considered this to be unnecessary and on 15 February 1825 voted against the motion to bring the bill in[200]. On 21 February he spoke and voted against it, adding that at the next election his constituents would support catholic relief[201]. He gave his support to catholic relief, voting for Burdett's motion for a committee to investigate catholic claims, 28 February, and speaking for the relief bill on 23 March and 10 May, and voting for its third reading on the latter date[202]. It was, however, lost in the Lords. As before he opposed military flogging and impressment, speaking against flogging in the committee on the Meeting bill, 11 March, and speaking and acting as teller on Hume's motion against impressment, 9 June[203]. The repeal of the combination laws were under consideration and Sykes gave the measure his approval in a speech of 25 April, and warned that any re-enactment of the legislation would be 'prejudicial to the peace and tranquility of the country'[204]. This was not all. On 4 May Sir M.W. Ridley presented a petition from the shipwrights and mariners of Hull 'numerously signed', against the laws and praying to be heard before the committee appointed to enquire into the likely effects of repeal. Sykes spoke to the petition, and added that he had persuaded 8-900 mechanics at Hull to return to work by informing them that it was right to congregate to fix wages, but illegal to coerce employers[205]. 'so long as there was human society', he said, 'combination would undoubtedly exist'[206]. In February 1825 he once more urged the reduction of taxes as a palliative to the economic distress, and following his advocacy of free-trade, he spoke for the reduction of the immense duties on West Indian sugar[207]. Further, during the

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200. Hansard, 2nd Series, xii, 521.

201. ibid., xii, 609-10, 611.

202. ibid., xii, 841, 1150; xiii, 482-3, 560.

203. ibid., xii, 999; xiii, 1110.

204. ibid., xiii, 150.

205. ibid., xiii, 362-3.

206. ibid., xiii, 370.

207. ibid., xii, 774, 1081-4.

debate on the corn laws he urged the bonding of corn, 2 May, and on 7 June demanded a reduction of the duties on soap and tallow candles in the interest of the poor[208]. Other speeches concerned the East India Judges bill[209], and other votes were cast for Brougham's motion on judges' salaries 20 May, and an amendment to the Annuity bill[210].

When the sixth session of this parliament opened Sykes spoke again on money matters: on 13 February 1826 in support of a proposal to bring in another usuary law repeal bill; on 27 February he gave a qualified support to the Promisary Notes bill for which he voted, and on the same day he opposed the resolution for making county rates payable both in London and the counties[211]. As earlier, he spoke and voted against slavery: on 1 March he berated the government for neglecting the condition of the slaves, and voted for Denman's motion on the Jamaica slave trials; on 20 April he opposed the branding of slaves[212]. Peel's legal reform won Sykes's support, and on 9 March he spoke in favour of the consolidation of criminal law which 'punished a boy for stealing an apple'[213]. Other aspects of law received his attention: during the debate on the Criminal Justice bill, on 17 April, he maintained a prisoner should be tried either in the county where the offence was committed or where apprehended; on 21 April he presented a petition against the delay in taxing the costs in Chancery; and on 28 April he supported improvement in the Debtor and Creditor Bill[214]. As usual he voted for economy in the army estimates, for resolutions critical of the corn laws, and in favour of parliamentary reform[215]. However the most important feature of the session for Sykes was his bill to enfranchise the freeholder in separate districts or counties corporate. The bill was introduced on 26 April, but Sykes withdrew

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208. Hansard, 2nd Series, xiii, 344, 1064.

209. ibid., xiii, 588.

210. ibid., xiii, 824, 1051.

211. ibid., xiv, 410-11, 883-4, 909.

212. ibid., xiv, 992-3, 1074; xv, 495.

213. ibid., xiv, 1243.

214. ibid., xiv, 290, 535, 539, 723.

215. ibid., xiv, 1123, 1127; xv, 191, 371, 715.

before the second reading as opponents said that more time was needed to consider it[216].

At the general election of 1826 Sykes was returned with the Honourable A.J. O'Neill, a nephew of Lord Clanricade and an Irish Tory with all the militancy of his kind; this was not a particularly easy relationship. Four speeches are reported during the first session of this parliament. On 22 February 1827 Sykes again supported Peel but was critical of the summary conviction of criminals by just one magistrate[217]. During the debate on the Mutiny Bill, he spoke against flogging in the army again on 12 March, and voted for Hume's motion respecting the mutiny at Barrackpore on 22 March[218]. During the election the corporation of Lincoln had created many honorary freemen and used corporation funds for electoral purposes. Sykes put forward a motion, on 5 March, condemning this and acted as teller, but his motion was lost 92-68[219]. On 15 May he spoke for a motion for the extension of trade between Britain and India and urged a relaxation of the navigation laws[220]. Catholic relief and Ireland featured increasingly in debates, and on 6 March Sykes voted for Burdett's motion to consider the plight of the catholics; the motion was only defeated by four votes, O'Neill voting against it[221]. Sykes also voted for Brownlow's motion respecting the conduct of the magistrates of Lisburne[222]. On financial matters he voted to restrict the grants to be given to the duke and duchess of Clarence, and for the postponement of the Committee of Supply[223].

In the following session Sykes first spoke, 19 February 1828, against the stamp duty on receipts which were 'extremely oppressive' to his constituents. He presented two petitions against the duty, 11, 17 March, and hoped the Lord Chancellor would repeal it[224].

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216. Hansard, 2nd Series, xv, 633-4, 636, 777-8.

217. ibid., xvi, 645.

218. ibid., xvi, 1139-40, 1340.

219. ibid., xvi, 1198-1205, 1218.

220. ibid., xvii, 835-6.

221. ibid., xvi, 1010, 1013.

222. ibid., xvii, 152.

223. ibid., xvi, 541; xvii, 172.

224. ibid., xviii, 572; J. Barrow, Mirror of Parliament. (London, 1829-41), (1828), 605, 664, cited hereafter as Mirror.

Parliamentary reform in various forms drew his support: he spoke for the Cities and Boroughs Poll Bill, 3 March, 6 May; and for the disfranchisement of East Redford 10, 14 March[225]. His main reform interest was as before, in helping the unrepresented freeholder. On 11 March he moved that a select committee look into the matter, and on 20 March was given leave to introduce a bill, although nothing seems to have come of this[226]. He also voted for Russell's motion to repeal the Test and Corporation acts, 26 February, and for Burdett's successful motion on catholic relief 12 May[227]. Other speeches covered well-worn themes: the reduction of the army; slavery, impressment of seamen, corn laws[228]. His main votes this session were for Hume's amendment to the Corn bill 29 April, and his motion for a return on the pensions on the Civil List[229].

The main concern of the 1829 session was catholic relief. Sykes and O'Neill seem to have been the spokesmen for the pro- and anti-groups at Hull, the detailed story of which will be considered later[230]. Sykes presented pro-catholic petitions from Hull on 16 and 27 February 1829, and on the latter date spoke in support of relief[231]. O'Neill presented two petitions against catholics on 9 February, and a third on 10 March[232]. The two members crossed verbal swords over the number of signatures. O'Neill felt strongly about the matter and delivered a series of long speeches opposing relief on 9, 24, 26, 27 February, 3, 5, 27 March[233]. The voting on the various stages of the relief bill reflected this division of opinion. O'Neill voted solidly against it, Sykes was absent for much of the voting, but supported the measure on its third reading[234]. On other matters, Sykes spoke against the renewal of

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225. Mirror, (1828), i, 470; Hansard, 2nd Series, xix, 729, 1081-3, 1146.

226. Hansard, 2nd Series, xix, 1102-6, 1230-33. Mirror, (1828) i, 1649-50.

227. Hansard, 2nd Series, xviii, 282; xix, 677.

228. ibid., xviii, 668-9, 1046-7; xix, 734.

229. ibid., xix, 229, 840.

230. See Chapter VIII.

231. Hansard, 2nd Series, xx, 357, 613-14.

232. ibid., xx, 156-7; Mirror, (1829), i, 510.

233. ibid., xx, 156, 537, 597-8, 613-14, 694-5, 782-87, 1496-99.

234. ibid., xx, 895-6, 1291, 1363, 1401, 1633-38.

the East India Company's charter and presented a petition from Hull against it[235]. He also supported the repeal of the game laws, opposed the unpopular seamens tax to support Greenwich Hospital, opposed the slave trade, and supported the motion for a new writ for East Redford[236].

The final session of this parliament in 1830 was Sykes's last as a member for Hull. Ten speeches are reported, mainly on the prevailing economic depression and some of Sykes's favourite causes such as the usuary laws and the taxes on candles and soap[237]. Of particular interest was his support of the Leeds-Selby Railway Bill[238], although an extension of the line to Hull was not comtemplated until the mid 1830's. Eighteen votes are recorded against government, again mainly on taxation, and the charter of the East India Company, but several concerned parliamentary reform. He voted for Russell's motion 23 February 1830 to transfer seats to the rising industrial towns of Leeds, Manchester and Birmingham; Tennyson's motion to move one of the East Redford seats to Birmingham, 5 March, and he paired in the minority for the second reading of the bill to grant relief to Jews[239], 17 May. He also voted for a minor change in the divorce laws 3 June, and paired in the majority for the abolition of the death penalty for forgery[240].

At the general election of 1830 Sykes resolved not to stand again for Hull where he considered his support for some measures of free trade and especially of the Reciprocity systems had upset the shipowning interest. He was eventually returned for Beverley, but in September a splendid dinner was given in his honour by his supporters at Hull[241]. Whatever enemies he may have made, Hull could not have wished for a more diligent representative. A

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235. Mirror, (1829), i, 1959, 1899.

236. ibid., i, 163; iii, 1862, 2001. Hansard, 2nd Series, xxi, 706-7, 1692.

237. Hansard, 2nd Series, xxiv, 494-5; xxv, 18-22.

238. ibid., xxii, 1256.

239. Mirror, (1830), Appendix, iv, 22.

240 Hansard, 2nd Series, xxiv, 1293; xxv, 80.

241. Pryme, Daniel Sykes, 33-4; Hull Rockingham, 25 September, 8 October 1830.

liberal-minded Whig, Sykes was the antithesis of his parliamentary neighbour over the Humber. Charles Sibthorpe, Tory member for Lincoln was violently opposed to those causes Sykes held dear. He voted consistently against Catholic emancipation, parliamentary reform, free trade, reform of the Poor Laws, and the development of railways[242].

The Irish Protestant A.J. O'Neill became Sykes's partner in 1826. He showed his opposition to parliamentary reform at the outset, speaking against the Penryn Election bill on 23 May, 2, 11 June 1827, and voting against it in committee on 28 May[243]. He also spoke against the Cities and Boroughs Polling Bill, 23 May, and opposed Russell's motion to repeal the Test and Corporation Acts, 26 February 1828[244]. Throughout 1829 he opposed catholic relief at every stage. Little is known of him in the session of 1830. Only one vote is recorded in support of Brougham's motion to consider the state of slaves in British colonies[245].

The elections of 1830 and 1831 produced two new representatives. George Schonswar, an alderman of the town and former mayor, and William Battye Wrightson a Liberal. In the closing months of 1830 they presented and spoke to a series of Hull petitions, for example, on the repeal of the duty on coal 19 November 1830, on the recovery of small debts, 2 December for the repeal of house and window duties, 2 December and for three petitions against slavery 12, 16 November[246]. They voted for the motion to refer the Civil List to a committee[247]. For the remainder of that session they continued to speak on local petitions, but inevitably they became involved in the reform bill's progress. On 9 February 1831 Wrightson presented a pro-reform petition for the inhabitants of Hull and Schonswar

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242. J.W.F. Hill, Victorian Lincoln. (London, 1974), 19, 30. M. Stenton, (ed.), Who's Who of British M.Ps. (London, 1976), i, 350.
243. Hansard, 2nd Series, xvii, 1044, 1157, 1215; Mirror, (1828), ii, 1712.
244. Mirror, (1828), i, 1653-4; Hansard, 2nd Series, xviii, 784.
245. Hansard, 2nd Series, xxv, 1214; Mirror, (1829), i, 271-511 passim.
246. Mirror, (1830), ii, 215, 266, 296, 398, 399.
247. Hansard, 3rd Series, i, 550.

seconded it, Sykes also gave his support[248]. On 20 February Schonswar supported a similar petition from Leeds, and Wrightson presented a second petition from Hull on 19 March which Schonswar supported[249]. They both voted in the majority for the second reading of the reform bill on 22 March[250].

The first session of new parliament of 1831 returned to the question of reform. Again one or both Hull members voted for the various proposals. On 6 July 1831 both voted for the second reading of the new bill and for the House to be resolved into committee 12 July[251]. Here they voted on details: both were in the majority on Mackinson's motion of 10 July to substitute the 1831 census for that of 1821 in planning what boroughs to include in schedules A and B; Wrightson voted against the exclusion of Chippenham from schedule B 27 July, and the inclusion of Dorchester, Guildford and Sudbury[252]. He further voted for the inclusion of Greenwich and Deptford to be in schedule C, 3 August, and Gateshead in schedule D, 5 August. Also he approved of the uniting into one constituency of Chatham and Rochester 9 August, and Merthyr Tydvil and Cardiff[253]. During the committee stage Wrightson spoke several times: he supported the petition of the burgesses of Hedon and the freeholders, copyholders and inhabitants of Holderness that they might be united, 4 July, and opposed the proposal in schedule E, that Hull and Sculcoates be separated[254], 9 August. On the final vote in the Commons Wrightson voted for the third reading, Schonswar was absent[255]. Other than reform, during this session Wrightson spoke in favour of the Game Laws Amendment Bill 8 August 1831 and opposed the poor law in Ireland 26 September[256]. Schonswar presented a petition from the inhabitants of Selby in favour of the Manchester and Leeds

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248. Mirror, (1831), i, 123-4.

249. ibid., i, 510, 773, 987.

250. Hansard, 3rd Series, iii, 1692-3.

251. ibid., iv, 910, 1147.

252. ibid., v, 52-3, 459, 509, 544, 603.

253. ibid., v, 719, 874, 1091, 1147.

254. Mirror, (1831), i, 295; ii, 1205.

255. Hansard, 3rd Series, vii, 469, 476.

256. ibid., v, 940; vii, 594.

Railway bill, 29 June, and one from the Hull corporation against the renewal of the East India Company charter[257].

Inevitably the second session was again devoted to reform. Schonswar and Wrightson made a few favourable speeches: on 7 February 1832 Schonswar spoke in favour of allowing borough freemen to retain the vote and also extending it to the £10 householder[258]. They both voted for this on 3 February[259]. On 9 March during the committee stage on the third bill, Schonswar supported the motion to give Whitby a member, and on 20 March he spoke in support of the bill generally[260]. As a crisis developed Schonswar supported, and voted for, the motion for the resignation of ministers who held up reform, 10 May, and a petition from the inhabitants of Hull 24 May which urged the withholding of supplies by the House until the bill was passed[261]. Their votes were more important than their speeches. They both voted for the second reading of the bill and for the committee 17 December 1831, 20 January 1832[262]. In committee they voted for various details: on 8 February Wrightson voted with the majority for the registration clause to remain as part of the bill; on 15 February both were in the majority against Rigby Watson's motion to limit the number of days for taking the poll to one in certain places; they both voted for the inclusion of Helston in schedule D[263]. On 10 March they both voted for the third reading[264]. The Irish and Scottish bills similarly earned their support[265].

Again whilst reform dominated the session, other work had to be done. The proposed General Registry Bill drew opposition from Hull, and Schonswar presented hostile petitions and spoke to them[266]. A petition from Huddersfield on the condition of children working in factories was supported by Schonswar who denied the charge of

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257. Mirror, (1831), i, 198, 255.

258. Hansard, 3rd Series, x, 54.

259. Mirror, (1832), iii, Appendix 1, ix.

260. Hansard, 3rd Series, xi, 63; Mirror, (1832), ii, 1314-15.

261. ibid., xii, 862; Mirror, (1832), iv, 2243.

262. ibid., ix, 550-1, 677.

263. ibid., x, 95, 396, 722, 961-2, 1153-4.

264. ibid., xi, 782-3.

265. ibid., xiii, 176, 341.

266. ibid., ix, 126, 1191; x, 666.

exaggeration, he later spoke for the ensuing Factories Regulation Bill[267]. Foreign affairs played their part. The Russian-Dutch loan was much voted on, as was the revolt in Portugal and the enlistment of British subjects with Don Pedro[268]. The repression of the Polish revolt by the Czar's army called forth a demand from Hull and many other places for intervention. Schonswar presented the petitions and addressed the House in cautious terms[269].

The withdrawal of the duke of Wellington and his supporters finally ensured the passage of the Reform bill through the House of Lords, and the first election under the new act brought in Matthew Davenport Hill and William Hutt as members for Hull, both were Whigs. The first session of the new parliament was busy and the two representatives, both energetic young men on the way up, took an active part. Most, but not all, of their speeches were in support of local petitions or measures affecting Hull. Hill was on his feet almost immediately, and during the debate on the Address from the throne, on 5 February 1833, opposed the use of further force in Ireland[270]. Two days later Hill presented a petition purporting to come from 7,600 inhabitants, for an act to enable the inhabitants of the enlarged borough to elect magistrates and municipal officers. Hutt spoke in support of it[271]. The radical James Acland may have been behind this. Hill then returned to Irish matters and opposed the abolition of tithes there, asking for a change in the manner of their payment, 27 February[272]. Religious affairs came to the fore: at the beginning of March Hill presented petitions for the observance of the Sabbath, and from the Unitarian Dissenters of Bowl Alley Lane chapel, praying for a removal of all remaining religious disabilities, especially those affecting Jews; Hutt supported him on both occasions[273]. In May the Lord's Day Observance Bill was introduced, but Hill spoke against it as he considered it

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267. Hansard, 3rd Series, x, 105; xi, 394.

268. ibid., x, 187; xiv, 347, 493, 621. Mirror, (1832), iv, Appendix, ix.

269. Mirror, (1832), iii, 2244, 2830.

270. Hansard, 3rd Series, xv, 205-6.

271. Mirror, (1833), i, 88, 115.

272. Hansard, 3rd Series, xv, 1194.

273. ibid., xvi, 6, 8, 10, 16.

encroached on the poors' one day of relaxation[274]. The Polish question still stirred passions and on 1 March Hill presented a Hull petition, said to be signed by 1,500 inhabitants praying the House to address the Crown to negotiate with France and other powers, to restore Polish rights[275].

At the end of the month, 29 March, Hutt presented a petition against the Irish Coercion Bill from the Hull Political Union, with a reputed 4,000 signatures and voted, in the minority, against the first and second readings of the bill[276]. In early April the machinery of local poltics was under scrutiny at Hull. On 2 April Hutt presented a petition from the Society of Liberals praying for municipal officers to be chosen by ballot; on the next day he delivered the complaint of Hull seamen who pointed out that under the terms of the Reform Act to be eligible to vote they had to fulfil the residence requirement which had to be previous to the last day of July. As the Greenland fleet left in March and returned in October, they were disfranchised. The Returning barrister, they maintained, would not enter them even though they held houses and paid the necessary rates and taxes. On 19 April came an ambitious petition calling for the repeal of the Septennial Act, votes by ballot and the end of assessed taxes[277].

Slavery, of course, figured in the House's deliberation and Hill delivered a long speech on the likely effects of both immediate and gradual abolition, 10 June, and Hutt presented a petition against it from the Methodists of Bethel Chapel[278]. Outrages in Jamaica added fuel to the fire[279]. The commission on municipal corporations began its work in 1833. Some merchants and shipowners petitioned that the commission enquired into the management of affairs at Trinity House, and Hill asked for a copy of the instructions given to the

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274. Mirror, (1833), iii, 1828.

275. Hansard, 3rd Series, xvi, 17-19, 21; Mirror, (1833), i, 486-7.

276. ibid., ii, 1093; iii, Appendix, 1 xxv-vi.

277. ibid., ii, 1178, 1184, 1325.

278. ibid., iii, 1843, 2190-2.

279. ibid., ii, 1590.

commissioners. On these occasions, 17 June and 20 August, both members hinted at what they saw as the evils of the corporations in their constituency[280]. The imprisonment of Acland, and the fate of the Crown's lease on the Barton Ferry - both causes of popular excitement at Hull - were the subject of three petitions sent to Hutt in August[281]. The members were also urged to take action on such issues as the bill allowing counsel for prisoners in criminal cases, to support the Dwelling Houses Robberies Bill, and to vote for the repeal of the Apothecaries Act[282].

Over fifty votes were cast by the two members during this session. Most were critical of government measures, and frequently tried to push Grey's ministry further towards a radical point of view than it cared to go. Irish matters claimed the largest number of their votes. In early March 1833 Hutt opposed, in the minority, the first and second readings of the Suppression of Disturbances (Ireland) Bill, and supported the Church Reform Bill (Ireland). He supported O'Connell's proposed amendments, without success, likewise his opposition to the courts martial and industrial clauses[283]. In June both members opposed the subsidising of Irish titheowners, part of the Irish Church Temporalities Bill, and again supported O'Connell's unsuccessful amendment, and the equally unsuccessful motion that church property should be used as the legislature thought fit[284].

In matters of finance Hill and Hutt followed Sykes's belief in the reduction of expenditure and taxation: Hutt voted, in the minority, for a reduction in the size of the navy and in its estimates, 25, 26 March, and also to halve the grant to the volunteer force[285]. They wished to revise taxation and Hutt voted for a reduction of the malt duty; both members supported the motions to abolish the taxes on houses and windows[286].

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280. Mirror, (1833), iii, 2368, 3959.
281. ibid., iv, 3923-4, 4006, 4007.
282. Hansard, 3rd Series, xviii, 611, 619, 912.
283. ibid., xvi, 281, 488, 528, 601, 679, 874, 988.
284. ibid., xviii, 850, 1099, 1152; xix, 283; xx, 357.
285. ibid., xvi, 1055, 1060; xvii, 1109.
286. ibid., xvi, 1118; xvii, 717, 835; xviii, 32.

Further parliamentary reform received their approbation. Both supported Hume's motion on the abolition of sinecures, 15 February, and Grote's successful motion for the secret ballot, 26 April[287]. On 26 May Hutt voted for the unsuccessful motion to inquire into the workings of the Reform Act, particularly the activities of the revising barristers; both voted for the second reading of the Jewish Relief Act, and Hill, the less radical of the two, opposed Finch's motion on the illegality of political unions[288]. Hutt voted with the majority for a select committee to inquire into corruption at Liverpool and in the minority, for Tennyson's motion to repeal the Septennial Act[289]. Hutt, in particular, attempted to refine the legislation abolishing slavery: he wanted the compensation paid to West Indian planters to be fifteen and not twenty million pounds, 11 June, 31 July; he wanted to limit the period of restriction on slaves, 24 July; he opposed limitation on the apprenticeship of former slaves, and wanted only ten million to be paid in compensation until apprenticeships expired, 25, 31 July[290]. None of these proposals came to anything.

Other issues continued to excite interest. Unsuccessful motions to amend the corn laws, won their support, 17 May, 18 June[291]; Hutt opposed Ashley's motion to refer the Factories Bill to a select committee[292]; Hutt voted unsuccessfully to limit flogging in the army to mutiny and drunkenness[293]; Hill voted against a bill to amend the Sabbath laws in Scotland[294], and both unsuccessfully opposed a motion to increase the money given to the metropolitan police[295]. Regarding matters further afield, Hutt voted in the minority to address the Crown not to recognise the increasingly powerful position of Russia in Poland, he was also without success

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287. Hansard, 3rd Series, xv 713; xvii, 667.

288. ibid., xviii, 46, 59, 1282.

289. ibid., xix, 144, 1151.

290. ibid., xviii, 598; xix, 1219, 1270; xx, 206, 220.

291. ibid., xvii, 1387; xviii, 977.

292. ibid., xix, 254.

293. ibid., xviii, 69.

294. ibid., xviii, 978.

295. ibid., xix, 463.

in supporting the motion to adjourn the debate on the East India Company's charter[296].

At the outset of the second session in February 1834 Hill had been reported by the press on the Irish Coercion Bill as saying 'It is impossible for those who are not in the House to know the secret machinery by which votes are obtained'. This brought up the issue of parliamentary privilege. Hill did not deny he had used the words, but observed that they were uttered spontaneously at a public meeting at Hull, without premeditation. He apologised and after much rhetoric from O'Connell and others, the matter dropped[297].

After this the contributions of the Hull members were less controversial. Speeches in March 1834 were a mixture of local complaints and support for general causes. On 4 March Hutt moved for the equalisation of duties on Baltic and Canadian timber and presented a petition against impressment from the Seamens Friendly Society of Hull[298]. Later he considered the ecclesiastical and political duties of bishops to be incompatible, 3 March, and spoke against child chimney sweeps, 25 March[299]. In view of the agricultural depression, Hutt opposed additional ordnance grants to the colonies, 29 March[300]. On 17 April Hill spoke in favour of allowing Dissenters to enter the universities, adding that he was personally barred because of his religion[301]. This was followed on 5 May by a speech from Hutt, who was a Cambridge graduate, in support of a petition from the undergraduates for the admission of dissenters. Four days later Hill spoke in favour of admitting them to Oxford[302]. The fate of the Tolpuddle martyrs stimulated interest among the working class of Hull as elsewhere. On 16 April Hutt presented a petition from the Grand National Trade Union of Hull, signed by over 7,000 members, calling on the government to remit the sentence. He deplored the ministry's action, and said that whilst the law had to be upheld,

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296. Hansard, 3rd Series, xix, 463, 805.
297. ibid., xxi, 127-9, 142, 148, 178-87, 191-5.
298. ibid., xxi, 1113-4; Mirror, (1834), i, 472.
299. Mirror, (1834), i, 708; ii 976.
300. Hansard, 3rd Series, xxii, 606.
301. ibid., xxii, 926; Mirror, (1834), iii, 1109-10.
302. ibid., xiii, 505, 782.

it should be tempered with justice, humanity and discretion. On 28 April Hill added his opinion: he did not doubt the legality of the sentence but thought the royal prerogative of mercy should be exercised[303]. Other speeches in April included Hutt on the expense of the consular service, 14, 15 April and Hill on the Beer Bill[304]. A clutch of local petitions was presented against such matters as the General Registry Bill, the duties on tea, and the political disabilities of Jews[305].

In the following month Hill supported the motions to inquire into the procedure used by the Inns of Court in admissions to the Bar, 13 May; to repeal the Septennial Act, 15 May, and to end the stamp duties on newspapers, the celebrated 'tax on knowledge'[306]. On a more immediate level Hutt supported the second reading of the Merchant Seamens' Widows Bill[307]. In June Hutt presented a petition complaining that no action had followed the completion of the municipal commissioners report. Both he and Hill considered the detail of the questioning excessive, and Hutt commented dryly 'I do not think... it was at all requisite that Sir Francis Palgrove should ascertain the exact breadth and depth of the Tower ditch'[308]. Hill also spoke on the need for more discussion on the provision of national education, the reduction of capital punishments,and spoke in favour of the second reading of the Prisoners Counsel Bill[309]. Hutt defended the Reciprocity of Duties Act and spoke on the plight of the handloom weavers[310].

During this session forty votes of Hill and Hutt are recorded. They cover a wide spectrum of matters and include unsuccessful attempts to reduce the naval estimates[311], resolve the question of Irish tithes[312], end impressment and flogging[313], admit dissenters

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303. Hansard, 3rd Series, xxii, 859-60; xxiii, 26-7.

304. ibid., xxii, 753, 759, 1163.

305. Mirror, (1834), ii, 1081, 1136, 1212.

306. Hansard, 3rd Series, xxiii, 910-11, 1029, 1213-18; Mirror, (1834), iii, 2615.

307. Hansard, 3rd Series, xxiii, 1148.

308. Mirror, (1834), iii, 1949.

309. Hansard, 3rd Series, xxiv, 136, 160-61, 824; Mirror, (1834), iii, 2025.

310. Hansard, 3rd Series, xxiv, 227-8, 381.

311. ibid., xxi, 477; xxii, 610.

312. ibid., xxi, 628; xxiv, 1211.

313. ibid., xxi, 1112; xxii, 256.

to universities[314], resolve contested elections[315], and improve postal delivery[316]. No particular issue seems to have full engaged their voting interests, and they do not appear to have voted on the Poor Law Amendment Act, the most important piece of legislation that session.

Hutt was returned at the January 1835 general election with the Conservative, David Carruthers. However in June 1835 Carruthers died and T.P. Thompson replaced him. On 18 March Hutt began the contributions of Hull members with a speech in favour of an inquiry into the state of handloom weavers, although he could see no real solution to the problem. Carruthers on 25 March was critical of the Imprisonment for Debt Bill[317]. Both spoke on 25 March, on the unequal duties on European and colonial timber[318] - an important issue to Hull merchants. In May, just before his untimely death, Carruthers spoke on the affairs of the East India Company, the Imprisonment for Debt Bill and on the licensing of spirits[319]. On 3 June Hutt moved the second reading of the Hull Merchant Seamen's Fund Bill, and attacked Trinity House as 'a close Corporation responsible to no authority'. On 17 June he moved for the committee stage[320]. Later in the month he hinted at corruption in local elections 22, 23 June[321]. In July Hutt complained of the conduct of customs officers at ports, Hull in particular, and opposed the Donlan Flax and Hemp Company bill as it would lead to a monopoly[322].

The new member T.P. Thompson presented a petition signed by 500 burgesses and inhabitants of Hull praying that their voting rights as burgesses in municipal elections be preserved during their lives, as their parliamentary vote had been safeguarded in 1832[323]. In the course of the session all three members presented

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314. Hansard, 3rd Series, xxii, 928; xxv, 653.

315. ibid., xxii, 1077.

316. ibid., xxiii, 744.

317. ibid., xxvi, 717, 1157-60; xxvii, 1159.

318. ibid., xxvii, 216, 218.

319. ibid., xxvii, 1062, 1159, 1240-1.

320. Mirror, (1835), ii, 1228, 1404.

321. Hansard, 3rd Series, xvii, 1042, 1060.

322. Mirror, (1835), ii, 1338, 2194.

323. ibid., ii, 1623.

a considerable number of petitions from Hull, for example for compensation for East India Company officers, for the relief of Unitarians who had to pay a fee of seven shillings for acknowledging their marriages before J.Ps., against duties charged on British ships at Hamburg, and in support of the Church of Ireland Bill[324]. A particularly ominous petition, presented by Handley, alleged bribery on the part of Carruthers at the last election[325].

The votes cast in this parliament are interesting as they illustrate the difference between the Conservative Carruthers, the Whig Hutt and the Radical Thompson. Such differences were played out against changing ministries. From December 1834 until April 1835 Peel's Conservatives were in power, and after that the Whigs returned under Melbourne. These differences emerged at the beginning of the session with the election of the Speaker and the Address in reply to the King's speech. On both occasions Peel's minority government was defeated: Hutt voted in the majority for Abercromby who became Speaker, Carruthers voted for Sir Charles Manners-Sutton, the government candidate, who lost. The Address was defeated by a majority of 7, Hutt voting against, and Carruthers for[326]. However when government defeated Chandos' motion to repeal the malt tax, the members voting accordingly[327]. During the remaining months of Peel's ministry - March and April - Hutt was in the minority on only two votes out of six, an indication of the Conservatives' precarious hold on office. The question of the Church of Ireland provoked a further division of opinion between the members on 2 April 1835 when Hutt voted for Russell's resolution, which carried, and Carruthers voted against it[328]. On 7 April Hutt voted with the majority when the Irish Church bill was in committee. In August, Hutt and Thompson unsuccessfully opposed a money clause in the bill, 3 August[329]. Hutt also voted in the majority on the fate of Irish tithes[330].

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324. Mirror, (1835), i, 633, 634, 733; iii, 2266.
325. ibid., ii, 1085.
326. Hansard, 3rd Series, xxxviii, 57, 59, 410, 414.
327. ibid., xxxviii, 836-7.
328. ibid., xxvii, 773, 775.
329. ibid., xxvii, 862; xxx, 43.
330. ibid., xxvii, 970.

By mid-April the Whigs were in office again, and Hutt and Thompson supported government when it suited their interests, the representation of Hull had a distinctly radical flavour, even without James Acland. The Municipal Corporations Act was on its way through parliament, and the Hull members voted carefully to give the act greater force. On 23 June Hutt voted with the majority not to curtail voting rights, although his support of Davill's amendment to reduce occupation from three years to one came to nothing[331]. Both members successfully opposed amendments in the committee stage on the removal and re-election of town councils, and the placing of licensing power solely in the hands of magistrates[332]. Hutt again voted to preserve the voting rights of freemen, 16 July, and agreed to the £10 householder[333], and on 2 September unsuccessfully opposed the questioning of the qualifications of councillors during office, if they had been established at the time of election[334]. Other votes included Hutt unsuccessfully in favour of Grote's second motion for the secret ballot, for the remission of the sentences on the Tolpuddle martyrs, and for the admission of ladies to the Strangers' Gallery of the Commons[335]. Various election disputes were resolved[336], Orange lodges disapproved of[337], and the charter for London university supported[338].

What rewards and sanctions underlay this parliamentary tale? From Tudor times Hull members were paid a wage for every day of service and sometimes received presents of barrels of ale. William Ramsden, Marvell's successor, was the last representative to receive money. On 27 September 1679 the Bench noted that he had not been paid for his attendance at the last two sessions of parliament 'as

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331. Hansard, 3rd Series, xxviii, 1113; Mirror, (1835), iii, Appendix, lxxxix.
332. Hansard, 3rd Series, xxix, 67, 126.
333. ibid, xxix, 670; xxx, 1210.
334. Mirror, (1835), iii, Appendix, xcix.
335. Hansard, 3rd Series, xxviii, 471, 1273; xxx, 49.
336. ibid., xxviii, 1289; xxix, 594-5, 785, 1032.
337. ibid., xxx, 239, 311-12.
338. Mirror, (1835), iii, Appendix, lxxi.

formerly hath been allowed to other gentlemen serving as Burgesses in Pliment for this Town', so on 9 October he received £38 for 114 days attendance[339]. Thereafter they were presented with ale. Wharton and Gee received two barrels in November 1680[340]. The practice seems to have continued on a regular basis, although perhaps not always officially recorded in the bench books. The next mention is on 13 November 1735 when the 'usual present of ale' was sent to the members, and to the secretary of the Admiralty[341]. This wording occurs again in the November or December of 1739, 1742, 1743, 1746 and 1747[342]. It is not certain whether the presentations continued beyond 1747. Relations between the bench and the members were particularly close in the late seventeenth century, and when St. Quintin and Osborne returned to Hull in July 1697 they were entertained to a feast by a grateful corporation[343]. In 1744 Harry Pulteney accompanied by Lord Anson, the patron of Hedon, were similarly dined[344].

Perhaps the most important reward for a member was to be asked to stand again. The Bench officially gave its support to Manners in 1774, Thornton in 1796 and 1802, and Staniforth in 1812[345]. Trinity House and the Dock Company similarly supported Thornton. On the other hand reprimands, and ultimately, the withdrawal of electoral support, were the sanctions used against members. For example in 1698 there was dissatisfaction amongst the Bench over the failure of the members to secure the passage of a Poor Bill; similar bills had been enacted for other towns but the Hull measure appeared to be making little progress. The bill was eventually passed in 1699 and the members were left in no doubt that the Bench expected them to bear the costs incurred in passing the measure[346].

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339. B.B., vii, 630, 633; R.C. Latham, 'The Payment of Parliamentary Wages - the Last Phase', E.H.R., LXVI (1951), 30, 40-41, 43.

340. B.B., vii, 705.

341. B.B., viii, 811.

342. B.B., viii, 879; ix, 15, 36, 94, 107.

343. B.B., viii, 416.

344. B.B., ix, 64.

345. B.B., ix, 434; x, 253, 366; xi, 23.

346. The Mayor to the Members of Parliament, ?September 1698; The Mayor to St. Quentin(?), 7 June 1699, H.R.O. BRL. 1182, 1188.

David Hartley upset the Bench by addressing his letters on peace with the American colonists to them[347], and this accounts, in part, for his lack of success in the next general election. Not only did Hull expect its members to work hard; they had to reflect the opinions of established power.

347. D. Hartley to the Mayor, 9 December 1778. Mayor to Hartley, 22 December 1778. Letter Book 1778-95, H.R.O. BRL. 51 (See Nos.162,163).

VII

External Dangers and Disorders

Hull was the principal port on the eastern coast of England serving Yorkshire and the midlands. It was of considerable strategic importance and was protected by its citadel. When the King's enemies threatened that part of the country, Hull stood guard. From the 1690's its loyalty could be depended upon, as the security of the realm was essential to the town's prosperity. Criticism of the loyalty of the corporate bodies would not meet with favour.

After the Revolution of 1689 the first danger occurred with the Jacobite risings, and the possibility of a French invasion. During the 1715 rebellion the citadel was repaired and troops were billeted in Hull[1]. A military association was formed, and voluntary subscriptions 'to a large amount' were raised in the town. The inhabitants, it was said, 'manifested a general spirit of indignation against the rebellion'[2].

The '45 was a more serious matter, with a Jacobite invasion of England. The old civil war fortifications of Hull were repaired and weapons refurbished. Four volunteer artillery companies were raised by Trinity House, and twelve infantry companies by the merchants of the town[3]. The King was assured of the fidelity of the town[4]. Apart from defending itself, Hull was the supply base for the county. Stores were to be built up there so that government forces in Yorkshire could draw supplies when needed. This seems to have taken some time, although by November 1745 the county military organizations had what they needed[5]. However city companies

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1. V.C.H., Hull, 207; R.W.S. Norfolk, Militia, Yeomanry and Volunteer Forces in the East Riding, 1698-1908, East Yorkshire Local History Series, no.19 (1965), 6; H.R.O.BRL.1242.
2. Tickell, History of Hull, 600.
3. V.C.H., Hull, 207; Norfolk, Militia, 7-8, 41-2; C. Collyer, 'Yorkshire and the '45'., Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, xxxviii (1952), 77; Tickell, History of Hull, 608-11; Hadley, History of Hull, 324-5.
4. B.B., ix, 76-77.
5. Collyer, Y.A.J., xxxviii, 81-2; Papers of the first Marquis of Rockingham, deposited at Sheffield Central Library. M1, ff.342-43; M2, ff.249, 291, 287.

at York and at Hull were still short of arms at that time[6], and Lord Irwin, Lord Lieutenant of the East Riding[7] was concerned over the division of opinion at Hull over the state of the defences which threatened 'the noble spirit which at first appeared'. General Pulteney, the governor of Hull, was ordered to sort out the problem[8]. Although the rebels were in retreat by the beginning of 1746, Irwin distributed his forces along the coast between Hull and Bridlington as a precaution[9]. With the final defeat at Culloden, Hull breathed a sigh of relief and the Corporation ordered 'a twelve gallon cask of Ale to be put at each corner of the Market Cross for the populace'[10]. The town had never been seriously threatened, but contemporary letters written to the Reverend Dring at Hull reflected the prevalent panic. Things were different in Lancashire, Cheshire and Derbyshire. The Scottish army exacted tribute from the towns en route, but gathered hardly any recruits, except at Manchester[11].

The American colonies may have seemed remote from Hull, and the town's transatlantic trade was not extensive[12], but by the mid-1770's they were the cause of an important disagreement between the corporate bodies and one of the borough's members of parliament. David Hartley was an advocate of conciliation and disliked Lord North's coercive measures. In December 1774 he informed Trinity House and the Corporation of the forthcoming mercantile petitions to parliament praying for moderation.[13] In the north of England there were serious economic problems, and the West Riding of Yorkshire

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6. Collyer, Y.A.J., xxxviii, 82n.
7. Henry Ingram, Lord Irwin (1691-1761). Appointed Lord Lieutenant of the East Riding in 1736, and in command of militia 1745-6. (G.E.C., Complete Peerage, vii, 74).
8. Collyer, Y.A.J., xxxviii, 91 and n.
9. ibid.
10. B.B., ix, 92.
11. 'Out in the Forty-Five', The Antiquary, xxiii-xxiv (1891), passim; B. Williams, The Whig Supremacy, 1714-60. (London, 1962), 254.
12. R.C. Ward, 'The Political Activities of Merchants and Manufacturers of the English North and Midlands, c.1765-85'. Unpublished Leeds University M.Phil. thesis, 1978, 80, 88.
13. David Hartley to Thomas Haworth, 17 December 1774, Trinity House Letters, Trinity House MSS., (See No.112); Ward, Merchants and Manufacturers, 27-31.

sent several conciliatory addresses, hoping to avoid hostilities. No such missive was sent from Hull, although at that time the mayor shared Hartley's views:

> 'The Ministry must be greatly distressed about the Event of the American Contest. I wish that conciliatory measures may speedily take place.'[14]

When war broke out there was only mild interest at Hull[15], but in the autumn the government condemned the Americans as rebels and the town had a chance to display its loyalty. The Corporation publicly displayed the royal proclamation and drew up an address to the Crown deploring the colonists' actions[16]. Alderman Etherington rushed off to London with it; 'arise Sir Harry will Certainly be the Consequence' predicted Hammond[17]. Trinity House soon followed the bench's example and sent their address to the senior M.P., Lord Robert Manners, for presentation[18].

Hartley was asked to accompany his colleague[19], a request which threatened to cause him much embarrassment as he fundamentally disagreed with the sentiments of the address. The tactful Hammond came to Hartley's rescue: he wrote:

> '... do Just as is agreable to your self - and do not let any Ill timed Compliment get the better of your better Judgement by doing what is not Consistent with either your Inclinations or Sentiments...'[20]

Hartley temporarily left London[21].

The petitioning did not end here, and the Corporation wanted an address from the town[22]. A public meeting was to be held, but

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14. The mayor of Hull to Hartley, 20 February 1775. Hartley MS., D.EHy. 017/1/3.
15. W. Hammond to Hartley, 8 August 1775. ibid., D.EHy. 017/1/5. (See No.117).
16. B.B., ix, 447-8; London Gazette, 10-14 October 1775.
17. Hammond to Hartley, 20 September 1775. Hartley MS., D.EHy. 017/1/8. (See No.118).
18. Minute Book, entries for 12, 22 September 1775, Trinity House MSS.; P.R.O. H.O. 55/11/4.
19. John Green to Hartley, 23 September 1775. Hartley MS., D.EHy. 017/1. (See No.119).
20. Hammond to Hartley, 27 September 1775. ibid., D.EHy. 017/1/10. (See No.120).
21. Hartley to the Wardens of Trinity House, 2 October 1775. Trinity House MS.
22. B.B., ix, 447.

even with printed invitations, only thirty people turned up in addition to the steering committee. To get a respectable number of signatures 'the Town s Husband is going about the Streets Collecting from door to door'[23]. The sending of this address was the occasion of a show of petulance by Isaac Broadley, who like Etherington, wished to catch all the glory[24]. Lord North was delighted with the addresses, and in Hammond's words, his eyes 'Sparkled for Joy like those of a fine Lady - when you make her an exceeding fine Compliment'[25].

This flush of loyalty did not embrace all influential persons in Hull. Prominent Rockingham supporters such as the Sykes, Maister and Williamson families signed none of the addresses. Hammond explained their quiescence thus:

> 'We Could Counter-address - but upon the whole we think it as well to remain in quiet and pass over this affair ... without troubling ourselves about it...'[26]

Trinity House was not unanimous, and when Hartley explained his position fully to the brethren on 2 October his opinions 'were very much approved - some of the addressers being absent'. The division of opinion was by no means confined to Hull. Leeds, Manchester and Nottingham showed no unanimity of sentiment. Leicester and Derby, on the other hand, applauded the government's stand[27].

The addressing fever passed and Hartley seemed at peace with his constituents, but he resolutely persisted in his attempts to come to terms with the colonists[28]. In the autumn of 1778 he proposed

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23. Hammond to Hartley, 27 September 1775, (See 120); P.R.O. H.O. 55/8/4.

24. ibid., Ward, Merchants and Manufacturers, 83.

25. Hammond to Hartley, 2 October 1775. Hartley MS., D.EHy. 017/1. (See No.121). B.B., ix, 449.

26. Hammond to Hartley, 2 October 1775, supra.

27. Hammond to Hartley, 10 October 1775. ibid., D.EHy. 017/1/12. (See No.122); Ward, Merchants and Manufacturers, 32, 107, 143, 157, 159-60.

28. Major, Cementing the China Vase, 5-9; Benjamin Read to Hartley. Hartley MS., D.EHy. 017/2/13.

to publish his thoughts in the form of a series of letters addressed to the civic bodies at Hull. The mayor of Hull in early October was Joseph Sykes, a friend of Lord Rockingham. He agreed with Hartley's proposal, and helped to settle the exact wording of the dedication. The matter was kept secret until Hartley was ready, with the connivance of William Hammond and Hull supporters such as William Waller and Richard Bell[29]. Then,at the beginning of December he formally told the Mayor and the Wardens of Trinity House what was to happen[30]. By this time Joseph Sykes had been replaced as mayor by Christopher Scott who was not well disposed towards Hartley's opinions. The Bench considered the letter on 22 December and disassociated themselves from his views[31]. A committee was appointed to take further action, and on their recommendation the town clerk was instructed to insert a notice outlining the Bench's views in the London newspapers[32]. Hartley was informed of these activities by his friend John Snellick[33]. Individual burgesses expressed their disapproval in print[34], but Hartley's friends stood by him and Joseph Sykes regretted that 'the Behaviour of my Brethren upon the Bench has been so personally unhandsome'[35]. Trinity House appears to have made no comment[36].

In spite of this difference of opinion the war did not seriously affect Hull, but when the French entered the conflict on the American

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29. Hammond to Hartley, 6 October 1778; J. Sykes to Hartley, 7 October 1778; Hammond to Hartley, 24 October, 5 November 1778; R. Bell to Hartley, 25 November 1778. Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/2/17-21, 24-25. (See Nos.124-28,131).

30. Hartley to the Wardens of Trinity House, and the Mayor of Hull, 9 December 1778. Trinity House MS.; Copies of Letters from the Mayor, 1778-95, H.R.O. BRL.51. (See Nos.132-3).

31. B.B., ix, 483; Mayor to Hartley, 22 December 1774, H.R.O. BRL. 51. (See No.135); Tickell, History of Hull, 623-4.

32. B.B., ix, 484, Carleton Monckton to William Pollock, 23 December 1778, H.R.O. BRL.51. The London newspapers specified were St. James's Chronicle, and Lloyds, Whitehall and General Evening Posts.

33. John Snellick to Hartley, 28 December 1778. Hartley MS., D.EHy. 017/2/26, 27. (See No.135).

34. for example, 'Independent Burgess' in Whitehall Evening Post, 26-29 December 1778.

35. Joseph Sykes to Hartley, 20 January 1779. Hartley MS., D.EHy. 017/2/28. (See No.136).

36. Hartley to Trinity House, 18 December 1778. Trinity House MS.

side there was the danger of an invasion. Night watches were posted, piles sunk to secure the mouth of the haven, and a defence force was raised[37]. In November 1778 the Bench was concerned over the danger of enemy privateers[38], ten months later their fears were realised. John Paul Jones was reported as being in the North Sea and this underlined the town's lack of effective protection. On 14 September the bench considered 'the defenceless state of the Town' and proposed to write to the Board of Ordnance for cannon[39]. Several days later news arrived of the American ships lying off Tynemouth. Clearly there had been consternation in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Southampton had fears of a French invasion at the same time, a more serious threat, stimulated by the reports of emigres[40].

A meeting of the principal inhabitants was convened on 21 September, attended also by Colonel Stanhope Harvey of the West Riding Militia and several naval officers. The mayor of Yarmouth was warned of the approach of the enemy; the Admiralty informed of the imminence of the Baltic flotilla, and the Secretary of War and the Board of Ordnance, of the poor state of the existing artillery and the lack of small arms. The next day Charles Pool and William Hammond set out for London to press for action, and the Excise cutter was sent out to reconnoitre[41].

By the 22nd Rockingham had been informed of the situation by both Colonel Harvey and William Hammond[42]. That night he resolved to go to Hull, and departed the following morning. Apart from the immediate crisis, his visit had a political significance. He wished to build up his support in the town, and embarrass North's government

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37. V.C.H., Hull, 207; Norfolk, Militia, 11-12; H.R.O. BRL. 1290-4.

38. Hammond to Hartley, 22 November 1778. Hartley MS., D.EHy. 017/2/23. (See No.129).

39. B.B., ix, 494.

40. Stanhope Harvey to Lord Rockingham, 20 September 1779, Rockingham MS., W.W.M. R12-2. Temple Patterson, Southampton. 92-4.

41. W.W.M. R12-4/2.

42. Harvey to Rockingham, 20 September 1775, supra; Hammond to Rockingham, 21, 23 September 1779. Rockingham MSS., W.W.M. R12-3, 5. (See No.137-8).

in its hour of crisis. On the 24th the Marquis attended a further meeting of the principal inhabitants and offered to prove a Battery of six 18-pounders to be put under the Corporation's control, if the government would allow this. This was accepted[43]. At the same time he underwrote his political position, commenting to the marchioness:

> 'I made them an omnium gatherum speech rather confused, but my chief object was to persuade them - that Government had neglected them and perhaps that they themselves had been too flattering and too courtly in their late Addresses etc. etc.'[44]

That evening news arrived that John Paul Jones had captured - at the celebrated battle of Flamborough Head - the Serapis and the Countess of Scarborough, but the Baltic flotilla was safe[45].

During the last week of September Pool and Hammond pressed the government departments to come to the aid of Hull. Eventually ships were sent after Jones, who had sailed away to the Texel in Holland. A professional soldier - Lord Adam Gordon - advised the town on the deployment of its existing cannon, and the government promised a battery to safeguard the town against any future attack[46].

The bench was now in an awkward position: it had initially accepted Rockingham's offer of a battery, but was now to receive one from the government. The marquis pressed his offer twice, with the approval of the ministry, but the Corporation declined[47]. Even

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43. W.W.M. R12-4/3.

44. quoted in J.A. Woods, (ed.), The Correspondence of Edmund Burke. (London, 1963), iv, 129.

45. T. Sheppard, (ed.), 'A Relic of Paul Jones' Naval Battle', Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Society, xxiv (1921-22), 51-2.

46. Hammond to Rockingham, 24 September 1779; Charles Pool to the Mayor of Hull, 24 September 1779; Hammond to Trinity House, 24 September 1779; War Office to the Mayor of Hull, 25 September 1779; Hammond to Trinity House, 25 September 1779. (Rockingham MSS., W.W.M. 12 - 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16. (See Nos.140-2).
Similar letters were sent by Hammond to his brethren at Trinity House, dated 24, 25, 26, 28, 30 September 1779 (Trinity House Letters, passim.)

47. B.B., ix, 495, 496, 498, 500. Mayor of Hull to Rockingham, 27, 28 September 1779; Hammond to Rockingham, 5 October 1779; Rockingham to Trinity House, 7 October 1779; Hammond to Rockingham, 9 October 1779; Harvey to Rockingham, 9 October 1779; Hammond to Rockingham, 12, 13 October 1779; Rockingham to Mayor of Hull, 16 October 1779; Rockingham to Hammond, 17 October 1779. (Rockingham MSS., W.W.M. R12-15, 16, 18, 19, 21-23, 26, 28, 33, 35-36. (See Nos.143, ,144-50).

his influential friends Joseph Sykes, Richard Bell and Thomas Williamson were of no avail[48]. Matters seemed to be made worse by the appearance in the Leeds Intelligencer on 12 October of the following paragraph:

> 'We hear from Hull, a few days ago a certain most Noble Marquis, together with his very amiable companion E-d B-ke, Esq., narrowly escaped being torn to pieces by a furious mob at that place; who actually pursued them for some miles after they had got out at a back part of the town'.[49]

Two days later this report appeared in the London papers[50]. This could not be ignored, and on the same day as Rockingham's offer was finally rejected, a letter was sent to the town clerk of Leeds demanding to know the author of the paragraph, and threatening the printer of the Leeds Intelligencer with prosecution[51]. Trinity House was similarly irate[52]. Whether the offender was even discovered is not known, but the Leeds newspaper afterwards dismissed the assertion as 'groundless' and averred that the marquis's reception at Hull had been 'such that was due to his rank'[53]. After all the commotion had died down Hammond took the opportunity of analysing the political standpoints of the Corporation and Trinity House, a useful exercise in view of the forthcoming election in 1780[54].

It was during the candidates' canvass in June of that year that Hull's version of the Gordon Riots took place, and other disturbances were reported in Edinburgh and Glasgow. Roman Catholics were never numerous in Hull, but they had a small chapel in Postern Gate[55]. The Catholic Relief Bill caused ill-feeling, and the London mobs, whipped up by Lord George Gordon, damaged much property including Sir George Savile's coach and house. Hartley's support for the

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48. W.W.M. R12-17, 35, 46, supra.

49. Leeds Intelligencer, 12 October 1779.

50. for example St. James's Chronicle, 14 October 1779.

51. B.B., ix, 501; Copies of Letters from Mayor, 1778-95, H.R.O. BRL. 51.

52. W.W.M. R12- 37-39.

53. Leeds Intelligencer, 26 October 1779.

54. W.W.M. R.12-44, 54. (See No.190,191).

55. Hadley, History of Hull, 804; D. Marshall, Eighteenth Century England. (London, 1962), 478.

bill would not endear him to the Hull mob, nor any other disapproving constituent[56]. The course of events at Hull is not clear, but an entry in the bench books for 13 June mentions 'riotous proceedings on Sunday last'[57]. The Romish chapel was 'almost demolished' by the rioters[58], and the disturbances reached a point where the civil powers could no longer cope. Captain Fletcher and troops from the citadel were summoned, together with the Earl of Euston and part of the Suffolk militia. All were later suitably rewarded[59]. The violence was transient, but seems to have been highly dangerous.

The outbreak of war with Revolutionary France in 1793 again emphasised the vulnerability of Hull and the East Riding coast. Even before hostilities commenced, Hull merchants, in their capacity as J.Ps., interested themselves in the organization of the militia[60], and in 1792 Henry Maister became colonel of the East Yorkshire Regiment[61]. Several interdependent themes run through the period of the wars against France, punctuated by the 1802 Peace of Amiens. They may be seen in a detailed analysis of local newspapers, especially in the copious columns of the Hull Advertiser.

Existing land and sea forces needed augmentation; volunteers and recruits were in constant demand. In 1794 various military organizations were established, all volunteers. The Hull Gentlemen and Yeomenry Cavalry, a troop of 60 under Captain William Hall was followed by five infantry companies of the Royal Hull Volunteers under Lt. Colonel Christopher Machell, and an artillery company from Trinity House under Captain Benjamin Metcalfe. In Southampton eight regiments were quartered to repel an invasion. Exeter, not far from the sea, similarly prepared itself. Even in the heart of England, Leicester founded a troop of yeomenry in 1794[62].

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56. Lord Robert Manners to [Mayor of Hull], 6 June 1780. H.R.O. BRL. 1386/61. (See No.167); William Waller to Hartley, 10 June 1780. Hartley MS., D.EHy. 017/2/56. (See No.169).

57. B.B., ix, 522.

58. Hadley, History of Hull, 804.

59. B.B., ix, 522.

60. B.L. Add. MSS, Egerton MS., 3506 ff.6-7.

61. Norfolk, Militia, 12, 44.

62. ibid., 13-15, 45-6; Temple Patterson, Southampton, 95; Newton, Exeter, 104-5; Temple Patterson, Radical Leicester, 78.

All survived until 1801. Men and money were urgently needed and the bench offered generous bounties[63]. As the threat of invasion mounted, a company of Sea Fencibles was established in 1798, together with three companies of the citizens''Armed Association'. Southampton did likewise[64]. Serious attempts were made to tempt volunteers into the navy and the bounties offered were from £23/10/- to £56/15/-[65]. In spite of this inducement and patriotic advertisements in the newspapers, there were complaints that Hull was not raising enough men[66], so press gangs went to work to supply the deficiency[67].

Throughout the war there was a considerable number of troops in and around Hull, and an armoury was built at the citadel[68]. However merchants and townspeople were worried over the security of the Humber, and demands were constantly sent to the Admiralty for warships to patrol the estuary[69]. Trade also needed protection and there were regular demands for convoys, mainly to Hamburg, Bremen and the Baltic[70], and occasionally to Spain and Portugal[71]. Attempts by the government to wage economic warfare by restricting trade by Orders in Council hit the merchants of Hull, and they protested vigorously[72].

The poor of Hull suffered during the war as also, for example, at Exeter and Leicester[73]. The price of food rose, and there were riots in August 1795 and May 1796 over the cost of flour[74]. The

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63. Hull Advertiser, 17 July, 11 October 1794; 31 January, 7 February, 4 July 1795.

64. ibid., 10, 24, 31 March, 7 April, 12 May 1798. Norfolk, Militia, 47; Temple Patterson, Southampton, 98.

65. Hull Advertiser, 2 May, 3 October 1795; 17 December 1796.

66. for example, ibid., 12 September 1795.

67. ibid., 26 November 1796, 2 June 1798, 4 June 1803.

68. V.C.H., Hull, 207.

69. Hull Advertiser, 7 March, 10 October 1795; 26 March 1796; 18 February, 8 August 1797.

70. ibid., 23 January 1796, 18 April 1796; 8 July, 23 September 1797; 23 June 1798; 21 May 1803.

71. ibid., 23 September 1797.

72. ibid., 9 May 1808, 7, 28 April 1810, 6 April 1811, 8, 15 February 1812.

73. Newton, Exeter, 107; Temple Patterson, Radical Leicester, 83.

74. Gillett and MacMahon, History of Hull, 235.

militia had to restore order on both occasions, but there does not seem to be any connection between these disorders and political radicalism. The Corporation opened subscriptions for relief, and during the winter of 1799-1800 provided cheap meat soup[75]. During the following winter it purchased herrings for the poor from the Firth of Forth[76]. After the defeat of Napoleon, Hull remained loyaly peaceful until the arrival of James Acland.

75. Hull Advertiser, 21, 28 December 1799; 4, 18 January, 1 March 1800.

76. ibid., 20, 27 December 1800.

VIII

Radicalism and Reform

Radicalism in Hull had a long but intermittent history, and did not exert much influence on the political life of the town until the early 1830's. The desire to reform certain aspects of the constitution of the country was not always associated with the seemingly drastic measures advocated by the followers of Thomas Hardy and Henry Hunt, and indeed many moderate Whigs in the town would have little to do with radical beliefs or activities.

The first stirrings of serious criticism of the machinery of law and government were both moderate and respectable. In 1769 a handful of Hull worthies, such as Henry Maister, attended a county meeting at York to protest against the repeated exclusion of John Wilkes from the House of Commons on the grounds of his technically being an outlaw. Little interest was shown in Hull: the Bench as a body did not discuss the matter, nor did Trinity House, although individual members of both bodies signed the subsequent petition to the King. The principal Rockinghamite Whigs in the town, the Sykes family, would have nothing to do with it. In the West Riding of Yorkshire, gentry, lawyers and merchants were more active. Derbyshire and Wiltshire, among others, also played a part. Amongst the boroughs, Bristol, Exeter, Liverpool and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, as well as London and Westminster, exerted themselves[2].

The Yorkshire Association, ten years later, fared little better. Poorly signed petitions were sent from Hull in 1780, 1783 and 1785 despite the efforts of Alderman Charles Pool and the Reverend John Bourne. Again the Bench would have nothing to do with the movement. David Hartley tried to link the Association with his plan to conciliate the rebellious American colonists, but without success. This was the politics of the ruling elite; but Francis Taylor, a Hull copyholder respectfully hinted at the need for broadening the franchise. At least Hull had taken some action, other places such as Nottingham,

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1. Ward, Merchants and Manufacturers, 84-5.
2. ibid., 35-39; G. Rudé, Wilkes and Liberty. (London, 1962), 211.

Leicester and Derby showed no interest. Initially Nottinghamshire was second only to Yorkshire in enthusiasm for the cause[3].

The revolution in France produced a crop of radical societies in the north of England much at variance with the former organizations at York led by county gentry. In Yorkshire movements led by skilled artisans sprang up at Sheffield and in the West Riding, the more rural and subservient East Riding was much less active. Hull, however, had the necessary elements for a radical society; a flourishing Literary and Philosophical Society; a variety of non-conformist congregations with their tradition of political discussion; and a number of trade clubs and friendly societies. But it would seem that no radical sect developed at that time, although sympathy for the movement and illicit literature worried the Bench. In June 1792 the Corporation sent a loyal address to the Crown on the 'late proclamation against seditious writings'[4]. Two years later a radical epistle was discovered in the doorway of Guildhall, and the Bench offered a reward of £100 for the apprehension of the author of 'inflammatory and treasonable Expressions'[5]. A similar figure was offered in August 1795 for the writer of 'inflammatory handbills'[6]. The Corporation and Trinity House were unswervingly loyal, and supported the formation and deployment of regiments of militia[7], and took steps to ensure their loyalty[8]. Rumbles of discontent continued and one organization had the temerity to call itself the 'Revolution Society'. The onset of war with France and the vulnerable position of Hull probably ended its life, although there may have been a Corresponding Society in 1799[9]. Hull was thus in the 1790's no centre of support for the ideas of the French Revolution. London, of course led the way, but in the north Bradford, Leeds, Manchester, Nottingham and Sheffield,

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3. See No.153. For the muted role of Hull at this time, and for other areas, see Ward, Merchants and Manufacturers, 85-7, 130, 158, 161. I.R. Christie, Wilkes, Wyvill and Reform. (London, 1962), 90, 97.

4. B.B., x, 147. Entry for 2 June 1792.

5. ibid., 203. Entry for 20 May 1794.

6. ibid., 235. Entry for 11 August 1795.

7. A.V. Mitchell, 'Radicalism and Repression in the North of England, 1791-97'. Unpublished Manchester University M.A. thesis, (1958), 270, 274, 279.

8. P.R.O. H.O. 50/346.

9. Gillett and MacMahon, History of Hull, 233; Hull Advertiser, 22 June 1799; E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working

amongst others, produced flourishing Corresponding Societies.

Radicalism as such did not appear again until 1818; no Hampden Club was established, but there was no shortage of issues to concern local reformers. A small group of Whigs was important in this respect. It included the Anglican clergymen J.H. Bromby and Miles Popple; Daniel Sykes, and two prominent non-conformists, the Reverend George Lee of the Hull Rockingham, and the much respected physician Dr John Alderson. The imprisonment of John Gale Jones and Sir Francis Burdett in 1810 on the grounds of breach of parliamentary privilege recalled the days of John Wilkes and Hull was as active as Leeds or Sheffield. In the absence of the mayor, the Whig leaders took it upon themselves to call a public meeting which was addressed by Sykes and Popple. A petition in support of the imprisoned radicals and calling for a reform of parliament was resolved[10]. Their opponents soon organized another meeting and petition, and accused the Whigs of attempting to subvert the constitution. Such Tory worthies included Sir Henry Etherington, Thomas and William Osborne, R.C. Broadley and Benjamin Williamson[11]. The release of Burdett called forth letters of congratulation from the Whigs[12].

The actions of Lord Liverpool's government after the defeat of Napoleon similarly called down the wrath of Hull Whigs. As was to be expected at the home of Wilberforce, there was opposition to negro slavery and the slave trade, a movement starting in 1788 and continuing intermittantly until 1833[13]. A public meeting opposing the Corn Laws produced a petition with seven thousand signatures[14], and the tax on property was only slightly less vigorously condemned[15],

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10. Hull Rockingham, 19, 26 May 1810; Hull Advertiser, 29 May 1810.
11. Hull Advertiser, 2, 16 June 1810; Hull Packet, 12, 19 June 1810.
12. Hull Advertiser, 23 June 1810; Hull Rockingham, 23 June 1810.
13. Hull Advertiser, 2, 9 July 1814. The origins of the movement are considered in E.M. Hunt, 'The North of England Agitation for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 1780-1800'. Unpublished Manchester University M.A. thesis, (1959), 116-151, passim. The rest of the story may be followed in the various biographies of Wilberforce.
14. Hull Advertiser, 4 January, 11, 18 March 1815; Hull Rockingham 4 February, 4, 11 March 1815.
15. Hull Advertiser, 14 January, 10, 17 February, 9 March 1815; Hull Packet, 9 January 1815.

with the Hull Rockingham in a particularly vitriolic mood[16]. The year 1817 was marked by acute distress, and with disorders ranging from an attempt on the life of the Prince Regent to the ill-fated March of the Blanketeers and the attempt by Jeremiah Brandreth to march on Nottingham Castle. The troubles were partly fired by the government's agent provocateur 'Oliver the Spy' who was active in the north and midlands. There was little support for the violence in Hull, but there was sympathy for the plight of the unemployed. In February Sykes and Popple organized a public meeting which called for public economy and a moderate reform of parliament as means of effecting an improvement. Their petition reportedly gathered 2,300 signatures; a loyal address followed with 407 names[17]. The suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act produced a similar Whig reaction[18], but the Hull Packet was 'fully convinced of the necessity'[19]. The successful unmasking of Oliver by Edward Baines after the so-called 'Huddersfield Rising' earned Whig applause[20]. In these reactions Hull was at one with the West Riding of the county.

In late July 1818 a radical society was formed in Hull which was to assume more than local importance. The Hull Political Protestants, with their headquarters in Blanket Row, deplored the actions of the Tory government and wished to 'rescue the House of Commons from the all-devouring influence of Borough Merchants; and restore it to the people agreeable to Magna Carta, and the spirit of the British Constitution'. They defined their aims thus:

> 'We believe that political ignorance has been the cause of all our national misery and degradation, and that nothing but a firm and extensive Union of the people to promote and diffuse a correct knowledge of our immediate rights, can possibly protect our Country either from

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16. Hull Rockingham, 31 December 1814; 7, 14, 21, 28 January 1815.
17. Hull Advertiser, 8 February 1817; Hull Packet, 8, 11, 15 February 1817; Hull Rockingham, 15 February 1817.
18. Hull Advertiser, 14 June 1817; Hull Rockingham, 28 June 1817.
19. Hull Packet, 16 June 1817.
20. Hull Rockingham, 21 June, 19 July 1817.

absolute despotism on the one hand or a dreadful Revolution and anarchy on the other. We shall, therefore, meet once a week in small classes, not exceeding twenty in each class, and subscribe One Penny each, for the purpose of purchasing such means of information as may be required, in which may we exhort all friends of Radical Reform throughout the Kingdom to associate.

The Leaders of each Class shall hold a Meeting once a Month to report the progress of the Institution; and in order to do away with all ground of accusation, against our proceedings, we declare that we will not have any secret transactions whatever, and that our meetings, our books and accounts of every description, shall at all times be laid open for the inspection of the Magistrates or others, who may request the same[21].

A wider radical audience was secured by the publication of these aims in T.J. Wooler's 'The Black Dwarf' of 19 August 1818. Supporters were urged to use the Hull model for their own organizations[22], and 'against them spies...and the agents of a Sidmouth and a Castlereagh will be...harmless'. It was later reported that similar societies were 'rapidly spreading and assuming everywhere a definite form'[23].

Radicalism had already caused a minor stir in Hull when Wooler considered standing at the general election of 1818, and his banner had been seen on the streets[24]. Rumours spread after the establishment of the Protestants: Thomas Lambert, a carpenter of Knottingley, feared a plot, and informed the deputy lieutenant of the East Riding, Sir Mark Masterman Sykes of Sledmere, who forwarded the information, together with a copy of the organization's rules to the Home Secretary[25]. Curiously no official information seems to have been received by Hull's chief magistrate, the mayor.

Similar radical societies developed in Yorkshire at Leeds, York and Wakefield, together with other centres such as Stockport, London and Coventry[26]. A large radical meeting took place at Stockport

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21. P.R.O. H.O. 50/179; The Libel, 7 June 1834; R.F. Wearmouth, Methodism and the English Working Class Movements, 1800-1850. (London, 1946), 64-5.
22. The Black Dwarf, 2 September 1818.
23. ibid., 9 September 1818.
24. Hull Packet, 16 June 1818; Bean, Northern Representation, 852n.
25. P.R.O. H.O. 50/179. (See Nos. 371-2).
26. Wearmouth, Methodism, 67; Thompson, Working Class, 739.

in April 1819, and earned the thanks of the Hull radicals[27]. On 7 June a meeting was held at Hunslet Moor, near Leeds, attended by delegates from many northern towns. A letter was read from the Hull brethren urging the formation of similar societies to fight the 'black hypocrisy of our false priests'[28]. After this the Hull press delivered their opinions on the Leeds meeting, and the society in their midst. Predictably the Hull Advertiser was 'shoked' at the 'abhorrent and...blasphemous proceedings', and the Hull Packet piously hoped no Hull man would be associated with the Leeds radicals[29]. The Hull Rockingham admitted the need for parliamentary reform, but disliked the 'violent language' used[30]. At the end of the month the Protestants held their first public meeting at Hull. Only about one hundred people attended, and among other things, the society resolved to meet on a Sunday to teach 'the young of both sexes reading and writing'[31]. The Hull Advertiser was 'scandalised' and was promptly branded a 'political prostitute' by the radicals[32]. The Hull Rockingham did not see any danger 'with a meeting instituted for political instruction and conducted with order and decorum'[33].

The meeting at Manchester in August resulted in the infamous 'Peterloo massacre', and the subsequent dismissal of Hull's critical High Steward, the Earl Fitzwilliam, as Lord Lieutenant of the West Riding. Indignation spread throughout the north. There were demonstrations in Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Sunderland. The Hull Rockingham roundly condemned the Manchester magistrates, and the dissenters of the town strongly opposed the accusation that they were intimately connected with radical reform[34]. Naturally the

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27. The Black Dwarf, 14 April 1819.
28. ibid., 23 June 1819; Ram, Political Activities of Dissenters, 85-89.
29. Hull Advertiser, 19, 26 June 1819; Hull Packet, 21, 29 June 1819.
30. Hull Rockingham, 19, 26 June 1819.
31. Hull Advertiser, 26 June, 3 July 1819.
32. ibid., 17 July 1819.
33. Hull Rockingham, 26 June 1819.
34. ibid., 21 August, 18, 25 September 1819; Thompson, Working Class, 758.

Political Protestants asked the mayor to call a public meeting to consider the event, which he refused to do. They also approached Daniel Sykes who would not subscribe to their requisition as, whilst he deplored Peterloo, would not support their demand for immediate universal suffrage[35]. The newly elected Whig member, J.R.G. Graham took a similar stand[36]. On the prompting of Wooler, twenty four Protestants screwed up their courage, and called for a meeting on 20 October[37].

The affair was particularly peaceful and low-key. The Bench made no attempt to prohibit it, and no special constables were sworn. A procession of three hundred paraded the town carrying inscribed banners and caps of liberty; and between three and five thousand people attended the meeting. The chair was taken by a merchant, John Jackson, and speeches were made by the Reverend Thomas Griswood who urged annual parliaments and universal suffrage, and Wooler who attacked the Manchester magistrates and the support given by Liverpool's government. Nineteen resolutions to this effect were agreed and a petition sent to the Prince Regent. This was all; apart from the distribution of their broadsheet, The Democrat, no copy of which survives. Afterwards the movement seems to have died away and had no further mention in the Black Dwarf or the local press, apart from the celebration of Wooler's release from gaol in 1822[38].

The 1820's were generally a quieter period with much less radical activity. The main concerns of Hull meetings and petitions were the commercial measures of the government. In particular Huskisson's reciprocity agreements, and the question of the renewal of the charter of the East India Company excited mercantile wrath[39], as did trade depressions and the opposition to the new Junction Dock[40].

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35. Hull Advertiser, 2, 9 October 1819; Hull Rockingham, 2 October 1819. (See No.391.)
36. Hull Rockingham, 16 October 1819.
37. ibid., 2 October 1819.
38. Hull Advertiser and Hull Rockingham, 23 October 1819, 3 August 1822.
39. See, for example, Hull Advertiser, 10 November 1826, 28 December 1827.
40. ibid., 18 July 1828, 29 May 1829.

Daniel Sykes proved a zealous and conscientious spokesman at Westminster and was frequently to be seen in his constituency. The decade opened with the unsavoury wrangle between the Prince Regent and his wife, Caroline of Brunswick. A rush of petitions came up from the provinces. George's treatment of his wife was fully reported in the Hull press[41]. The dissenters of Ebenezer Chapel, Dagger Lane, were the first to spring to her defence with an address of over 6,000 signatures; she expressed her thanks through Sykes[42]. The failure of the Pains and Penalties Bill was greeted with the ringing of church bells and the decoration of houses[43]. Public meetings, and the meetings of corporate bodies produced petitions condemning the government from the inhabitants[44], the Bench[45] and Trinity House[46]. A counter address, was however, sent from 320 people of 'great respectability'[47]. There was a last fling of the county reform movement in 1822-23 with a meeting at York attended by Sykes. Unfortunately the Reverend Wyvill died a few months before the occasion[48]. A more immediate reform problem, however, was that of the freeholders in the county of Hull, culminating in Sykes' bill of 1828[49]. The campaign against slavery was renewed in Hull in 1823, 1825 and 1828[50], together with the cry for the modification of the Corn Laws in 1825 and 1827[51].

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41. See, for example, Hull Advertiser, 18 August, 1, 15 September 1820; Briggs, Age of Improvement, 192.
42. Hull Advertiser, 27 October, 3 November 1820.
43. ibid., 17 November 1820.
44. ibid., 24 November, 1 December 1820, 2, 9 February 1821; Hull Rockingham, 25 November, 2 December 1820.
45. B.B., xi, 240-4. Entry for 5 December 1820. Significantly this was sent to John Mitchell, the Tory member, and not Sykes.
46. Hull Advertiser, 15 December 1820.
47. Hull Rockingham, 2 December 1820.
48. Hull Advertiser, 22 August, 29 November, 2 December 1822, 10 January, 23 February 1823. J.R. Dinwiddy, Christopher Wyvill and Reform 1790-1820. Borthwick Papers, No.39, (York, 1971), 30-31.
49. Hull Advertiser, 26 August 1820; B.B., xi, 494.
50. ibid., 25 April, 7 November, 5 December 1823, 16 December 1825, 4 January, 12 September 1828.
51. ibid., 18 February 1825, 9 February 1827.

Religious disabilities came to the fore in the two years before 1830. The Test and Corporation Acts were probably not keenly felt in Hull as Dissenters who were burgesses voted in parliamentary elections, and several of their co-religionists sat as members for northern constituencies. Annual indemnification eased matters. There was no meeting or petition from the town[52], but the repeal of the acts was warmly received by several shades of opinion[53]. The position of Roman Catholics was different. Since 1688 they had been neither popular nor numerous in Hull, and it was not difficult to stir up public opinion against them. Even before the crisis of 1828-29 movements for the political emancipation of Catholics had not received much sympathy on the banks of the Humber. The Hull Rockingham gave a qualified support to Grattan's Bill of 1813, but an anti-Catholic petition soon appeared[54]. The partial Relief Bills of 1822 and 1823 brought the opposition of the clergy of the East Riding[55]. Similarly Burdett's attempts in 1827 were greeted with hostility and a thinly signed petition,'managed very snugly' by its supporters[56]. The Bench petitioned both houses of Parliament against concessions in February 1827 and April 1828[57].

By 1828 Catholic emancipation was not a new issue in Hull or elsewhere. However the election of the catholic Daniel O'Connell for County Clare produced a serious dilemma for the Tory government. Wellington and Peel realised that relief was essential to prevent chaos in Ireland as a general election would almost certainly have produced a considerable crop of catholic members unable to take their seats. Rank and file Tory opinion was outraged and this was

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52. Hull Rockingham, 19 May 1827; Ram, Political Activities of Dissenters, 99-100.

53. Hull Advertiser 25 April, 2 May 1828; Hull Rockingham, 26 April, 3 May 1828.

54. Hull Rockingham, 6, 13 March, 29 May 1813.

55. Hull Advertiser, 11 April 1823.

56. Hull Rockingham, 9 June 1827.

57. B.B., xi, 458, 492-3. Entries for 10 February 1827 and 1 April 1828.

well served at Hull by their fiercely anti-catholic Irish M.P. Augustus O'Neill. Catholic political rights were widely opposed, and in early February 1829 O'Neill presented two petitions hostile to the Romists: yet another from the Bench to both houses[58]; and one from 3,000 inhabitants[59]. Very soon afterwards the more conciliatory elements in the town exerted themselves and Daniel Sykes presented two petitions: one from the Unitarians urging a similar toleration for Catholics[60]; and one from some of the wealthier clergy, merchants and bankers[61]. The Tory element was not prepared to accept a drawn match, and nearly two hundred anti-Catholics requested the mayor to convene a public meeting around the steps of King William's statue. This duly took place in early March and a very large crowd turned out. The mayor took the chair and long speeches were made by Aldermen C. Bolton, Terry, half a dozen Anglican clergy, and two Dissenting ministers. Very full reports were carried by the Hull Advertiser and Hull Packet[62]. As usual a petition resulted, and once more the Bench urged the Lords to reject the emancipation bill when it reached the upper chamber[63]. As we have seen, there was an exchange of opinions in the Commons between O'Neill and Sykes over the veracity of signatures to the Tory petitions, and Sykes suspected sharp practice at the great March meeting[64]. Clearly the Bench, and many prosperous inhabitants of Hull, were worried by the prospect of constitutional reform in whatever guise it appeared.

The years between 1830 and 1835 were politically the most exciting in Hull since the reign of James II. The campaign for the Reform Act of 1832, the investigations of the commissioners on municipal reform, and the enactment of the Municipal Corporations Act in 1835

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58. ibid., xi, 514. Entry for 3 February 1829; Hull Advertiser, 13 February 1829.
59. Hull Advertiser, 3 February 1829; Hull Rockingham, 7 February 1829.
60. Hull Advertiser, 20 February 1829; Hull Rockingham, 21 February 1829.
61. Mirror (1827), i, 313.
62. Hull Advertiser, 6 March 1829; Hull Packet, 29 February, 3 March 1829.
63. B.B., xi, 517. Entry for 17 March 1829.
64. Mirror (1829), i, 313, 510.

coincided with the activities of the radical James Acland. Public meetings and petitions, legal disputes, and popular disturbances were all mounted, and all were fully reported in local newspapers.

Parliamentary reform came first, and in the early days seemed a revival of the working class movement of 1818. A meeting took place in September 1830, chaired once more by James Jackson, and was composed of about one hundred and fifty people of the 'operative class'. The Parisians were congratulated on the success of the July Revolution, and the Commons condemned for approving Peterloo and the Gagging Acts. It was resolved to petition the King to use his influence to secure the enfranchisement of the payers of direct taxes and the establishment of the ballot and shorter parliaments[65]. This revival of radicalism received further encouragement when the Whig government introduced a reform bill early in 1831. A petition in support of this measure, signed by 1,200 was sent to the town's members in February 1831[66], followed by an address to the Crown and a further petition to both houses of parliament signed by 4,500; the latter including 'many burgesses of the lower order'[67]. The Bench was concerned to protect the voting rights of existing burgesses, and those who would normally become enfranchised, and it too petitioned both houses. Burgesses were urged to register their claims without delay[68].

So far the pressure from Hull, whilst not co-ordinated, had not split the ranks of the reformers. Birmingham also displayed a unity of opinion due to the closely-knit social and economic structure of the town, with its co-ordinated stand on currency reform. This was sustained. However the arrival in Hull of James Acland in August 1831[69] altered the situation there. His opportunity to bid for control of the reform movement came when the Lords rejected

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65. Hull Advertiser, 24 September 1830.

66. Hull Rockingham, 29 January, 5, 15 February 1831; Hull Advertiser, 18 February 1831.

67. Hull Rockingham, 12 March 1831; Hull Advertiser, 18 March 1831.

68. B.B., xii, 39. Entry for 5 April 1831.

69. Briggs, Cambridge Historical Journal, x, 294-8; K.A. MacMahon, 'James Acland and the Humber Ferry Monopolies', Transport History, II ii (1969), 168.

the redrafted bill early in October. On the prompting of over two hundred 'local gentlemen of great respectability', including the Sykes family, the mayor convened a meeting to address the Throne in support of the bill[70]. Richard Sykes took the chair and Miles Popple and T.J. Buckton proposed the address. Thereupon Acland proposed a new address attacking the Lords and demanding universal suffrage, annual parliaments and the ballot. This was carried by a majority of two thirds. The Hull Rockingham commented:

> 'As far as the requisitionists were concerned it was a failure, not only from any neglect on their part; from the fact that a large concourse of the lower classes had been collected by an individual who has obtained a great influence over them, and persuaded them that it was right to go to great lengths in their demands...'[71]

The moderate reformers were embarrassed by this, but by the end of the month 7,000 signatures were appended. Obviously dubious methods were used to reach this incredible number[72] (if it was correct), but Acland had caught the feeling of the populace. He quickly consolidated his victory by establishing a permanent body called the Hull Political Union. Replete with a set of rules and a committee to guide its actions, it supported not only the traditional radical demands, but sought to redress 'all public wrongs and local encroachments upon the rights, interests and privileges of the community'[73]. The scope of its activities seemed limitless. It remained in existence until 1834, and its ideas and proceedings were given full publicity in Acland's newspaper, the Hull Portfolio[74]. Acland also attracted able supporters such as T.B. Smith and Joseph Noble who looked after the organization during their leader's terms of imprisonment[75].

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70. Hull Rockingham, 15 October 1831.
71. ibid., 22 October 1831; Hull Advertiser, 21 October 1831.
72. Hull Rockingham, 29 October 1831.
73. Hull Portfolio, 12 November 1831; Hull Advertiser, 18 November 1831.
74. Hull Portfolio, 12 November 1831 to 27 June 1833, passim. The Libel, 7 June 1834.
75. See, for example, The Libel, 20 May, 14 June 1834.

As the struggle to pass the reform bill wore on Acland kept up his pressure. The Political Union implored the King to be lenient towards the rioters of Bristol[76] and urged Lord Grey 'not to be trifled with by Tory traitors'. The Hull Union was thus founded on the issue of reform alone, there was no cause underlying the demand for a change in the franchise. In Manchester the repeal of the Corn Laws, and in Leeds factory reform found expression in the campaign for the act[77].

Having lost the initiative the middle class reformers of Hull only organized themselves after Lord Grey had the King's promise to create sufficient Whig peers to outvote the Tory majority in the Lords if they persisted in their opposition to the bill. The Hull Parliamentary Reform Association was established at the end of May 1832 by William Bourne, T.J. Buckton and George Lee of the Hull Rockingham. As at Liverpool and elsewhere it wanted an extension of the franchise, public economy, civil and religious liberties and the amelioration of the condition of the poor. Like the Political Union, it was to be open to all, and seven of its committee of twenty one were to be from the 'labouring class'. The Society of Liberals was represented on this body as were several of the rival radical organizations[78]. Acland tried unsuccessfully to disrupt the Association's proceedings, but had to content himself with vituperative attacks in his newspaper[79]. As was to be expected, he was not wholly satisfied with the act when it was passed, and criticised its terms 'so replete with legal wordiness, that nine out of ten of those whom it most concerns, would be unable to comprehend its meaning'[80]. As we have seen, his attempt to be returned in the ensuing election was not successful.

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76. Hull Advertiser, 20 January, 1832; Hull Portfolio, 21 January 1832.
77. Hull Advertiser, 18 May 1832; Briggs, C.H.J., x, 304.
78. ibid., 1 June, 20 July 1832; Hull Rockingham, 2 June 1832.
79. Hull Portfolio, 19, 26 May, 5 June 1832.
80. ibid., 26 June 1832.

However Acland's activities in Hull were by no means confined to the campaign for parliamentary reform. He was determined to repeat his Bristol activities, but this time, he hoped, with more success. An all-out attack was launched on the Corporation and its privileges and monopolies, together with similar assaults on Trinity House and the Dock Company. His principal weapon was his newspaper the Hull Portfolio, which first appeared in August 1831, soon after his arrival in the town, a copy of his Bristol journal. His style was trenchant and he pulled no punches, subtlety and moderation had no place in his pages. T.J. Wooller of the Black Dwarf would have been proud of him, as would similar radicals in Manchester, Leeds and elsewhere. He was basically a mob-stirrer, but his much-publicised attacks, frequently of doubtful legality, helped educate public opinion which was proving increasingly critical of the closed oligarchy which governed the town[81].

The three corporate bodies were in general pilloried for their exclusiveness, wealth, and in the case of the Bench, overall mis-management[82]. Individual aldermen came under attack for a number of alleged offences: Christopher Bolton for corruptly administering Cogan's charity[83]; Avison Terry for using his influence in the siting of a new school and the keeping of the Sabbath[84], and the Town Clerk George Codd, for misusing his corporate office when solicitor for the Guardians of the Poor[85]. However his first grand attack was on the issue of the Humber ferries over which the Corporation had control[86]. In an attempt to break this monopoly he brought on a confrontation when he started his own vessel the 'Public Opinion' which charged reduced rates[87]. At the same time he began his campaign

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81. MacMahon, Transport History, IIii, 167-68. Radical newspapers are conveniently listed in P. Hollis, The Pauper Press. (London, 1970), 318-28.

82. Hull Portfolio, 20, 27 August, 3, 10 September, 5 October 1831, 11 February 1832.

83. ibid., 1 October 1831, 15, 19 January 1832, 7 February 1832.

84. ibid., 11, 14, 18, 29 February, 6, 13 March 1832.

85. ibid., 31 December 1831.

86. For the background to the Corporation's monopolies, see MacMahon, Transport History, IIii, 168-79.

87. Hull Advertiser, 11, 18 November 1831; Hull Portfolio, 27 August, 1, 10, 17, 24 September, 1, 5 October 1831; Hull Rockingham, 12 September 1831.

against stallage rates in the market, and also the tolls levied at that place and at bridges. He toured the town refusing to pay tolls, and it was on his prompting that the Anti-Toll Association was founded. As a final gesture of contempt he set up a stall near the statue of William III, selling gingerbread figures of the mayor and Corporation[88].

As he desired, retribution and publicity followed. In November 1831 1,000 special constables were sworn in to keep the peace, and legal proceedings for libel were taken by the Corporation in King's Bench[89]. But in February 1832 the case was adjourned until the following term[90], and Acland returned to Hull to a warm reception from his followers[91]. Undaunted he helped establish the Anti-Mill Society to challenge yet another Corporation monopoly[92]. Legal proceedings against him multiplied, and by the end of March 1832 he was on trial at York for his activities in connection with the ferry question. His sense of drama was gratified: he was ordered to pay damages of one farthing, and barricaded himself in his house to prevent arrest as he could not afford the £270 legal costs. The Society of Liberals magnanimously stumped up five shillings to help[93]. Soon afterwards he turned his attention to ecclesiastical matters, and after a poll lasting five days, he was elected Church warden of Holy Trinity. He had more than double the votes cast for his nearest rival[94]. As was to be expected he used his position to criticise the Church and its sources of income[95].

In May 1832 the Corporation brought four actions against him on the issue of tolls, and the stall holders contributed £250 towards

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88. Hull Advertiser, 25 November 1831; Hull Portfolio, 29 October, 5, 19 November 1831; Hull Rockingham, 12, 19 November 1831.

89. V.C.H., Hull, 199; J.J. Sheahan, History of Hull. (Hull, 1864), 159-60.

90. Hull Advertiser, 3 February 1832.

91. ibid., 10 February 1832; Sheahan, History of Hull, 160.

92. ibid., 17 February 1832; Hull Rockingham, 17 February 1832.

93. Hull Advertiser, 6, 13 April 1832; Hull Portfolio, 20 March, 7, 10, 14 April 1832.

94. Symons, Kingstoniana, 33.

95. Hull Advertiser, 27 April, 29 May 1832; Hull Portfolio, 14, 21, 28 April, 1, 5, 8 May 1832.

his defence[96]. After this, he was imprisoned for failing to pay the 'ferry trial costs'[97]. At the York Assizes in August he was convicted of libel on Alderman Christopher Bolton, a trustee of Cogan's charity, and at the same Assize the Corporation obtained a verdict against him over the matter of tolls[98]. The annual elections for the officers of the Corporation were to be held in September, and Acland (not a burgess) and James Thistleton, offered themselves as candidates for the two posts of Chamberlains, in opposition to four official candidates. The two were said to have received 162 and 158 votes respectively[99]. However this election was the occasion of a disturbance. It took place on a Sunday when the magistrates were at Church: 470 special constables were immediately sworn; the 1,000 sworn in November 1831 were called out, but only seven responded. Order was restored only with the aid of cavalry, and Acland was arrested[100].

By the autumn of 1832 the Hull Portfolio was not selling well, and was rapidly running into debt. Acland had to meet his liabilities, so at his house in Queen's Street - 'the Anti-Corporation Castle' - he sold 'public opinion coffee', 'anti-corporate tea' and 'radical tobacco', all offered on 'fair trade principles'[101]. Support was now ebbing. By November 1832 he was in the King's Bench prison and was subsequently sentenced to eighteen months imprisonment in the gaol at Bury St Edmunds, as a punishment for libel, and had to find two good sureties for him to keep the peace for five years[102]. From his cell he defiantly stood for parliament in December 1832, and urged his case in the Hull Portfolio, but the town had had enough. Annoyed by his violent supporters, 500 'gentlemen' signed a declaration 'to support the magistracy in all legal and proper measures which they might think right to adopt, for repressing those violent and disorderly proceedings'[103]. He received only 433 votes.

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96. B.B., xii, 87; Hull Portfolio, 2 June 1832.
97. Sheahan, History of Hull, 160.
98. ibid., Symonds, Kingstoniana, 20.
99. Sheahan, History of Hull, 160; Hull Advertiser, 5 October 1832.
100. Rep. Com. Mun. Corps., 1560.
101. Hull Portfolio, 11 October 1832.
102. Symons, Kingstoniana, 20.
103. Sheahan, History of Hull, 161; V.C.H., Hull, 200.

Imprisonment and electoral defeat effectively put an end to Acland's career in Hull. He was released from gaol on 20 November 1834[104], but his influence had largely gone. In spite of the efforts of T.B. Smith, the Hull Portfolio had already fizzled out in July 1833[105]. Subsequent radical newspapers ran at most to a dozen issues, and lasted no more than three months: the Libel from May to July 1834, and the Dauntless from November 1834 to January 1835. Between the two he published the Hull Radical for five illegal issues in September 1834, which caused him more legal trouble[106]. Acland finally quitted Hull at the beginning of 1835, and subsequently had a lively career as an Anti-Corn Law lecturer, and later a Liberal party agent[107]. The more moderate radicals of Hull had certainly learned something from him, but probably breathed more easily at his departure.

After the passage of the 1832 Reform Act the demand for a reform of local government in urban areas grew. This was particularly felt in ancient corporations where the machinery of government seemed to be out of touch with the changing needs of a thriving community. Hull, at this time, was on the threshold of its most impressive period of commercial expansion and civic development. A number of people saw the need for change in the town; one of these was the young radical solicitor William Woolley who as early as 1830 drew up his collection of statutes relating to Hull[108]. This became an invaluable source of reference for reforms.

The 1832 Reform Act had protected the rights of the burgesses in parliamentary elections, but how would they fare if municipal

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104. The Dauntless, 29 November 1834.

105. A final supplement was published summarising events between September 1833 and May 1834.

106. Hull Advertiser, 12, 19 September 1834. No copy of the Hull Radical seems to have survived.

107. N. McCord, The Anti-Corn Law League. (London, 1958), 56-8, 60-61, 65-68, 72, 102, 151, 161.

108. W. Woolley, A Collection of Statutes Relating to the Town of Kingston-upon-Hull. (London, 1830), passim.

elections, and indeed local government generally, were to be reformed? In September 1832 the Burgesses Association was formed to ascertain the rights of burgesses and restore them where necessary. This was not all, it sought 'the attainment of a just and equitable form of Municipal Government of the Town...; and more especially publicity of the Accounts of the Corporation..., and an extension of the close and secret Common Council'[109]. The president was C.M. Husband, but the guiding light was the Secretary, William Woolley.

The run-up to the general election in December claimed the energies of officers of the association, and they carefully avoided any involvement with Acland's attempt to be elected a Chamberlain. However, early in January 1833 pressure for reform began. The Hull Rockingham called on the government to take action and greeted the city of Edinburgh as an example of an established corporation co-operating well in the development of local institutions. An appeal was made to the Hull Corporation to co-operate in a like manner[110]. The matter was quickly taken up and on 17 January the Hull Reform Association discussed the question and proposed a petition condemning the municipal electoral system, the amount of tolls levied, and the disorder in the town[111]. The Bench was already under pressure from the activities of Acland[112], and hotly denied the charges. They considered the petition contained many 'inaccuracies and insinuations' and sought a member to speak for them when the petition reached Westminster[113]. The new reformist members for Hull clearly did not suit them, and they settled on the Conservative Richrd Bethell, M.P. for the East Riding of Yorkshire, and an opponent of reform[114]. Eventually the petition with its alleged 7,300

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109. J. Greenwood, Picture of Hull. (Hull, 1835), 197.

110. Hull Rockingham, 3 January 1833; Ram, Political Activities of Dissenters, 174.

111. Hull Advertiser, 18 January 1833.

112. See, B.B., xi, 107-113, passim.

113. ibid., 115-22. Entry for 25 January 1833.

114. Richard Bethell (1772-1864), of Rise and Walton Abbey, Yorks. M.P. for East Yorkshire 1830-41 (except 1831). A Conservative, he opposed the Reform bills and supported the Corn Laws. (Stenton, British M.Ps., i, 33).

signatures reached the Commons in mid-February[115]. It was one of the first received on the issue of civic reform. Leicester followed suit a few weeks later[116].

The death of Earl Fitzwilliam in February 1833 added another dimension to the growing struggle. True to its Tory allegiance, the Corporation wanted Wellington to be the next High Steward and sounded him out[117]. The burgesses disagreed and drew up a petition, which William Hutt forwarded to the Earl of Durham - 'Radical Jack'[118]. They were fully aware that the mayor and burgesses had the right to offer the honour to whomsoever they chose. The Whig government was put in an awkward position, and the Home Secretary, Melbourne, considered it necessary to withhold the recommendation of Wellington until the issue had been fully investigated. The duke appreciated the delicate situation which coincided with the investigations of the Select Committee on Municipal Corporations[119]. Under these circumstances the Bench had no intention of defying the government, and at Wellington's request, their offer was gratefully withdrawn[120]. Lord Durham accepted the offer of the burgesses, but did formally take up the office until 1835[121]. The burgesses had won this round.

The Select Committee was appointed in February 1833, and initially asked to see the accounts of the charitable funds of the Corporation together with details of how they were distributed[122]. In April the Mayor, Town Clerk and Town's Husband were summoned before the committee and asked to bring all 'by laws, books and papers'[123]. The Burgesses Association seems to have been caught

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115. Hull Advertiser, 15 February 1833; Hull Rockingham, 16 February 1833.

116. Ram, Political Activities of Dissenters, 174; Temple Patterson, Radical Leicester, 199-200.

117. B.B., xii, 125-6. Entry for 5 March 1833.

118. Hull Advertiser, 29 March, 12 April 1833.

119. B.B., xii, 127, 129, 130. Entries for 12 March, 2, 16 April 1833.

120. ibid., 130.

121. Hull Advertiser, 12, 19 April 1833; Sheahan, History of Hull, 242.

122. B.B., xii, 127, 129.

123. ibid., 131. Entry for 19 April 1833.

slightly unawares but dispatched Woolley, Henry Blundell and J.M. Thistleton to put their case[124]. The mayor and his colleagues duly appeared to give evidence in camera, and they later reported to the Bench[125]. The Burgesses' representatives had not been summoned[126], but had spoken to several sympathetic members of the committee such as Daniel O'Connell, and the Cottingham-born lawyer and M.P. for Cambridge, George Pryme[127].

The Committee was to report to the Commons, putting forward 'constructive suggestions'. However it found its task too extensive to complete, and on its recommendation, a Royal Commission was appointed to carry out the investigation. The Burgesses Associaiton now took action. The radical member for Tiverton, James Kennedy addressed them on his proposed private bill for reform[128]. By the end of August a committee of eleven had been chosen to collect and arrange evidence to be laid before the Commissioners when they arrived[129]. Advertisements and handbills were circulated asking for information on the Corporation and its activities; translations of the principal charters of the town were obtained, and the Anti Toll Association and the Guardians of the Poor were approached for original documents[130]. Even the Mayor was unsuccessfully approached by Woolley to disclose some accounts[131].

At the end of October 1833 a large public meeting took place at the Music Rooms in Jarratt Streeet when between 1,100 and 1,200 people were said to have attended. It seems to have been an attempt to unite the various reformist groups in Hull, and was attended by the chairmen or vice-chairmen of the Burgesses Association, the Society of Liberals, and Hull Political Union, the Barton Ferry

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124. Hull Advertiser, 26 April 1833; Hull Rockingham, 27 April 1833.

125. B.B., xii, 132. Entry for 10 May 1833.

126. Hull Advertiser, 10 May 1833; Hull Rockingham, 11 May 1833.

127. Pryme was also the biographer of Daniel Sykes. (Stenton, British M.Ps., i, 321).

128. ibid., 219; Hull Rockingham, 29 June, 6 July 1833; Hull Advertiser, 12 July 1833.

129. Hull Advertiser, 9 August 1833; Hull Rockingham, 31 August 1833.

130. ibid., 28 September 1833.

131. Hull Advertiser, 15 November 1833.

Committee, the Seamans' Friendly Society, and the Guardians Society. Curiously the Hull Reform Association was not represented, although individual members were present. Long speeches were devoted to the principles of reform, and M.D. Hill was well received. Its more practical decisions were to continue the accumulation of evidence against the Corporation, and to elect Acland a member of the committee[132]. A further meeting petitioned the Crown for his release[133], and he even wrote to the Commissioners from Bury gaol on this matter[134]. The Bench also met to decide on its tactics, especially if the Commissioners demanded the production of civic records. It drew up a dignified protest to the Commissioners and prepared to submit itself to their questions[135]. On a less dignified level it suggested the unity of the reformers had soon collapsed, and appointed William Gawtress of the Tory Hull Packet as their recorder of the proceedings[136].

The Commissioners for the Northern and North Midland circuit were Fortunatus Dwarris, a Jamaican-born lawyer and dramatist[137], and Samuel Augustus Rumball[138]. They arrived from York on 4 December[139] and sat for ten days. Their proceedings were fully reported in the local press[140]. Both Bench and reformers presented their cases with great skill and patience; and the honours may be evenly shared between George Codd, the Town Clerk, and William Woolley. Most aspects of corporate life were examined, together with the complaints of the radicals over the ferry monopoly, tolls and stallage, and the legal mills[141]. Trinity House was less co-operative[142].

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132. Hull Rockingham, 1 November 1833.

133. ibid., 30 November 1833.

134. James Acland to Joseph Parkes, 26 November 1833. H.R.O. BRL. 2735. (See No.403).

135. B.B., xii, 153. Entry for 22 November 1833.

136. ibid., 154, Entry for 3 December 1833; Hull Packet, 6 December 1833; W. Gawtress, A Report of the Inquiry into the Existing State of the Corporation of Hull. (Hull, 1834), 16.

137. D.N.B., vi, 272.

138. Rep.Com.Mun.Corps., 1577.

139. Hull Advertiser, 6 December 1833

140. ibid., and Hull Packet, 6, 13, 20 December 1833; Hull Rockingham 7, 14, 21 December 1833.

141. Gawtress, Report on Hull, passim.

142. V.C.H., Hull, 201.

Predictably the Commissioners found defects: the closed nature of the Corporation; the narrowness of the municipal franchise; bribery at local elections ("half a crown and a jack of rum"); secrecy over borough accounts, and the lack of effective policing[143]. There was truth in much of this, but the commissioners were by no means always fair. For example, whilst aldermen were elected for life, and were not always the choice of the burgesses, a primitive form of proportional representation was used on occasions when there were several 'lites'[144]. Not all those elected wished to serve, for example William Crowle in 1700/01 and 1703; and there were several important resignations, Alderman Hoare in 1712, and William Wilberforce senior in 1771[145]. High office clearly had its drawbacks.

The speed of the enquiry and the reforming zeal of the commissioners has come under criticism. Sidney and Beatrice Webb castigated the report as 'a violent, political being, to serve party ends, issued as a judicial report'. Geoffrey Finlayson has suggested that it made 'too sweeping a condemnation of corporations without considering that in some boroughs self election and inefficiency were not always synonymous'[146]. Certainly the expansion of Hull's commerce, banking, and port facilities benefitted, in the eighteenth century, from the benevolent oversight of the Bench and Trinity House. Though it must be admitted the modus vivendi was not always comfortable. Other towns faired roughly the same as Hull, others were heavily castigated. Southampton was accused of apathy and lacking the confidence of the burgesses; malpractice was not imputed. Much the same was said about Exeter and Liverpool. Leicester[147],

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143. Rep.Com.Mun.Corps., 1545-86, passim.

144. See, for example, B.B., ix, 109, 121, 187. Entries for 27 January 1747/48, 30 September 1748, 1 March 1753.

145. V.C.H., Hull, 194.

146. G.B.A.M. Finlayson, 'The Municipal Corporations Commission and its Report 1833-35', B.I.H.R., xxxvi (1963), 50.

147. See, for example, G. Jackson, 'The Struggle for the First Hull Dock', Transport History, Ii (1968), 21-47; Temple Patterson, Southampton, 176; Newton, Exeter, 164; V.C.H., Lancs., iv, 36; Temple Patterson, Radical Leicester, 208-9; V.C.H., Leics., 147-9.

however, was badly mauled as the epitome of all the commissioners wished to find.

With the completion of the inquiry a lull followed until the legislation was enacted. There was no shortage of advice from Hull. The local newspapers put forward their ideas on what should be done[148]. William Hutt and M.D. Hill were inundated with letters from reforming constituents[149]. The Bench considered the suggestion from Norwich that corporations concert measures to thwart any serious action[150]. No bill was introduced in 1834, but when the Whigs returned after Peel's brief Conservative ministry, in April 1835 Lord John Russell introduced the measure into the Commons. The Hull Rockingham thought the bill better than it had expected, and even the Hull Packet admitted it contained some good proposals[151]. When the bill reached the Lords a public meeting in support of it was held in Hull, and a petition bearing between 6 and 10,000 signatures was produced. A similar one came from Liverpool, for example[152]. At the same time the Bench took the advice of Norwich and sounded out nine other corporations. It also sent the Town Clerk to see Sir Robert Peel, and watch the progress of the bill[153]. A petition followed, and the aldermen resolved to give evidence at the committee stage[154].

By September 1835 the act had become law. The old corporation was to go, and be replaced by 14 aldermen and 42 councillors representing seven wards. The councillors were to be directly elected for three years by male inhabitant ratepayers of three years' standing. Freemen may have kept their parliamentary vote, but

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148. Hull Rockingham, 21 December 1833; Hull Packet, 27 December 1833.

149. Hull Advertiser, 17, 24 January, 2 May 1834.

150. B.B., xii, 158-9. Entry for 24 December 1833.

151. Hull Rockingham, 13 June 1835; Hull Packet, 19 September 1835.

152. Hull Rockingham, 8, 29 August; Hull Advertiser, 28 August, 6 September 1835; Touzeau, Liverpool, 879.

153. B.B., xii, 217, 221. Entries for 9, 26 June 1835. The nine towns were: Newcastle on Tyne, Liverpool, York, Doncaster, Leeds, Norwich, Boston, Leicester and Beverley.

154. ibid., 231. Entry for 6 August 1835.

unless they were ratepayers they had no say in munciipal elections[155].

The great bastion of Hull Toryism in the early nineteenth century was about to crumble, but the Conservatives intended to do their utmost in the coming local election. This immediate battle-ground was the registration of the new voters. The revising barrister was Mr. Vernon Harcourt, and as early as the beginning of October 1835, the Conservatives began to object to the registration of known reformers[156]. Again, caught initially off-guard, the radicals railed against sharp practices and hit back whenever they could[157], incurring the hostility of the Tory press[158]. Throughout November and December the new voters were dully enrolled, amidst much recrimination. Even the Bench was forced to participate by providing a rent roll of all corporation property[159].

The Reformers held a large meeting in mid-December to try to unite the various supporters of the new act, but in particular to select candidates for each ward, and appoint local committees of support and a central co-ordinating body[160]. The Conservatives smelt a Whig-Radical plot to exclude all their supporters from electoral lists; they too thereupon produced their own list of candidates[161]. The election was held on 31 December 1835, and was a great victory for the reformers. All the aldermen returned were Liberals, and there was just one Conservative councillor - Dennis Peacock of West Sculcoates ward. Leicester had a similar story, of the 42 new councillors only four were Tories. At Exeter it was more or less a draw, with the Conservatives securing a majority of one. Hull dissenters had been present at every phase of radical activity and they earned their reward: the new corporation contained

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155. G.B.A.M. Finlayson, England in the 1830's. (London, 1969), 29; Ram, Political Activities of Dissenters, 302; Gillett and MacMahon, History of Hull, 235.

156. Hull Observer, 6 October 1835.

157. Hull Advertiser, 13, 20, 27 November 1835.

158. See, for example, Hull Packet, 6 November 1835.

159. B.B., xii, 238. Entry for 1 December 1835.

160. Hull Advertiser, 18 December 1835; Hull Rockingham, 19 December 1835.

161. Hull Packet, 4, 11, 18 December 1835.

twenty three of their number[162]. In the words of Gillett and MacMahon, 'The Whig revolution was complete'[163].

162. Hull Advertiser, 1 January 1836; Hull Rockingham, 2 January 1836; Ram, Political Activities of Dissenters, 182; V.C.H., Leics, 151; Temple Patterson, Radical Leicester, 213, 214; Newton, Exeter, 165-6.

163. Gillett and MacMahon, History of Hull, 253.

THE POLITICAL CORRESPONDENCE

1678–1835

No. 1

THE DUKE OF MONMOUTH TO THE CORPORATION OF HULL - 23 August 1678

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 893

(IV)

Whitehall. Upon my arrivall att London I mett with the report of Mr. Marvells death[1], one of the Burgesses for yor Towne, which gives me occasion to become a Suitor to you in behalfe of Mr. Shales, that you would elect him to supply that vacancy in parliament, whom I look upon as a person very well qualifyed to serve the King his Country and yor Corporation in particular, to whose interests I shall allways have a peculiar regard, And shall owne yor kindness herein as an obligation to Gentlemen.....

1. 16 August 1678.

No. 2

JOHN SHALES TO THE MAYOR OF HULL [1] - 24 August 1678

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 894

(IV)

Whitehall. I am incouraged by his Grace the Duke of Monmouth to offer my Selfe to You and the Towne of Hules favour to Succeed Mr. Marvell, And his Grace has been pleased to recomend mee to you by the inclosed[2] and left it to my care to transmitt it to you to be comunicated as you Shall judge fitt.

I pray your answer by a line or two to mee directed to my Lord Treasurer at Whitehall,

And Shall only add my assurance to your Selfe that I will gratefully acknowledge all your favor to mee in this matter....

1. Alderman Henry Maister, an important merchant involved in the Russian and Baltic trade. The Mayor, Sheriff and two Chamberlains were elected annually on 30 September. They were sworn in office on 18 October, St Luke's Day.
2. Missing

No. 3

JAMES, DUKE OF YORK TO THE TRINITY HOUSE - 29 August 1678

Source: Trinity House MSS. Miscellaneous Letters

(IV)

Windsor. This serves only to recomend to your particular Favour and Assistance one Mr. Shales, who offers himselfe to serve the Towne of Hull as theire Burgesse in Parliament in the Roome of Mr Andrew Marvell lately deceased. I know the said Mr. Shales to be a man fitly Qualifyed for your Choyse, and will owne the kindnesse you shew him in this Matter as a farther Testimony of your Respects to Me.

No. 4

ANTHONY GILBY TO THE MAYOR AND CORPORATION OF HULL - 22 October 1678

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 896

(VI)

London. Yesterday the Parliament mett and beinge sent for by his Majesty he maide a speech to both Howses, which I shall forbeare to give you, the heads of, least I should mistake, but as soone as they shalbe in Print[1], I shall send you it and my Lord Chancelors. There were many Motions maid in the House, butt att last, wee agreed in these Voates, first that an addresse should be maide to his Majesty that a Comittee of our house, should have the further Examination of the Plott, and alsoe to Examine the Manner of the Late Murther of Sir Edmunbury Godfrey[2], and that a Proclamation, may be Issued out to bannish all Papists twenty myles out of London and that all the Examinations, already taken by the Councell, may be showen to the Committee; they have alsoe proposed to Examine what Papists are in any imployment, ether Civill, or Millitary, this day the Lords and wee, maid an addresse to his Majesty that a fast and day of Humiliation may be appointed to beseech God to deuertt his Judgement from this Nation, This is all my Memory can serue you with. I pray God have you all in his keepeing.

1. Parl. Hist., iv, 1016-1021.
2. Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey (1621-1678) J.P. for Westminster, found murdered on 17 October 1678. He was said to have been killed by Catholic priests and this helped stimulate popular indignation against Catholics. (D.N.B., xxii, 31-35).

No. 5

ANTHONY GILBY TO THE MAYOR OF HULL - 31 October 1678

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 898

(VI)

London. It was my ill fortune to hurt my leg yesterday upon the Parliament Stayers, soe as I have not beene this day able to goe to the House, but by what I heare, there is little new matter of what is orderd to be private; untill things be more fitt for proufe, as they happen I shall not faile to give you them, I have not yett seene,(and it is now five of the Clock) Mr Stockdale[1], I suppose he hath better wayes then I can derect for my part till I talke with him, I know not what to doe, wee may both run seuerall wayes, about the same thinge, I hope you will not thinke me negligent, for indeed I would willingly serve you in quallitye.

1. Robert Stockdale was the town's agent in London. Gilby was told to co-operate with him on all matters concerning Hull (B.B., vii, 594). Stockdale was paid an annual salary of £10, with bonuses when he took 'extraordinary paynes ... about the Town's concerns'. (B.B., vii, 605).

No. 6

SIR ANTHONY IRBY[1] TO THE MAYOR - 31 October 1678

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 899

(IV)

I have received yours dated the 28 of October, and presently acquaynted the house of Commons, with the Contents of your Letter to mee, the house forthwith ordered, the Clerrk of Crowne to attend the house this morning, to give an accompt why theire order was not executed, accordingly he was at the house, and told us my Lord Chancelor ought to send them downe[2], and not hee; where upon the house appoynted a Committee to goe to my Lord Chancelor, and to know of him what the Cause was it was noe sooner sent downe. This is the accompt I can give as yet of your businesse, and now I give my harty thanks for your kind Letter assuring you wherein I may be servisable to you, or your Towne, I shalbe most ready to do it resting your assured friend to serve you....

1. Sir Anthony Irby was M.P. for Boston Lincs, who together with Gilby, was thanked by the Corporation for his efforts in expediting the writ. Stockdale conveyed these thanks. (B.B., vii, 594).

2. The letter refers to the issuing of the writ for the election, which was eventually produced by the Sheriff on 2 November (B.B., vii, 594).

No. 7

ANTHONY GILBY TO THE MAYOR - 6 November 1678

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 900

(IV, VI)

London. First as to your bussnis of the writt for your Election of a Burgesse, as yet, I have not heard any thinge of your Solicitor[1], and doe therefore beleeve, he has found noe stop in the bussnis soe that I have hopes it may be with you before this, if the conduct thereof, had beene left to mee you should not have had this delay, for newes, truely there is little; I can conueniently write to you, more then that 2 or 3 men, are fled that were thought to have beene imploy'd to have personally falne upon the kinge, and all meanes us'd to stop the Ports, for theire apprehention, there is alsoe one Sir Ellis Layton taken, who has beene this day Examined, and tomorrow, perhaps it may be knowne what he has confest, but these are things of that greate concernmnt, that I may not Judge them fitt to cōunicate, whether I am more [secretive] then I neede be, I know not, but for the present I am timerous that way, when I thinke I can safely doe more, I shall doe it....

1. James Kynvin.

No. 8

ANTHONY GILBY TO THE MAYOR OF HULL - 12 November 1678

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 902

(VI)

London. Here is an Accompt come to his Grace the Duke of Monmouth, that some letters are come to Hull and publisht, that 4 Companyes of his Grace his Regiment, now Cominge to you, are most or many of them Papists, whereas I doe assure you, that nether officer or

Souldier are of that Religion, the officers have theire Certificates to show, of haveinge both taken the oaths and received the Sacrament, and both they, and the Souldiers, will by their deportment, confirme the same, this I wish for your satisfaction, and the rest of your Bench, or as many as are willinge to receiue it.

For our proceedings in Parliament, all expedition possible are us'd, but every day discouers more, the bussnis of this day was to desire his Majesty to Issue out Cōmissions for the giveinge the Oaths of Allegiance, and Supremasye to all the Familyes, in White Hall, St. James's and Somersett house.

[P.S.] I heare you have one of your towne in Prison a Papist for drinkeinge a health to the Kings Confusion, and that if the Plott had taken, he was to have beene an officer. I intreat you to send me a Coppy of his Examination, and information against him, that I may acquaint the Parliament therewith.

No. 9

ANTHONY GILBY TO THE MAYOR - 16 November 1678

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 903

(VI

London. I writt to you Lately for a Coppy of the Examination of, and the Information against that Papist that drunck the Kings Confution. I have since acquainted his Grace the Duke of Monmouth therewith, who has this day commanded mee, to trooble this once more, it requires hast, therefore I pray, if you have not sent it already, that it may come by the next post, I was in hopes to have sent you [word (erased)] the news, of our Bill against Popish Lords sitting in Parliament had past that house, but it has [this] day had some opposition, I heare William Gower and some of your bretheren are much att ods, by which meanes I come to heare of my faults too....

[P.S.] Whilst I am writeinge this I am cōanded to desire you to let your Constables assist to quarter the Souldiers that are comeinge towards you, They are 200 men of his Graces Regiment and he would have it done, with as little trooble to the towne as may bee.

No. 10

ANTHONY GILBY TO THE MAYOR - 23 November 1678

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 905

(VI)

London. In my last I gave you an Accompt of showinge Audus[1] his Examination an[d] the Informations against him, to our Speaker, and his Answear thereto, but since, I am orderd to deliver them to the [speaker (erased)] Chareman of the Committee, appointed for the inquirye into all busniss of that nature, soe that I Judge it not fitt that you proceede to his triall untill you heare further from mee, which you shall doe, as soone as the busines is fitt for your knowledge, I doe assure you, I doe stedfastly beleeve, that in all the fower Companyes cominge towards you, there is not one Papist, ether Officer or Souldier.

1. Audus was the Papist in Hull who had drunk to the King's confusion, and the success of the Popish plot.

No. 11

ANTHONY GILBY TO THE MAYOR - 27 November 1678

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 907

(VI)

London. Upon the 29th of this instant Nouember, 4 Companyes of his Grace the Duke of Monmouths Regiment, willbe att Barton, the next day (if God please) to be att Hull, his Grac$\bar{e}$ has therefore Commanded me, to desire you, that your Constables may in the meane time prepare theire quarters, soe that when they come, they may without Confusion, and with as little inconuenience as may be, both to the towns People, and Souldiers, receive their quarters orderly; I did this day, show your informations against and Examinations of, Audus, to the speaker of the House of Commons, who told mee that att present, he thought them onely fitt to be prosecuted by your Magistrates, but did alsoe thinke there was enough to take his life, if here after he thinke otherwaise, you shall heare, This day there was a Goldsmyth received Judgement to be hang'd drawne and quarterd, for sayinge that he would be the man [who] should kill the kinge[1], This day our Bill for putinge all Papists out of

both Howses of Parliament, came downe to us, beinge past by the lords with some amendments, in some which amendment, we differd from them, but the greate amendment, which was a Provisoe to exempt the Duke of Yorke for beinge excluded, in that wee agreed with them, the House was devided, but was carried for the Provisoe, by two voyces onely[2]; some of our officers are appointed to assist your Constables.

1. William Staley, a goldsmith was said to have uttered the fatal words in a tavern. (J. Pollock, The Popish Plot (London 1944, 2nd ed.) 323.)
2. C.J., ix, 548.

No. 12

ANTHONY GILBY TO THE MAYOR - 28 November 1678

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 908

(VI)

London. In one of myne Lately, I acquainted you, how I had dispos'd of Audus his Examination, and did then wish you to forbeare tryinge of him till you heard further from mee, but now, the Chareman, of the Comittee, for those affaires, hath deliuerd to mee, the saide Examination, and informations, and tells mee, that upon perusall of them, they doe not thinke there is Matter enough in them, to trooble the House with, soe that you are left to dispose of him, as in your discretions you shall Judge fittest, for newes, I doubt not you will heare befor this come to you, that the Goldsmyth was hang'd drawne and quarterd upon tuesday Last, and yesterday Colman was tryed, and condemn'd of high treason, and this morninge had Judgement accordingly[1] there are more discoueryes, every day about the plott, but such as I dare not yet acquaint you with, this day a bill came from the house of Peres, for the more speedy conviction of Popish recusants, and was read, and order'd a second readinge[2].

1. Edward Coleman, one of the Popish plotters was found guilty of high treason on 27 November, condemned the following day, and executed on 3 December 1678 (Pollock, The Popish Plot, 322).
2. C.J., ix, 549.

No. 13

ANTHONY GILBY TO THE MAYOR - 17 December 1678

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 914

(VI)

Hull. I doe very well obserue to whom your addresses are maide, even by the last Post, and in matters too, that cheifly concerne the millitary power[1] but I doe not say this, in way of complaint, for I doe assure you, that what shall best please them, will alsoe best suit with my desires, for Mr. Ramsdens and my Correspondency, I doubt not but it wilbe very good, but for our Joynt writeinge to you your owne reasons, doe make it inconuenient, for truely my opportunitye of writeinge, is for the most part att night and then wee are att distance, but yet if Mr Ramsden should desire it, I shalbe ready to meete him, but your owne practieces seeme to disallow of this freindlines, since the Binch them selues, doe not obserue the same, but derect singly to him with which, I am well satisfyed, Sir by reason of the greate want of mony now in the treasury, we are tould wee shall have noe mony till [after (erased)] att the disbandinge, and I professe, haueinge lent 40£, to subsist the 4 Companyes lately come to you, I shall want for my owne, I therefore earnestly intreate you, and the whole bench, that they would let my Leift. Captain Wharton have the like sum of 40£, and if the Bench doe desire it againe, before I see you I will repay it here, upon demannd, the reason of this request is, that, I had rather pay ten ith 100th for mony, then run oft Scoare in the Souldiers quarters, which otherwaise Wee must certainly doe, with which inconuenience, I have acquainted his Grace who is resolved to prevent it in his owne men, Good Sir let me have two lines in answeare of this, the time is short, and I must, indeuour els where to obtaine it, if this request be too greate.

1. Much of the bench's correspondence went to Ramsden and Stockdale. Gilby felt some resentment as he had represented the town since 1661, and had been a soldier and deputy governor of the Hull garrison. (Bolton, op.cit., 137). Writing on the 17th December Ramsden informed the Corporation, with some embarrassment, '... I desire at all tymes you will conceive and give the preference to Colonel Gilby what relates to the trust he represents ffrom you, and I will Offer my attendance to joyne with him in the pursuence thereof which I conceive will create ffriendshipp and the most effectual way to accomplishe what may be desired.' (H.R.O. BRL. 915).

No. 14

ANTHONY GILBY TO THE MAYOR AND ALDERMEN OF HULL - 26 December 1678

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 918

(VI)

London. I have for borne writ some time to you, by reason of some differēnces here amongstus, which I would gladly haue seene compuzd before I gaue you any Accompt of them, I am confident you have Heard of them, by a better hand, and therefore I shall say noe more of them; within these two dayes greate discoueryes have beene maid of that Barbarous Murther of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey[1] soe that now, noe man certainly, can doubt of the truth thereof, nor consequently of the designe of distroyinge the Kinge, Religion, and Gouerment; I am very sorry, I should desire a fauour of your Bench, and be a denyed, beinge of noe greater a Concerne; Mony att present is soe scarce here, that we cannot possibly continue to pay our subsistance mony of 400 shillings the weeke, to our Souldiers, soe that his Grace hath Commanded mee to giue orders to the officers of the severall Companyes to ingage to the People where the Souldiers are quarter'd, for soe much as 40 shillings the weeke for theire dyett, and to see it pay'd, I pray God the People be able, but I hope it is but for a short time, this I thought good to give you notice, in hopes none shall loose by it, God keepe you all.

1. C.J. ix, 564.

No. 15

WILLIAM RAMSDEN TO THE MAYOR AND ALDERMAN - 31 December 1678

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 920

(VI)

London. I wrote you the last post two lettrs of what had passed in the howse of Commons Since my former And this will bring you the unwellcome intelligence of the proguation[1] of the Parliament. About @ ii a Clock yesterday Noone in the Lords howse his Majesty and all of that howse in there Roabes Sitting and according to the inclosed Speeche then mayde by his Majesty[2] of which I was an eye and eare wyttness; It seems verry much to afflict the Speritts of most people of all qualitityes. I pray God it may be ffor his Majesty

and his Kingdome preseruation - Upon this dismission I imediately Sento take rome In the ffirst Coache ffor Doncaster which willbe of Thursday Morning and then I intend God willing home ward not being ffurther Serviceable to you in this Station at present. I shall desire Mr. Stockdale to give you a ffrequent accompt of what remerkes hee can gett notice of worth your intelligence. Noe execution nor warrant yett Signed of the 3 condemned Persons that I can heare of. Various reports there are abroade butt nothing of moment I can learne ffor certaine I pray God direckt and protect his Majesty.

1. Gilby reported on 18 January 1678/9 that parliament was to be prorogued until 25 February, and three days later that an extension for a further three weeks had not been agreed to. (H.R.O. BRL. 921, 922).
2. C.J., ix, 566.

No. 16

THE DUKE OF MONMOUTH TO THE MAYOR - 25 January 1678/79 [Copy]

Source: Bench Book, vii, 607

(IV)

Whitehall. There being now to be a new election of Parliament men two Burgesses to be chosen to serve for that Town I beleēēve I may depend so farr on your kindness and respect to me that you will allow me to recommend one of them, however it lately happend that the Letters I formerly sent you on the same account had not their effect, which I do not now remember to reproach you with for I am satisfyd you made a discreet choice, and the person I then writt for was recommended to me on which score onely I was engaged for him: But I must now owne a particular concerne that Mr Kingdon Paymaster to the Forces[1] may be one of your Burgesses at this Election. I dont doubt but by his circumstances and by the Character you will hear of him you will find him capable to serve that Corporation, and I must judge of the reality of your affections to me (which I shall never undeserve) by your readiness to gratify me in the acceptance of a person that I doe soe earnestly concerne myselfe

for, And I assure you that your kindnesse to him shall be ever acknowledged by....

1. Henning, Commons 1660-90, ii, 686-7.

No. 17

ANTHONY GILBY[1] TO THE MAYOR - 28 January 1678/79

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 924

(IV, VI)

London. The writts are now gon out for a new Parliament, And in reguard, I have serud you, as one of your members, this (almost) eigteene years I doe desire to continue in that Condition, for the next Parliament, but if you doe thinke any other will more faithfull serue you, in that [con]dition, then my selfe, I will not oppose h[im] for without your good likeinge, I will not m[ove?] it, I send you noe recommendation, for [any] other persons, because I would have it all proceede, from your choyce, and fauour, I shall come from hence, towards you on Monday next.

1. Soon afterwards the Ordnance Commissioners discovered that whilst deputy governor of Hull, Gilby had embezzled lead worth £650, and 12,000 bricks, both belonging to the garrison. He was dismissed from his post in about 1681, but not otherwise proceeded against 'in consequence of his loyal and eminent services'. (Henning, Commons 1660-90, ii, 394-95.)

No. 18

[LEMUEL KINGDON] TO [THE MAYOR] - c.29 January 1678/79

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 925
[This letter is very much decayed]

(IV, VI)

His Grace the Duke of Monmouth Having Recomended mee to you for one of your Burgesses [to serve] you in this Ensuing Parliament whose Letter I suppose is with you before this[1] Is the encouridgement and the occasion [too much to?] Trouble [you] now, I Confess Gentlemen I am....

1. B.B., vii, 607.

No. 19

DR THOMAS WATSON[1] TO THE MAYOR - 4 February 1678/79

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 926

(IV)

St John's College, Cambridge. I have and shall I hope be allwaies sensible to my obliga[tion] to the place of my birth, and advantages of my first education and therefore take more confidence, and care in any thing, that at any time may be for the Honour, and interest of your corporacon the consideracon whereof alone, at this time obliges me to Represent, that the knowledg of my Lord Duke your Governr and high Steward his readiness upon all occasions to doe you any service or kindness, and his particular respects in refuseing to recōmend others whom he apprehended less desirable, or acceptable may incline you to a complyance with his request for Mr. Kingdon. I hope if he were born or bred amongst you, little need will be of recomendations, and that according to the rule, which Allmighty God, and alsoe the King, and the Government take that fathers d[e]faults[2] will not plead soe much against as his own deserveings doe [word illegible]. But this beeing the onely way you can oblige his Grace, and haveing last night received a very good character of him from my Lord Allington[3] and the Master General of the Ordinance and others who personally know him, I hope neither any prejudice or objection against seperson soe well reported will suffer you to lose the oportunity of testifying your Respects to his Grace, whose great zeale for the Protestant religion, and love of his country as well as relations to you, may give him as much respect as his Predecessor had: I assure you Mr. Kingdon is a perfect stranger to me, and nothing but the knowledg I have of his Graces concern in this affair, as well as some objections against the Gentleman, could have moved me to give you this trouble, and that in case you doe not agree in him, you would desire his Grace to recōmend another, for I will not doubt but you ar sensible for his Graces favour to you, and are as ready to return respects, as receive them.

1. Thomas Watson (1637-1717). Born at North Ferriby near Hull and educated at St John's College Cambridge, fellow 1660, D.D. 1675. A strong supporter of James II, he showed little partiality for William III's governments. He was consecrated bishop of St Davids in June 1687, but suspended in 1694 for his high-handed actions, and finally deprived in 1704. During the ten years following his suspension he was involved in much ecclesiastical

litigation (D.N.B., LX, 38-40). Nevertheless he received a memorial tablet in his cathedral.

2. His father had served under the Commonwealth, but came to terms with the restored monarchy and receiving a grant of arms, became an excise commissioner (Bolton, Yorkshire Boroughs, 140).

3. Probably this was Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington (1618-1685). (D.N.B., iv, 230-33.)

No. 20

THE DUKE OF MONMOUTH TO THE MAYOR - 4 February 1678/79 [Copy]

Source: Bench Book vii 608

(IV)

Whitehall. I was under expectation of an answer from you and consent likewise to my desire of Mr Kingdons being accepted Burgesse of your Town to serve you this ensueing Parliament[1] whom I earnestly recomended to you by my letter dated the 25th of last month. Although I have received noe answer I attribute that to the care and diligence you are useing that this recomendation of mine may be effectual, and your letter I hope will confirme me in it, for I cannot thinke that I shall receive any excuse from you being the person I have recomended (I am satisfyed) when knowne to you I shal be thanked for him; And I intend towards your good service in him, and in all things also shall show how willing I am to doe you good if not discouraged by you, which is noe ways believed by me that I shall; I therefore to conclude presse againe my recomendation that the issue may be of service to your selves and well received by....

1. Kingdon received his freedom gratis on 11 February 1678/79 (B.B., vii, 609).

No. 21

THE DUKE OF MONMOUTH TO THE TRINITY HOUSE - 4 February 1678/79

Source: Trinity House MSS. Miscellaneous Letters

(IV)

Whitehall. I have recommended Mr Kingdon to the Maior, Aldermen, Sherrifs and Towne of Hull to serve for one of your Burges in the

ensueing Parliament, which I recommend to you likewise very earnestly, and your assistance and kindness in this affaire wilbe very kindly received by mee, and soe acknowledge att all times to you: relying therefore on you to assist Mr Kingdon in all you can in this affaire, in the good successe of which I take myselfe to be highly concern'd.

No. 22

THE MAYOR TO THE DUKE OF MONMOUTH - 7 February 1678/79 [Copy]

Source: Bench Book, vii, 608

(IV)

Hull. May it please your Grace Wee have received your letters which shal be faithfully communicated to the Burgesses of the Town, As wee owe all due observance of your excellencies recommendations, But the constitution of our Corporation in the election of their Burgesses to serve in Parliament is by a promiscuous number that wee are not capable to give your Grace that measure to expresse what wilbe the certaine effect thereof, But shall not want our Inclinations to give a reall testimony that wee are in all bounden duty in ourselves always to make our acknowledgement of your Graces constant obliging favours to....

No. 23

THE DUKE OF MONMOUTH TO THE MAYOR - 18 February 1678/79 [Copy]

Source: Bench Book, vii, 610

(IV)

Whitehall. I have received your letter answer to mine in behalf of Mr Kingdon and I understand by him how forward you have been to testify your respects to me upon this occasion which I accept with a due sense of your kindnesse and do not doubt but you will make it an entire one, the rather since I am informed that one of the Competitors Mr Crowle an Alderman of that Town hath been so obliging as to desist in favour of Mr Kingdons pretensions I could not but once more recommend to you that you might be persuaded of the concerne I have in this choice and that I shall not fear but you will answer the expectations of....

No. 24

TRINITY HOUSE TO LEMUEL KINGDON - 28 February 1678/79 [Copy]

Source: Trinity House MSS. Miscellaneous Letters

(IV)

We have sent the enclosed which we intreate you present to the Duke[1]. We left it open and intreate you seale it. We assure you it is not to flatter you but because we cannot but declare the trueth. We say the lesse because it is to yourselfe. And therefore with the hearty love, respects and service of the whole Society, we subscribe ourselves,

Your assured friends and servants.

For Mr Richard Kendall and Mr Robert Wright Wardens, and the rest of the Society of Trinity House at Hull.

1. Infra.

No. 25

TRINITY HOUSE TO THE DUKE OF MONMOUTH - 28 February 1678/79 [Copy]

Source: Trinity House MSS. Miscellaneous Letters

(IV)

Trinity House, Hull. Yours of the 4th February instant received, commending to our House for a Burgess Mr Kingdon. And though your Graces recommendation had beene enough to perswade us that he was a fitt person for that purpose, yet his owne presence and deportment here amongst us proved soe good a second to your Graces recommendation that we first had the happiness to have him a brother of this Society, and then by a generall consent our first Burgesse in Parliament, in which we doubt not but he will act with prudence and honesty both for king and people, that may give content to both and give us just occasion to returne as we doe and to continue our humble and hearty thanks to your Grace for such your recommendation, and ever remaine in the name of the whole Society....

No. 26

LEMUEL KINGDON TO THE TRINITY HOUSE - 8 March 1678/79

Source: Trinity House MSS. Miscellaneous Letters

(IV, VI)

Whitehall. Your kind Letter in answer to the Duke of Monmouth and another to me, I received, and give you a thousand thanks for them, and all your kindnes. The Duke of Monmouth bidd me to tell you that hee is certainly sensible and satisfyed with your respects and service to him on my behalfe, and believe me you shall see that I am with all my heart ready to serve you.

[P.S.] I would have given you an account of what news there is but I thought that you would have it by many and better hands.

No. 27

WILLIAM RAMSDEN TO THE MAYOR - 29 March 1679

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 929 [Letter badly decayed]

(IV, VI)

London. I wrote you my course the other poste and I gave you [an] Account of what hath past the howse ffor that tyme, I do hearin-closed send you what hath past for these last two dayes: and allsoe a coppye of a Speeche mayde by Sir ffrances Winnington some dayes [since?]. I was this day in the howse: from the first Sitting and Satt about the Middle of one of the Sydes havinge my eye constantly to look for Sir Jn. Hotham, butt did not See him and thought hee was not in the howse. Butt it Seemes I was deceived: being somthing ffainte I went oute of the howse about a $\frac{1}{4}$ of an houre before they Roase (and ajurned) And as I am informed in that Minute of tyme I am Suer not $\frac{1}{4}$ of an houre, Sir J[ohn] H[otham] moved the howse against the Election mayde at Hull[1]. In what poynte or circumstance I could not gett to be informed; I heard Mr Gee was Comd to towne [word illegible] [ha]d seene Sir Jn. Hotham in the howse I should have ex[pected he]e would have moved to have had the petetion read and then I should not have stird and when I had heard it I was resolved to have Spoake to it according to what opp[inion] I might have had of the complaint mayde against the Towne or my Self the howse being upon Ryseing of the Motion for Reading. In [retur]ne Ordered it to be referred to the Comittee of privillidges whoe Sitt on Monday where I propose to attend and indeauer if I can to obtaine a Coppie

of the Petetion[2]. As I would be just to my Selfe Soe God willinge I will be ffaithfull to the Towne. If you thinke it ffor your creditt and Reputation to [make] good the State of your election by Such expedients as you shall conceive were ffaire and be [adjudged?] well. If you please to provide and give mee directions [on what to] doe. Or if you be [so] mynded to give your belief [letter decayed] le and charge I shall to this particular be Content [letter decayed] ffore of it and not thinke my Selfe prejudiced and acquiese in what you direckt. I Spoake to Mr Kingdon affter the howse was up and inquired of him what hee knewe of the Petetion reading hee said hee knew nothing of it. Soe urged noe ffurther upon him.

If you intend to have the Election Justyfyed you must prepare [that] Mr Chareman and the Supervisor of the Election two: or one of them at least to Justyefy the Numbers of the voates [against?] what freedoms they were given [word illegible] the Regular Mannidgment thereof and two or three of the best burgesses to witness [and] other particulars that may be necessary and likewise to take some affidavids ffrom Some of the Severall composition men of the names and [favours] of Mr Gees addresses to and ffrom them on these things would be apparinge If you thinke it your Concern....

1. Sir John Hotham (1632-89). Member for Beverley and Governor of Hull 1689. He sat on the 1679 election committee (Henning, Commons 1660-90, ii, 584-7).
2. C.J., ix, 579-81. The committee met on 1 April, but no report was received on Hull.

No. 28

WILLIAM RAMSDEN TO THE MAYOR AND ALDERMEN - 1 April 1679

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 930

(IV, VI)

London. I wrote you last poste as in my course-Something relating to you ffalling extraordinare obliges mee to this. Yesterday the howse Satt nott: Butt in the afternoone in a Grand Comitty of Privillidges, when Sir John Hotham presented Mr Gee Petition where it was then Read and Sir J[ohn] Moved and Some of his ffrends that it might have a Speedy Tryall. It was Ordered It should have a hearing the 26th[1] of May next the other dayes of the Comittee was ffild with bussines of the like nature: The coppye of the Petetion which I had from the Clarke: I send you hearinclosed[2], to take your owne considerations thereupon. And if you have occasion to instruckt mee what you would have done therein I shall pay my obseruance in my weake copassitye: I thinke it will not be convenient

to send the petetion to be exposed to publicke vew nor to Suffer a Coppye to be taken: butt to cōunicate the Petetion at the ffirst opertunity you can meete about the Bussines. If you thinke it not worth your troble doe as you please[3]. The Bussines of the howse this day: was in receivinge ffrom the chareman of the comitty of privillidges the reports of the said comittie of Severall Returnes mayde of elections that was under question and the howse agreed to all the reports mayde by the chareman of the said comitty which is Sir Thomas Meere[4]. The Bill of attainder of the Earle of Danby of Highe Treason was read the last tyme and after some small amendents was ingrossed and passed the howse and imediately Sent up to the howse of Lords; where it had as I am informed its Reading the first tyme and ordered to be read againe in the Lords howse too Mor[row] the Second tyme.

The howse tooke up the debate as it was formerly Ordered, for the debate: the disbanding of the remayning fforces that was raysed Since Sep[ember] 67. - And Ordered that an Acc[ount] should be brought In what would be owing untill the first of Aprill which charge comes to 193,241£. Ordered that a Comitty which was nominated to inspeckt the Accounts now brought In.

The howse Resolved the contiñuance of any standing forces in this kingdome other than the Militia is Illegall and a great grevance and vexation to the people.

A Petition ffrom Mr Edwd Sackvill[5] acknowledging his faults praying that hee may be delivered from his Imprison[ment] in the Tower read and Ordered.

That Mr Sackvill be discharged from his Imprissonment.I was informed this day from an intelligent gentle[man] that some that hath beene of late in offices Is and will be reduced to halfe the Number: with some alterations of those allsoe; That the comissioners of customes Is or will be butt 5: and Mr Upton to be one of them.

I shall conclude with my Prayer remayning Blessed be God I have missed the Course of the ffitts of my late ague twyce, that I have mayde a shift to attend in the howse: though I am something ffaint and ffeeble.

1. Not recorded in the Commons Journal (C.J., ix, 579-81), or for 26 May (631-34 passim.)
2. Missing.
3. It was considered on 10 April 1679 (B.B., vii, 615-16).

4. Sir Thomas Meres (1634-1715) Member for Lincoln 1659-1708 (Henning op.cit., iii, 49-59).

5. Edward Sackville (c.1640-1714) member for East Grinstead, 14 Feb.-25 March 1679. Expelled from the House of Commons and sent to the Tower for his altercation with Titus Oates. (Henning, op.cit., iii, 377).

No. 29

WILLIAM RAMSDEN TO THE MAYOR AND ALDERMAN - 24 April 1679

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 936

(IV, VI)

London. I gave you an Account the last post of the recept of yours and what had then past the howse for the two preceed[ing] days. The kings Speeche with an addition of a declaration[1] I send it you hereinclosed in Print. I have attended 3 Mornings to a presented your Letter to his Gr[ace] the D[uke] of M[onmouth] which of it Self might have beane verry easie: Butt in respeckt of some concerning buisnes my partner and Selfe are inclyneable to waite a Sutable opertunity. And I thinke you neede not doubt of being well received to a good effect. I was this morning in his Graces privat chamber before hee was halfe drest. That such a Crowde of great Persons about him that it would have beene too much presumption to have intruded butt shall be deligent to give ffurther attendance for a Sutable opertunity. The ffrends of the Petetioners against our Election doth verry much advance there pretences By the generall acquaintance and insiñuations In the members of the house. As the ould Saying is One tayle is good untill another be tould. ffor my owne self I know nothing to be trewth of what is complayned of. And I am resolved to stand to the Justice of the howse and to heare there Opinion thereof. If I be liveing and in health - And if you be resolved to stand upon your vindication And to indeauor to preserve the rights and privillidges of our Corporation ffrom being artiffically inslaved you must be in good earnest In what is to be done by and with you. And likewyse to Order the reteyning here of 3 or 4 able Counsell, and an able Sollycitor That hath a generall acquaintance with the Members of the house and makes Such bussines there practice. There will [be] verry many contingent expences of Severall Sorts upon Such like occasions and cannot be manidged without a verry great charge and trobl. And if you thinke to goe thorrowe in the

Bussines, It is highe tyme moneys should be returned to putt us into a way or to open it ffor nothing can be done without mony to any purpose. And it will be verry requisite ffor you to keepe it verry privat the moneys you doe disburse from tyme to tyme. In doeing or not doeing please your selves and I shall be soe. If I were amongst you and not personally concernd I should be of oppinion It is an essentiall Poynt to be maintained as any thing that concernes the Being of our Corporation. I wishe this letter may not be Sent abroade, Butt to be perused only by Such Ald[ermen] that will give themselves the trobl to Reade it at Mr Mayors and not to be showne to any other.

I was yesterday afternoone from 3: a clock untill Nine at Night at the hearing of an election of the Knights of Warwickshire. In which there was 5 great Counsell of a Syde and 40 Wittnesses of which 20: was not heard and had beene Kept in the Cittye these 3 weekes the other Parte of the Cause is to be heard of ffryday[2]: I should be ashamed if Mr. Gee should have the least part of these miscarridges. I have heard at severall tryalls - of trewth to Complaine of us (more than his fforme of wordes) I have not heard any thing that hath beene complained of So light a Consequence as to be matter of Complaint: Soe ffarr as I have beene capable to apprehend proceedings, both at the Barr of the howse and Comittie of Privillidges and Soe I conceive to be.

[P.S.] Sir If you please you may send the Minitts of the howse and the printed Speeche to the Ald[ermen].... This is the end of my course butt my partner is writing the last post.

1. Parl. Hist., iv, 1122-23.
2. The committee agreed that the sitting members, Sir Edward Boughton and Robert Burdett were duly elected. (Henning, House of Commons, i, 428). This does not appear in the official report in the Commons Journal of 23 April 1678 (C.J., ix, 600-601).

No. 30

WILLIAM RAMSDEN TO THE MAYOR - 26 April 1679

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 937

(IV, VI)

London. I wrote you the last poste: what my memory could recollect of what had passed the two preceeding dayes, and shall doe the like what hath since be offered in the howse; And that this day I presented your letter to his G[race] the D[uke] of M[onmouth] whoe deliberately Read over what I delivered and after sayd I presume Mr Gee doth violently oppose Mr Kingdon election and I answered the wholl election his Grace replyed I will take that care in it as becomes mee when it comes to a hearinge. I Begged his Grace leave to attend him As I might receive your commds hee said verry willingly as ofte as I thought ffitting which I shall deligently observe In what I may receive ffrom you -

The Bussiness of the howse doth this day goe verry highe and indeede in Such matters As I dare not trust my memorie least I should mise the trew sense of the howse. It is voted that the howse Sitt to Morrowe In Order to Consider ffor the Safty of the Kings Person the protestant Religion And the Nation to be Secured against any fforce that shall appeare to the Contrarie which I thinke doth not exceede what was mentioned, ffor the lesser matters I referr you to the enclosed Paper[1]: I pray God derect there Counsills ffor his Glorie and the Nations quiett and Satisfaction.

[P.S.] Sir I wryte in haste. I pray you lett not this be Shewne out of your owne howse to prevent takeing Coppies: or other way Carped at

1. A detailed summary of the Commons proceedings for 25, 26 April 1679 is appended.

No. 31

WILLIAM RAMSDEN TO THE MAYOR AND ALDERMEN - 8 May 1679

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 943

(IV, VI)

London. I wrote you the last poste what I had then to Signify: And I send you now hereinclosed what I have since noted in the howse.

And a cattalog[1] what tryalls is entered at the comittee of Elections And in what Month and dayes they were appoynted ffor a hearing. By reason of other Bussines sometymes interposeing, have alltered the daye of the ffirst appoyntment; and I have Calculated and sett downe the dayes they will ffall in Course to be tryed as from this day. If some greater bussines of the howse doe not fall In to putt the tymes more back then is mentiond only those that are crost in the Mergene hath beene tryed. And you will ffynd the tryall of our election in my observation to fall the 13th of June. What wittnesses you conceive necessarie to defend you against the Suggestions in Mr Gees Petetion[2], you may thinke of haveing them here in Whittson weeke. If I can observe any cause of Alteration I shall God willing give you tymely notice. My partner Mr Kingdon is soe much prest upon in other Bussines, that hee hath noe Roume in his thoughts ffor this Matter when hee is at better Leasure I suppose hee well thinke it his concerne to take what care hee can of this Bussines. -

Sir I Had the last post your Particuler letter as a great pledg of yor respeckt and doe thinke my selfe verry much obliged to you ffor it to testyfie wherein I am capable that I am....

1. List appended to letter.
2. Bean, Northern Representation, 845.

No. 32

LEMUEL KINGDON TO THE MAYOR - 23 August 1679

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 955 [Letter much decayed]

(IV, VI)

Whitehall. I had the favour of a Letter from you some weekes since, such hast beene the accedents that attended mee, that I was prevented being soe civill as became mee till now.

I thanke you kindely that you were pleased to give mee an answer [on me] proffering of my Service to you for this ensueing Parliament, but by your Letter findeing you were not soe well Satisfied with me, as I was in good hopes I had deserved, I was resolved upon noe Account of my owne to be the least troublesome to Gentlemen that had beene formerly soe kinde to mee.

I therefore applyed my Selfe where I had the good luck to Succeed, though indeed I must owne, that there is one thing in your Letter which did not a little trouble mee. You say the Duke of Monmouth had left you to a free Election, and Consequently you could give me but little encouragement. I professe to you Sirs, I thought when I was honored with your Choise your Election had beene free and Voluntary, and soe to mee it was expressed. I onely fromhence Intend that I may part from you without misun[derstand]ing or reflection, for I am, was, and wilbe alwayes very ready to [serve] the whole Corporacon, and every indevidual1 one of you, and indeed I thinke I ought to doe it.

I heartily wish your Service in the choise I heare you have made of Sir Michael Wharton and my father Ramsden.

Your Judgement in your discreet Choise is great satisfaction to mee [for the] neglect I thinke I undeservedly received, [I will] not to trouble you [further]

I heartily wish I could Serve you if I can, pray freely command me my time is vacant enough.

No. 33
SIR EDWARD BARNARD[1] TO THE MAYOR[2] - 23 November 1680
Source: H.R.O. BRL. 977
(IV)

Beverley. Yours of the 22 instant and this day received subscribed by six more of the Aldermen with a copie of Mr Hoares[3] petition and the King and Councele Order therupon desiring either my presence with you on thursday at Hull or my advice in this affaire as it now stands. As to my attendance of you I have been soe ill in a cold that I have not adventured from home this weeke and I feare my recovery will scarce by that tyme be soe perfect as to ride abroad though if I find my selfe much better I will not faile to come, however in reguard my coming is uncertaine I shall impartialy give you and your brethren my thoughts herein. I must confesse I would have been glad to have seen a composure of this difference before it had soe farre influenced either these open Mutinys in the publick assemblys Or obstructed your townes concernes in your private Councells and the most of you as well as Mr Hoare knowes I have not been awanting

in my owne perticular in any indeavours to accomplish it, thinking him to be a very honest gentleman and observing him to be allwayes ready, and industrious in his station to promote the publick good of the Corporation and I could yet wish with all my hart he would either resigne according to his owne motion Or the Bensh would continue the offer they formerly made him of his new election and that he would accept thereof, either of which would as I suppose sedate the mynds of some unquiet Burgesses among you, But now that I have expressed my peacable wishes if you resolve to proceed in the contest I deliver my Opinion as you desire.

I thinke Mr Hoare hath don very ill in his petition to informe soe high a Court as the King and Councell of soe great a Mistake (or as some of you terme it falsity) as the refusall to accept his resignation of his Office when to my knowledge it was desired by you that he would doe it in my presence. Besides they are not modest reflections of one of his brethren to suggest that he swore to make good his owne malitious and false allegations But perhaps these errors in expressions might rather proceed from the pen of his Solicitor then from his owne instructions myselfe being allwayes apt to put the charitablest construction upon such miscariages.

As to his last Order I conceive it is so farre from doing him any Advantage that it turnes rather to his prejudice, for now all the proceedings being discharged the Councell Board it rests wholly to be determined by law and then the Case is noe more then this. The letter of the Act of parliament declares his election void Only he and his Councell as he sathe are of an other opinion. It is true this is a case prima impressionis and as yet hath had noe judgment in law that I know off, and probably this case may occasion the Courts judgment that which you would be satisfied in is which way to bring it to passe seeing this last Order of Councell leaves both partys to ther remedy at law.

In my judgment ther is noe way but this one, You have allready proceeded soe farre in law as the Bensh at a Court hath recorded his election void and noe thing that I knowe of can further be don but by proceeding to the election of an other Alderman in his place.

If by this new election you doe him wrong the law gives him his remedy by bringing his Mandamus out of the Kings Bench for his restitution. To that writ of Mandamus you make a returne he did

not take the Sacrament with in a yeare of his Election according to the Act. If upon this returne the Court adjudge him well turned out by the Act ther is an end of the matter, if they be of an other opinion they will grant him a writ of restitution to his place and then the election of him that is chosen in his place will be void. For now all the pretences of receiving the Sacrament between his Election and his swearing will be out of doores for if you make a positive returne he did not receive the Sacrament with in 12 months of his election the judges must take it for granted if you returne it soe Onely if you returne he did not take it and he can make it appeare he did take it with in 12 months of his election an action of the case will lye for him against you for such false returne.

But I would not advise you to appoint an election the next hall day as you write but stay till the next hall day after till this terme be over which ends on Munday next for he had upon his motion a Mandamus granted the first day of this terme and if he doe not proceed in it this terme according to his owne motion it will be the reasonabler ground for you to proceed to a new election.

And thus gentlemen have I at your desire at large sent you my opinion in law as also my well wishes for peace the Subject matter must excuse my prolixity and what Measures you will take in this busines your selves can best resolve it being wholly left to your owne determinations.

[P.S.] As to Mr Crathornes busines I have stated his case by his letter to Mr. Duncalfe and did thinke he would have been with me soe thus to have given Satisfaction in the perticulars I scruple at but not hearing from him I shall not advise you to lend him any money upon the security proposed till you heare from me that the doubts be cleared.

1. Edward Barnard of North Dalton, Yorkshire, knighted at Whitehall on 6 December 1669. A Yorkshireman of some influence at Court (W. A. Shaw, comp., The Knights of England (London, 1906), ii, 244).
2. Alderman Simon Sisson, a merchant, was elected mayor on 30 September 1680 (B.B., vii, 692).
3. Daniel Hoare had been elected an alderman on 8 February 1673, but had not taken the Sacrament. The Bench subsequently declared his election void, and a complicated legal process ensued. (B.B., vii, 665-7, 670-72, 675-6, 684, 692).

No. 34

SIR MICHAEL WARTON TO THE MAYOR - 11 December 1680

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 978

(VI)

Since the tryall we have had no great matter of moment onely the apprehending one Sheridon, who by the papers that was found and some other circumstances, we find supplys Colemans place of secretary, he is in close Custody, tis'a subtile fellow, and undoubtedly in the top of the design, if we had all his papers; for this day the election of Agmondsham in the county of Bucks was voided[1]. One Sir Cary apprehending some complaint might be made in the house concerning some officer I suppose that is gone away, not paying some money due for Quarters or other things att your town, sent me word that the money was ready, I knowing nothing of the matter, thought good to advertize you, for if I understood the thing, what is due, and for what, I could receive the money, and place itt as the partys should order.

1. C.J., ix, 677. The elections of Algenon Sidney and Sir William Drake were declared void. New writs were to be issued.

No. 35

SIR MICHAEL WARTON TO THE MAYOR - 14 December 1680

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 979

(VI)

London. You may by this paper perceive the commands upon us to return the names of all papists and reputed papists, which must be performed by consulting our masters upon that we must desire you to inform us what return we must make of your town and county, I suppose we have very few: this day for publick matter Sir Rob[ert] Peyton was voted to be expelled the house, but being sent for to receive his sentence he could not be found, whereupon Order'd he be taken in Custody of the serjeant.[1]

1. Parl. Hist., iv, 1233-34. Sir Robert Peyton M.P. for Middlesex was expelled from the House of Commons on 15 December 1680 for his implication in the Popish plot. He had been involved in negotiations with some of the plotters.

No. 36

SIR MICHAEL WARTON TO THE MAYOR - 16 December 1680

Source: BRL. 981

(VI)

London. I received your letter with the enclosed I communicated itt to my partner, and we are both very ready to persue your Commands in the delivery of your present, which we have not yett received; I give you many thanks for your ale, tis' of great value as comeing from you, as likewise from the place[1]; This day was design'd for a Committee of the whole house to consider of the state of the nation, but the bill about the tryall of peers being begun in the morning upon severall particulars itt held a long debate, and att last had a clause annexed to itt to repeal the statute of scandalum magnatum in Richard the 2^{ds} time. tis order'd to bee carried up to the Lords, after this Mr. Finch reports from the Committee for uniteing all protestants, 2 bills, the one for laying aside severall ceremonies as likewise repealing some acts of conformity in order to the bringing in of dissenting ministers to preferments in the church, the other an act of indulgence to protestant dissenters[2].

1. Six barrels of Hull ale were sent to London for the Duke of Monmouth to be delivered by the members, who also received one each. (B.B., vii, 705, 710). Soon afterwards the two members presented the annual honorarium of six gold pieces (H.R.O. BRL. 983, 984).
2. C.J., ix, 680-81.

No. 37

SIR MICHAEL WARTON TO THE MAYOR - 21 December 1680

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 985

(VI)

London. This day we carried up an addresse to his Majesty in answer to his last speech. What we desire, and what he might expect; upon which our desires for the present were, as for the secureing our religion; that a bill of exclusion might passe; that a bill of association in defence of his majestys person and govrnment, the protestant religion, and against James duke of york; might passe. For our property, that the judges should be quamdiu' se bene gesserint, that a thorow reformation may be in the Commissions of peace and lieutenancy, and an inspection into the officers of the fleet;

These for the present; and then we should supply, but severall other things we should demand; the addreses as soon as printed y'oul have. I saw this day in the hands of Mr. Sheriff Bethel a writt for the execution of the Lord Stafford on the 29 instant[1], Dr. Tonge is dead; for private busynesse; one Haslam has been busy in getting your townclerks place and would have procured hands in order to introduce him, but I denyed him mine, for I should not promote any interest in that kind without your approbation.

1. C.J., ix, 687.

No. 38

SIR MICHAEL WARTON TO THE MAYOR - 28 December 1680

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 986

(VI)

I have yours and a list of the papists I beleive they will not fall within the word considerable except itt be Bacon and Ellaker, for when we have taken the Shepheards the sheep we shall easily drive; I have sent you this memoriall of the Dutch as itt goes about, and our last votes[1]; for Mr Duncalf I hope his busynes is done, Mr Haslam did buze about itt, but I beleive his hopes by this time are vanished; dureing these play days we have little news to acquaint you with.

[P.S.] The Prince of Hanover is arrived to court the Lady Anne, the Lord Stafford beheaded to morrow.

1. Missing.

No. 39

SIR MICHAEL WARTON TO THE MAYOR - 30 December 1680

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 987

(VI)

London. This day wee mett after our Christmas adjournment. The house order'd a Committee to inspect the evidence against the Lords in the tower and to report in order to their tryall. Order'd an humble application be made to his Majesty to transmitt the evidence

given in by Serjeant of the popish plott that itt may be in the hands of members of this house. Order'd that the papers and proceedings relating to the pentioners in the long Parliament be produced to the house. Order'd that noe member of the house shall receive any office or place of profitt from the crown during his being a member without first asking leave of the house, and that the offenders therein be expelled the house. Order'd the bill to discover lands imployed to popish uses be read to morrow, and soe adjourned[1]. the Lord Stafford dyed yesterday with the usuall affeneration of his innocence.

By application of Mr Haslem, Mr Duncalf findes some difficulty, though I hope he will gett the thing.

1. C.J., ix, 695-6.

No. 40

SIR MICHAEL WARTON TO THE MAYOR - 4 January 1680/81

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 988

(VI)

London. In answer to our last addresse, which I suppose you have, the King this morning sent us the answer enclosed or to that effect[1]; the house have appointed on fryday morning next the consideration of itt. we proceeded this day according to a former vote to call the house over, after ordering into Custody those who had absented without leave, we voted for the future those who should desert the service of the house in a time of soe imminent danger that they were betrayers of the trust reposed in them by their country, or something to this effect. A Message came down to us from the Lords to communicate a vote they had made of a hellish popish plott in Ireland and an intended Massacre of all the protestants; and, soe we adjourned till to morrow[2]; Sir Mr Duncalfs busynese lyes now fairely before the King, I hope the best, a small time will decide the point.

1. Missing.
2. C.J., ix, 699; L.J., xiii, 733.

No. 41

SIR MICHAEL WARTON TO THE MAYOR - 6 January 1680/81

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 989

(VI)

My partner is unfortunately sick of the small pox, and is not able to perform his turn, but rather then you should misse our transactions I will write once a week and send you all the prints; this day Colt: Birch reported the Irish plott[1], the house voted a concurrence with the Lords in their vote[2] about the Irish plott with this addition that the Duke of Yorks being a papist and his hopes of comeing to the crown, has given great encouragement to our conspiracys in England and likewise to that in Ireland; Order'd to impeach the Earle of Tyrone[3], upon the evidence, of High Treason; order'd likewise to consider of impeaching the Lord privy seale upon the evidence from Ireland, Sir John Davye secretary for Ireland will fall under the same fate[4], that Kingdome as well as this I beleive will hardly be preserved from this tide of popery.

1. C.J., ix, 701. Birch reported from a committee to consider information regarding the Popish plot in Ireland.
2. L.J., xiii, 733.
3. Richard Power, first Earl of Tyrone (1630-1690). He was to have been impeached, but eventually nothing came of this and he saw service under James II. In 1689 he took part in the Irish rebellion against William III and died in the Tower. (D.N.B., XLVI, 258-60).
4. C.J., ix, 701. Arthur Annesley, first Earl of Anglesey (1614-1686) Lord Privy Seal 1672-82. He was said to be the only peer who dissented from the vote declaring the existence of an Irish plot. He was attacked in parliament but not impeached. (D.N.B., ii, 3). Sir John Davys was principal secretary of Ireland, 1678-90 (Haydn, Dignities, 562).

No. 42

SIR MICHAEL WARTON TO THE MAYOR - 8 January 1680/81

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 990

(VI)

London. For the matter of Mr Duncalf, itt now lyes before the King, as for Mr Haslem who has made a sinister interest I hope he will not prevail, though as things are, none can guesse the event of

any affaire; this day our serjeant haveing received a writt of habeas corpus from Judge Weston to bring Sheridon before him committed by our house, the serjeant is order'd to carry him with the warrant of committm[ent] and then we shall see how the judge will proceed as to baile him. An addresse is order'd for the executeing the condemned preists in the prisons now; the house of Lords have taken baile for Scroggs[1] which we shall dispute, I suppose my next will give you an account of your townclerk.

1. L.J., xiii, 736-739. Sir William Scroggs (1623?-1683) Lord Chief Justice, 1678-81. He presided at the trials of the accused in the Popish plot and trusted the evidence of Titus Oates. He was highly unpopular and was shielded from the Commons impeachment by the King and the Lords, but was dismissed from the Bench in 1681. (D.N.R., LI, 127-131).

No. 43

SIR MICHAEL WARTON TO THE MAYOR - 11 January 1680/81

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 991

(VI)

London. After all endeavours as to Mr Duncalf, the King has appointed Mr Haslam[1], tis' strange, but noe one now can guesse att any thing, uncertainty rules wholy amongst us; Yesterday the Parliament was prorogued till the 20, as by the votes you will see[2], I beleive in order to a dissolution, though we hope better, Last night Captain Richardson who was att Hull was Kill'd by Major Oglethorp they fought 3 of a side, another Gentleman one Mr Gārrard was shott in the street, sadd accidents, Sir if any thing happen worth your Knowledge I shall not fayle to communicate itt.

1. Edward Haslem, on his appointment as Town Clerk, was made a freeman of Hull on 23 February 1680/81. (B.B., vii, 723).

2. C.J., ix, 704.

No. 44

L. JENKINS TO THE MAYOR - 15 January 1680/81

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 992

(IV)

Whitehall. I layd your humble Addresse in the behalf of Mr Duncalf before his Majesty together with the Testimonialls he had furnishd me with for his good Affection to the Government and for his Abilities for the Place of Town-Clerk there. It pleasd his Majesty to passe him by, and to make choyce of Mr Haslem: As to what you charge upon Mr. Haslem I can Say nothing, but that if he be qualified according to his Testimonialls it was not unlawfull for him to become Petitioner for a Place that is indisputably in the King's Guift, tho' he happen'd not to acquaint your Bench with his Intentions.

No. 45

SIR MICHAEL WARTON TO THE MAYOR - 15 January 1680/81

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 993

(VI)

London. Instead of the votes I have sent you these prints, the protestant Mercury is for the most part true, as likewise the passage as to the citty in the other[1], I have this night bought the addresse drawn in pursuance of the petition from the Commons, tis' to bigg for a letter, the main scope is to desire the Parliament may sitt on 20th instant in order to secure us against a popish successor and to preserve the protestant religion and the Government, in defence of which they will venture their lives and fortunes; tis' long drawn but very well; the thing was voted nemine contradicente; what will be, your astrologers cannot guesse att, therefore in vain for me to pretend to itt; as soon as this criticall point is determined you shall certainly know, what we are to expect.

1. Missing. The City of London had been thanked by the House for its 'loyalty ... care ... and Vigilancy', in preserving the King's person and the Protestant religion. The House also believed that Papists had started the great fire of London in 1666. (C.J., ix, 703).

No. 46

SIR MICHAEL WARTON TO THE MAYOR - 18 January 1680/81

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 994

(VI)

London. This doubtfull time begins now to point a dissolution, tis' now the generall discourse, and that another Parliament is to be call'd and held att Oxford the truth of which a few days will show; they discourse great alterations att court, and of the retireing of great men into the country from busynesse, the particulars hereafter; I hope your new clerk by this has complimented you all, he can doe no less considering the manner of attaineing his place, upon Thursday I beleive I shall give you more certainty.

No. 47

SIR MICHAEL WARTON TO THE MAYOR - 20 January 1680/81

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 996

(VI)

London. I have now sent you the certainty of that I writt before, tis' extreamly surprizeing to all protestants I beleive all over Europe, for the King of France whose design is the extirpation of that religion will by these intervalls have gott soe much footing on the side of Flanders, that he will make the Hollander truckle and consequently the whole protestant party all over Europe, whose hopes I beleive were upon the happy issue of this last Session, in order to have made a generall protestant confederacy; thus the discourse goes: Sir I am afraid my sickly disposition will not give me leave this winter to come down to return thanks to all my freinds for the many favours I have received from you, nor have I by my small service here been able to make a suteable return, however if you shall think me worthy to serve you in that capacity I was before, none shall more faithfully maintain your rights, or more willingly persue your Commands.

[P.S.] If you write att any time please to direct to me att Mr Whittfeilds att the signe of the cock in St albans street nere the pellmell.

No. 48

SIR MICHAEL WARTON TO THE MAYOR - 28 January 1680/81

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 997

(IV, VI)

London. This morning by the hand of Mr Kynvin I received your kind letter which I soon after sent to my partner, the obligations received from your bench will putt mee past the possibility of a return, but since my endeavours have been soe much to your satisfaction as to induce you to entrust me once more, I shall for my part persever to promote those means in the last Parliament persued in order to [promote?] our safety, and without the perfecting of which I think we cannot be soe. And I am the more confirmed in a good opinion of those methods by your concurrence thereto. In persuance of your commands I sent Mr Kynvin to enquire after the writt, which was this morning sent down I perceive by a messenger of their own; for news, what here is the print shows and pretty exactly[1].

1. Missing.

No. 49

SIR MICHAEL WARTON TO THE MAYOR - 8 February 1680/81

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 998

(VI)

If our affaires here had varied I should not have been soe long silent, little news stiring [but that] of elections[1]; the journey of Oxford resolved which I beleive is absolutely to putt an end to the clause prohibiting French importations, the 3 years of that clause ends on the 20th of March and to the end of the next session of Parliament, which may be made (according to Cooks opinion) by the Lords passing any judiciall act upon appeals; though I cannot think but a concurrent act of the whole Parliament must constitute a Session; this by way of surmise only; I have sent you the citty gallantry of which I was an eye wittnesse.

1. The Hull election was held on 14 February 1680/81. (Return of Members, i, 550).

No. 50

SIR MICHAEL WARTON TO THE MAYOR - 15 February 1680/81

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 999

(VI)

London. I had writt to you before this, if this place had afforded any news, but what was in the prints, and truely there is little more now; however I give you the trouble of this because I would not in the least seem to neglect that service I owe you; this paper I have sent cheifly to show what the grand Jury of Middlesex have done this term[1], there was great talk, as if they intended to present the guards as a nusance, but that slipp'd off; great discourse of the Oxford meeting. I suppose our day is over. I hope the unanimity of the people as to easie elections, will give but small hopes of playing the game that way.

1. Missing.

No. 51

SIR MICHAEL WARTON TO THE MAYOR - 21 March 1680/81

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 1000

(VI)

Oxford. This morning we mett, and the King made us a speech the substance of itt was, not to meddle with the succession that the unwarrantable proceedings of the last Parliament was the cause of itts dissolution, and that As he would not act in any thing arbitrarily, he would not suffer itt in others, the King likewise in the close proposed the administration to be putt in protestant hands in relation to a successor; we after this chose unanimously Mr Williams speaker, who is to be presented tomorrow att 3 a clock[1].

1. C.J., ix, 705. Parl. Hist., iv, 1303-6

No. 52

SIR MICHAEL WARTON TO THE MAYOR - 28 March 1681

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 1001

(VI)

Oxford. This day the Parliament was dissolved very unexpected, for noe robes were on but the Kings who sent for our house and commanded the Lord chancellour to disband us: the King went this day about 12 for London we are all in amaze; but now to give you some small account of the Session we questioned the omission of the clerks not present [on] the repeal of the 35 of Elizabeth the last parliament, we gave 2 days to consider of expedients to preserve this Kingdome from popery, and after the most calm debate on Saterday that ever was in the house, the house unanimously resolved on the bill of exclusion, all the rest being insufficient, this day the bill was read and ordered a 2d reading; we likewise impeached fitzharris, which the Lords threw out contrary to all course and proceedings of Parliament[1]. I beleive he must be hanged, I have given you some hints of our Condition.

1. C.J., ix, 705-12; Parl. Hist., iv, 1298-1340. Edward Fitzharris was an Irish informer employed by the Court against the Whigs. (D.Ogg England in the Reign of Charles II, ii, 617, 624-6).

No. 53

SIR MICHAEL WARTON TO THE MAYOR - 31 March 1681

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 1002

(VI)

London. The busynesse of this whole Parliament I have sent you here[1], we have noe other news, I was in hopes we might have enjoyed the Oxford air a little longer.

[P.S.] my service to the rest of our governours.

1. Missing.

No. 54

SIR MICHAEL WARTON TO THE MAYOR - 12 April 1681

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 1003

(VI)

London. I have sent you down our accusation here, itt is of great greif to lye under his Majesty's displeasure; which I thought when we made those votes we were in noe danger off, but I hope the young men will be pardoned, and for the old I suppose they will vindicate themselves; we are huy and cryed into all our Burroughs by the order of reading in Churches; if the next parliament condemn us, I hope they will likewise passe an act of oblivion; for news Pemberton is Lord cheif justice in Scroggs place[1], some points the next term fills all with great expectation, as the tryal of Fitzharris, the argueing the certiorari in the Dukes case, and whether a procedendo will come out, time will decide these and many more.
[P.S.] my humble service to the Aldermen.

1. Sir Francis Pemberton (1625-1697). Succeeded Scroggs as Lord Chief Justice of Kings Bench on 11 April 1681. He was removed from the bench and privy council in 1683, and defended the seven bishops in June 1688. (D.N.B., XLIV, 279-80).

No. 55

JAMES KYNVIN TO THE MAYOR[1] - 3 January 1684/85

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 1029

(IV)

London. I had the favor of yours of the last of December with one inclosed for my Lord of Plymouth[2], which I delivered to his Lordship this day, upon the persuall whereof his Lordship seemed to be verry well pleased, it having given him good Satisfaction in the Bussiness of Mr. Ald. Johnson especially in that of your transmitting him the Coppie of the Record whereby itt appears that Ald Johnson had beene tardy in his duty of putting the Lawes in Execution against Conventicles[3]. The appology you have made ffor your Subscribing of Mr. Johnsons Certificat, my Lord did alsoe receive [full (erased)] well, and seemed to admitt you and the Alderman that Subscribed itt were Surprized in itt. His Lordship Commanded mee to give you and the Alderman his humble Service, and to assure you and them

of his constant friendshipp. Mr Hazlem was not at his lodging when I went to my Lord of Plymouth, but as I came backe I mett with him and gave him this accompt. I have not any thing more at present to tell.

1. John Field was elected mayor on 30 September 1684 (B.B., vii, 107).
2. B.B., viii, 114-15. Entry for 30 December 1684.
3. Johnson had refused to join the Bench in condemning some dissenters attending a Conventicle, and also refused to hear two witnesses against them. This had occurred on 25 January 1682/83. (B.B., vii, 42).

No. 56

THE LORD CHIEF JUSTICE[1] TO THE MAYOR - 17 February 1684/85

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 1053

(IV)

His Majesty haveing been lately gratiously pleased to Signifie [his] Intencons for his speedy calling of a Parliament and thereby further to Sat[isfie] all his loveing Subjects of his ffirm Resolucon to use his utmost en[deavour] to preserve and advance the Government as it is now by law [established] both in Church and State: And I haveing had the happiness to share of your favour when I was with you and looking upon m[illegible word] obleidged to give you the best advice and Assistance for the pre[servation] of your Corporacon with all future prosperity And that in [consequence] thereunto you do recomend your selves as Dutifull Loyal [and] acceptable Subjects to his sacred Majesty and thereby be Privy [to] his future bounty and grace; Give me leave with a [illegible word] and affeccon to your wellfare heartily to advise you [on the] choice of members for this next Parliament you be more [than] ordinarily carefull that you think of none but such [as are] truely and Sencerely of unspotted loyalty to the Kinge[dom] [and of] unquestioned Zeale and affeccon for the Church of England [who have] passed through the late Times of Disorders untainted For by choice of your members at this time you'l plainly discover [their] inclinacons and affeccons both to his Majesty and his Government. Gentlemen my honest and faithfull Endeavours for the [good] of the Government and Comon

Weal of you makes me give [you] this trouble And I make no question but I shall receive Welcome news that you have made choice of Members acceptable to his Majesty which will be both for the Publick [and] consequently for the private advantage of us all and [so] by that meanes have other Opportunities to manifest [illegible word] what I faithfully promised when I was with you.[2]

1. George Jeffreys (1648-89), created Lord Chief Justice in 1683. (D.N.B., x, 714-21).
2. On the back sheet of this letter is the draft of a letter in reply dated 20 February 1684/85. Jeffreys was thanked for his 'faithful advise' and the Corporation promised to use their influence with the burgesses to secure the election of members who were 'truly loyall to the King and faithfull to the Church'. Two days earlier the Corporation had sent James a loyal address on his accession, signed by 'the Mayor, Aldermen, Burgesses and Inhabitants'. (B.B., viii, 120).

No. 57

ALDERMAN ROBERT MASON TO THE MAYOR - 28 February 1684/85

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 1059

(IV)

London. Pursuant to your desire[1], on tuesday morneing last I sett forward towards, and on fryday in the afternoone I gott safe to London, and in my way thither, on wednesday night found at Stilton the Earle of Plimouth[2], and waited upon him in his chamber there, and found him in a pretty good posture, able to walke well about the chamber, and his Lordship told me he resolved and hoped to be at London on fryday at night, and gett to whitehall and kis his Majestys hand, and desired me the next morneing to See him at his howse, and he should then be able to determine a fitt Season when to attend his Majesty to present our addres, and accordingly I with Mr Wilkinson and Mr Haslem did wait upon his Lordship this morneing, and he told us he had beene at Whitehall the night before, and had acquainted his Majesty with our intended addres, and alsoe had named Sir Willoughby Hickman and Mr John Ramsden as the two persons thought upon for our two Burgesses to Serve in Parlyament and that his Majesty well approved of his Lordships thoughts therein[3]. Soe that you may vigorously goe on to improve your interest for them, and my Lord expects it, and this Post you will receive his Lordships

letter to the Same purpose, for he told me at our comeing into his chamber, that he had begunn his letter to you to Same effect, after which I acquainted his Lordship that my brother Wilkinsons affaires prest him home, and begged if possible, our addres might be presented tomorrowe being Sunday. Soe his Lordship appointed us to attend him at Whitehall then twixt ii and iv and if he found it can conveniently be done it shall Soe my Self Mr Wilkinson Mr Kinvin Mr. Haslem Mr. Heathcott and three or fower more will attend his Lordship and you may be confident according to my poore abilities I shall truly endeavour a regular discharge therein.

1. On 20 February Aldermen Mason and Wilkinson had been ordered by the Bench to deliver their address to the King. (B.B., viii, 121).
2. Thomas Windsor, 7th Baron Windsor and 1st Earl of Plymouth (1627?-1687), made governor of Hull on 11 November 1682 and a Privy Councillor on 30 October 1685 (D.N.B., LXII, 175-77).
3. After the address had been presented Lord Plymouth had recommended that the following words be added 'the Persons who have Subscribed this addres, are much the greater number of those which within the Sayd Towne have right to Vote for Burgesses to Serve in Parliament' (Mason to the Mayor, 3 March 1684/85, H.R.O. BRL. 1060).

No. 58

ALDERMAN MASON TO THE MAYOR - 5 March 1684/85

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 1062

(IV)

London. In my Publick letter last Post[1] I gave you a full account of what I had done in the Townes affair, and of my resolution next day to wait upon the Lord Plimouth to know what comands he had to lay upon me, and hoped to gett away on thursday but when I waited upon my Lord Plimouth and told him when I intended to departe the Citty he told me the writs for electing members of Parlyament would passe the Seal with the Lord Keeper on thursday in the afternoone, and he had the promis then to have ours, and desired I would stay and take it with me, and inorder thereto wisht me and Mr. Haslam to call at the Lord Keepers, and mind them of it, and wisht me to wait upon him, when they sayd it would be sent to his Lordship to

receive it, and this night I did attend his Lordship and received the writ, and shall bring it with me, and hope to gett out tomorrowe in the afternoone, or on Satturday morneing and shall make all the hast I can home being again weary of London and Mr Haslem if he can gett a horse will come with me, being alsoe sufficiently tyrd of London, and if others were in our places would be soe alsoe, My Lord Plimouth gives his respects to you and all the bench....
[P.S.] Pray communicate this.

1. H.R.O. BRL. 1060.

No. 59

JOHN RAMSDEN TO THE MAYOR - 7 March 1684/5

Source: H.R.O. BRL.1064

(IV, VI)

In Hattfield. Those greate obligations which you and several other worthy Persons of the Bench have been pleasd lately to Conferr upon mee[1], require not onely the returne of my Cordiall thanks and acknowlēdgement, but my Stedfast promise that if ever it lyes in my power to serve you either joyntly or particulerly, I shall as faithfully and readily Act your Concernes as soone as my owne which you have beene pleasd to give mee the Encorragement that it may bee within my sphere. I received A letter from my Lord Downes[2] on friday intimateing that the Writts would be [sent] forth as this day. Your further notice to Confirme which I shall take it as a favor if you shall impart it to mee and what more you shall thinke fitting to Cōunicate either by way of advyse or order, shall certainely bee Complyed [with] and duely observed....
[P.S.] I suppose Sir Willoughby came to Hull this Night; I am for Yorke on Munday from which place you may Cōand mee upon the least Sūmons.

You may please to lett Alderan Lambert and Alderman Masters have the perusall of This.

1. The election was a week away but Ramsden clearly anticipated victory. On 26 February he had been admitted to his freedom at Hull gratis., out of respect for his father Alderman William Ramsden, M.P. 1678-79. (B.B., viii, 122).
2. John Dawnay, Viscount Downe (1624/5-1695) cr. Viscount 1681, attainted by the Irish Parliament of James II on 7 May 1689 (G.E.C., Complete Peerage, iv, 451-2).

No. 60

EDWARD HASLEM TO THE MAYOR - 16 March 1684/85

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 1067

(IV)

London. I waited of my Lord Plymouth on Sunday in the evening and he hears that Sir Michael Wharton and Mr Gee will certainly [be] put in at our election for Parliament men, which my Lord ascribes much to the delaying the day of election untill the 23rd of this instant[1]. I doubt it will prove of ill consequence if those that Sir Willoughby Hickman and Mr Ramsden should be disappointed soe that it truly concernes all such as subscribed the addresse to give them their votes knowing how well they are accepted of

my Lord Plymouth intends for Worster assizes and to see the severall elections there as hee is Lord Liuetenant

to morrow I intend for home if God permit I pray spare A messinger to tell my wife that I am well, wishing your good Recovery I pray give my humble service to Mrs Maiore and all with you.

1. The election took place on 18 March 1684/5. (B.B., viii, 123).

No. 61

LORD PLYMOUTH TO THE MAYOR - 24 March 1684/85

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 1068

(IV)

London. I have receivd your letter and am comanded by the King to lett you know that his Majesty is well pleased with your Election and I doe promise you to doe what I can to gett your Charter finished as soon as conveniantly may be. I understand that some of your Bench was absent att the Election[1], and hope they will not think much If they are left out of the list, for it is their owne faults, If I can see Mr Kynvin before I goe out of towne which is this day for Worcestershire, I will give him a Letter of Mr. Attourney Generall, to forward your Charter.

1. On the back sheet of this letter is the draft of a letter in reply dated 28 March 1685. The Corporation expressed themselves 'hearty glad that his Majesty is soe well pleased with the election of the two Burgesses to serve in Parlyamt'. Aldermen Hilyard and Carlile were not present at this election, although Carlile was an alderman when the charter was implimented in July (B.B., viii, 135; Boyle Charters, 196). However Aldermen Delacamp, Kirkby and Shires were removed.

No. 62

JOHN RAMSDEN TO THE MAYOR - 28 April 1685

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 1074

(IV, VI)

London. In Complyance with your desires, I was this day together with Mr Kinwyn to waite first upon Mr Graham[1] and after that upon the Attorney Generall. The latter of whome apprehends the Concerne of the Towne very well, and who I am persuaded will strenuously mentaine the Agreement that was made upon his report, and I am noe less glad to see you soe resolute in opposeing such unreasonable impositions, which Mr Atturney Generall calls, unlawfull, unjust, and against all Equity.

As to Alderman Carliles accusations I apprehend from my Lord Plimouth, that hee has beene satisfyed on the Contrary soe that the Aspersion is quite wiped of. Ald Lambert allso stands much fairer in my Lords favor then hee did upon the first report, and I am apt to beleive my Lord Wishes hee had never heard the story. I Question not Gentlemen but that you doe and will Act all of you with that prudence in Conduct that the worst of your Enemys upon A due and full heareing shall not bee able justly to Impeach any of you. and I doe assure you to my power I will never bee awanting to any particuler much less to the Grand Concerne of the whole Corporation.

[P.S.] It is very well that you doe imploy soe good and carefull a sollicittor as Mr Kynvin.

1. Possibly Richard Graham, assistant solicitor to the Treasury (d.1691). (Henning, Commons 1660-90, ii, 427).

No. 63

JOHN RAMSDEN TO THE MAYOR - 27 June 1685

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 1084

(IV, VI)

London. Yours is before mee of the 24th Instant, certifyeing that you had myne in Course. The obstruction which I wrote you of I thinke is wiped off my Lord Treasurer being satisfyed of the vallew

and worth of the Grounds lyeing on Garrison Side, Soe that now you may Expect your Charter by Cosin Haslam, who Intends to sett forth aboute the Middle of the next Weeke, against which tyme I hope your charter will bee perfectly Compleated. Sir Willoughby and I intend for the Countrey on Munday next and after that [last three words repeated] to waite upon you at A Convenyent tyme. In the interim give mee leave to subscribe my selfe....

[P.S.] It was Expected by all that there would have beene an adjourment upon this day for some tyme, but there are too or three Bills which want their full readeings, after which said tyme the parliament will Certainely bee adjourned. Had not my horses beene comd up I would have Stayed the End of the Sessions: or if I knew I could bee anywayes further Serviceable to the Towne I would not soe suddainely have gone from hence: but I perceive there will bee noe occasion for us, therefore I hope wee shall bee Excusd by all Partyes.

No. 64

JOHN BEWLEY TO THE MAYOR - 7 July 1685

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 1092

(IV)

London. My humble service presented to your selfe and Brethren. Mr Kynvin and Mr Haslam also give their services to you - the former writing this Post the latter not, as he told Me, and when he will come down is uncertain, because my Lord Keeper is faln very ill, and the time the great Seal will pass is uncertain, its thought but once this week and which day is not certainly known -

Your Worship will have a fuller Account this post than I am able to write, about the defeat of the fforces of James Scott late D[uke] of Monmouth near Bridgwater On Sonday morning last[1], So that I Need not write about the same, but it is fully beleived, that the Rebellion wilbe quite quashed, and Wee may hope wilbe in order to the Settlement of the Nations peace -

Before the News came of the Overthrow of the Rebels it was talkt in Town, that the Assizes would be putt of till next September, but Since said Newes, its thought they wilbe appointed to morrow,

to be held according to Usuall time - Mr Dangerfield who was whipt here about his Narrative, In his return from Tyburne was wounded in his Eye by the thrust of a Grays Inn Gentleman's cain and is since dead thereof, and the said Gent found guilty and its thought will dye[2] -

Here are great Expressions of Joy upon Account of the foresaid Defeat.

1. He encloses what seems to be an authorised account of the battle (H.R.O. BRL. 1093). Hickman and Ramsden were out of London towards the end of June, and such news as came up from the west of the progress of Monmouth's rising was transmitted to Hull by Kynvin and Haslem. On 30 June Kynvin reports 'We have [no] news as yet of the Battele betweene the Kings forces and the Rebells but...expect it' (H.R.O. BRL. 1086). On the same day Haslem cautiously recounted both rumour and fact '...its said that the Rebells doe dayly deserte the late Duke of Monmouth, and that his army is rooted, and hee fled into a wood but this with the news, that hee is taken, requires a further confirmation.... Disney who printed Monmouths declaration was yesterday drawn, hang'd and Quartered' (H.R.O. BRL. 1087).

2. Thomas Dangerfield (?1650-85) was a pamphleteer and supporter of Monmouth who was tried in Kings Bench for his 'scandalous libel called his "Narrative"'. He was sentenced to be pilloried and publicly whipped. On his return from Tyburn he was accosted and insulted by a barrister called Robert Francis. Dangerfield replied with foul language whereupon Francis struck at him with a small bamboo cane which chanced to pierce his left eye. Some time afterwards Dangerfield died and Francis was tried and executed for murder. (D.N.B., xiv, 16-18).

No. 65

THE SECRETARY OF STATE[1] TO THE MAYOR - 12 July 1685 [Copy]

Source: Bench Book, viii, 132

(IV)

The King having received advice of the entire defeat of the Rebells I send you inclosed an Account thereof[2] and am by his Majestys Command further to acquaint you that to prevent the escape of such Rebells as are not yett taken his Majesty would have you give strict orders and take all possible care by placing Guards and otherwise for apprehending and securing all persons whatsoever who shall be travelling up and downe and are not very well knowne and also for searching all suspicious places and houses for any of the Rebells

or their Abetters you are likewise narrowly to watch all Peoples and places on the Coast where any vessels and particularly where any fisher boats frequent and employ your utmost care and diligence herein and for preventing all further rising and disorder[3].

1. Charles, second Earl of Middleton (1640?-1719) Secretary of State to James II (D.N.B., xxxvii, 339-41).
2. H.R.O. BRL. 1093.
3. On receipt of this letter a special bench was convened on a Sunday, and twenty suspected persons were immediately ordered to be confined to their houses. They were: Michael and Jonathan Beilby, John Robinson, William Musgrove, Robert Jellison, John Simpson Cooper, Peter Harper, John Graves, Robert Burton, Francis Wailes, Joseph Houlton, Samuel Stockdale, Thomas Goodlad, Leonard Chamberlaine, John Wright, Thomas Martin, Samuel Winship, Anthony Iveson, John Baker and Richard Cooke. Two days later Samuel Hoare and William Udell were similarly confined. John Baker refused to be confined, and the lieutenant governor Colonel Copley reported to the Bench that he had opened a letter sent to Baker 'in which was writt treasonable words'. The unfortunate man was committed to prison. (B.B., viii, 132-33), but later released on bail (H.R.O. BRL. 1115).

Earlier action had been taken to secure the town. Copley had been ordered by the Council to 'secure all ports and gates about the town', several of which were in a state of disrepair. The Mayor had been instructed to allow no passenger to leave Hull except those holding a pass from the King or Secretaries of State; a pass was also needed to purchase horses (16 June 1685, B.B., viii, 131-2).

No. 66

THE MAYOR[1] TO LORD PLYMOUTH - 2 November 1687 [Copy]

Source: H.R.O. 49, Coppie Book of Letters 1685-88, f.22

(IV)

Hull. Wee are hearty glad to hear by Mr James Kinvin our Solliciter of your Lordshipps safe comeing to London from whence we have this Post received the Coppie of an address which your Lordship thinks fit to be presented on our behalfe to his Majesty which wee have presented with very little variation and beg of your Lordship on our behalfe to present the same.

Mr Ja[mes] Kinvin did alsoe comunicate to us that your Lordship would have writt us but obstructed by some present indisposition but comanded him to signifie to us that your Lordship will take care that the soldiers shall pay the 8d weekly for their quarters

according to his Majestys order[2], for which we give your Lordship hearty thanks and beg that you will please to expedite this for the poor people are much burthened the Publick houses on whom they where first placed pay some 10d and sume 12d weekly to the private houses for each man. wee thought to good to accquaint your Lordship that some tyme since our late worthy members of parliment Sir William Hickman and Mr John Ramsden did offerr to serve us and this Corporation in the next Parlyament and wee have thankfully accepted thereof[3] which wee hope will be to your Lordship goodlikeing with the tender of our Humble services to your Lordship Wee beg leave to subscribe our selves your Lordships most humble servants.

1. Robert Carlile, a merchant, was mayor for the year 1687-8 and was turned out of office when the new charter came into force in September 1688. (B.B., viii, 192; Boyle, Charters, n.220.)
2. During the years 1685-7 there was considerable controversy in Hull over the billeting and payment for quarters of troops of the garrison. Feelings ran so high that in 1687 the King was petitioned on the matter and Plymouth played an important role as an intermediary. (Coppie Book of Letters 1685-88, passim.)
3. At this time the Corporation was prepared to support court candidates in a future parliament.

No. 67

THE MAYOR[1] TO THE BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S[2] - 30 December 1687 [Copy]

Source: H.R.O. 49, Coppie Book of Letters 1685-88, f.29

(IV)

Hull. Wee received yours of the 27th instant and thereby are further assured of the continuance of your Lordship earnest endeavours for the quiet and eas of us and our inhabitants and Perticularly in making our High Steward[3] sensible of the ill usage and great losses the poor Inholders Alehouses, and other inhabitants lye under from Souldjery, And wee have now further to acquint your Lordship that notwitstanding the Lord Langdale hath again by Letter repeated his directions to Captain Copley our deputy Governour to adjust the Quarters and payment of them to the satisfaccon of our Inhabitants, yet nevertheless although the other day Colonel Cornewalls Regiment[4] had orders to March and did march from hence to Yorke, noe Quarters are paid but onely to some few Bakers Butchers and Shoemakers, which

doth soe dissatisffie the rest that our Town is made up of nothing but Complaints. And if Speedy redress be not herein, many of the poor Alehouse Keepers, cannot subsist but must fall to the Townes relief; for besides the non payment, for lodgings, the Souldjers (as wee may say) have forced themselves into theire debts by drinking their Ale and Beer and eating their meat, and many of them have left great Scores on that account; And findeing that all applications yet made are invalid; Wee are resolved by oure Peticon to lay the same before his Majesty[5] And beg your Lordship will move our high Steward to give us his assistance therein upon Mr. James Kynvins application to him, who hath our directions to attend him with the same, and alsoe to present his Lordship with our accustomed honorary.

As to what your Lordship adviseth touching our members to Serve in parliament wee thought good to give you account of what wee have already done therein, wee had Comunicated to the Earle of Plymouth before his death (vizt.) Sir Willoughby Hickman and Mr John Ramsden two worthy persons whom wee apprehend truly Loyall to his Majesty and the Church of England who served us in the last Parliament, about three monthes agoe writt us that it was talked that a Parliament would be speedily [summoned], and they made a tender of their service to us and our Corporacon by letter and wee did signifie to them in return to their Letter that wee were soe well satisfied in their faithfullness that wee should endeavour their election when writts should issue to that purpose, And wee doubt not but if they be elected they will Comply with his Majestys corse what he shall propound in Repeall of the penall lawes and Test soe farr as it may stand with the safety of our Church and religion and peace of the nation. Wee have a very high resentment of your Lordships care of and kindness to us.

1. Alderman Robert Carlisle.
2. Thomas Watson (1637-1717), consecrated Bishop of St. David's, June 1687. (See No. 19 supra.)
3. Lord Dover.
4. One of the two regiments which had arrived in Hull.
5. B.B., viii, 197.

No. 68

THE MAYOR TO LORD LANGDALE - 17 February 1687/88 [Copy]

Source: H.R.O. 49 Coppie Book of Letters 1685-88, f.38.

(IV)

Hull. Having seriously considered of the Proposals, which by your Lordships direccons, were imparted to us by Mr Christopher Bacon and since that comunicated by Alderman Wilkinson, We beg your Lordships favour to accept of this Reply.

That We are not satisfyed in Our consciences to Oblige Our Selves for the Performance of an Act, which if it were in Our Inclinations to attempt, Yet is not in Our capacities to perform[1].

But when his Majesty shall please to call a Parliament and that We know what Persons do appear to stand upon the Election for Our Representatives, We shall take care to give Our Suffrages, for such as are truly Loyall, to Our Sovereign and his Interest, and have a due Esteem for their country.

Which We Submitt to Your Lordships consideracon, and shall be alwaies ready and willing to yeeld due Obedience to his Majestys pleasure and a high Regard to Your Lordships Demands.

1. Langdale, the new governor, was a Roman Catholic, and along with other governors and lords lieutenant, had received instructions from the King to ascertain whether at the next election the Corporation would comply with the King's wishes in matters of religion, and return pliant members. (Gillett and MacMahon, History of Hull, 184).

No. 69

LORD LANGDALE TO THE MAYOR - [25 February, 1687/88] [Copy]

Source: A. de la Pryme, Collections relating to the History and Antiquities of Kingston upon Hull (c.1697-1700) ff.519-20

MS. volume in H.R.O.[1]

[There is a copy in B.L. Lansdowne MSS. 890]

(IV)

By Yours of February the 17th I find that your self and your Bretheren are not willing to give the King an Assurance that you'll endeavour to Chuse none but such Members for Parliament as do approve the Kings Declaraccon of Indulgence I need not tell you how much the King is concerned in Honour and Conscience to Justify that

Declaracon haveing upon all oc[asions] [subs]equently Declared that he did believe that no[thing] [wou]'d so much conduce to the Settlement of this distracted Nation that a tolleration in Religion. His Majesty hath so much reason to be disatisfy'd with such as will not comply with his just desires upon that account that he is resolved to let them feel the Effects of his just displeasure - wherefore I earnestly desire you seriously to consider this matter and do not render me incapable of serving you and to let you see how desireous I am to continue your friend I do propose unto you Sir James Bradshaw of Risby[2] for one of your Representatives against whome none of you (I am confident) can make any exception and for the Other I will in a short time give you Notice, as I do not question your consent herein,...

1. The original letter is now missing, de la Pryme presumably copied it.
2. Bradshaw was the second son of Edward Bradshaw, an alderman of Chester who was sheriff of that city 1636, and mayor 1647 and 1653 (Bean, Northern Representation, 868).

No. 70

THE MAYOR TO LORD LANGDALE - 27 March 1688 [Copy]

Source: H.R.O. 49, Coppie of Letters 1685-88, ff.38-9

(IV)

Hull. Your Lordships of the 25th Past was delivered the 5th of this Instant bye Sir James Bradshaw to the Deputy Major[1]; which should have mett with a more speedy returne had not some of our Brethren been absent, and our Deputy Major with other is indisposed soe that wee could not make a Court which wee hope may plead our excuse (for this delay) with your Lordship.

My Lord wee have Consulted the Contents of your Lordships Letter, and doe not apprehend by ours of the 17th past that wee have given any cause for your Lordship to suspect that wee are of the number of those who will not Comply with his Majestys gracious declaracon of Indulgence soe by our address wee have fully and freely declared our approbacon and high esteem of his Majestys Princely Clemency to all his liege people particularly in that act for tolleration in matters of Religion soe that with submission wee are not Conscious

to ourselves to have acted any thing whereby wee should the least incurr his Majestys displeasure or disobliege your Lordship from performing any friendly offices for this Corporacon; wee esteem ourselves highly Honoured in soe noble a governour and worthy Recorder.

Wee take notice of your Lordships Recomendation of Sir James Bradshaw for one of our Representatives against whom wee have noe exception; he being a Gentleman for whom wee have a great respect, and in observance of your Lordships desire shall give him all the freedom that wee show to others who appeare in the same figure. But wee cannot assure your Lordship who shall be elected of those Gentlemen that shall offer to serve the Corporacon in that Quality; ffor the success of our election depends upon the Inclinations of all the Burgesses who have Libertie to Conferr their suffrages upon whom they please.

My Lord wee have lately received from Mr. Kinvin the Copies of two orders from the King and Councell, one of which is concerning the payment of the quarter by Colonel Cornwalls Regiment The contents whereof wee transmitted to Lieftenant Colonel Pursell 14 dayes agoe by Alderman Trippet whose answear was that as soon as he received orders from the Colonel it should be obeyed but to this day nothing is performed. The other order relateing to Settlement of Quarters here for 300 men upon Public houses was speedily and punctually performed by us and the Billetts delivered to Sir Ro[bert] Douglas, but wee doe not observe that any proceedings are made therein, wee are in dayly expectacon of that order relateing to the four Companys of my Lord Dunbartons Battalion for payment of their Quarters who have been here 6 months in private as well as Public houses to the great Burthen of the poor Inhabitants, and will certainly be the ruin of some of them if not releved; Wee are very Senseable of your Lordships favour expresst in this particular concern; for which the poor people are bound to pay their due acknowledgement. And the same hath taken such due Impressions upon us, that wee shall record it with the rest of your Lordships kindenesses which wee have experienced[2].

1. Alderman Anthony Lambert was sworn deputy mayor on 22 February 1687/88. (B.B., viii, 202).
2. According to de la Pryme, Langdale was so incensed by this rebuttal that he turned the garrison loose on the town. (de la Pryme, History, ff.521-22).

No. 71

CHARLES OSBORNE TO THE MAYOR[1] - 1 November 1690

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 1122

(VI)

London. I have heere incloased sent you the votes of thursday and friday and a Gazzett which is the last. This day wee have dunn nothing but tryde a breach of priviledg against a member. I hope you will parden my ill writeinge haveing beene not well this tenn days. I have putt in the names of the Commissioners upon the land Tax for hull and County[2] and beinge a Stranger yett in those partes I putt in Such as my brother Ramsden named and would have beene glad your Bench would have pleased to dirrected me which I desiered in my letter to youre bench. My Servis I pray to my worthy Aldermen.

1. Anthony Iveson.
2. No enclosures survive.

No. 72

THE MAYOR [1] TO JOHN RAMSDEN - 30 October 1694 [Copy]

Source: H.R.O. 50, Coppie Book of Letters begun in October 1694

(V)

Hull. Wee are not unmindful of your kind respects you have always Exprest for our Corporation, and it is Our desire, they may be Continued now at this Approaching Sessions of the Parliament. That if your Inclinations and resolutions are fixed to Appear there as one of our Representatives; we shall esteem ourselfs much Obliged. and shall Allso request your favour to make us a vizitt in your way to London that wee may take the opportunity to impart what may be propper for your Cognisance, and wherin wee may by your Assistance hope for some Redress[2]. Your Partner Esquire Osborne designed the next week to sett forward on his journey for London.

Sir, A line in return to this will very much oblige[3].

1. Henry Maister, a member of a prosperous merchant family.
2. Presumably on the vexed question of payment for billeting of troops.
3. Ramsden intended to return to Parliament, but could not visit Hull for a while as his wife was ill. (Letters of 10 and 13 November, 1694, ibid.)

No. 73

THE MAYOR[1] AND ALDERMEN TO THE DUKE OF LEEDS - 16 November 1695 [Copy]

Source: H.R.O. 50, Coppie Book of Letters Begun in October 1694.

(V)

Hull. Wee esteem it our duty to Impart to your Grace that att our Election for Burgesses in Parliament wee made choise of the Honorable Charles Osborne Esquire and William St Quintin Esquire for our representatives[2] which not onely affords us the oppurtunity of presenting our humble service to your Grace but our accustomed honorary to our Noble high Steward[3] which tho' in Vallue but meane yett magnified by its favourable Acceptance, Wee have Comitted the Concernes of our Corporation to the Care of our representatives to Impart as Occasion may require.

And that your Grace may long Enjoy the blessings of health and prosperity Wee do heartily pray and remaine....

1. Alderman Simon Sissons.
2. The election was uncontested and held on 23 October 1695 (B.B., viii, 382). In 1698 Leeds recommended the re-election of the two members, which duly happened (two undated letters in above 'Coppie Book').
3. At a meeting of the Bench on 7 November, the annual honorary of 20 gold pieces was voted to the High Steward (B.B., vii, 383).

No. 74

THE MAYOR[1] TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK[2] - 11 June 1698 [two drafts]

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 1179

(V)

Hull. Wee thank your Grace for your letter of the 26th ultimo[3] that part whereof which relates to your Graces kind recomendation of our present Members to be again Elected for the next Parliament, wee have Comunicated to the Severall Burgesses of this Corporation, by Causing copies of your Graces letter to be sent to the Severall Wardens of the Companies, within this place, to be publickly read in their Hall to all the members of their Societies.

Wee humbly thank your Grace for your Care of our petition about the Artillery yard and the providing our Charitable Bill in the

house of Lords, for which wee are most sensibly obliged to your Grace, praying for your Graces perfect health and happiness and requesting your Grace to Continue your favoures.

Wee are honoured by your favor in that your Lordship is pleased to Impart your Sentiments in yours of the 26th past relating to the Election of our Members to serve us in the Ensueing Parliament, which letter hath been Comunicated to all our Burgesses, who seem unanimous in Electing our late Members, as worthy persons to serve us in the Ensuing Parliament which wee may certainly depend upon, And do not doubt but they will performe their Service for the publick Concerne of the nations Interest and for the satisfaction of the Subjects, who are cordially Concerned for the peace and tranquility of the Nation in Generall under our pious and prudent prince to whom wee wish all health and ffelicity and a Series of yeares to Continue in the same, Wee Kiss your hand....

1. Alderman Robert Nettleton.
2. John Sharp (b.1645) consecrated July 1691, died February 1714. Normally Sharp took little interest in politics and declined to interfere in the conduct of Parliamentary elections, but like Osborne and St Quintin, he had signed the Association to protect William III's life, so the Bench may have played on this to enlist his support. (D.N.B., xvii, 1346-49).
3. Missing.

No. 75

SIR JAMES BRADSHAW TO THE WARDEN AND OTHER GENTLEMEN OF THE COMPANY OF CARPENTERS, HULL - 24 February 1699/1700

Source: B.L. Egerton MS. 3347 ff.1-2.

(III, V)

Risby. I am informed there are a considerable number of my fellow Burgesses at Hull desirous to have me stand at this next election for Parliament men; but I canot be persuaded to close with their desires till I have Justified myselfe from those false aspersions cast upon me when I ofered to serve you in the late Kings time[1], the Crime laid to my Charge then was, that I was for taking of the penall lawes and test against the Papists; but if I may have that comon Justice from you which is shown to all persons when accused I must be accquitted of this accusation, for there is not one witnes

can prove I ever said soe, but on the contrary I did at that very time declare to some of note in your town and to others else where, that if I were chosen into that Parliament I would not consent to the abrogation of those lawes which I lookt on as the Bulwarke of the Protestant Religion in that Kings reign: And I doe asure you I never did intend or promis to part with that Security, Its probable the Lord Langdale recomendation of me might tempt many to believe he had either engaged me to repeale those Lawes or at least had hopes I would, But I doe declare that Lords first proposall of me to some of your town was without my consent or knowledge, and perhaps that Lord (as Governour) would claime the custome of recomending a gentleman to your Town as former Governours had done and might expect to be gratified therein as others were; espetialy when the person recomended was a neighbour and protestant, and against whome many were pleased to say there was noe objection, but that he was recomended by that Lord But what was done without my privity ought not to be called my fault and this was very uncertain ground to raise Soe great a Scandall on, as that I should incline to be a Papist, because my Lord Langdale being one was my friend but I thank god I can sincerely say the Protestant Religion was at that time dearer to me than to exchange it for the greatest preferment or to renounce it for feare of the greatest punishment, and I hope by gods assistance will always be soe.

I thought I had given sufitient proof of my abhorrence to Popery and the dispencing power when I took the Oath of Supremacy and test before a bench of Popish Justices, Notwithstanding the opposition I mett with for soe doing: but the malitious and uncharitable will not easily be convinc'd.

I had noe reason to sleight the Civilities and respects from that Lord when Governour of Hull, whose friendship was of that advantage to me as to secure me against habitation here, after I had for severall years been exercised with the afronts and Iniuries of Souldiers from that Garrison and the ease and Safetie I had by his favour might reasonably oblige me to make such a gratefull return as entertaining him one or twice at my house would amount to.

I hope Gentlemen what I have alreadie ofered in my iustification has by this time set me right in your opinions but if anie of you have anie other objections to propose against me I shall take it

verie kindly to heare them in order to answer them: for I am verie ambitious of deserving first and then having your good opinions.

I thought to have here concluded this Letter and your trouble, without taking anie notice of the Election approaching, you are wise enough to know who are fittest to serve you, and therefore will not sufer any to be imposed on you either by great men above or by your Alderman, for tho there be a measure of respect and Submission due to them in the Administration of the power committed to them, yet in the busines of Choosing Parliament men they ought to bee noe authoritie over the burgesses whose Interest in that Charge is far greater than their and your Representatives ought to esteem it their choisest duty to restore and mentaine the rights and privileges of the Commons of your Town.

And possibly the Reason why your Members have not eased the burgesses of those inconveniences they have and doe labour under is because your Magistrates have appropriated the Election of Parliament men to [the] power and Artifices of their bench which makes your members believe they owe their Election to them chiefly And will therefore Act according to the directions of the Aldermen, forgetting that the greatest trust is reposed in them by the greatest body of Burgesses:

I wish those advantages your Corporation has lost of late yeares might be retrieved again; and encrease of wealth and prosperitie to every member of it; and whenever you think it in my power to contribute to those ends you may freely command....

1. Bradshaw had stood unsuccessfully in the 1695 election, and petitioned the Commons, with a similar lack of success, against his defeat. (Bean, Northern Representation, 846).

No. 76

SIR WILLIAM ST. QUINTIN TO THE MAYOR[1] - 24 October 1704

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 1195

(VI)

London. I have yours of the 21st Instant with your Address which I shall present to her Majesty with all the Speed that can be, I

like it very well[2]; My departure was as Sudden to me, as Surpriseing to you, for whil I gott to Hull on Wednesday night, did design'd to have stay'd a weeke longer, but found Letters to advise and desyre me to be here before the Sitting of the Parliament which I could not be, unless I parted next morning which putt me into a great hurry, as my journey did into noe little disorder to be here within the time, which [being] my duty to the Corporation and the Publicke, the Service of both which I have attended as much as I could at all times, and ever will doe so long as I have the honour to serve you, and therefore I did not expect so sharp a Letter from you and I [am] sure I know not what I have done to deserve so great a rebuke, which gives me noe small uneaseyness, I am senceable of every perticuler Gentlemens kindness to me and will ever owne it with all the gratitude I can.

The Parliament mett to day and parted in Peace, being but a thin House have orderd a Call on Thursday Sevennight[3] which I take onely to hast the Members [here?], and I hope it will be a short sessions. I dispare of getting the Queens Speech to save the Post being now ii a clocke, I heartily wish all good healths and am in great hast....

1. Alderman Samuel Boise.
2. An address of loyalty on Marlborough's victory at Blenheim (B.B., viii, 533).
3. Commons Journal, xiv, 393.

No. 77

WILLIAM PULTENEY TO THE WARDENS OF TRINITY HOUSE - 14 October 1723

Source: Miscellaneous Letters, Trinity House MSS.

(V)

I had the honour of your letter of the 8th Instant[1], and am sorry since I am under a promise to give the little assistance I am able to Sir Hen Hoghton, to find that you are under engagements elsewhere. Mr Crowles Reputation and Character is such, that I am satisfied tis impossible for any one, to have the least personal Objection to him, but as I have satt long in Parliament with Sir Harry, never differing with him in any one Vote, tis natural to

wish well to an old acquaintance, and to endeavor to serve that person with whom one has always agreed in Opinion. I could wish therefore t'was possible Sir Harry might meet with your assistance, but t'would be the utmost impertinence in me to pretend to urge you contrary to any engagements; Instead of presuming therefore to Dictate to you whom to vote for, give me leave for the future to desire I may endeavor to cultivate that friendship you are pleased to honor me with, and that I may try to deserve it, by willingly and chearfully undertaking any of your Commands, and shewing you how ready I shall be on all occasions to prove my self....

1. Trinity House to Pulteney, 8 October 1723. Letter Book, Trinity House MSS.

No. 78

HENRY MAISTER TO SIR ROBERT WALPOLE - 31 January 1740/41

Source: Cholmondeley (Houghton) MSS. 3068a

(V)

I find an opposition[1] to us at Hull, is projecting and a Patriot is to struggle for my Seat; one of the top Dissenters[2] who became my Enemy for not repealing the test Act, is at the bottom of this affair, but an Accident has just happend, which I flatter myself puts it in your power to prevent it.

Mr Edward Legard the Riding Officer at Hornsey in Holderness, Yorkshire, is dead, and I am strongly sollicited by severall of my best ffriends to get the place for Mr Edward Ellerker who is a Relation of this Dissenters, and who by this means I shall regain to my Interest, and probably stop this opposition. I hope Sir you will at this time oblige us with your disposall of this place as it may affect our Interest so much and if I could by this post assure his ffriends of my Success, it might in time prevent us a great deal of trouble.

1. Maister retired just before the 1741 election, which was then uncontested (Bean, Northern Representation, 848; Sedgewick, Commons 1715-54, i 359).
2. During the reign of Anne it was estimated there were 500 Dissenters in Hull, although only 50 were qualified voters of the borough (Dr. William's Library, DWL. MS. 38.4 [The Evans List]).

No. 79

GEORGE CROWLE TO SIR TANCRED ROBINSON[1] - 22 March 1740/41

Source: Newby Hall MSS., N.H. 2490

(V)

Hull. You will have heard of the Great oposition raised against me and the ferment this town is in which I never expected and obligeth me to desire the Friendship of all my Friends. And I shall esteem it as a very Great honour that if you know of any Freemen with you that you will please to Interpose in my behalf. Mr Garforth hath a relation here and several others he can Influence If he would please to signify the same to them, I have writ him this Evening and I beg you would please to take the first oportunity to speak to him.

1. Sir Tancred Robinson (1655/6 -1748) of Newby, physician and naturalist. (D.N.B., XLIX, 45-46; J. Foster, Yorkshire Pedigrees, i).

No. 80

GEORGE CROWLE TO SIR TANCRED ROBINSON - 29 March 1741

Source: Newby Hall MSS. N.H. 2490

(V)

Hull. You doe me agreat deal of Honour for espousing my Interest at York, where there are some Freemen that have a right to vote here. I have a very obliging letter from Mr. Garforth but he dos not declare he will allow his nephew to take up his Freedome. Next Thursday is the day apointed to make free but none will be admitted but such as have a right by the usage of this Corporation. And I believe then above one hundred will be made burgesses[1]. that I must beg you will once more solicit Mr Garforth to signify his Consent to his nephew whom I am Informed is now my well wisher.

I have a Great many friends who are extremely active and my affairs look well. but in such a populous Election as this is there is noe being secure and I hope you will Forgive me for being soe solicitous.

1. On 2 April 1741, ninety seven freemen were admitted and sworn. It was then ordered 'that No more persons shall be admitted to their freedoms before the next election of members to serve in Parl: for this borough', (B.B., viii, 911; Burgess Book, 1741-1802, H.R.O. BRG. iii).

No. 81

LUKE ROBINSON[1] TO RICHARD SYKES - 4 April 1747

Source: Sykes MSS., DDSY 101/47

(V)

[London] I have your very obliging Letter of the 1st Instant for which I thank You. I am glad to hear that You have gott home, tho' not so well as I wish; however tis much better than to be confined at a Publick House on the Road, and I hope that this Warm Weather will in a little time sett You on ffoot again, and that You have this Year paid a Tribute to the Gout sufficient for two Years or more to come; however I shall please My Selfe by thinking so: I am selfish in this, because when You come next to Town, I shall claim and hope to have the pleasure of a good Share of Your time and Company. I came from the assizes in Kent last night and heard there that Admiral Medley's[2] Squadron had mett with the ffleet of Transports Going from ffrance to Genoa and had taken or destroyed the three men of War that were the Convoy, and had taken or Sunk the Greatest part of the Transports: This news is good, but I will not answer for it's being true tho' I much Wish it so. Here has been a good Deal of Hurry about the Independent Electors of Westminster (as they call themselves) and their abusing a person at their late ffeast, because they Suspected him to be a Spy, and for that Hugh ffrazier[3], a Wit against Lord Lovatt[4], lodged and was Entertained at his House. It has been complain'd of in the House of Cōmons, who have appointed the Comittee for managing the Trial of Lord Lovatt, to Enquire of this matter and Report it to the House. What the Inclination of the House seems to be about this matter, or what may likely be the Event of it, I cannot Say; because the Circuit has taken up my whole time ever Since last Wednesday was ffortnight, and I have not been at the House during that time. Your Correspondence I assure You will give me Great pleasure, and I shall contribute all I can to it, by Comunicating to You, what comes to my knowledge and what I shall think Worth the While.

'Tis said here that General Pulteney will certainly offer his Service again for Hull and stand the Poll[5]: If So, Lord and Lady B——[6] may have a good deal of Business on their hands, to manage two Boroughs, and that may make their Residence at Hull very necessary; They think themselves they are not to be resisted, their charms are so strong; tho' I beleive they'l ffind themselves Mistaken:

However If I am in health, I intend to be down the latter End of the Sumer, and shall not be at all Sorry to See them there.

We hope my Wife is better, and that the Warm Weather will be of great Service to her. I saw Mr. Carter today, he holds his Resolution of offerring his Service at Hull, and relys on and doubts not his being well Supported amongst the Placemen: I Wish both You and he may Succeed; Mr. Crowle has not any claim to my Good Wishes, much less to my Service, if I could assist him. I hope your Lady is well, to whom Our Sincere Compliments.

1. Luke Robinson (d.1773) of Elloughton on Brough near Hull. M.P. for Hedon 1741-2, 1747-54. He defeated William Pulteney's candidates at Hedon 1741, but was convicted for bribery in 1743, in 1747 he regained his seat but was defeated in 1754. (Sedgwick, Commons, 1660-90, ii, 386-7).
2. Henry Medley (d.1747) vice Admiral, at this time Commander in Chief in the Mediterranean (D.N.B., xxxvii, 204-5).
3. Hugh Fraser was one of the counsel defending Lovatt at his trial (T.B. Howell, State Trials, xviii, 533-858. passim.)
4. Simon Fraser, twelfth Lord Lovat (1667?-1747), the celebrated Jacobite, executed for his part in the '45. (D.N.B., xx, 216-222).
5. He did not. (Sedgwick, Commons 1660-90, ii, 374).
6. William Pulteney (1684-1764) cr. Earl of Bath 1742, M.P. for Hedon 1705-1734 and Middlesex 1734-42. Elder brother of General Pulteney. In February 1746 he attempted to form an administration but without success (Sedgwick, ii, 375-76).

No. 82

SIR WILLIAM MILNER TO RICHARD SYKES - Received 19 June 1747

Source: Sykes MSS., DDSY 101/47.

(V)

Mr Crowle and General Poultney having declind to offer their services any longer for the town of Hull, and as I am told you have given up all thoughts of standing, I have been desird, this morning, by my friends to offer myself a candidate in their room, I have taken the first opportunity of applying to you for your vote and interest, which will be of the greatest consequence. Our success here is greater than we could possibly expect we have got the Mob intirely on our side, and last night our numbers stood thus

for Mr Thornton	417
for Mr Ibbitson	353
Absent	237
Dubious	123
Against both	101

I think we cant fail of carrying one, and I hope we are in a fair way for both.

1. Sir William Milner (d.1774). Suc. as second baronet 1745. High Sheriff of Yorkshire 1747. (Foster, County Pedigrees, i).

No. 83

HENRY PELHAM[1] TO RICHARD SYKES - 13 August 1753

Source: Sykes MSS. DDSY, 101/47

(V)

[London] I ām much obliged to you for your kind enquiry after me and my family, we are all got well to London, and I think none of us but have receivd some benefit from Scarborough, I am satisfied I have a great deal, not only from bathing and drinking the waters, which have undoubtedly contributed to my health, but as my being there, has given me the pleasure of your acquaintance. We expect Lord Robert every day, the last news we had, informing us that he had orderd his baggage on board. As soon as he comes to England, I shall certainly acquaint him with your friendship, and take care, that he goes to Hull as soon as He conveniently can, and that he informs you privately of the time he intends to be there. I dare say He will gladly accept your kind invitation. And I hope, when you shall have scrutinised the town more thoroughly, you will find the true interest so strong, that you will think of recommending another, if you should still find your own health in such a situation as not to undertake the trouble yourself. I can't however totaly give over that, but rest in hopes that you may find it not so fatiguing an undertaking as you apprehend. There is no man I should wish to see more in Parliament than yourself, and indeed the unmerited civilitys I have receivd from your country men, must always make me partial to Yorkshire.

1. Henry Pelham (1695-1754), younger brother of the Duke of Newcastle. M.P. for Seaford 1717-22 and Sussex 1722-44. Prime Minister 1743-54,(Sedgwick, Commons 1660-90, ii, 329-31; J. B. Owen. The Rise of the Pelhams, (London 1957), passim.).

No. 84

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE MAYOR OF HULL[1] - [draft March 1766]

Source: Rockingham MSS. W.W.M. R1-592

(V)

I must beg Leave to trouble You with my Sincere thanks to Yourself and to the Corporation of Hull for the very obliging and Honourable Mark of Favour, which they and You confer on me by the Intention expressed in Your Letter.

A Testimony of being Honoured with the Favour of the Town of Hull either consider'd as Seperated or Connected with the County of York, must be and is indeed most highly pleasing to me, and you can not Express my Acknowledgements warmer than I feel them. [deleted: I shall be happy on all occasions of shewing Every Attention to the Town of Hull]

His Majesty having been graciously pleased to confer an office on Sir G[eorge] Metham (and which he would have accepted some Time ago - but waited till the Repeal of the Stamp Act was safe thro' the House of Commons) a Vacancy will be made at Hull. Sir George Metham doth not intend to desire a ReElection.

Mr Weddel of Newby[2] intends to offer himself as Candidate - The Personal Knowledge I have both of his Principles and Abilities much inclines me to wish him Success. And indeed [deleted: his Fortune renders him Very Independent and his Principles] both from his Principles and his Fortune No body can be a Safer Person for such a Trust.

In regard to the Counterfeit Letter which I received some Time ago, I am very sorry that I can not transmit it to you, for taking it for a Counterfeit after shewing it to Sir G[eorge] Mr Ahren and Mr Sill - I burnt it[3]. The Memorial in Justification of Mr Mantle is come safe and As that Matter is Complicated with other matter now on Enquiry before the Commissioners of the Customs It would be irregular for me to take any Steps in it _till It has been consider'd by them.

I must beg once more to return my thankful Acceptance of the Intended Honour[4].

1. Alderman John Booth.
2. Namier and Brooke, Commons, 1754-90, iii, 617-18.
3. There is a bundle of letters on counterfeiting and coin clipping at this time in W.W.M. R.11 at Sheffield.

4 [illegible]

No. 85

WILLIAM WEDDELL TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM - 29 November 1767

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F49/8

(IV)

Newby. I should have been happy to have waited upon you at Wentworth, but that your own unsettled situation in October, prevented me - I should have been glad to have waited on you in Town. but that (I fancied) my own affairs prevented me. - I have now sent this to you Express, to desire you to move your Interest at Hull for me. for which place I am now setting out Poste haste. on account of a Letter from thence to tell me that Captain Lee, of the Navy[1], comes over the water to morrow, in order to Canvass. and as I imagine on those occasions no time is to be lost, I shall endeavour to be there as soon. - Pray let me hear from you soon, as you know I am novice in these matters. I have sent to Sir G[eorge] Savile, whose presence, (if he can) would be serviceable, I have wrote to Sir C[harles] Saunders[2], and as I was writing to the D[uke] of Grafton[3], for a place there, have desired his Countenance.[4]

I shall be happy to hear that you are in good health....

[P.S.] I have wrote about the Lancaster affair time, and will write again to day.

1. Bean, Northern Representations, 849.
2. Sir Charles Saunders (c.1713-75), M.P. for Plymouth 1750-54, Hedon 1754-75 (Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90, iii, 405).
3. Augustus Henry Fitzroy (1735-1811), succeeded his grandfather as third duke of Grafton in May 1757 (ibid., ii, 435).
4. There is no letter from Weddell on this matter among the Grafton MSS. at the West Suffolk R.O. at Bury St Edmunds.

No. 86

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM - 29 November 1767

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M., F.49/9

(V)

Hull. I Humbly take the Liberty to Inclose to your Lordship Copy of a Letter I have wrote this Post to Rufforth to Sir Geo[rge] Savile, but as It is uncertain of Sir Geo[rge] being there, Have Presumed on this Method - you will Perceive By this Letter our Present

Situation and therefore I need not Enlarge In a Post or two you shall have more Particulars.

In the mean time Permit me to assure you of the Activity of your freinds and that they will not be wanting In Pursuing Every method Possible for the Interest of your Lordships Recommendation-

No. 87

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO SIR GEORGE SAVILE - 29 November 1767 [Copy]

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.49/10

(V)

Hull. I am Extremely Concerned to acquaint you that we are going to have some Election movements at this Place, I was In great hopes we should have Remained Pacifique whilst nearer the Time, but now affairs seem otherwise - From whatever Cause this Contest arises I cannot directly Inform you- The Steward of Lord Robert Manners Came to Town about Ten Days ago and on His Return to Bloxholme[1] was acompanyed by Mr. Etherington. Mr. Etherington Returned Here on fryday Last and on Saturday It was Declared, that Captain Lee of the Navy was to be Here to offer Himself Candidate, so that whether this Is a Scheme from Lincolnshire or the Captain's own plan we Canot yet Determine but this we see Certain of He will be Here to Day and Canvass soon after.

The Steps we have taken on this ocasion Is to send Expresses to Mr. Weddell at Newby and to Desire His Imediate attendance so that I hope we shall have him with us tomorrow morning, Several of our Gentlemen who was from Home Messangers Have been sent to, and I hope the Party will be pretty strong against Mr Weddells arrival- Mr. Maister Tomson Sykes etc. would be In Town Last Night.

In Regard to this Business of Captain Lee we treat It (at Least the Principles of the Town do) as of no Great Importance but at the same time should It prove to [be] Supported from where I Suspect, the Sooner It Is Nipped In the Budd the Better, and to Do this Effectually the Gentleman whom I have Just mentioned would be Extremely Rejoyced If Sir George would please at this Critical time to Favor us with His Company. This would Indeed Give us the Greatest Assistance and Support, and might be Productive of Material advantages therefore should you not be In London and Can Slip over Imediately, every Person Here would Receive you with open arms and I am Sure

your Presence would Do more Essential Service to the Interest of Mr Weddell and our Party than any thing I Know of, I Durst not Presume to make this Request of my own but It Is the unanimous opinion of all Lord Rockingham and your freinds.

I have taken the Liberty to Inclosed Copy of this to His Lordship and shall with great Submission Inform Him of Every Step taken In this matter.

1. Lord Robert Manners' estate in Lincolnshire.

No. 88

WILLIAM WEDDELL TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM - 30 November 1767

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.49/11

(V)

Hull. I wrote to you in great haste by Express from Newby yesterday. I now just give you a line from hence, having arrived here last night, and begun my Canvass this morning with Success, and with a Great appearance of the Gentlemen here.- I cannot yet find out the Drift of Captain Lee's designs, but have just seen a note from him, declaring his Intention of Canvassing to morrow. He pretends to say he expects an order for the Custom House Gentlemen declaring for him. They are 39, and are Intitled to his freedom, it would be of service if I could have one vote from each of them. I was not without hopes of the D[uke] of Grafton, not being against me, from something that pass'd last Spring, between him and me, on our old acquaintance, which made me trouble you with a letter to him in your Express[1]. I have wrote to Sir George Savile and wish to see him here in my favour. I desire to hear from you very soon, and shall let you know from time to time, how matters go on.

1. Such a letter does not survive in the Grafton MSS.

No. 89

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO WILLIAM WEDDELL - 1 December 1767

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.49/12

(V)

Grosvenor Square. I was extreemly glad on receiving your Letter to find that our Friends in Hull had been so Allert as to send immediately to you and that you was getting into your Post Chaise to get to Hull as soon as you could.

I have heard for some Days of the Intention of Captain Lee and saw him one Morning here, when he informed me that he had receiv'd pressing Invitations to offer himself a Candidate for Hull, he did not fully inform me from whom neither did I much press him, as I chose to have no concern in the Affair and would not therefore be very confidentially trusted. What Line I took I shall inform you and beg you will communicate it to our Friends.

I told him that my obligations to the Gentlemen of Hull for the favourable reception you had met with, and indeed the Friendship with which they have long honoured me, bound me to take no Step whatever in relation to the Candidates at Hull, but intirely to make it my object to be guided by the Inclinations of the many respectable and considerable Persons in Hull, who are and have been our kind and valuable Friends.

That from the best Information when I last saw several of the considerable Gentlemen of Hull and from what has been confirmed to me since, that it appeared to me that the general wish was - that there should be Quiet at the General Election and that therefore I would not take any Step but that if either Lord Robert - or that Administration or any Individual attempted to make a Contest there, I should immediately desire that our Friends in Hull would consider what should be done.

That I should hope they would Strenuously support you, and if it was necessary that another Candidate should be joined with you that then I shou'd wish to know whether any one of the considerable Gentlemen among our Friends in Hull wou'd chuse to Stand along with you, or whether there was any Gentlemen to whom our Friends would particularly incline, or whether they would wish that Sir George Saville and ourselves should try to find out a Person qualified for the Trust.

You will see by this, and I beg you will fully inform our Friends of these being my Ideas and as you are on the Spot, I am not under much uneasiness at the sort of attempt now made, tho' I am sorry it may occasion you both trouble and Expence.

What may be Lord Robert Manners' Intentions I have no insight, probably before this reaches you his Intentions or (if there is a secret among his Friends) that Secret will be known, and our Friends in Hull and you will be better able to judge what should be done, than I can at this Distance and uninformed on that particular.

Sir George Saville is now with me, and we join in our hearty wishes for your success, and join in desiring you will present our best Compliments to all our Friends at Hull and express our desire to know their opinions and advice.

I hope to hear from you again as soon as possible with the Account of what may be the Opinions and Advice of our Friends.

I flatter myself that they will not disapprove of the manner in which I have conducted myself in this Matter hitherto.

No. 90

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM - 3 December 1767

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.49/13

(V)

Hull. I have the great Pleasure to acquaint you that Mr. Weddell, Has nearly finished the Canvas of the Town, and that our Success has been Equal to our most Sanguine Wishes, But In such a Town as Hull their always will be some of Different Conections, for such as those that we Cannot obtain By affection we must work by stratagem for your Lordships freinds are resolved If Possible to be armed at all Points. - Mr Weddell writes this morning to General Honeywood[1] to Request His assistance with Mr. Benjamin Blaydes Junior Ship Builder, who Is a tennant under the General and will In some measure be under the Necessity of Obliging Him. Sir Charles Saunders Letter to this Gentleman would Likewise be of Service and If General Honeywood would be so obliging as [to] Give Mr Weddell [a] General Letter of His Inclinations to His Service, It will be of Great Service to Introduce to Several others who are In the Same Situation as Blaydes and at Present have their Doubt How this may be taken By Lord Robert.

Lord Robert Has not made His appearance as yet but He Is Expected to Day, for my part I am of opinion He will find the Business He will Come upon the most ardous Task He ever Had and when we have fully Secured Mr Weddell we may then Have It In View to propose to your Lordship Some additional Plan, but little Time for Consideration with the manner of His Lordships Reception will Give us the Ground Plan for our future operations - Captain Lee Canvass[ed] the Town attended By the Plebeans amongst which He Has Some Success - but this I don't wonder at from the Interest they have In forming opositions.

Should Lord Granby acompany Lord Robert on His Expedition to this Place then we may hope for the Hon[our] of a visit from Sir George Savile, but Even without this Sir Georges appearance amongst us would be of Infinite Service -

Beverley Is In Confusion, the Bold Lieutenant Meynell Has been there Commissioned by Fordyce Roffeys Partner, this Curious Lieutenant Has been very Busy on those Ocassions, Mr Tuffnell[2] I beleive from the Confusion of the Town will not as yett Determine, and I am Informed Mr. Charles Anderson[3] and Mr Pennyman[4] propose to offer themselves. Whatever Occurs either In our own Place, or our Circle, your Lordship may be assured of the most Early Intelligence.

1. Philip Honeywood (c.1710-85) M.P. for Appleby 1754-56, 1756-1784. Lieutenant general 1760, governor of Hull 1766-85, general 1777 (Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90, ii, 635-6).
2. George Forster Tuffnell (1723-98) M.P. for Beverley, 1761-80. (ibid., ii, 358).
3. Charles Anderson Pelham (1749-1823) M.P. for Beverley, 1768-74, Lincolnshire 1774-1794; he took the additional name of Pelham in 1763; created Baron Yarborough 1794. (ibid., ii, 22-3).
4. Sir James Pennyman (1736-1808) M.P. for Scarborough 1770-74, Beverley 1774-96. Succ. as sixth baronet in 1770, (ibid., iii, 264-5).

No. 91

WILLIAM WEDDELL TO THE MARQUIS ROCKINGHAM - 4 December 1767

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.49/14

(V)

Hull. I was favoured with your two letters by Express last night, which were very Satisfactory, and for which I return you many thanks. We have gone tho' our Canvass in the Town, with great Success, and have now only a few outscirts to look after. I have done something towards those at Beverley, and York. -

Captain Lee goes on Canvassing, and Lord Robert Manners arrived here this morning at six, and is just beginning his Canvass. We are still intirely in the dark, as to any or what connections there may be, they talk of orders to the Customs, but I have not yet heard that they are com'd. Our Friend must take some little consultation in regard to any <u>other Person</u>, and for that reason earnestly wish to see Sir George Savile as soon as he could. I hope he has received my letter before this, and am full as strong in my desire of seeing him on my own account as when I wrote.

The Great point of our friends is to secure my seat, for which indeed I think they spare no pains, and you may be assured I shall do all in my power to preserve your friendship and Interest. at the same time you know I am very young in these matters. - Whatever comes out, I will take the first opportunity to inform you of.
[P.S.] Thank you for your method of conveying my letter to the D[uke] of G[rafton].

No. 92

WILLIAM WEDDELL TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM - 6 December 1767

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.49/15

(V)

Hull. Having just a quarter of an hour on my hands, I thought I could not do better than trouble you with it. tho' I think, I have nothing very new to inform you of. - I have nearly gone thro' the Canvass, with, I believe, very great success. and have taken the Gentlemen at Beverley, and have left those at York to the care of Will Siddall, - Lord Robert meets with many rebuffs, where he was not used to receive them. and Captain Lee still goes on, with good

encouragement, from Votes, (which I should think), might not all prove steady.

Nothing yet transpires as to connections, or Support from London, and I do not yet hear of any order to the Customs. I have had a very obliging letter from Sir C. Saunders, who has also wrote to his friends on my account, I thank Sir G. Savile for his favour, but am much concern'd to find by a letter from, Sill, to somebody here, that he is so much indisposed, as to make a journey impossible. when he can, and finds it convenient, It will give great pleasure to see him here, both to his Friends and to me in particular. I shall hope General Honeywood, will give a letter or two as Governor which may have its Effect, the Trinity House give no hopes to Lord Robert but they have not yet in <u>their collective capacity</u> given their second votes any other way. which is the case with many other good and steady Friends here.

We are quiet and without Mobs, and the Lord keep us so. I have endeavour'd to make your Compliments to all friends, as fast as I see them. I do not find much disposition amongst them, for another man, in the present state of things, nor do I think, we should very much fear the power of Administration, as such.

I am still busy, nor do we mean to be lulled into a fatal Security, tho' I am now <u>posted</u> First, of the three.

No. 93

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM - 7 December 1767

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.49/16

(V)

Hull. From the Hurry and Confusion of our Canvass I had not the opertunity of writing by your Servant Marwage should then have presumed to have given your Lordship my Sentiments.

Mr Weddell Has finished His Canvass of the Town and I can now with Great pleasure and Security Say that your Lordships Recomendation Has found the most agreable Reception, Even more than the most Sanguine of us Could have Expected, almost every Person was Happy to Enlist under your Lordships Standard, I wish we Could before have Catched this General Disposition we then might have played Some other Game, but now I am afraid It would be attended with too much Expence to

attempt It and therefore I beleive for the present It will be most prudent to Rest It with Mr Weddell - but this I will begg Leave to Hint that the Second Man be who It will must Depend Greatly on your Lordship and Sir George Saviles Influence for His Success -

Lord Robert arrived Here last fryday and Imediately Entered upon Business, and after the first Days work was over Acknowledged Himself In the Greatest Distress from the Disagreable Reception, He had mett with, I must own myself I could not avoid being Concerned for Him for what with the Fatigues of His Journey, the Reception of the Town, and a Long Walking Staff, He was the Truist Description of Belisarius that can be Imagined,

As to Captain Lee and the Bold Stroke He has made, for my own part I cannot conceive any Solid Business must arise from It, He has Runn about Acompanyed by nobody, and that He may have Gained Some Promises amongst the Inferior Burgesses Is not to be wondered at, but my Lord whatever Merit Captain Lee may have (and I beleive He has much In His Station) yet He Is not of Consequence Sufficient for this Enterprise and for verious Reasons, every way unfitt to be Introduced to your freinds at this place.

Captain Lee was Certainly Right to avail Himself on your Lordship's assistance, but you will Excuse me for my Sentiments from the Zeal to your Service. It would certainly have been Injurious to your Interest and popularity to have approved of Him for with great pleasure I can Say If we should I think Gone the Greatest Lentghs to your Recomendations, at Least Such as I am Sure, you only would have Sent us -

I am very glad to Inform you the People of Beverley Have Repented their Errors - and Have Invited Mr Tuffnell to Return, as Such He passed thro this Town yesterday and I am now assured His Election will be very Secure, Mr. Charles Anderson will be the other Member[1] -

Mr Weddell will Remain with us about one week more then I hope we Can Release Him with Safety - am Extremely Concerned at Sir George Saviles Indisposition I hope He will not attempt to Come down, another Time will be proper for we have Nothing to Fear.

My Duty and Services are most Sicnerely Devoted to your Lordships Comands.

1. In the end there was no contest at Beverley and Hugh Bethell and Charles Anderson Pelham were returned (Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90, i, 432).

No. 94

WILLIAM WEDDELL TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM - 8 December 1767

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., F.49/17

(V)

Hull. I sent you a letter by monday mornings post, informing you of all, which at that time shewed itself at this place. and indeed I cannot say I have much more to tell you now. tho' I would not omitt thanking you for your favour this day receiv'd, by Messanger from Grantham. I have nearly now gone thro' my Canvass, with the same Success as I began, and really think, the steady votes amongst those who shew themselves my friends on this occasion, are greatly more in Number, than the other Two Candidates can show. We seem to carry it much above them at this time, and I only Lament, the Election is not nearer at hand, than probably it is.

I cannot find out any Connection between Lord Robert and Captain Lee. nor do we yet find out any Superior support, than an affectionate Letter, which he has this morning receiv'd from Sir Edward Hawke[1]. What I mentioned in my last, "that I did not find much disposition in our friends, as matters stand at this Time, for another person", is the Case of this day, what I hear from them now, is, to stand steady as we have began, on our own bottom, and to find out fresh causes, for fresh measures. whatever may happen, I shall take care to advise you of, by the Earliest opportunity.

Sir George Saviles, Ill health, gives me much concern, as well as to all his friends here, who seem truly his, and I doubt not will do all in their power to strengthen his Interest and Friendship. Their attention and regard, which is every day shewn, to your desire of knowing their opinions here, is as much as I can Express. - We talk of orders to the Customs, and of Lord Granby, coming to shower down his popularity in favour of his uncle, but neither as yet are arrived. -

I cannot yet determine the stay I shall make in this place. and which indeed, I shall only determine by the advice of our Friends, and the Events which may arise, from the other two Candidates.

[P.S.] I have got a note for Lord John and will do what I can. General Honeywoods letter will do well.

1. Edward, Baron Hawke (1705-81), Admiral of the Fleet, victor of Quiberon Bay 1759 (D.N.B., xxv, 192-99).

No. 95

WILLIAM WEDDELL TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM - 13 December 1767

Source: Rockingham MSS., W.W.M. R1.-914

(V)

Hull. This being a day of Rest, I dedicate one quarter of an hour to you. more to enquire after you in Town, than to let you into any Secrets here; for I think we have none. - I have been employ'd in running about, and Treating, ever since I wrote to you last, and all with the same appearance of Success. The other two Gentlemen, are still in the same style. Lord Robert seems to follow my plan in regard to Treating etc. as soon as I finish. - He mentioned to me at the play the other night, something of our meeting together before we left this place. but I have communicated that to our Friends, without asking on what Subject it was to turn, or where, or when. I have very active friends on Lord Roberts side, and the same for Mr. Lee. so that our own Bottom, seems clearly the place at present. I am still at a loss to find out, when I may leave this place, Mr Lee gives out that he shall stay till the Election. What his Lordships intentions may be, I know now.

I hope Sir G. Savile amends in his health, and that you continue well.

No. 96

JOSEPH WILLIAMSON TO JOSEPH SILL - 13 February 1768 [Copy]

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., F.49/18

(V)

Hull. I wrote you this Morning and have since seen the Collector who says, he cannot leave this Place before Monday Afternoon, and as soon as he gets to Town he will wait upon Lord R[obert] -

I find B. Blaydes Junior has a point to carry before he will engage, which is that he may have a lease of the Ground belonging to Government part of his Ship Yard. Lord Granby[1] has been to view it and doubtless has promised his assistance and that he will use his Interest with General Honeywood - I mention this that such Steps may be taken as are judged the most adviseable and that the Governor

may be apprized of the Application, he has it in his Power and I hope will fix B[enjamin] B[laydes] Junior for Mr W[eddell] - Ben complains of his Rent being raised since General H[oneywood] got the Government. Lord Robert expects to get the Government of Berwick and it is given out he has proposed to General H[oneywood] an Exchange and that the General has no objection, this has induced some of the Tenants to engage their Votes to Lord Robert for fear of losing their Takes if his Lordship shou'd be made Governor.

Lord Granby is gone to General Burtons to Dinner, he gave the Burgesses here Ten Guineas to Drink.

[P.S.] By the Collector I shall send you some Papers, a more Correct Calculation I will send by H-mm-d - it will be but little different from this -

You will I dare say think it right to acquaint Lord R[obert] on which what has been done about the Governor's Tenants Sherman is not a proper Person to act for the Governor his Inclination is for Lord Robert -

1. John Manners (1721-70) Marquis of Granby, eldest son of the third duke of Rutland, M.P. for Cambridgeshire, 1754-1770. In the 1768 electoral campaign he canvassed the Rutland interest in eastern England with some success. (Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90, iii, 102-6).

No. 97

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM - 18 March 1768

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS. F.49/19

(V)

Hull. I have the Pleasure to Inform You that we have finished our Business for Mr Weddell with Great Majority of Ten to one - and Had we Polled through, our advantages would have been Greater, as we have not made use of any of our Single Votes.

The Captain Gave It up this afternoon, But How the affair will End between Him and Mr Etherington I dont know I am afraid very Bad - Sir Charles and Mr Thompson will be Returned In the morning[1] - we are all happy on those occasions and have Nothing to fear but at Scarborough, that old Fox Sir John, will be too Cunning for Mr. Osbaldiston - and Regard His own Interest only[2] -

Sir George Savile and Mr. Weddell are both In Good Spirits, and as they might be Engaged this Evening was Desirous of omitting no opertunity of Information - I most Sincerely Desire your Lordships Acceptance of my Duty.
[P.S.] for Mr Weddell 774; Lord Robert 545; Captain Lee 308

1. On 19 March Sir Charles Saunders and Beilby Thompson were returned unopposed for Hedon (Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90, i, 434).

2. 'That old Fox' was beaten into third place at Scarborough. Figures were:- George Manners 29; Fountayne Wentworth Osbaldestone 24; Sir John Major 22. (ibid., i, 439). Major had sat for Scarborough from 1711 (ibid., iii, 99).

No. 98

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO WILLIAM HAMMOND - 9 August 1774 [Copy]

Source: Rockingham MSS., W.W.M. R1/1496

(V)

I received your former letter, and have also received your letter dated August the 3rd - I had the pleasure to see Sir George Savile soon after the receipt of your first letter, and which indeed explain'd the matter, and which otherwise I could not have comprehended; for it seem'd odd to me, that the two old Members just at the end of their seven years should discontinue to give the 25£ each, to a Plate for the amusement of the generallity of the People at Hull: Sir George told me he understood that it was the desire of many of the considerable Merchants etc. that this Gift was stopp'd, in order to put an end in future to the Races at Hull, which had been found inconvenient etc. - I confess I should have wish'd that this intention of reformation had been delay'd till next year, as it was easy to foresee precisely what would happen, and that it was just presenting Mr. Shirley with an opportunity to get the Cry, in his favour among the lower Voters at the small expence of 50£: - Your letter dated August the 3rd complains of the supineness of our Friends at Hull, and then attributes the cause to some supposed Neglects in Mr. Weddell:- Mr Weddells ill state of health undoubtedly made him not so active as he would have wish'd, but I am sure you must acknowledge that Mr Weddell in every thing which related to Hull was to the full as active and assiduous, and indeed much more

so, than Lord Robert Manners was, and yet there is no complaint against the inattention etc. of Lord Robert: I am sure in all Business's relative to Hull, the attention show'd on the part of Sir G. Savile and the service he was of, and even the little that I, could do, was of more real use, than the activity of any single Member of the Town either was, or even could be; and I could wish that the Town of Hull should look upon the Member who we recommend as one co-operating with us, and rather as a Middle Man between them and Us, and not suppose that from Himself the Whole was to be expected:- indeed, I consider Lord Robert or any Member who stands upon Ministerial Interest rather as a Middle Man for private jobs for Individuals, and the Member at our Reccomendation as the Middle Man for all publick benifits to the Town of Hull. -

The perplexity and confusion which have already arisen, and which I much wish may not continue, do not come unexpected to me; you know the doubts I had very early, but you was then so clear that there would be no difficulties in carrying into execution a plan which you had entertain'd for some time, that I own I was reluctant to express what in my own judgment I saw too probable to happen, and indeed much the more reluctant because I saw that Sir George Savile was persuaded it was not difficult; and that he very much inclined to it: - I write now the more fully to you, because I think it behoves you to weigh well, and examine how matters stand, and then fairly lay the state before Sir G[eorge] Savile and me, that if it should prove that what is desirable is not attainable, we may not entertain an ill founded expectation, but may early consider whether any thing else, or that nothing can be done. - I have some hopes that the York Race Week may furnish an opportunity of our seeing Mr. Williamson, and indeed if we could see Mr. Masters and Mr Sykes it would enable us to get at a general knowledge of the prevailing opinions at Hull. - It will be too ridiculous and not perhaps very creditable, if Lord Robert on Ministerial, interest, and Captain Shirley on a lively imagination, should be the successful Candidates at Hull inspight of all the weight of the considerable Body of Merchants, the Trinity House, and the Corporation, the want [of] constitutional principles in the town of Hull and may I add inspight also of the kind Friendship with which I Know the generallity of the people at Hull have, and do honour, Sir George Savile and me.

No. 99

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO SIR GEORGE SAVILE - 9 August 1774 [Copy]

Source: Rockingham MSS., W.W.M. R1/1497

(V)

I have received another letter from Mr. Hammond, it is dated August the 3d:- I imagine he will probably have wrote to you at the same time, or perhaps as his letter says he may now be with you, or will be soon.

I see indeed plainly that he begins to take fright. and is doubtful what the Event may be, and is therefore laying in, for Reasons why the Matter may fail: He complains much that our Friends in Hull will not be alert; that they seem very supine, and not so cordial in this business; and which he attributes as he says to some discontent for the want of activity etc. in Mr. Weddell which I do not conceive to have been the cause and I dare say Mr. Weddell was always as attentive as his health would permit, and surely more so than Lord Robert, <u>of whom</u> there are <u>not</u> complaints I enclose you a copy of my letter in answer to Mr. Hammond and which I hope you will approve, for indeed it is necessary that the fair state of the situation of Affairs and the sentiments of the People at Hull should be clearly ascertain'd, that we may not indulge an expectation without a good probability of Success I have been now so long versed in these sort of election business's and know so well, that it is not always Reason, but frequently circumstances, perhaps trifling ones, which turn the scale in the opinions and sentiments of the generallity of people - that I early thought there would be much more difficulty in the plan proposed, than had struck the mind of Mr. Hammond, and as it did not strike him, it naturally led you to incline to beleive his judgment, that in the end there might not be real difficulties.

At any Time this matter would have given me much uneasiness, but indeed at present my whole thoughts are absorb'd in the Ruin and Confusion which will ensue if you should persist in the Idea of declining to be Representative of this County in the next Election:- I have not indeed dared to mention the Idea to any one, except the Dean of York[1]; and to whom I talk'd of it as a doubtful matter: He told me that the Arch Bishop of York[2] had mention'd to him that you had thrown out such an Idea in conversing with his Grace in

Winter, and of which you may remember you inform'd me: The Dean was exceedingly concern'd at the possibility of the Event, and saw it and described it just as I had done to you in respect of the County, and further told me that the Arch Bishop was of the same mind, and had express'd to him, that in the conversation he had with you in Winter he had strongly represented to you the horrid Confusion which such a step would throw this County inn, and also added that he thought you was convinced, and would not be the occasion of so much Confusion. If I had not seen you so much later, this would have given me some ease, but your last Conversations here have left too much ground and dread that as yet you still incline to the step:- I have absolutely a horror of the approach of the York Races, least any thing should tempt you either to make any declaration, or indeed to let such an Idea generally transpire.

I earnestly wish that you would let us all meet again in London before you take any steps of such general importance: Let us have the opportunity of talking it over with some of the most considerable of our publick Friends: I am indeed deeply interested in this, for assuredly if you give up the County, and I must add the public, I have nothing to do but fairly to retire and relinquish all old Ideas relative to Yorkshire, or of being of any service to the Public. - I hope that your health continues well, and that you will not be quite angry with me at pressing you so storngly: I most sincerely declare that I do not think either the County of York or the publick at large would approve of your declining coming into Parliat at this juncture for the County of York: after reading this Letter you will perhaps deem me one of your greatest tormentors, but I am and always have been and Ever shall be...your affectionate Friend.

1. John Fountayne, Dean of York 1747, d.1802 (J. Haydn, The Book of Dignities, (London, 1894), 487).
2. Hon. Robert Drummond, Archbishop of York 1761-76. (ibid., 486).

No. 100

SIR GEORGE SAVILE TO THE MARCHIONESS OF ROCKINGHAM - 10 August 1774

[Copy]

Source: Rockingham MSS., W.W.M. R1/1498

(V)

Sandbeck. Lady Rockingham knows that I have long plac'd her near the head of my list of Politicians, and therefore altho' the letter beginning Dear Sir George and written in the Hand of the Lady is sign'd by the Gentleman, I yet shall write my answer to Wentworth. I gather indeed from the Servant as well as from Lady Rockingham's Postscript that Lord Rockingham does not return to Wentworth between the Northallerton Business and York Races.

All I can at present say of the Hull affair is that York Race Week has been already fix'd upon for taking the last determination; and indeed it is not without difficulty that it is so postpon'd, as I have had by last friday's Post a direct and formal application from one of the public Bodies requesting I would recommend. Answers to such applications can not easily be delay'd without giving oneself an air that would by no means become me. Yet so great is my fear of acting incautiously or without prudent grounds, that I have made a shift to postpone my answer till then. for it is very true I may have underrated the difficulties attending a business of this Kind. I have little, I should rather say, no experience in such matters, nor can I form any judgement but what I collect (as I hope to do at York) from person's whose judgements I can rely upon, whether the leading Bodies and persons can or can not chuse, as a Member ought to be chosen, one to transact their parliamentary business.

Mr. Hammond being now with me here, the Copy of the letter to him has prov'd the original, and serv'd the purpose, supplying the place of the letter itself; which probably is sent to Hull. One circumstance in it must be observ'd upon, I mean that of the Races; the present seeming an ill chosen opportunity to refuse subscribing to them or to try to put them down. Now as I do understand, Mr. Weddell has not subscrib'd for the two last times and by reason of the great idleness and disorder as well as residents mischiefs that have happen'd, there was a general desire they should not be continued; so that it was by no means a beginning now; but doing what Mr Weddell himself had, very properly and at the desire perhaps of the Gentlemen, had since done and is now the third time doing.

At the same time that I allow the caution necessary in this transaction, I must venture to say likewise that the Race is not run, and I see nothing so absolutely hollow after all I know the odds may run high against a scheme attended with some of the circumstances we lye under; and circumstances, as you truly observe, outweight the reason of the thing: But I do know likewise that sometimes these odds lose, and I am sure I can name one instance (I mean the Navigation business) in which, had I ask'd advice two year ago, I could have met with those who would have told me it was no less than madness and an absolute sacrifice of my popularity to take up the Cause of the Proprietors. Nor am I clear that even till within the Distance I was back'd heartily. What I gather from this however is not the certainty but the uncertainty of these affairs. These reflections are far from making me sanguine, on the contrary they make me doubtfull and desponding, and indeed perhaps extend the effects so as to have a share in producing my determination on the other subject where you want to raise my courage and think I am disheartened without reason, as you believe me too forward in the first.

It would give me very great concern to be the Cause of Confusion and Contest in the County. I would contrive and manage in my way to the best of my judgement or by the advice of others, so as to prevent it by the time the mode and all the circumstances of my Declaration. But it is neither honest to the Public nor consistent with my own state of health to undertake to serve the County. I know by what I have experienced that Seven year more, such as any seven, pick them where you will, of those I have serv'd, would be more than I could stand, and in the mean time I should daily fall off from even the little value I am of, and deceive the public expectation, mortify and disgrace my friends and my self. My present thought is to declare it at the Monday's dinner well knowing at the same time that it will be too early or two late or too something or other; but well knowing too that those qualities will belong to every time and every manner of doing it; and likewise most certainly knowing that were I to defer it till London, it would be argued that it was too late, and indeed very impertinent usage of such a County to give them no warning, no time to chuse a fresh servant.

In this matter (I mean the time of my declaration) I wish very much to do for the best.

I am going this afternoon to Rufford and propose being at York on Sunday. Whether it be at all material to send this scribbling after Lord Rockingham your Ladyship can best judge. I do not know where to seek for him in the Intervall (after he has left Newby) between the Register-Election and York. Altho I have said very little that seems new or material I could not avoid, in haste, sending such an answer as the time allow'd me....

[P.S.] I have mention'd that I left it to your Ladyships judgement whether there was any thing material enough in this to send over to Lord Rockingham; but as he is possibly at Newby now I recollect that perhaps I ought not to omit mentioning that in the letter (now a week old) from the Trinity House, a pretty strong dissatisfaction is express'd which perhaps it may seem of consequence for Lord R[ockingham] to be appraised of.

In any case I presume it will be thought right for Mr. Weddel to declare his intentions. The mode of doing it may be a matter they may wish to consult upon.

No. 101

SIR GEORGE SAVILE TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM - 27 August 1774

Source: Rockingham MSS., W.W.M. R1/1502

(V)

Hull. We are now in the middle of the fourth day of our Canvass, and I think there is every appearance of Success that can reasonably be expected.

I beleive it will be in your Lordships power in two particular instances to be of essential Service to us. The Mr. Hodgson[1] whom we entertain some doubts about might probably be Determin'd for Mr Hartley by a letter from Sir Charles Saunders[2]. I shall indeed write to Sir Charles; but your requesting it of Sir Charles would be every thing. Mr Hodgson is a very material person.

The other Case I must state more specially. Mr. Baxby is a great Stickler for Captain Shirley but we are in doubt whether he be an agent or no[3]. Sir George Metham can write with great weight and Effect to him, even if he asks him for Mr. Hartley, and he is

an agent to Captain Shirley it is asking him to prefer Mr Hartley to Lord Robert, because I think an agent should not be ask'd to leave his Employer and I dont know whether you or Sir George would like to ask him to prefer Mr. Hartley to Lord Robert.

This last business is not of a hundredth part the Consequence of the former.

If you write to Sir Charles I will beg you to give him hint not to introduce my name in the letter for, from a circumstance too long to explain here, my name will do no good with him. Sir Charles knows Mr. Hartley well enough to put it on his regard for him without bringing me into the business.

[P.S.] There is one Dixon who supplys your Lordship with Raff deals etc.[4], who reserves himself for your directions. a line will be usefull. I presume a short one from Mr. Fenton expressing your sentiments would be sufficient.

I enclose likewise a list of Persons to whom application should be made if possible[5].

In all these manoeuvres no time should be needlessly lost.

1. This may refer to Edward Hodgson, the 'Mayor's Officer'. He voted for Manners and Hartley (1774 Poll Book, p.13).
2. Sir Charles Saunders (c.1713-75), M.P. for Hedon 1754-7 December 1775. (Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90, iii, 405).
3. John Baxby 'Gent', voted for Manners and Shirley, (Poll Book, p.5).
4. Possibly John Dixon 'merchant' who voted for Manners and Hartley (ibid., 9).
5. Missing.

No. 102

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO DAVID HARTLEY - 12 September 1774

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/1/1

(V)

Hull. You must not think of being Idle when we are so exceeding Industrious - our progress is as well as Could be expected - but not altogether as it Might - as such we must spare for no pains or labor in either securing votes to our selves - or at least prevent them falling into the hands of Enemys - for this reason application must be made to the London Votes - and for this purpose - I have

wrote to my son[1] - and another freind who will I am sure give you exceeding good advice, and I hope for his kind assistance - he being a veteran in the Service -

Sir George is much better but not yet returned to Hull - we ascend the Hill - I think apace but not altogether as rapid as I could wish I am Certain we shall do it - but we must not in the least relax -

I have explained myself fully to my son for your mode of doing this - as such I will refer you to his letter.

1. William Hammond junior. The illustrious second son was George Hammond (1763-1853), first British minister to the United States 1791-95, at the age of 28. (D.N.B., xxiv, 241-2).

No. 103

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO WINCHCOMB HARTLEY[1] - 14 September 1774

Source: Hartley MSS. D.EHy. F113/31

(V)

Hull. I wrote you Inclosed in my sons letter as I did to a freind and you three must Consult what steps can be taken to Come at the London Votes - if you can meet with some Intelligent Hull man he can guide you to them - such a person as may be gratifyed for his trouble, Several of these may be found - I would not recomend any treating as that is what has not been done with us here - Polling at their houses and endeavouring to obtain a promise is all that is needful for the present.

This is a troublesome business but it is absolutely necessary to be done for they are a large body - perhaps it may not be Convenient for Mr. Sill to acompany you to all places - yet I hope it will if it should not he must at those times he cannot acompany you give you his good advice for he is well acquainted with all this work and I beleive has in possesion the old list of the Burgesses residence - or if he has not Mr. Marshall in Saint Martins lane may have it -

I beg leave to repeat it again that the application to these Burgesses is exceeding material - and should you want any letters such as I have sent - you can have some more printed in London - and Can sign for your Brother -

Many of our Burgesses are at work in Deptford yard if you apply to Sir Charles Saunders in Spring Gardens - I do not doubt but Sir

Charles will give you a line to Mr. Hay the Master Builder who will assist you in the finding them out Mr. Hay is my particular freind please to make my Compliments to him.

Sir George is thank God much better and [about] in the County - we are now busy in obtaining promises from those who said before that they could not promise whilst they had seen Lord Robert - he has now finished his Canvass and is very Inclinable to do us all the service in his power.

1. Winchcombe Henry Hartley (?1740-94), M.P. for Berkshire 1776-84, 1790-94, the younger brother of David Hartley. (Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90, ii, 594).

No. 104

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO WINCHCOMB HARTLEY - 24 September 1774

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/1/2

(V)

Hull. According to the plan you have prepared I think you will have a good chance of Canvassing the London Votes very well for our Interest, I believe you will have the first turn or thereabouts Shirley I suspect has some people on this business and now in London, however that will not Interfere with you - Those London Votes are a Corps we do not wish to have either for, or against, they are so exceeding expensive, but it is necessary as far as Civility and good words etc. can go to secure their promises or at least to make some acquaintance with them in Case they should Maraude to the head Quarters at the time of the Election -

To do this business you will exercise your persuasive powers to a promise and if they say that they Incline, to Lord Robert for one vote you can then Intimate that the freinds of Mr. Hartley are likewise the freinds of Lord Robert, and it is their wishes and Interest to go together - however you will do all you can - and I have recomended to my son to take an exact account of their - Names, residence, profession - who they was apprentice with, their freinds and Connections - and who they would wish to oblige, all these matters by Conversation may be obtained and it may be a necessary Advantage at the time of action to be prepared with such Information.

It is for Information and a promise (altho that part is not perhaps Sterling) that we wish to Come at the knowledge of our London freinds for to have such a body unnoticed might be dangerous - however in point of expences we must not be guilty of that Crime - we have been exceeding Chaste at this place and therefore we must not prostitute our selves in any other for was we once to give into a Bachanalian here we should soon be reduced to Common prostitutes, and like poor street walkers would bestow their favors to the last bidder and the last bottle.

We must avoid treats etc. or giving any money let the Consequence be what it will - my freind Sill whose Judgment I have the highest opinion of will I hope approve of this our present mode - which we all in general at this place practice - and we shall endeavour to keep strictly to this Line. I am very happy in your having Mr Sill to advise with he his well acquainted with the business -

Sir George is gone to Sandbeck - your Brother is very well and I believe will Stay with us about ten days to regulate matters etc. - I have no doubt but we shall Carry our point but we must not relax our Industry - by doing two Essential things viz getting all we Can and keeping what we have got.

No. 105

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO WINCHCOMB HARTLEY - 5 October 1774

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. F113/36

(V)

Hull. The moment you receive this go into Surry Street and Inquire of the deputy Clerk of the Crown what is done with the Hull writ - it is not sent <u>but must be Imediately</u> - we have sent an Express - and I have also wrote to a freind -

All will be very well I hope expect Lord Robert and Sir George to day.

[P.S.] The Deputy Clerk is newer but any of the Law folk will tell you the necessary steps.

No. 106

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO WINCHCOMB HARTLEY - 6 October 1774

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. F113/37

(V)

Hull. Upon the receipt of this pray make a Contrivance to have two or three good people your self my son etc., what is required, and attend the places say Inns - where the Hull Coaches Come out - If you could pick up any other Intelligence where Burgesses are to set out from - this will be proper to be done -

Sunday Evening may be a material Evening, and Canvass them for your Brother as much as possible take their names - which make into a small parcil or a little box made as a parcil and send it by the Coach directed to Mrs. Nicholson at the Inn Barton Water Side By Coach

without you can Intrust it to some of the Burgesses themselves to deliver Imediately to Mrs Nicholson who will give it to our friend at Barton Water Side.

The Papers to day Say Lord Chatham is or will be in Administration - your Brother says this is so exceeding Important if true or near truth that you should not lose a moment to have his Lordships authority by letter or some other Contrivance of power and Come down with it Imediately yourself This would absolutely Secure Secure for their are the Government votes only one half disposed of Lord Robert the other remains undecided nay to us doubtful - this would be a great Hammer indeed.

Our Election Cannot be whilst Wednesday - but the writs are not yet Comed - as such for this Important affair we could Continue two or three days....

[P.S.] find out my son -

If Lord Chatham is or is likely to be in administration a line from the Treasury might be very easy acomplished - and that to the Collector as has been done for Lord Robert and was as near as a Eleven pence is to a Shilling promised to your brother and Sir G[eorge] S[avile], if they regard their honor they ought to do it Mr Cooper knows it.

No. 107

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO WINCHCOMBE HARTLEY - 19 October 1774

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. F.113/38

(V)

Hull. I wrote you yesterday and desired you would Imediately retain Mr John Lee and Mr. Beercroft I repeat this that not a moment may be lost for the agent of our opponants is gone to London and will I dar say take this Step - Lord Rockingham and Sir George are exceeding Earnest in this matter - should Lee be not in London you will then find out where he is and write to him, at the same time fix a retainer with his Clerk. Pray take Care of this business -

our Scrutiny here will not take place - for as the Sherriff finished the Election and executed every part of the business - It was Impossible for him to grant a Scrutiny as such if any Opposition it must be before the House but in my next I can explain this affair more fully - I think the business might have been done more Correct but however the Election is Safe and Secure I wish we could have determined without a petition our opponents had yesterday by Express the opinion of Cox a Council - and I am Informed it was to this Effect that as the Sherriff had finished the business before he had agreed to the Scrutiny - in such Case the Scrutiny could not answer any purpose as Such advised them to Petition as the only remedy[1] -

In regard to the Security of our Votes I have not the least doubt as to any thing Else for we have endeavoured to guard ourselves as much as possible.

Your Brother proposes to day going to Mr. Andersons and to remain with him whilst Monday - Indeed it may do him service in his health and mind for we have a very disagreable tour and none in a worse Sectuation than myself however we must do as well as we can, but I will tell you that if our good friend Sir George had done what I recomended and brought with him Mr. Weddels resignation - all these disagreable proceeding would have been avoided - but the Suspicion that I was in the Secret with some others has ocassioned all this violence and I may say opposition - but we must do as well as we can in this present Case and endeavour to act with more resolution and prudence hereafter.

I have not a moment to Spare pray tell my friend Sill so....

1. The petition was presented on 9 December, but withdrawn on the 24th February 1775 (C.J., xxxv, 20, 151).

No. 108

DAVID HARTLEY TO THE DUKE OF PORTLAND - 20 October 1774

Source: Portland MSS., PwF. 4874

(V)

Hull. I was yesterday returned to Parl[iament] for this place with Lord R[obert] Manners. I hear of an intended Petition to Parl[iament][1] against the Election which I cannot attribute to any other Motive than to cover a retreat without confessing a defeat. All our votes here are registred in a Burgess book and well known to each other so that there can hardly be any doubtfull ones. My Majority was 66, and no more than 5 or 6 votes queried upon the Poll[2]. I wish your Grace joy of the increase to your family[3] and hope the Duchess is well to whom I beg my respects.

1. C.J., xxxv, 20, 151.
2. The surviving 1774 poll book gives him a majority of 65 (1774 Hull Poll Book, p.30).
3. William Henry Cavendish Bentinck (1774-1839) Governor General of India 1827-35. (Burke's Peerage and Baronetage. (1980), 2158).

No. 109

LORD MANSFIELD[1] TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM - 1 November 1774

Source: Rockingham MSS., R1/1524

(V)

Kenwood. I brought a Pacquet for your from Paris, and have sent it to your House. I do not know what it is, but it was left with a Message that you, desired it might be given to me. I am glad to hear that you was under no necessity to go to York; I see you have brought your friend Hartley in, I Hope his Secret will save the House of Commons from Fire[2]. I wish they knew how to use it in America. I desire my best compliments to Lady Rockingham.

1. David Murray, second Earl of Mansfield (1727-1796) at this time Minister to France (1772-8) (D.N.B., xxxix, 355).
2. Hartley had invented a form of lightning conductor.

No. 110

RALPH DARLING[1] TO DAVID HARTLEY - 7 December 1774

Source: Oakes Deeds, O.D. 1393/161

(III, V)

Hull. I am oblig'd to you for your favour of the 29th ult. The Pleasure which I received from the intelligence it convey'd was the greater, as it equally prov'd Mr. Beatniff's[2] Integrity, and his Knowledge in his profession. It is very possible for a Lawyer to give an Opinion too recondite (as Lord Chatham might possibly phrase it) for Superficial Minds.

I sincerely give you Joy of your taking your Seat; it requires no deep Knowledge to presage, that the Efforts of your Opponent will be as fruitless as they are futile. I am singularly happy to find from what Lord North told you, that <u>all</u> your Voters were admitted through the Jail, that I was the humane Author of a Contrivance, by which every bad Consequence which could possibly result from a contested Election, was prevented: for if Mr. Hartley's friends past through it the [page torn] it follows that Mr Shirley's Adherents must have had an unmolested passage through the Towns Hall, which was more adapted to their Genius, as it was the broader Road of the two.

From Mr Shirley's Complaint of undue Influence in his Petition (a Copy of which was transmitted hither or rather received here on Monday) I am apt to conceive that Lord Robert will be attack'd on the Score of the Orders issued by him to the Collector of the Customs and the Land Surveyor relative to the Votes of the Officers. Indeed it may be the same thing to Mr S. who is unhors'd, if he can vault into the Saddle; But it behoves Lord Robert to be active in removing any Impressions which that Maneuvre may have made; though it must [be] suppos'd that Lord North will take Care that an Attack of that Nature shall not be attended with serious Consequences to a ministerial Member. Dr. Chambers[3] and my Wife desire to join in my best Respects.

[P.S.] I am much oblig'd to Sir George Savile for the kind Notice which he is pleas'd to take of me.

1. Ralph Darling, mayor elect of Hull at the time of the election. B.B., ix, 435).
2. Richard Beatniff, Recorder of Hull, voted for Manners and Hartley (1774 <u>Poll Book</u>, p.5).
3. William Chambers M.D., voted for Manners and Hartley (<u>ibid</u>., 8).

No. 111

RALPH DARLING TO DAVID HARTLEY - 13 December 1774

Source: Oakes Deeds, O.D. 1393/162

(V)

Hull. I am obliged to you for the Copy of Mr. Shirley's Petition, which answers my Expectation. I observe that Mr. Baxby has sprinkled his Charges with a profusion of flowers, which must necessarily produce the desired effect, as he cannot be wanting in Evidence which will be more favourably attended to by the Committee than such unknown persones as Lord Robert Manners, Sir George Savile, Sir Charles Saunders, Mr. Beilby Thompson etc. etc. etc.

In the Copy of the Petition which was sent down to the Party, Mr Bell was particularly selected as guilty of Bribery etc.[1] but Mr Shirley is not contented with only two Sin - offerings.

I thank you for the hint of the Fast; but we are too rigidly attached in this Place to the Falstaffian Doctrine, to have any connection with Sack-cloth and Ashes; and cannot be prevailed upon at this Season of the Year to abstain from Turkies and minc'd Pyes.

I must acknowledge with Shame and Confusion of face, that it was highly criminal in me to suffer a parcel of careless Attornies Clerks to take Checks upon the Poll-books, which differed from each other[2]; and particularly so, that in a scene of so much confusion and hurry that I should permit the person who took the poll for me to make repeated mistakes in the figures. I can only hope that it may possibly be admitted as some mitigation of my Crime, that there does not appear one Error with respect to the parties voted for; and that instead of using figures, the Poll had been taken in the following form, the Book had been faultless.

	Manners	Hartley	Shirley
John Mace Esq.	1		1
Richard Bell Esq.	1	1	
Benjamin Blaydes Thompson, merchant	1		
Thomas Broadley Esq.	1		1

On the other side I can send you a list of those unpardonable Errors, which as a penance I culled from the Poll-Book[3]. You can see by this State of the Affair, that Lord Robert is the only party who is actually a loser. Mr. Shirley is only comparatively so, as your Number on the Poll is advanced 7, whilst his only gains 2. Please to make Dr. Chambers's Compliments and mine acceptable to Sir George Savile....

1. Richard Bell mayor of Hull at the time of the election, and returning officer. He cast his votes for Manners and Shirley (1774 Poll Book, p.5).
2. Only one book survives at Hull.
3. Missing.

No. 112

DAVID HARTLEY TO THOMAS HOWARTH, WARDEN OF TRINITY HOUSE, HULL - 17 December 1774

Source: Trinity House Letters

(VII)

Golden Square [London]. As acting and resident Warden (with my particular compliments to Mr. Chambers) I address this to you. I have given orders for the votes, the London Packet and the General Evening Post to be sent to the Trinity House. I hope you receive them punctually. I think when I had the pleasure last of meeting my friends at your House, the topic of our conversation was America and the gloomy prospect before us unless some reconciliation could be established with the Colonies. Things are at present in a very critical situation. If Parliament should relent all may yet be well, but if they persist in the same vindictive measures[1] I fear that nothing can be expected but fury and distraction on all sides, farewell to commerce and to our naval strength. There seems to have prevailed lately some appearance of relenting towards America[2] and fortunate will it be if this disposition continues. There are many rumours about, that the administration is alarmed at the consequences of the measures towards America. The very earnest remonstrances from America of her grievances and distress have it is believed shaken their determination. If this Parliament should be inclined to retreat from the rigours and severities of the last, it cannot be doubted but that they will be supported by the general sense and common interest of all the Nation. A few discreet gentlemen merchants of the city of London, have under consideration to facilitate the retreat by some petition to Parliament expressing their fears for the immediate loss of trade and the decline of the navy, together with words of intercession for their brothers in North America[3]. Parliament stands upon Punctilio but upon application and discussion it is hoped they will relent.

I have written this nights post to the Mayor to give my friends an hint to keep their eye upon the possibility of petitions being set on foot to Parliament for pacifick measures with America. I beg to refer you to that Letter. As for my own conduct in Parliament I have already declared for peace and reconciliation. It is a double satisfaction to me that I know, from repeated conversations with my friends at Hull that my sentiments coincide with theirs, particularly the Trinity House having the happiness to act in concert for peace with a much honored brother of that House, Sir George Savile has been out of order but is pretty well again, He joins with me in best compliments to all our friends at Hull and particularly to those of Trinity House.

1. Lord North's coercive measures following the Boston Tea Party (Donoughue, British Politics, 73-126 passim.)
2. ibid.
3. ibid., 146-161 passim.

No. 113

JOHN BAXBY TO THE MAYOR - [Received 19 February 1775]

Source: Oakes Deeds, O.D. 1380/522

(V)

To the Right Worshipful the Mayor the Town Clerk and other Principal Officer and Officers of the Town of Kingston upon Hull

I do hereby give you notice that the Hearing of the Petition of the Honourable Thomas Shirley complaining of an undue Election and Return for the Town of Kingston-upon-Hull will not be taken into Consideration by the House of Commons before the tenth day of March next and that it is not necessary for you or any of you or any one of you to attend the House of Commons before the said tenth day of March next with the Public books and papers which the said honourable Thomas Shirley hath given you notice to produce at the hearing of his said Petition Witness my Hand this nineteenth day of February one thousand seven hundred and seventy five. John Baxby Agent for the said Mr. Shirley Witness Thomas Sherwood.

JOHN BAXBY TO THE MAYOR - [Received 20 February 1775]

Source: Oakes Deeds O.D. 1380/552

To the right Worshipful the Mayor the Town Clerk and other Principal Officer and Officers of the Town of Kingston upon Hull.

I do hereby give you notice that the Hearing of the Petition of the Honourable Thomas Shirley complaining of an undue Election and Return for the Town of Kingston-upon-Hull will not be taken into Consideration by the House of Commons before the Tenth day of March next and that it is not necessary for you or any of you or any one of you to attend the House of Commons before the said tenth day of March next with the Public Books and Papers which the said Honourable Thomas Shirley hath given you notice to produce at the Hearing of the said Petition nor is it necessary for you the said Mayor to attend the House of Commons before the Tenth day of March next Witness my Hand this Twentieth day of February one thousand seven hundred and Seventy five. J. Baxby Agent for the said Mr. Shirley.

No. 114

RALPH DARLING TO DAVID HARTLEY - 20 February 1775

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/1/3

(V)

Hull. Had I known that Mr Smith was in Hull when I dispatched my last letter, I had not troubled you with it: but though he came over the Water on Saturday Night, I did not see him till after the Post was gone out on Sunday Morning. I have given Mr Smith two Orders which I have received from Mr. Baxby since that which I transmitted to you, the one on Sunday, the other on this day. So that day by day, I am the unfortunate Butt at which his Grey goose Quill is aimed.

Libera me Domine must be my Prayer, and I hope there will come a time when it will be in your power to reward his Impertinance. He served one of these ridiculous Summonses upon Mr. Sykes on Sunday, and I presume has played the same farce with every Alderman, as he could have no particular Reason for distinguishing him. I am very glad that it is your Counsel's Opinion that there is no Occasion for my coming up to town, not that I supposed it could be otherwise if Mr S. made such Allegations as must oblige the Speaker officially

to issue such Warrant: is highly probable that he will not be able to give the Committee any further trouble than to meet and reject his Petition as inadmissible on Account of his Mistake on the Point of Qualification. He is certainly very unfortunate on that Subject for Mr Warden Haworth[1] told me that at the Trinity house he informed him and the other Gentlemen, that he had an Estate of £350 per Annum in Kent. How unlucky that Broughton should escape him, when he had this Kentish Estate as Well a[s] Wapenham, either of which would have been amply sufficient for him -

I see by the Papers that you are very serious in your devotions at St. Stephen's, and perform both Vespers and Mattins at a Sitting. -

The Ministry must be greatly distressed about the Event of the American Contest. I wish that conciliatory measures may speedily take place; but surely Lord Chatham's Bill was very imperfectly digested, and could not have figures in a respectable Light in the Statute Book. I wish your Vigils may not impair your Health, which I beg of you to pay some Regard to: for though sitting up late and rising early may be necessary to the Patriot, they certainly will be detremental to the Man. Excuse this scrawl; present my Compliments to Mr. Hammond....

1. Thomas Haworth, warden of Trinity House 1774-75.

No. 115

JAMES SMITH[1] TO DAVID HARTLEY - [Received 26 February 1775]

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/1/4

(V)

Hull. Our friends are so elated with our easy conquest that A Hartley A Hartley is proclaimed thro' the Streets with more spirit than at the Election - Our Enemys who were in that event so terrible are so much ashamed of themselves as to Quarrel with one another for being the advisers of such absurd Measures as they have all along pursued - It will be good policy to make the victory as complete as possible and to make an example of the ring leaders of the other party - You have all the instructions from the Trinity House before You and particularly the conduct of Mr. Baxby - in taking many extracts from the Books, supposed to be no ways relative to the matter in dispute, and refusing to permit the Wardens either to

examine such Extracts or even to see what they were - If such conduct be legal the Speakers Warrant may become an instrument of oppression to [be] made use of for very different purposes than those for which it were granted - I shall not comment further on this part of the Conduct of Mr B. towards the Trinity House as you have already heard so much about it - The late Sheriff and now Mayor had notices Under the Speakers Warrant 3 days successively each contradictory of the other - The first was for the production of the Burgess Books and was sent to you - After Mr. Chandler was gone with them the Mayor received a Countermand of this Notice And the next day a New Countermand with the variations You will observe when you compare them and I now enclose you Copys -

It will be matter for you to consider whether it be lawful to serve Notices in the way these have been - and whether such conduct towards Your friends be not a breach of Privilege - I heartily congratulate You on your success.

[P.S.] N.B. Let me recommend to You - If You give any thing to the Poor Burgesses to give it as soon as you safely can and to take the lead of Lord R.M. - It will ensure your future success.

1. James Smith was described by Bailey's Northern Directory of 1781, as an attorney (p.211). He was later an agent for Walter Spencer Stanhope.

No. 116

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO THE MAYOR OF Hull - 9 March 1775

Source: Oakes Deeds, O.D. 1380/523

(V)

London. As your Corporation in point of expences for the Election Journey is exactly in the same sertuation as the Trinity House I think it my duty to acquaint you that upon an application to Mr Baxby - Mr Shirleys agent - you may - or ought to receive your charges from that person - but provided you apply and he should refuse I have it to say from exceeding good authority that a proper Compulsion will be the Consequence perhaps acompanyed with some other marks of resentment.

You will please to make out Mr Chandlers charges with the addition of daily attendance to what you think proper I believe one Guinea a day is pretty near the Custome but that is as you may think proper -

Should Mr. Baxby refuse you will then in such Case Imedietely transmit the Account to Mr Hartley who will certainly make the proper Application - and I am well assured it must be paid -

In regard to our Established Member Mr Hartley I must Congratulate you on our Success. I do assure you he is not only a man of business but of a most excellent Character even his opponents in Politicks do him that public Justice - and permit me to assure you that I do think him a good speaker - under the mask of an American Agent I was admitted to the debates yesterday - and for the first time I heard our friend - the debate of the day was ocassioned by his motion and altho unsuccessful yet the opposition was very well Conducted.

The Affairs of America have but a Gloomy prospect - clouds and darkness rest upon it The restraining fishing bill is now finished and this afternoon brings forth another bill as a Sword of terror over such part of America - as may not be Concerned in the fishery - It is Intended as a Comercial rod to whip those bad boys who may have any Concern with the Congress or the resolutions of the Said Congress -

But notwithstanding all this Bombast I beleive it is pretty Certain that Taxation that frightful word will be given up provided the Colonys will do it amongst themselves - so that I hope their is a gleem of reconciliation if the unfortunate blow is not given - before this Sprig of the Olive branch arrives -

So much for Politicks for which you are with many others equally as dark, beholden to that great Luminary of the petty fogging Tribe - whom I could wish to hang out in proper Colours as a warning to all the Carrion of the profession -

do not omit the attention to my recomendation it may be productive of other good purposes for which depend upon it I will Spare for no Industry -

My respectful Compliments to Doctor Chambers, Mr Waller[1] etc.

1. Merchant, supporter of Manners and Hartley (1774 Poll Book, p.28).

No. 117

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO DAVID HARTLEY - 8 August 1775

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/1/5

(VII)

Hull. I have your favors as also Hamiltons account - which shall be paid - we have almost finished all our matter - but have exceeded our expectations - the Total very near £22 - I am a good deal in advance but that is not material - I have paid for your account £25 for the races - Lord Robert has done the same and as his Lordship did it there was no avoiding -

You perhaps do not know that Government are Collecting all the things they can and have sent Comissons to this place - one of their plans is to take in Hanoverians and Hessians at Stade and then proceed to Gilbralter and Mahon - exchange the Garrisons and bring these troops to England or America - the other part is to proceed with troops Imediately from Ireland to America what will be the end of all this blundering - pray what is the Congress likely to do - or how will that Assembly finish I perceive no day light but what must rise from that Quarter if they request a Cessation and give the requisition plans a Tryal once more I dar say they must succeed - but then other people must adjust this Important business - the present I am afraid will be deficient in Confidence and understanding - I have no opinion of any of them but Lord North and I really think his Intentions are much better than his Compelled actions it is a great pity he should be entangled with such Company[1] -

We have nothing material Stirring here, all pretty Quiet America gives us Conversation but we have few that understand the business - Next week is our Jubilee at York where I hope to meet Sir George - pray if you have any thing particular give me a line to Mr Cordleys at York - it will give me Consequence as an American politician....

[P.S.] I dine with the Bench to day at the Reverend Mr. Burns - a Charter House Audit dinner we shall be able to adjust the American business - if Thommy Mould[2] is in the Chair.

1. On the formation of North's policy see B. Donoughue British Politics, chrs. 1-5 passim. On the attitude of Hull to the events leading to the outbreak of the war see Ward, Merchants and Manufacturers, 80-83.
2. Thomas Mowld or Mould, a member of a prosperous merchant family concerned in the importation of iron (G. Jackson, Hull in the Eighteenth Century, 96-8).

No. 118

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO DAVID HARTLEY - 20 September 1775

Source: Hartley MSS. D.EHy. 017/1/8

(VII)

Hull. I left Scarborough on Sunday - after receiving the Account of Six Transport Ships being taken by the Provincials two of which belonged to Scarborough -

I did not expect on my arrival at Hull to have found the addressing Contagion so strong but in Imitation of Manchester Lancaster[1] etc. our Corporation had a meeting yesterday and agreed to address Bell, Pool, Etherington and the Recorder are violent they have prepared the Trifle and this day tide Etherington bears it over the Humber to London - arise Sir Harry will Certainly be the Consequence.

They do not Stop with this Corporation address only but propose on fryday to have a meeting[2] Called of the Inhabitants in order to have their Address likewise - and this afternoon I am Informed their is to be a meeting at the Trinity House on the same Subject[3] Staniforth is one of the Wardens, and is violent for addressing - I have had no opertunity to Converse with any of my brethren on the Subject - Except McFarland the other Warden and he seems much against it but I am afraid they will out number us - the American affairs are very little Understood at this place and the only foolish Idea which prevails is bringing America to Subjection.

I will write you again in a post or two and acquaint you with some particulars.

[P.S.] I purpose being in London at the meeting -

1. Both towns had presented loyal addresses to the King condemning the American colonists (P.R.O. H.O. 55/18/55, 55/11/2).
2. B.B., ix, 447.
3. Ward, Merchants and Manufacturers, 81.

No. 119

JOHN GREEN [Secretary to Trinity House] TO DAVID HARTLEY - 23 September 1775

Source: Hartley MSS. D.EHy. 017/1/9

(VII)

Trinity House,Hull. I have by the Command of this Corporation by this post transmited to Lord Robert Manners in London the Address of this House to the King on the alarming Situation of Affairs in North America[1] and requested the same might be presented by his Lordship and you.

And I am directed to beg the favor of you if it is not disagreeable to join his Lordship in presenting the same to the Throne.

The Wardens and Gentlemen desire their respectful Compliments to you....

1. Trinity House Minute Book, entries for 12, 22 September 1775.

No. 120

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO DAVID HARTLEY - 27 September 1775

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/1/10

(VII)

Hull. Since I wrote you last the Conversation of this place has run over with the froth of addressing to avoid the Jargon I have been absent since Saturday in the Country -

The Trinity Houses performance was sent forward on Sundays post and you was wrote on the ocassion I did expect it would have had some variation in point of softening the dispute but I am Informed it is Conveyed in its original Shape, I only arrived from Scarborough the night before the affair was proposed that I had no opertunity to Contrive otherways I think it might have been postponed for awhile and our freind Waller is of the Same opinion and Sorry now he did not say somewhat on the ocassion - however it is now too late and must take its chance -

I have already hinted my opinion about your part of the business do Just as is agreable to your self - and do not let any Ill timed Compliment get the better of your better Judgement by doing what is not Consistent with either your Inclinations or Sentiments -

from the part you have taken you have many reasons to assign for your refusal so that whether you do or do not I think it will not be of great Consequence We that have refused Signing the Addresses have Supported ourselves upon the principle that the time was Improper - that the measure did not appear General - and that before any Steps was taken, we ought to wait the meeting of Parliament - when Explanations would then be given perhaps different to what we was now acquainted with - and further we did not think in the present awkward Situation of affairs that even administration would of themselves wish to be pushed forward Such has been our Sentiments - amongst the Clamarous, that Shuttle Cock Dick Bell has been exceeding Active on this ocassion but this and other particulars I must reserve to Conversation.

The Towns Address was yesterday to be exhibited at the Towns Hall - printed Invitations was sent out with great Industry but alass - with orator Broadley in the Chair and all the Comittee I do not find their were Thirty present and now in order to have a proper number of names Chandler the Towns Husband is going about the Streets Collecting from door to door The Comittee for preparing this mighty address were I. Broadley R. Broadley Mr. Cayley - Jarrett, the Vicar - Kirby Stephenson and one more - it is a most paltry performance - and I must tell you that upon the finish the Comittee have broke their Staff in high dudgeon.

by way of chit chat old Broadley[1] who by the bye had according to Custom to his Selfish principle of Catching all the Ministerial Merit in the business -

Dramatis Persone -

and to begin with the President

The Gentlemen will have no Objections I Suppose to my sending the address to Lord Dartmouth directly - and if that is approved I will pay the expence

III etc. object to that mode, the Custom has been to recomend these matters to be Introduced by the Members as Such Lord Robert and Mr. Hartley are the proper channel but as Mr. Hartleys Sentiments do not Coincide with ours in this business It would be Indecent to request of him what may not be Consistent with his opinion as Such Lord Robert would be at this time the proper Channel of Conveyance

Old Syphax is wrath

If I cannot send it my own way I will have nothing to Say further or with the Expence mind that -

Omnes, It is very well - Exit with a burst of Phlegm - and the staff was broke.

This Account I had from the vicar who by the bye is church militant against the poor Americans - The Corporation address I have not seen Etherington is in London waiting for a Levee he was so exceeding anxious to be the Messanger - that we all think Knighthood must be the Object - I am told this Corporation matter Drawn by Beatniffe is violent - the two others are exceeding Simple[2] -

After all this chit chat you will not think I am very well pleased with this business Indeed I am not and it is chiefly that your Situation will be a little Awkward however as I have said before do Just as you think proper and do not let any Ceremony - get the better of either your Sentiments or what may make your mind uneasy hereafter - all this present business is the flight of the moment - whereas the line of your Parliamentary Conduct as also your future reputation requires more serious reflection than what Consists in the Capricious humours of a Set of people - who catch their ministerial Ideas as they would Butterflyes because they look gaudy and Bask in their Sunshine moments.

I have now said perhaps more than I ought but however it is no more than the pen of freindship has dictated for I would not have you to be in any Situation disagreable - and upon my word I beleive the Safest line will be to avoid the business as to other matters that must be referred whilst I have the pleasure of meeting you in London which may be about the 4th of October I go to Cambridge the 8th and shall stay four or five days I have wrote Sir George.... [P.S.] The Wiliamsons do not address[3] - Mr Sykes left[4] Hull the day the business Introduced Compliments to your good Brother and Sister.

1. Isaac Broadley, merchant and banker (Jackson, Hull in the Eighteenth Century, 150).
2. Tickell, History of Hull, 623; P.R.O. H.O. 55/8/4, 55/11/4.
3. Joseph and William Williamson, merchants of Welton near Hull. Prominent supporters of Rockingham.
4. Joseph Sykes of West Ella, near Hull.

No. 121

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO DAVID HARTLEY - 2 October 1775

Source: Hartley MSS. D.EHy. 017/1/11

(VII)

Hull. Since I last wrote to you nothing has passed material - the address from the town I beleive was sent by post yesterday and I am told you would be requested with Lord Robert to Introduce it - it is a poor performance The Trinity house have received a letter from Lord Robert wherein he says he is in the Gout as such Could not present their address on Wednesday last, but hopes to do it on fryday as he does not mention your name I hope you are in the Country etc.

Etherington writes the Recorder that Lord Robert Gout had prevented the Business being Compleated - but that he (Etherington) had been with Lord North to whom he had shown the address - with which his Lordship seemed much pleased - Etherington gives a Similee about his Lordships Eyes Says they Sparkled for Joy like those of a fine Lady - when you make her an exceeding fine Compliment and that her Ideas flows with expected pleasure yet her seduction is such that she can only Smile and drop a courtesie - pretty Courtship indeed so Captivating etc. Lord North I have always thought as a good Sort of man - bad Company is his only misfortune but how Etherington could think of making remarks of his Eyes is I own very puzzling, I think it was much to Etheringtons advantage that his Lordships Eyes are not very Brilliant.

But to finish with these addresses - I would not have you think nor would I hope Administration should think these matters with us are general several respectable people do not Sign as Sykes Williamsons Masters etc. and most of the dissenters - We could have wished to have had it in different language - more pecifique but it was Smugled by the Bench first, and as to the Trinity House I only Came from Scarborough the night it was proposed - The Towns address was handled from street to Street and the Collecting of names was a weeks hard labor -

We Could Counter-address - but upon the whole we think it as well to remain in quiet and pass over this affair, this Chip in porridge, without troubling ourselves about it.

I can not avoid giving you a Small anecdote of this messanger Etherington so anxious for the Interest of Government - In the Infancy

of our Dock business and whilst the act was passed he was a Subscriber of £1,000 - When we were going to begin with our works and wished to exert our selves as much as possible - as well out of regard to the Service as to fill our Subscription this Gentleman without any regard to Government or any thing that was public Spirited Sold his share as did Porter etc. in short they left us pimpingly in the lurch to pursue our plan as well as we Could - had we had no more regard for Government or the Interest of the town than they had all our business would have been averted in the beginning - and we should have acted shamefully -

I have already Said that in the part you take in this Awkward business - I mean the presenting do just as may be agreable to your self - I am sure you will do right by doing that as to the hereafters never Concern your self about it let the morrow take Care etc.

I hope to be with you in London in about Ten days - you will I expect be preparing yourself against the Awful day when all you, American patriots will like Daniel be Comitted to the Lyons Den - if it is not profanation I should be afraid your persecution would on Tryal Stand a bad chance. And without a prophesy I do think the American Lyon will if he is not appeased tear us all in peices - but we are all in hopes something will be done for acomodation, God send it may.

No. 122

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO DAVID HARTLEY - 10 October 1775

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/1/12

(VII)

Hull. I have your several favors and I have also perused with great attention your letter to the Trinity - I must approve your Sentiments they Coincide with mine fully and I think they are such as must be approved by every man of proper feelings and who has Judgement to discern right from wrong[1] -

We had a meeting yesterday to take your Letter into Consideration and I do assure you the Contents were much approved some of the warm addressers were absent - Indeed I did not wonder at it as I am Certain they possess no arguments to Support the folly of the late measure of addressing -

You will be thanked for your letter this post - in regard to the part you have already or Intend to take let your own good understanding be your guide for as to what is said or done either by acting or Conversation in this place it is only their amusement for the day and for want of understanding the Importance of the business - they Clamour at a venture and in this Case the childish Idea of Subordination is their Hobby Horse - which in this dispute they have attempted to ornament with Cap and bells.

The addresses were managed I do not know how for I was at Scarborough at which place I had resided five weeks - and it was only the morning of my return that they were Started that I can give you a very Imperfect history of the origin, our late friend Bell was exceeding busy - He, the Recorder and Etherington were the Corporation performers; I have not seen that performance manufactured by the Recorder b[ut] I am told it abound with adulation and Lawyer like runs over with Prerogative - It was far from pleasing to several of the bench - and if my Information is right it is not only attackable - but deserving -

That of the Town and which they were a week in Collecting names is as Insipid as Interest Can make it and for the T.H. you know I must not find Fault with that - to Quarrel with the Trinity is one of the first Crimes - but I must say they have acted a very Inconsistent part and such as I am sure our most worthy friend does not merit and how such Conduct is to be reconciled I do not know - I keep my opinion to my self and pass it over as well as I can but beleive me I am much concerned at the folly of their proceedings - but we must defer all particulars to Conversation, and I hope to meet you next week in London Bell I beleive Intends being in London this week - he will Call upon you I suppose to explain his plan of addressing.

Lord Robert is Ill of the Gout as such has not done the business, and Harry Etherington is now at Ealing attending him and his close Stool - I hope they have not misapplyed the addresses but If the Softness of the paper is equal to the folly of the Sentiments - I think the obsequies would do as well at Ealing as St James - I wish much to remove from a Jargon of nonsensical Conversation what very few understand.

1. Hartley had written a long letter to Trinity House outlining his proposals for conciliating the Americans (2 October 1775, Trinity House MSS.)

No. 123

BENJMIN PEAD[1] TO DAVID HARTLEY - 24 January 1778

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/2/10

(VII)

Hull. At the request of many of your Friends here, have now to beg the favor You woud frank about 2 dozen covers, which will acompany this, to convey the found lists to our Coffee House, the rest You will very much oblige Me in doing, Mr. Hammond returned sooner than I expected, or He woud have applyd to You. give Me leave to congratulate You on being my Brother Citizen of London, I wish I coud allso congratulate You, on what I trust You wish, a happy reconciliation with our poor distresd Friends in America, and I as an individual return You my sincere thanks for the pains You have taken to effect it.

[P.S.] 2 dozen for Mattison Coffee House 2 dozen for B. Pead Hull the Bearer will call for ēm a week after left.

1. Benjamin Pead a 'citizen and soap boiler of the City of London' joined John Thornton in 1755 to establish perhaps the most important oil and soap manufacture in Hull (Jackson, Hull in Eighteenth Century, 194-9, 207).

No. 124

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO DAVID HARTLEY - 6 October 1778

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/2/17

(VII)

Hull. I wrote you Mr Sykes Sentiments on Saturday last Since which I have not Seen him but I shall to day and write to you to morrow -

My opinion is that you do it as you originally intended[1] viz to Joseph Sykes Esqr Mayor of Hull or to Joseph Sykes Esqr at Hull - but I think the former gives it much more Consequence if you add to Joseph Sykes and your Constituents - but really I think Simply the first address the most regular - and pleasing to me - it so appears, our freind Waller has dificultys which I do not perceive -

The Brest fleet are Certainly returned - our freind Keppel[2] has made but an Awkward Summer of it for which I am very much Concerned, This Spirit of Privateering gives for the moment a little opium to the People but that will only increase the disorder when the patient awakes - which if I mistake not he must Soon do - with

a vertigo.

1. Hartley was uncertain as to whom exactly to address his Letters on the American War.
2. Augustus, Viscount Keppel (1725-86) Admiral, in command of western Squadron in 1778, he was unsuccessful against the French and was tried, but aquitted, for neglect of duty.(D.N.B., xxxi, 37-42).

No. 125

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO DAVID HARTLEY - 6 October [1778]

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/2/18

(VII)

Hull. I have now seen Mr Sykes - as also our freind Waller - and we are all agreable upon the plan. you take it up but what you do I think should not be seen too near the meeting[1] as some parts might be Catched by the public into the Circulating papers -

I really think that Ministry have something to say for Accomodation their manner of Conducting the war leads to that reflection - and indeed the manufactory of the Country are now in a deplorable State and the Commissioners will Certainly be at home before the meeting to make their report - if any thing obstructs, it will be the french more than America for as to that rest of the business I Should think it is or must be determined to give them Independence - but the french will be very Sore at having so much of their trade distressed - and Consequently - will look for (And expect) retaliation.

I have another Smattering in politicks which is Gibralter to Spain as a douceur for their help in this business - I look upon Gibralter as gone .

I have some exp[ecta]tion of being in London at the opening as [my] son will be bustling about his return to India - you will perceive by the Papers Abel Smith Jnr. is running at Nottingham[2] I beleive he will succeed - Sam Watson is dead and to the Surprise of every body - will not leave much overplus -

I beg to hear from you as the occasion may admit....

1. Parliament re-assembled on 26 November 1778 (Handbook of British Chronology, 542).
2. Abel Smith (1748-79) was returned for Nottingham on 9 October 1778 (Namier and Brooke, Commons, 1754-90, iii, 447).

No. 126

JOSEPH SYKES TO DAVID HARTLEY - 7 October 1778

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/2/19

(VII)

West Ella [Hull]. I have the favor of your Letter of the 30th of September and 1st Instant, and you will find my Sentiments by my last Letter, so similar to those of your own in this last received, that you cannot doubt of my readily adopting them, I never liked the Idea of your Letter being wrote in consequence of an application from any Person.

When we receive the Sheets you mean to favor us with, we will indeavor to settle the form of Address....

[P.S.] I do not receive your Letters till the Post that brings them is gone out therefore I never can answer any I receive till the following Post Day.

No. 127

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO DAVID HARTLEY - 24 October 1778

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/2/20

(VII)

Hull. Our friend Mr. Waller Assured me he should write you in particular to your intended address - we both agreed it should be short and as general as possible your line of distinction, Gentlemen and Burgesses would be very improper - you have two modes of doing it - the one is Short and would be Simply - To the Worthy Burgesses of K upon H - the other which would be more ornamental might run

To the Right worshipful the Mayor and Corporation, the worshipful the Wardens and Corporation of the Trinity House, and the rest of my Worthy Constituents at Kingston upon Hull -

Right worshipful to the Mayor is I beleive his title - worshipful only to the T.H. but I do not know whether it would not be as well to title them both alike viz Worshipful -

According to my Idea Constituents would do better than Burgesses - especially as the business is Parliamentary and in which you wish to have explained to them being their delegate - Burgesses might be more applicable if you were Soliciting their votes - but being in your seat they are then in the actual Capacity of Constituents - I have not the oppertunity of Consulting Mr. Waller to this point - he poor man is but very indifferent I shall go over to him to morrow

In regard to the numbers you purpose Sending over - you must observe that the Corporation of the town Consists of the Mayor, Recorder, and twelve aldermen, the Trinity House twelve Elder Brethren six assistants - twenty to Each with about fifty for the Town might be sufficient.

But I must Observe to you that our freind Waller with his accustomd anxiety is very desirous of looking into the rough Copy he is fearful lest you might exercise your pen too freely - and by that means might hurt your interest - as indeed our Clamerous people have not yet Ceased - and disapointment adds much to the American blister.

I have Assured him as well as Mr Sykes you will guard every thing properly but in a business of this Importance - And where there has been so much Mal administration it is Impossible to avoid probing, and more Especially where the patient is all over diseased if you Can send a Copy prior to your public exhibition it would be agreable -

What will be the Consequences and finish of the Campaign in America, I really think Rhode Island must Capitulate as also New York I do not think they will be able to withstand the united force which must exercise itself against these points, the only [ally] that the whole Continent of America had to Attend and the Spaniards seem going, very fast - we are in a most Miserable Situation - What think you of Johnston, he has got himself into a strange Hobble I think you will have them all at home by the Meeting - it will be a most Curious Mission - you perceive what Johnston says of Mr. Pultneys Conversation at Paris which I find has been the Motive for his being Appointed - I really think they will at the meeting give the most Abject and humiliating Conditions to finish this unhappy affair - bad as that would be yet I think it is much preferable to a Continuation, and struggling against Impossibilities -

[P.S.] It was well I did not desert my last to Greenland for I was much engaged in business when I wrote it.

No. 128

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO DAVID HARTLEY - 5 November 1778

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/2/21

(VII)

Hull. I entirely agree with you in the address - the Right etc. the M[ayor] and C[orporation] - the worshipful the Wardens and C[orporation] of the T[rinity House] - and the worthy Burgesses of K[ingston] upon H[ull] -

The rest of - will not do

I much wish to hear the reading of it and I hope it will be fully circulated.

The meeting draws near and you Certainly will have some material Questions Started - Especially as Lord Howe[1] and Carleton[2] are arrived - Burgoyne[3] told me at Scarborough it was intended to move many matters - and I am informed he with others have been lately at Wentworth[4].

I have a letter from New York which Surprises me much, it is to give me the Account of their going to the West Indies with Ten Regiments the Transports being all victualled to receive them by the 10th of October - this seems as if they meant to abandon America - but yet it is positively Said other Regiments have orders to Embarque for America[5] - Strange maxims seem in Agitation.

I remember it well B.F.[6] disavowed the approbation of the Comissioners or their business - and always declaring they Could do no service.

I am pinched for time will write you again in a post or two some local matters.

1. Howe, William (1729-1814) 5th Viscount. British commander in the American colonies, resigned May 1778 (D.N.B., xxviii, 102-105).

2. Carleton, Guy (1724-1808) 1st Baron Dorchester. British commander in Canada, resigned 1777. (D.N.B., ix, 93-95).

3. Burgoyne, John (1722-92). British general much criticised for his surrender at Saratoga, October 1777. (D.N.B., vii, 340-42).

4. When parliament met in November 1778, the Lords discussed a manifesto issued by the Commissioners for restoring peace with America, Rockingham introduced it into the Lords, and Coke into the Commons. Both houses rejected it. (Parl.Hist., xix, 1388-1402; xx, 1-43). The Commons also discussed the state of the army and navy (ibid., xxv, 46-53).

5. On this point see P. Mackesy, The War for America 1775-1783, London, 1964), 214.

6. Benjamin Franklin.

No. 129

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO DAVID HARTLEY - 22 November 1778

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/2/23

(VII)

Hull. This will I expect find you in London - By yesterdays Post was sent from here a memorial to be presented by you to the Lords of the Admiralty - requesting their Lordships attention to the security of the Humber[1] - surrounded as we are with Privateers upon the Coast I should not be surprised if some of them venture up to Hull and do a great deal of Mischeif to this defenceless place.

The request as you will perceive is to have at least two Ships upon the Station that one may remain in the Humber ready for any exigency if the occasion requires - my ship the Countess of Scarborough is at present the only one of the Station and she is generally - as at this time - to Hamburgh, upon Convoy duty - if we had two they Could then take their turns as Conveys - and the Town would I really beleive be well Satisfyd - I dar say Government Cannot at this time spare a Friggate but they will send you an armed Ship as is the Countess of Scarborough and it is this sort of vessell then I would advise you to apply for the Queen Armed Ship - which belongs to Mr Wilkinson and now lays at Sheilds -

You will be so good as to neglect no oppertunity in executing this Comission of the Trinity - your punctuality and attention will be very agreable to them - and do you much service in their Esteem - write as often as possible let what will be the Stage of the business - and mix with it any other matter you choose - not too much of Political Americans - I have many things to write you which may do this afternoon I am now in haste to some post.

1. A copy of the memorial survives in Hartley's handwriting. (D.EHy./2).

No. 130

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO DAVID HARTLEY - n.d.

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/2/24

(VII)

I expect this will meet you in London - your third letter I have read and like the others it has I do assure you very much my approbation - I must hope our friend will in general take some pains for the Circulation and I should think if Lord Camden and some others in the Lords, Sir George etc. in the Commons were to speak of the performance in their places by way of recomendation for reading (being as well party as political Truism) it would do service, it would induce people to read - and reading those letters - might like Zobits fish remove the film - if they are not stone blind -

Pray neglect no opportunity of finishing that we may have them here - son Billy if you send for him will put you in a way for their Coming by the Coach Waller is afraid of the Secret being out before we are ready to Circulate hitherto I beleive it is only that you intend writing to your Constituents - Pray give me a line what you do and how you go on - I shall be up every post morning (as soon as you are) to look for it - I cannot think but your first day must be very violent and if you do not directly do it you ought to talk of it at least - Impeachment.

No. 131

RICHARD BELL[1] TO DAVID HARTLEY - 25 November 1778

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/2/25

(VII)

Hull. You will do me Justice in beleiving it was not a want of respect that has occasion'd my not writing to You of a long time, rather it was owing to my not having ought material to trouble you with deserving your attention -

Yours has been fully and deservedly taken up, by the unhappy decision which alas you [did not want for] the Colonys, happy had it been for this Country, if the plan you had in your hand, the last time I had the pleasure of seeing you had been adopted[2].

I most heartily wish by your perseverance you may at long last, tho' not make as Successfull, at least help to keep us afloat, till better weather better Men and better measures steer us into security. Be assured you have my warmest thanks for the part you have taken and as an Individual I feele myself happy in having such a Representative as Mr. Hartley As such I am interested, for Landed Property (which is all the property I have) must rise or fall or (if I may be allowd this expression) must sink or swim, just as you Pilots steer your course, if Palinarus sleeps, I hope some English (not heathen diety) will wake and throw him overboard and take the Helm - Excuse my loose way of writing, I am no great Politician but a well wisher to old England -

I have heard there is a Bill likely to be brought into the House this Sessions for the reducing of legal Interest to 4 per Cent. I have been thinking there are three good reasons for it, first it will be for the benefit of Trade, Secondly it will advance the value of Land, which God knows is most sadly reduc'd, and Thirdly if I was Jobbers etc. etc. cannot get more legaly, they may be induc'd to lend to Government (whether legaly or Illegaly I will not venture to say) at 5 instead of 6 per Cent.

These may be, and I'm afraid there are three times as many more reasons against the propriety and practicability of this Scheme, however as it is a matter of some consequence to me, I shall be much oblig'd to you my good Sir, if you will be so obliging to give me your opinion whether there is a probability of such a thing taking place.

[P.S.] Our friend Huntington[3] will be with you soon after this, I believe I shall trouble you with a few covers by him - I beg pardon for the torn paper. I did not see it -

1. An alderman and merchant.
2. Hartley's plan for conciliation of the Colonists.
3. John Huntington, described by the 1780 Poll Book as 'Gent.' In that election he voted for Hartley and Wilberforce (1780 Poll Book, p.13).

No. 132

DAVID HARTLEY TO THE WARDEN AND CORPORATION OF TRINITY HOUSE - 9 December 1778

Source: Trinity House Letters

(VII)

Perhaps you may remember that in my letter of thanks to my very worthy friends and constituents at Hull upon the occasion of their having conferred the honour of their choice upon me, to serve them in the present Parliament I made use of the following words, viz - Permitt me to assure you that it is my determined purpose to cultivate your confidence and esteem to the utmost of my power, by such a mutual intercourse with you, as may convince you, that I intend to keep up that connection which in the very idea of representation, ought to subsist between the Elector and the Elected.

These words were not casual or cursory. I foresaw at that time a train of events, of the utmost importance to the future greatness and Wellfare of this country, was then just treading upon our heels. In this opinion of the then depending course of events, I did at that time reserve in my own mind, the intention of laying before my constituents, any such state of national concerns, as might arrive, and which might appear to be of greater magnitude and importance than the ordinary course of public considerations which are committed to the judgement of a representative assembly, without requiring any special attention, on the part of their constituents. I now think that the period of time is come in which it is fit that our constituents should be apprized of the very alarming state of national affairs.

Considering it therefore as a part of my public duty, to put you on your guard in any case of extraordinary importance, and being desirous at the same time to explain to you, as to my much respected constituents, the motives of my own conduct in Parliament, I have taken the liberty to address to you, some letters upon the American war. You will receive them soon after the receipt of this. I hope and trust in the favourable opinion of my constituents, to believe me when I assure them, that it always has been, and ever will be my sincere intention, to execute the trust which they have reposed in me, according to the best of my abilities, with industry, vigilance and fidelity.

No. 133

DAVID HARTLEY TO THE MAYOR OF HULL[1] - 9 December 1778

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 51 Copies of Letters from the Mayor 1778-95 (VI, VII)

Golden Square [London]. Perhaps you may remember that in my letter of thanks to my very worthy friends and constituents at Hull upon the occasion of their having conferred the honor of their choice upon me to serve them in the present parliament I made use of the following words viz. Permitt me to assure you, that it is my determined purpose, to cultivate your confidence and esteem to the utmost of my power, by such mutual intercourse with you, as may convince you, that I intend to keep up that connection which in the very idea of representation, ought to subsist between the elector and the elected - These words were not casual or cursory. I foresaw at that time, that a train of events of the utmost importance to the future greatness and wellfare of this country, was then just treading upon our heels. In this opinion of the then depending course of events I did at that time reserve in my own mind, the intention of laying before my constituents, any such state of national concerns, as might arise and which might appear to be of greater magnitude and importance, than the ordinary course of public considerations which are committed to the judgement of a representative assembly without requiring any special attention on the part of their constituents. I now think that the period of time is come, in which it is fit that our constituents should be apprized of the very alarming state of national affairs. Considering it therefore as part of my public duty, to put you upon your guard in any case of extraordinary importance, and being desirous at the same time, to explain to you, as to my much respected constituents, the motives of my own conduct in Parliament I have taken the liberty to address to you some letters upon the America war. You will receive them soon after the receipt of this. I hope and trust in the favourable opinion of my constituents, to believe me when I assure them that it allways has been, and ever will be my sincere intention to execute the trust they have reposed in me according to the best of my abilities, with industry, vigilance and fidelity.

1. Alderman Christopher Scott.

No. 134

MAYOR OF KINGSTON UPON HULL TO DAVID HARTLEY - 22 December 1778

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 51 Copies of Letters from the Mayor 1778-95

(VI)

Hull. As the Corporation by their address to the King, made a public declaration of their sentiments respecting the rebellion in North America, they were surprized to find by your letter of 9 December, which I took the earliest opportunity of communicating to them[1], that you had addressed to them a series of letters on the AMERICAN war.

As too short a time intervened between the receipt of your letter, and the publication of your pamphlet, to admit of taking the opinion of the Corporation, whether you should be desired to with draw so much of the prefatory letter as relates to them; - they are under the necessity of declaring publically, that they cannot patronize opinions so inconsistent with the sentiments and the language of their address - I must further add, that it occasioned a general surprise at the meeting of the Corporation, that as your printed letters bear date September 13 and 24, and October 11 and 29, that no letters of such dates were received[2].

1. B.B., ix, 483.
2. The letters were collected together and printed as a pamphlet. (D. Hartley, Letters on the American War. (London, 1778).)

No. 135

JOHN SNELLICK TO DAVID HARTLEY - 28 December 1778

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/2/26, 27

(VII)

Hull. I take the liberty to send you copy of the curious Order by which the Committee of Aldermen thought themselves authorized to write the extraordinary Letter (signed by the wise Mayor) of 23 December directed to you....

[P.S.] Absent Aldermen were Mr. Pool Mr Sykes and Mr. Melling

Copy of Minutes [Bench Book ix 483]

Guildhall Kingston upon Hull 22 December 1778

Present

Mr Mayor
Ald. Bell
Ald. Mowld
Ald. Booth
Ald. Porter
Sir H. Etherington
Ald. Blaydes
Ald. Mace
Ald. Darling
Ald. Outram

Ordered

That the Mayor Mr Bell Sir Henry Etherington and Mr Darling be a Committee to take into consideration the Advertisement in the Newspapers relative to a Pamphlet on the American War publishing by Mr Hartley and take such measures therein as they shall think proper.

No. 136

JOSEPH SYKES TO DAVID HARTLEY - 20 January 1779

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/2/28

(VII)

West Ella. I have the favor of your Letter of the 12th, and I am sorry the Behaviour of my Brethren upon the Bench has been so personally unhandsome, I have not seen one of them these six Weeks, and therefore I am kept quite a Stranger to their Sentiments: I could easily say what they would be were you a Lord of the Treasury, and most heartily do I wish to see you there, and till the best of the Ministry, are joind by such as you of the Minority, there seems little probability and hope for Peace for our distracted and divided Country. In the[se] parts we have hitherto felt little of the Calamitys of War, but just now our Manufactures are but in a languid State. You have Dear Sir the sincere good Wishes of my self and Family.

No. 137

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM - 21 September 1779

Source: Rockingham MSS., W.W.M. R12-3

(VII)

Hull. Yesterday in the afternoon the Mayor of this Town received an Express from the Mayor of Newcastle Informing him that on Sunday afternoon Six Ships of the Enemy appeared off Tinmouth within two Miles of the Shore and were Continuing laying too when the Express came away -

From the Description of those Ships in the letter it certainly is the fleet of Paul Jones viz one of forty or fifty [guns], three friggates, and two smaller Vessells the large Ship had Carried her main top mast away - upon this information a meeting was yesterday in the Evening Called when it was thought proper to dispatch Express to the Holderness Coast but in regard to any Security to depend upon in either the town or our expensive Garrison that was not the Case for it was agreed by every person present that there was not in the whole place a Single Gun safe to fire - another meeting will be held to day when I hope proper memorials will be prepared - we have not a Man o war on the Coast and what I think is most dangerous - is a very valuable fleet from the Baltic of one hundred Ships, under a very weak Convoy - and which fleet from their time of Sailing must be near the Coast -

As any thing arises in this or any other matter proper for your Lordship information I will Certainly Acquaint you with it - [P.S.] Colonel Harvey is with us and attends our Meetings[1].

1. On 20 September Stanhope Harvey, Colonel of the West Riding Militia, informed Rockingham of the appearance of Jones's squadron off the Tyne, and of the request of the Mayor of Hull to attend the Corporation.(Stanhope to Rockingham, Rockingham MSS., W.W.M. R12-2).

No. 138

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM - 23 September 1779

Source: Rockingham MSS., W.W.M. R12-5

(VII)

Hull. In my last to your Lordship I acquainted you of the Account we had received of a large fleet of the Enemy being in these Seas - since the time of my writing your Lordship we have received repeated Expresses from the Coast of Holderness that this fleet which Consists of one Capital Ship four friggates and a lugger were yesterday within two miles of the Shore near Hornsea, Standing first to the northward and then to the southward and by their actions seemd inclinable to proceed into the Humber when the Tide might admit.

We have last Night sent some of our small vessels down to watch their motions and give us the most early intelligence as also to attend to the taking up the Buoys in the Humber - but as the wind was yesterday N E - I dont think they will Attempt the Humber but rather remain upon the Coast to Capture such Ships as may fall in their way and in which they will do great Mischief.

In regard to this place we have not a Gun or a Musket but what is dangerous to fire - Except Colonel Harvey Battalion - letters have been wrote to the Secretary of State Secretary of War, admiralty, and the Board of Ordnance Acquainting them with our defenceless State and that tho we have a most expensive Garrison to the public yet we have not one Single Advantage from it - and it is against private plunder we have in this moment of danger to make a well founded Complaint.

We are equally in the same situation in our marine defence - all we have to trust too is the blunders of our Enemies - which we trust will keep pace with our own....

[P.S.] I hope the State of our Garrison will be thought worthy of a Parliamentary Inquiry.

No. 139

THE MARCHIONESS OF ROCKINGHAM TO EDMUND BURKE - 23 September 1779

Source: Correspondence of Edmund Burke, iv, 128-9

(VII)

My Lord and I, agreed this Morning (as he was setting out) that I should write you two lines, just to inform you that he was gone to Hull, as your astonishment would be more than equal to the Event, if you read it first in the Newspapers; probably with very edifying comments; His going, call'd officious, his not going negligence etc. etc.; but in fact there is but little, in the whole of the matter; and his going there was a sudden resolution taken after he came up stairs to bed; he received last Night two letters from Hull to tell him that an express had come there from Newcastle informing them, that a ship or two of force, and some frigates had appear'd off Tinmouth[1]; By this letter there seem'd a good deal of alarm at Hull, and mention of the fire Arms of the Garrison not being in very good order for defence; my Lord, therefore as

Admiral of the Coasts[2], thought he might as well step over there, and see a little the state of things at that place; I hope his Visit will be acceptable; he had an excellent letter from Colonel Harvey, who I am sure will be most agreeably surprized by his arrival: My Lord means to be very alertly back again by Monday at Doncaster, where the Meeting of the Races begin on tuesday[3].

We are languishing for an account of your travels, which we hear will be curious[4]; if you have wrote them to my Lord he has forgot to shew me the letter. - I will not trust my pen to run on any longer than to offer my Compliments to Mrs Burke and your Son.

1. Tynemouth. The letters were from Colonel Harvey and William Hammond (W.W.M. R.12-2 and 3).
2. Rockingham was also High Steward of Hull from 1766 until his death.
3. Rockingham returned to Wentworth on Monday, 27 September, and went to Doncaster the following day (W.W.M. R12-52).
4. See C.E.B., iv, 139 ff.

No. 140

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM -

Received 24 September 1779

Source: Rockingham MSS., W.W.M. R12-6

(VII)

Alconbury Hill. I wrote your Lordship yesterday - since that time we received at Hull undoubted information that Paul Jones and his Squadron were Entering the Humber upon the flood tide, yesterday at 12 oClock - We also had one of his people to examine that was retaken by the people on board in a vessell which Jones had taken near the Spurn point at the Entrance of the Humber the day before, he had also taken and sunk upon the Holderness Coast fifteen Sail of Vessels.

From this Clear Information Mr Pool[1] and my self, were earnestly Solicited to proceed to London to represent the defenceless State of the Town - and the Danger to our Ships in Harbour Docks etc. as also to the expected Baltic fleet.

We hope to be at the Admiralty by 5oClock - When we shall recomend a force being Imedietely sent down as we have not the Man o War on the Coast or has Paul Jones Seen any to molest him in all his Cruise

I will to morrow morning Call on Admiral Keppel or such of your Lordships freinds as are in Town.

[P.S.] Paul Jones Fleet upon the Coast on fryday were only himself of 44 Guns a friggate - of 36 Guns a Brig - of 12 Guns he decoyed from the Humber, Pilots Which he now has on board

1. Alderman Charles Pool, a merchant and landowner, mayor of Hull in 1762 and 1776 (Ward, Merchants and Manufacturers, 78n. 7, 85-6 n.62).

No. 141

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO THE WARDENS OF TRINITY HOUSE - 24 September 1779
[Copy]

Source: Rockingham MSS., W.W.M. R.12-10

(VII)

London. A post chaise and four good horses landed us safe at the Admiralty this afternoon at 5o'Clock - we imediately Comunicated our business to Lord Lisburne[1] (the only Lord at the office) his Lordship recomended that we should write to Mr Stephens[2] - in the Country and his Lordship would do the same, you have here Mr Stephens abstract answer with a very polite request for our attendance at the admiralty office (to meet Lord Sandwich[3]) to Morrow Morning which we shall most certainly do.

Mr Stephens in his letter[4] says that every possible step has been taken by their Lordships to intercept Paul Jones and his Fleet.

that yesterday two Friggates a Sloop and four armed Vessels - and this Morning another Frigate sail'd from the Nore, to Hosely Bay where they will be joined by a Frigate a sloop and three stout Cutters from the Downs, and were to proceed with the utmost expedition in quest of the Enemy.

Mr Stephens further adds he has sent an Express this Afternoon to the Captain of the Winchelsea of 32 guns in Yarmouth road to join those ships - besides all these the prudent of 64 Guns and 4 copper bottom'd Frigates saild yesterday from Spithead to the

Northward in quest of Jones - they are all strictly injoin'd to use their utmost endeavours to take or destroy this daring Rebel and his Companions, and to intercept the Captures they have made and prevent their getting into the Texel - Dunkirk, or any other place, - From those steps taken and that are now in operation Mr Stephens says There is the strongest ground to hope it will be imposible for Jones to escape.

To the other part of our Comission and which our friends recomended our earnest application for a future security I have only to observe that every thing will be done on our part that a passing Solicitation can accmplish

My worthy Colleague desires to accompany me in his respectful Compliments to the Brotherhood[5].

1. Wilmot Vaughan, first Earl of Lisburne, a Lord of the Admiralty. (G.R. Burns and J.H. Owen, The Private Papers of John Earl of Sandwich 1771-82. (Navy Records Society, i (1932), 440).
2. Philip Stephens, Secretary to the Admiralty.
3. John Montague, fourth Earl of Sandwich (1718-92). First Lord of the Admiralty, 1771-82. (D.N.B., xxxviii, 254-8).
4. The original is presumably in the MSS. of Trinity House, Hull.
5. A similar letter was sent by Charles Pool to the Mayor and Corporation. (W.W.M. 12-9).

No. 142

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM - 25 September 1779

Source: Rockingham MSS., W.W.M. R12-12

(VII)

London. The Admiralty have now dispatchd from the Nore and Portsmouth Sixteen Men o War to look out for Paul Jones, from the directions I have seen I think it is scarce possible for him to avoid being taken.

On our Application to the Board of Ordnance they have at last given directions for Guns and Carriages with small arms, to be sent to Hull - acknowledging as they do of knowing of our wants for some time past, I hope we shall when these articles arrive be more secure, at least from such paltry Enemies as Paul Jones And his Squadron - I have much to Comunicate to your Lord ship

on these negligent transactions....[1]

1. For the Government's promises of assistance, see W.W.M. R12-11, 13.

No. 143

THE MAYOR OF HULL TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM - 27 September 1779

Source: Rockingham MSS., W.W.M. R12-15

(VII)

Hull. It gives me pleasure to be employed by the Corporation to express the Sense they retain of the Obligation which your Lordship conferres upon them as their High Steward by that Attention displayed in the Visit with which your Lordship lately honoured this Town.

A Subscription of the Town being now entred into your Lordship's obliging Offer made of Applying to Government for permission to erect a Battery at your own Expence for the defence of the Town under the directions of the Corporation is obviated even if the Corporation had assented to your Lordship's proposal at the General Meeting but which They must have desired to decline at the time they should have expressed a due Sense of your Lordships Zeal for the Defence of the Town.

I have the Honour also to send your Lordship a Copy of a Letter from Mr Pool to the Corporation[1] which gives Assurance of such a Force being detached as seems fully calculated for the putting a Stop to the depredations of Paul Jones.

1. Missing.

No. 144

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE WARDENS OF TRINITY HOUSE - 7 October 1779 [Copy]

Source: Rockingham MSS., W.W.M. R12-19

(VII)

Wentworth. I should have done myself the Honour of writing to you sooner - in Consequence of the Information which I received from Mr. Hall of the very Polite Manner with which the Wardens and Brethren of the Trinity House enterd into the discussion of some Points relative to the practicable Ideas for the defence of

Hull (against an Attack by Sea) - and on which I had particularly requested to be informed.

I should also have again repeated my thanks to the Wardens and Brethren of the Trinity House for the Civilities and Attention with which they honoured me when I was at Hull.

I shall now proceed to inform you, that immediately upon my return Home on Monday I wrote to the Secretary of State (Lord Weymouth) and to Lord Amherst - stating the Situation in which I found matters at Hull, and giving an Account of the Steps which I had ventured to take, and also stating the Necessity of the Attention of Government to the defence of so important a Town and Port.

I have had the Happiness to receive a Letter from Weymouth - whereof I enclose you a Copy[1], and by which you will see that his Majesty has been graciously pleased to Express Satisfaction on the Steps, which were taken on the late Emergency.

I understand by Lord Amherst's Letter that an Account has been sent to Hull of the Cannon which are ordered there for the Fort.

His Majesty having been graciously pleased to allow me Permission to make a Present of some Artillery for the defence of the Town and Port of Hull, I have wrote to the Mayor on that Subject, and Mr Walker[2] has engaged that the Six Eighteen Pounders which I have ordered, shall be delivered at Hull before this day three Weeks. My wish and desire is that these Six Eighteen Pounders may at present be placed at the Battery in the Artillery Ground.

The Principal Object I have in now troubling you with this Letter, is to recommend and Enforce as much as I can, the Propriety and indeed Necessity of some Exertion in order to carry into Effect, the Ideas which I have Entertained, and which I am still much more confirmed in by the Information of Mr Hall - who has represented to me, that it appeared to be the Unanimous opinion of the Gentlemen at the Trinity House - that a Battery at Marfleet and a Battery and Fort at Pauls were the most Effectual and the most permanent Means for the defence and Security of the Town and Port of Hull.

Experience has taught us, that we can not fully rely on having such a Naval Force on the Coasts as may at other Times prevent our Enemies, who now so sadly outnumber us in point of Ships and Frigates of War, from causing great alarms and perhaps too soon attempting, what may be of Infinite Mischief. I can readily conceive that with good Batteries at the Fort and a Battery at the Artillery

ground and other Batteries - which on an attack, I have no doubt, the Zeal and Spirit of Individuals would raise - Any Attempt, unless by a considerable Force of Ships - would be repell'd, but it is necessary to foresee, that the whole defence of the Town and Port of Hull being made at Hull, the generality of the Balls of the Enemy Ships would strike in the Town, to the destruction of the Houses and Property of many Individuals. I can not therefore think, that any Batteries whatsoever either in the Fort or at the Town of Hull are in any light to be considerd as all that is necessary for the defence and Safety of the Port and Town of Hull.

The Property of Individuals should not be wantonly exposed, the natural Formation of the Humber has offerd the opportunity of the Primary defence of Hull being made at Pauls and at Marfleet, It seems too, as if these Matters might be accomplished without any great Expence. a good Battery at Marfleet would only require a slight Work for its defence - to prevent being seized on by a few Boats' Crews suddenly landing - for as it is within Two Miles of the Garrison and Town of Hull, It would quickly receive support from thence, if it was attacked by Land. I understand also that the Town of Marfleet on an Emergency a Body of Men might have Quarters there in readiness.

At Pauls - as it is Ten Miles by Land from Hull - a Battery there should be erected with a Fort, but such a Fort as might be necessary, could not be very Expensive. For a Fort Sufficient to check an Enemy for Two or three days - would give full Time for Protection to arrive from Hull.

I imagine Mr Wooler the Engineer is arrived by this Time or will very soon be at Hull - I should not doubt his Readiness to concur in assisting and giving full Considerati[on] and even fr[a]ming Plans for Batterys at Marfleet and at Pauls, Mr Wooler has been so long in Hull, that he will naturally, feel Affection for its Security, but he may be rather shy in encouraging any Ideas of the Sort - without directions from Government, who are not the most alert in foreseeing and taking Precautions against danger.

I write very fully and opening to you, Gentlemen, upon the Subject of the defence of the Port and Town of Hull. I consider its Importance, not only in regard to itself, but as being the great Sea Port on the East Coast - The Port for Exportation of the Commerce and Manufactures of Yorkshire, Derbyshire and now

becoming of more and more Consequence to many Branches of the Commerce and Manufacturers of Lancashire.

The Trade to the Baltic is now almost all that is left. I should hope, that if the Corporation and Town of Hull and the Gentlemen of the Trinity House would exert themselves, they would easily point out to Yorkshire, Derbyshire and Lancashire - that the defence of the Port and Town of Hull - was their Cause too, and I should think, that every Addition of Weight and Support ought not to be neglected at this Time. Every degree of assistance which I can be of, I shall very readily exert.

1. Missing.
2. Samuel Walker, the Rotherham iron manufacturer.

No. 145

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM - 9 October 1779

Source: Rockingham MSS., W.W.M. R12-21

(VII)

Hull. I received your Lord ships private and public letter as Warden of the Trinity House, and I have given it a most particular Attention - I have also Called separately on those who I thought might do service when the Affair came in debate at a public meeting -

I purpose this morning Calling (at Eleven) a House to take this your Lord ships obliging offer into Consideration but really I almost despair of doing any Material good, for we are in such a State of indolence and Stupidity as is not to be accounted for - our Mayor does likewise Conduct his part of the office with such inattention and diffidence that there is no such thing as bringing him forward to any proper business - Last night I called on Mr Pool - a very sensible man my late Companion to London and I found with him Alderman Darling and B. Thompson in Consultation on your Lord ships letter they proposing a meeting of to day of their body -

On Mr Pool desiring me to Step into their Conversation I readily agreed to do it - and I think the result of their Sentiments seemd to be to Acknowledge in the fullest manner your Lord ships Zeal and Generosity etc. but as this was a Cittadel supported at a great expence and ought on that Account to have every Supply and every Aid from Government they therefore thought it would be very improper to take from your Lordship what the public at large were obliged

to do and what they beleived the public money did do however mis applied but provided those Articles Could not be obtaind from Government then the Opulence of the town was such that a Subscription must take place to Support the Exigencies for its defence, this Being their Sentiments I expect they will Support them at the Hall to day - And from what I can Collect from the two of three of the Trinity Body they seem of the same opinion but I will do all in my power to Conduct this matter so as whether your Lord ship does give the Cannon or not you may have every degree of grateful attention - I will write to you very fully by your own Servant but this morning I have not a moment to my self -

Paul Jones and his Squadron are arrived in the Texel - <u>this is a Certain Account</u> brought by a Dutch Ship which arrived here last Night - a pretty look out our twenty Ships have kept -

Your Lord ship passed Mr Thom$ Williamson at Welton without a Call - and I am informed he waited at home all day to receive you Pray give him an Apologizing line - he and that family are your first freinds and steady for as to some others they are very much the Contrary. I must apologize for the hurry of the morning.

No. 146

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM - 9 October 1779

Source: Rockingham MSS., W.W.M. R12-22

(VII)

Hull. The letters you will receive from the two Corporations will I hope explain to your Lord ship such particulars as you wished to be informed of, for fear they should not I will give you such further recurrences as may be necessary for your information.

The meeting at the Towns Hall by the Mayor and Corporation <u>only</u> was this morning[1] - it was to take into Consideration your Lord ships letter and for which purpose letters were last Night wrote to the Aldermen in the Country for their Attendance - Etherington and Porter came as also the Recorder but Neither Mr Sykes or Mr Bell - the Aldermen present were the Mayor - Pool - Thompson - Etherington Porter - Mace - Darling Bramston Melling - and the Recorder - the two who might have been of service were absent.

From the private information I have received it has been agreed to refuse with Great Politeness your Lordships obliging offer but as they did not Call to Consultation the Trinity House or the Inhabitants at large (which we of the Trinity think was not very civil), do not know what reasons they have Assigned to your Lordship- to finish this matter relative to our awkward Mayor and some of our Aldermen (his equals in Capacity) I can only say we are much disatisfyed with them for their Smugling this affair and I dar say the Trinitarians will hold the Slight in long remembrance -

I had a meeting this morning at the Trinity House, as also this Evening when we agreed on the inclosed letter[2] - which letter will I hope be acceptable to your Lordship I have Had some Conversation with Mr Wooler[3] to day and intimated to Mr Wooler your Lordships generous intention etc. and my expectation of the Corporation declining the offer - I hinted to Mr Wooler that as the Garrison and fort at Hull was not only the Security of that place but of Yorkshire and Many Counties, - whether if your Lord ship so wished it that notwithstanding the refusal of the Corporation alone - it might not come with propriety upon a general benefit for the Security of all places Connected with the Humber, Hull alone being only the turnpike gate for the Whole - under this Idea if your Lord ship thinks it right to fix your Cannon (<u>with your own arms</u>) upon the great Scale of general Security I think you will do right in doing it and instead of receiving the partial Approbation of this place take it from the extensive part of the Kingdom which has material Affinity with Hull - this is my Idea - Wooler says if your Lord ship Chooses to do this you have only to Acquaint Lord Weymouth with your intentions and he will give the Necessary directions for the Cannon being placed in his Majestys fort at the Artillery Ground - which I think is the proper place - and my opinion is that the doing this will have a very freindly regard from the town at large no matter for the partial fears of two or three Aldermen.

I thought it my duty to mention this Circumstances and I am rather more inclined to do it from Woolers Information that the Ordnance can do nothing, they having neither Guns or money - And I am Convinced of this for when we Applyed for a return of two feild peices to Colonel Harvey he very much wanting them, the Answer was they Could not possibly be spared and private information Assured us they had not two in Store.

In regard to what I have said relative to the Cannon I must beg your Lord ship will only receive it as an Idea without Mature reflection. Your own Judgement will be a more sure guide. This Evening we have an Express from Scarborough which Confirms Jones Squadron arriving at the Texel and giving the Account of Jones Ship Sinking and Another of his Ships being lost on the Holland Coast that the Serapis and Countess of Scarborough having had 100 Killed Jones Ship 200 that the engagement was very severe you will soon have all the particulars. this Arrival of Jones in Holland Under American Colours must perplex the States in their Conduct to the Acknowledgement of American Independance and Sir Joseph Yorke[4] must have a very nice Affair to transact nothing is said of the Captains of our Ships that I hope they are both Safe - I will acquaint your Lord ship with every particular as they arise, and I purpose visiting you at Wentworth in about ten days - as I wish much to Comunicate to your Lord ship several Matters attending our late Application in London - I have forgot to mention that Lord Faulconberg[5] was up for the same business as ours And was very much disatisfyed with his Success the result of which was that nothing Could be done for either the Humber or the East Side of England, not a Single Friggate Could be spared.

The inclosed letters i have received these two posts past I give them to your Lord ship for your melancholy Amusement[6]

1. B.B., ix, 498.
2. Miſſing.
3. An 'engineer' from the Board of Ordnance.
4. Sir Joseph Yorke, envoy to the Netherlands (Haydn, Book of Dignities, 122).
5. Henry Belasyse (1743-1802), succeeded as second Earl Fauconberg in 1774 (Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90, ii, 79).
6. Missing.

No. 147

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE MAYOR - 16 October 1779 [Copy]

Source: Rockingham MSS., W.W.M. R12-33

(VII)

Wentworth. The Letter which I received from you, from the Guildhall dated October 9th[1] has given me much Concern: I should have been very happy to have contributed my Mite towards the Defence of so important a Town and Port as Hull, and I trust that you Sir and the Gentlemen of the Corporation will at least, not take it amiss, if I do not readily relinquish the Idea. - I made the Proposition at the General Meeting (on the friday Morning) which you had so properly Called, and which Consisted of Several Gentlemen of the Corporation, of several Gentlemen of the Trinity House and of many of the respectable Inhabitants of Hull, and also of several Gentlemen who had immediate Connexions with Hull: A Doubt was started whether the Offer of Artillery could be accepted without his Majestys permission: I also remember that you observ'd to me, that as there were not very many of the Gentlemen of the Corporation present, you did not care to venture to take upon you to fix the matter, but that it must be Consider'd by the Corporation, particularly in regard to any thing being done about a Battery on their Premises at Marfleet; I must confess, that the doubt which had been started in regard to the Necessity of his Majestys Permission, appear'd to me to be the chief Obstacle: I got home from Hull on Monday the 27th: and sent off the next Morning by a quick Conveyance My letter to Lord Weymouth; the Copy of his Lordships Letter to me, which I had the honur to enclose to you, would shew you, that My letter conveying the Request to his Majesty was dated September 28th and his Majestys gracious Permission is signified in that letter of Lord Weymouths, which bears the date October 2nd.

I conceive, these Circumstances were not adverted to, at the Meeting of the Corporation which you call'd on occasion of my last Letter; I conceive too, that what relates to the Defence of Hull is a Matter of very general Interest, and that the respectable Inhabitants, the Gentlemen of the Trinity House, and those Gentlemen who have immediate connexion with Hull are all, or should all be concern'd and consulted on any Measures proposed for the Defence of Hull: on the late alarm, you Sir, as I understood proceeded on that ground, and I would urge with great deference that the

same Mode pursued would be the Most probable Means of obtaining an adequate and effectual Defence for Hull: By the Letter which I had the honour to receive from the Trinity House at Hull dated October 9th[2] (and brought by My Servant) I observed with Much Concern, that no Communication of Sentiments with the Trinity House or the Inhabitants at Large had been required on the occasion: I have hesitated in regard to what might be the proper step for Me to take; and I am so convinced that the defence, security, and happiness of Hull so Much depends upon all the different parts co:operating together, that I cannot refrain from recommending that Line of Conduct. - May I ask whether it is <u>now</u> thought at Hull that the placing some serviceable Cannon in the Fort is all the Defence requisite to obstruct an attack by Ships? May I ask whether a Battery of 18 pounders is <u>now</u> thought <u>unnecessary</u> at the Artillery Ground? May I ask whether all <u>Ideas</u> of a Fort and Battery at Pauls and a Battery at Marfleet are <u>now</u> deemed totally unnecessary or ineffectual? It would give me much satisfaction to be assured that a mere Battery at the Fort is all that is requisite: I scarce imagine that any one will be bold enough to answer in the affirmative, and yet, allow me to say, if nothing more is in contemplation among the principal Magistrates of Hull, they would become in some degree responsible to the Town of Hull if any Means of Defence which they could have had were omitted.

I have indeed heard that there is an Idea of applying to Government for some 18 Pounders for a Battery at the Artillery Ground: It will have rather an odd appearance, that the Offer of six 18 pounders which might be placed in the Battery There, and which his Majesty had graciously permitted, was finally not accepted.

I must apologise for troubling you again upon this Subject, I have hesitated for several days, but have at last decided to desire that the matter may be reconsider'd, and I shall be very glad to hear that it is agreeable to the Corporation, the Trinity House, and the respectable Inhabitants of Hull, and the Gentlemen immediately connected with Hull, that the six 18 pounders which I desire to give for the better Defence of the Town and Port of Hull, may form a Battery at the Artillery Ground and be always consider'd as the property of the Town of Hull: I name the Artillery Ground, as I understand it is at present deem'd the most proper and convenient place, but if any other place should hereafter be

thought of, the Town of Hull will exercize their judgment, and place Them wherever they think they may answer the good purpose of aiding in the Defence of the Town and Port of Hull.

1. B.B., ix, 498; Copies of Letters from the Mayor, 9 October 1779, H.R.O. BRL. 51.
2. W.W.M. R12-24.

No. 148

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO JOSEPH SYKES - 16 October 1779 [Copy]

Source: Rockingham MSS., W.W.M. R12-46

(VII)

Wentworth. It would have given me much Pleasure, if I could have had the Time to have paid my personal Compliments to you at your House in the Country, when I was lately at Hull.

The repeated Civilities and Friendship which I have so often experienced from you, makes me always your debtor, and the only Return I can make, at least at present, is the Acknowledging it.

I have been a good deal perplexed with the Letter which I received from Mr. Scott the Mayor in answer to a long and full Letter which I wrote to him and the Corporation, and in which I had the Honour to communicate to them - Lord Weymouth's Letter - with His Majesty's Approbation of the Steps which had been taken when I was at Hull, and also His Majesty's gracious Permission in regard to the accepting of the Artillery, which I had offered to make a Present of to the Town of Hull, for the better defence of the Town and Port of Hull. The Mayor Mr. Scott, as I understand called a Meeting suddenly of the Corporation, and indeed I must say, that it appears to me, that neither the Purport of my Letter, nor some particular Circumstances were at that time averted to.

The Present of Artillery, tho' his Majesty's Permission was obtained - was declined to be accepted, on the ground of the Corporation having wrote to me to that purport on the 27th and 28th of Hull[1] - which Letters they must have known on a Moment's Reflection, that I could not have received, when I sent to request his Majesty's Permission. I must also add that I should have thought, that on it being known that his Majesty's gracious Permission was obtained - that the Mayor and Corporation should with propriety have called

a general Meeting of the Corporation - of the Gentlemen of the Trinity House - of the respectable Inhabitants of Hull, and also of the neighbouring Gentlemen who had immediate Connexions with the Town and Port of Hull. It was at such a Meeting, that the Offer by me, was originally made, and I must say, on so important a Point as anything which may lend to the defence and Security of the Town and Port of Hull - the whole are deeply interested and their Opinions should be consulted.

I dont know whether my long and full Letter to the Mayor[2] was or was not communicated to the absent Members of the Corporation or to any other Persons.

In the very honourable and obliging Answer, which I received from the Trinity House - they say, that they are uninformed of the Answer which the Mayor had given in regard to the Artillery, as no Meeting for Consultation had been desired with the Trinity House or with the Inhabitants at large of the Town of Hull[3].

In this Situation, I hardly could decide how to act, I at last determined to write again to the Mayor to request that the whole Business might have a more full Consideration, and I accordingly have sent by this Messanger a Letter to the Mayor - to which as well as to my former Letter I must beg to refer you.

Surely the Necessity of the Times should make every one incline to co-operate for procuring and attaining that may in any degree tend to the defence and Security of the Town and Port of Hull. Can it be thought by any in Hull, that accepting from me either Artillery or Suggestions for the defence of Hull - could make his Majesty's Ministers less favourable or less alert in taking the Care of Hull upon them - If so, - rejecting the Artillery or Suggestions - may be expected to be considered as Merit, and in that Light, my applying <u>again</u> for a Reconsideration of the whole Matters, will furnish the Opportunity of twofold Merit - by their being <u>twice</u> rejected, and if this should procure more Favour and more Attention from Government, for the defence and Safety of Hull, I shall content and please myself with the Imagination that I have at least been somehow Instrumental in procuring a defence for Hull and that it will <u>not</u> again be in so weak and forlorn a State of defence as it was in - at the late Alarm.

It would give me much Satisfaction indeed, if upon a Reconsideration, a determination was taken to exert and that the Town of Hull

would avail itself of all possible or probable Means for its own Defence and Security. The Object is very important to themselves and to their Country and very particularly so to All these Parts. I wont now recapitulate many of the Arguments I used in my same Letter to the Mayor - I am sure I may rely on your favourable Indulgence and Constructions on my Sentiments and Opinions, - I shall be happy if your Judgement coincides, and with that Hope, I trust you will exert yourself.

1. 27 and 28 September 1779 (See No.143).
2. Missing.
3. See No.146 .

No. 149

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO WILLIAM HAMMOND - 17 October 1779 [copy]

Source: Rockingham MSS., W.W.M. R12-35

(VII)

Wentworth. I have deferred writing for several Days - I thought Matters were getting into a very awkard and unpleasant Situation, and I saw Variety of Difficulties. The Result of my Considering the whole has been - that I should write again to the Mayor and to desire and wish that the whole of my former Letter to him, should be indulged with a Reconsideration. I enclose you a Copy of the Letter[1] which I send to the Mayor by the Servant who brings this. I have also wrote a long Letter to Mr Sykes and to Mr Williamson, and have wrote a few Words to Mr Bell, and have begged to refer to the Two Letters I have wrote to the Mayor - and also to those I wrote to Mr Sykes and Mr. T: Williamson[2]. Colonel Harvey came here yesterday, and says that it had been very Unsatisfactory in Hull, that no general Consultation had been called for by the Mayor etc. I should hope that a Reconsideration would be entered upon - with, good Humour.

I was exceedingly pleased and obliged by the kind and Honourable Letter which I received from you and your Brother Warden and the Trinity House.

I could not adopt the Idea - that I might give the Artillery to the Inhabitants at large - because as they are not a Body Corporate -

and have no other Head or Magistracy - but the Mayor and Corporation, I dont conceive to whom the Care of the Artillery in Time of Peace or the Serving of the Artillery against an Enemy in Time of danger, could be supposed to belong.

I could not adopt the Idea, that I might write to desire Lord Weymouth that Orders might be given - that my present of Artillery - should be mounted on a Battery at the Artillery Ground - by Government.

In the first Place - I should have had no small Difficulty, how to explain - that the Corporation (which the Government would have called the Town) had declined to accept them. The Ministers might have answered by a Question - who are to Man and serve this Battery.

In another Point of View, I also must prefer the Attempt of getting the whole Matter reconsidered, because then the whole purport of my Letter may come into Consideration, and the Suggestions of whether any or what Steps should be taken for the further Defence and Security of Hull will be considered, both inclusively and exclusively of what relates to the Present of Artillery.

Perhaps the Alarm being over, there is not at present much Disposition in Hull to do much, I would conjure them not to Slumber for if they do, I am sure his Majestys Ministers will again fall asleep in regard to any Precautions for the Defence and Security of Hull.

To be sure, Nothing can be more awkard that the State as it now Stands in regard to my Offer of presenting the Town of Hull with some Pieces of Artillery for its defence - I apply for Permission - to which his Majesty graciously assents - the Permission obtained, the Mayor and Corporation reject the Artillery. Perhaps it may be urged, that that they wrote on the 27th and 28th to apprize me, that they wished not to have the Artillery - but my Letter with the Request was gone. If I am blamed for being too alert in attempting to accomplish that which I had engaged to do, and what I thought might be Serviceable to the Town and Port of Hull - I must bear it, as I am too well accustomed to find, that every Attempt to serve and save this unhappy Country - either Wholesale or Retail - is more likely to procure Reproach, than Favour.

I can not help enclosing to you, a curious Extract from the Leeds Intelligencer of October 12th. I find it is copied in the London Papers. Vide.[3]

You will observe it is an Article of News - said to be sent from Hull. I think I have know the Time when so infamous a Falsity would have been contradicted by Authority from the Mayor and Corporation and the Principal Inhabitants of Hull. I hardly know whether it might be right to suggest it. If it was thought proper to be sure the York Paper is the proper one for its being done in - by Authority. I should conceive, that the Mayor and Corporation who have very obligingly thanked me for my Visit and the Brethren of the Trinity House and the very respectable Meeting of the Inhabitants of Hull etc. etc. and who all expressed the most kind and obliging Sentiments - cannot see such a Paragraph without feeling even personally hurt.

But to return to the Point in regard to the Artillery - I confess I think the Mayor and Corporation would in every View do right to reconsider the Rejection.

I have heard that it has been thought that they had an Intention of applying to Government for Artillery for a Battery at the Artillery Ground. Surely they must think that it will appear very odd, that they should make a Request for Artillery for that Purpose, when they must know, that Government must know that his Majesty had permitted me to present them with Six 18 Pounders - which they might mount and which soon at present I had mentioned should be mounted at that very Battery.

Suppose that Government makes the remark - and should say they could spare no more at present, than what were to be mounted in the Fort would not the Mayor and Corporation then rather be in an awkard Situation in regard to the Inhabitants of the Town, who might well be concerned, that Artillery - confessedly wanted - and which had been offered, had been rejected - without any Privity or Consultation with them.

I must hope indeed, that all this will be set right by Communication and Consultation and I hope, also, with good Humour.

I beg you will present my best Acknowledgements to your Brother Warden Mr William Thompson and all the Brethren of the Trinity House, for their very kind and honourable Letter and Sentiments.

I thank you for the Communication of the Letters of Information which you sent me and which I return enclosed. Nothing but Accumulations of distress and Difficulties will I fear for long Time, be the Fate of this Country.

[P.S.] My best Compliments to Mr. Huntington.

I have had a Letter from Sir George Savile from Wigan - He and 300 W[est] R[iding] militia were very alert in getting there and tho' even then too late to prevent much Mischief - yet he says - Much worse would have happened if they had not been so Expeditious -

1. Missing.
2. Favourable replies were received by Rockingham from Williamson, Bell and Joseph Sykes. (W.W.M. R12 40-43).
3. Leeds Intelligencer, 12 October 1779; St James's Chronicle 14 October 1779.

No. 150

THE MAYOR[1] TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM - 19 October 1779

Source: Rockingham MSS., W.W.M. R12-36

(VII)

Hull. Your Lordships Letter of the 16th Instant addressed to my predecessor in Office, Mr Scott, has been delivered to me, and I have the commands of the Gentlemen of this Corporation to do myself the honour to communicate to your Lordship their answer to it -

Your Lordship has been pleased to intimate that it might have been proper for us in a Matter that concerned the Town in general to have consulted the Gentlemen of the Trinity House, and the principal Inhabitants of the Town. I beg your Lordship's attention to the order that was made at the meeting of the 24th September[2], which expressly referred the matter in question to the decision of this Body; and with great deference to your Lordship's opinion I apprehend that in a Case, which solely concerns ourselves, and in which we entertained no doubt, but were perfectly unamimous in our Sentiments, it was as unnecessary as unusual, for this Body to apply to others for advice and assistance. But the resolution concerning the Cannon which your Lordship, refers to, was by no means the general sense of the Town, or of the meeting of the Inhabitants; for your Lordship may remember that that resolution was formed towards the conclusion of the meeting, at a time when the Business was thought to be dropped, and when many of the Principal Inhabitants had withdrawn -

Your Lordship will, however, permit me to express the acknowledgements of this Body for the care you have shewn for the defence of the Town; and as I am persuaded it will be a satisfaction to your

Lordship to see the attention which his Majesty has graciously expressed for our safety and protection, I beg leave to transmit to you a Copy of Lord Weymouth's Letter on this subject....
[P.S.] The Gentlemen of the Bench who were present at the Meeting today at Guildhall were as follows: The Mayor, The Recorder, Aldermen Bell, Pool, Sykes, Scott, Melling, Porter, Mace, Darling and Bramston.[3]

1. Alderman Benjamin BlaydesThompson, a prosperous merchant of Hull.
2. B.B., ix, 494.
3. B.B., ix, 501.

No. 151

[WILLIAM HAMMOND] TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM - n.d. Monday Evening

Source: Rockingham MSS., W.W.M. R12-44

(VII)

I am greatly distressed with the unkind the ungenteel manner the Corporation have treated your Lord ships good and generous intentions - I feel at present and have in this affair felt more uneasiness than I can describe the Ingratitude added to the Ignorance is such that I cannot think of this affair without the more despicable opinion of the managers -

In regard to the meeting it was huddled in the greatest hurry and secrecy - for your Servant arrived late on fryday Evening and that night they sent messangers into the Country to several of the Aldermen with your Lord ships letter, desiring their meeting the next morning for an answer to your Lord ship - all those who are the avowed people of the ministry - attended Mr Sykes and Bell (who should on this occasion have done it) did not attend.

In the first place it was very wrong in the Corporation not to Stay until Tuesday the usual day of business by which means - time would have been taken for deliberation and a general meeting would have been the Consequence - if it then had not been thought right to have accepted the Guns - on account of putting your Lord ship to an expence in what Government ought to provide - all that would have been done honourable to your Lord ship and themselves - but they have done it like a Sett of Porters,

When I was informed of their intended meeting I contrived to have our body in readiness - all the day - that had they requested

our meeting them, we was to be found - they did their business alone - they did one thing very proper in them for they made an order of Secrecy - our House Continues in a State of resentment with the Corporation - and I really do not wish it to Subside -

I am now to acquaint your Lord ship that Scott finished his Mayoralty to day and that they are now Carousing - their annual festival, so that no business Can be enterd upon to day what they will do to morrow I cannot tell - I have not much opinion of the Succeeding Mayor, B. Thompson he has taken a very warm part in the American Contest and seems possessed of many very wrong prejudices -

I do not think they will Call a public meeting they will be afraid of reversing the business that their folly of Self dignity had Established - I have argued it Cooly with some of them and the Answer they gave me that it was a business with the Corporation only -

I have a line this Evening from Mr Sykes but with his accustomd indolence he seems desirous to avoid the Hall to morrow - but I will use every Effort to prevail on him to do it and with Mr T Williamson will Contrive a Consultation - for my self I shall think of nothing Else, but it is exceedingly disagreable to work in so ungrateful a Soil for my own part I am and have been long weary of it and this Slight to your Lord ship after the many kind things you have done for the town - Under my own observation - really brings me to a speculation of residence in some place where I may have at least the happiness of Observing a Just respect for those whom I so much honor - I thank God my situation for my self and family are such that I can take my home where I please.

I ask pardon for troubling your Lord ship in a matter of my own but the Conversation brought it forward - I will only add for your Lord ships Curiosity that during my residence no man has labord more for the public benefit of the town than I have done - And I never in my life had £100 benefit in trade from the place, my transactions having been always in London and even public thanks have not been to me plentiful - but the soil does not furnish it -

I had purposed setting out to morrow to Wentworth - but I will now Stay a day or two to do my utmost to make this matter more agreable, if it is possible to do any thing in it - I wish your Lord ship had wrote a line to the Trinity I then could have made it a matter of business to morrow, but I will endeavour to Contrive

one - I have Mr Staniforth and most of our body in good humour very inclinable to do everything agreable to your Lord ship -

That detestable Paragraph I did not know any thing about until I received your Lord ship letter I shall certainly make a Stir about it to morrow - and I hope I shall find some freinds to join me in a prosecution and to do it Effectually, it is a matter in which the reputation of the town is Concerned.

Tuesday morning

The feasting yesterday prevented my meeting any Person at home and the post this morning setts out so Early that I have not the Opportunity to give your Lord ship any opinions. I am exceeding Anxious to have a Conversation with Mr Sykes and Mr Williamson and have desired to meet them the moment they Come to town -

Annexed you have a list of our Corporation with <u>my private</u> opinion of their principles Capacity etc. etc.[1]

Benjamin Thompson - Mayor - warm against America a freind to the Ministry on that Account - otherwise a good sort of man

Scott - late - a poor Creature without either Judgement or resolution - and so much afraid of doing wrong he never does any thing right

Etherington - Ministerial but totally Ignorant himself of any Contrivance for them - and therefore takes it up from Robinson[2] with whom I believe he Corresponds

Porter - a good naturd and honest man - but the most Ignorant and Incapable of the number, warm for Lord Robert as is his Cousin Etherington

Blaydes - a Ship builder the son in law of Scott - a Wholesale dealer in Trifles and as for his powers and Judgement goes very minsterial

Booth - very Indifferent about Corporation business and avoids attending as much as possible

Melling - apothecary and Surgeon to the Garrison Given by your Lordship at the time Sir George Metham was member - new Ministerial and not very respectful to your Lordship

Darling - a very sensible good sort of man but his Proffession - Apothecary - induces him sometimes to give his good Judgement to very indifferent

Pool - a very sensible and independent man with the most genteel knowledge of any of the bench - he is no freind to Administration - yet he was Concerned in the Addressing and I am afraid in the late letter to your Lord ship he has taken an active part for a reason which you shall be acquainted with

Mace and Bramston - the one is young in Office - the other under Obligation to Lord Robert

Bell - very doubtful in his party - and wants weight

Sykes - might take the lead to which from every Cause he is Intitled but is indolent and avoids as much as possible the Town business - which as party matter is very disagreable

Beatniffe - Recorder - ministerial but a proffesional fee will always Counterbalance

Tuesday Evening - This letter I did intend to send by Post this morning but upon reflection I thought it Safest as it Contained some particular matters to send it by your servant, I need not mention to your Lord ship its being Private.

1. This is a complete list, c.f. W.W.M., R12-34.
2. John Robinson (1727-1802) Secretary to the Treasury, and unofficial election manager (Donoughue, British Politics, 178).

No. 152

PERSONS OF THE MOST PRINCIPAL INTEREST IN THE TRINITY HOUSE AND CORPORATION OF HULL

Source: Rockingham MSS., W.W.M. R12-54

(III, VII)

Mr. Samuel Standige, a principal Man in the Trinity House and Corporation supposed to be for the Marquis of Rockingham's Interest

Mr. John Staniforth, one of the most powerful in the Trinity House, rather supposed to be in the Government's Interest but thought to be a little wavering; tho' totally independent

Mr. John Huntington, in Lord Rockingham's Interest; is well respected and has Part Interest in the Corporation.

Mr. William King, a Man of Address and Interest, but influenced by his Business, being a Policy-Broker and Merchant; the former may or wou'd have some Influence over his Conduct in not taking that active Part he otherwise wou'd -

Mr. William Hammond, a person of much Interest both in the Trinity House and Corporation -

Mr. William Thompson)
Mr. John Wolfe)Elder Brethren of the Trinity House and generally go with the Stream - The two former a little
Mr. Thomas Browne)in Years -

Mr. Richard Thurlow, An elder Brother of the Trinity House, his Interest is not tried but Mr. Hall thinks Mr. Moxon can Influence him -

Younger Brethren of the Trinity House.

Mr. William Sparks, thought to be in the Interest with Mr John Staniforth; a warm and active Man -

Mr. Francis Hall, his Interest not tried but Mr. Hall thinks Mr. Moxon has sufficient Interest to influence him -

Mr. George Schonswar-led by Mr John Staniforth -

Mr. John Harries - in Lord Rockingham's Interest

Mr. John Boswell,)Senior Lieutenants in the Navy and formerly
Mr. William Boswell)a little neglected, but have been lately taken into the Impress Service (late Admiral Hawkes Men)

Mr. Nicholson, Block Maker, has not less than forty Votes under his own Direction and Mr. Hall thinks he will be guided by Mr. Moxon who is next to Mr. Blaides in Influence with him - A Master Ship Builder and has very great Interest.

Mr. Thomas Walton, Master Ship Builder and a Man of some Interest.

Sir Henry Etherington, an independant Man, but thought to incline to the Ministry -

Mr. Alderman Sykes - a powerful Interest, but its thought he will give one Vote with Lord Rockingham -
(Joseph Sykes Esq. West Ella near Hull)

Mr. Williamson, jointly with Mr. Waller - the most powerful Interest in Hull -
(Thomas Williamson Esq at Welton
William " at Hull resident)

From the Corporation of Hull there are several Freemen in London, Lincoln, Gainsbro' etc. etc. at which Places, Agents shoud be appointed that there to begin early before an Election to get acquainted with them and their Connections in Order to find out who has the most Influence with them - And a little Ale properly apply'd, on these Occasions, is of great Service -

No. 153

FRANCIS TAYLOR[1] TO THE YORK COMMITTEE - January 1780

Source: Gray Papers, Y.C.L. MSS. M.25

(VIII)

Hull. Many persons who greatly approve of the Interactions and Resolutions of the meeting at York Tavern on 30 ult.[2], are desirous of knowing, if it was meant that only the nobility, clergy and freeholders should have the honour of subscribing to the Petition, which was there resolved upon. They perceive the word gentleman in the petition but are at a loss to what description of men to

apply it.

I should not have troubled the Committee with this Letter if an opinion was not diligently propagated here, that the Subscribers must be nobility, clergy and freeholders - and even the engrossed petition exposed at this Town has a paper tacked to it signifying that the Subscribers are to insert with their names the site of their freeholds[3] - The notion I entertained from the County meeting will be greatly lessened if all except the nobility, clergy and freeholders are to be excluded from signing the petition: - for several opulent families have no freeholds, especially in trading towns, and when a Reform of the Corruption and Abuse of a State is in agitation, they are surely materially involved in the decision. Even poor men whose little All is of great Consequence to themselves, should not be excluded from assisting in its preservation by way of petition - Many arguments might be brought to prove the propriety of petitions being laid open to all ranks of people. What is to become of the virtual Representation of non-freeholders if they are not allowed to petition for their Rights, Even to their virtual Representatives? - When flattering addresses are to be presented the name of every dependent unprincipled wretch becomes admissible and important; there are better Reasons for Universality when the People are adopting measures to remedy their grievances.

I write at the request of many friends; and your answer will be greatly esteemed by them.

1. There is no mention of him in the 1781 Northern Directory.
2. 'Copy of the Resolutions of the County Meeting...', Manuscript book in York City Library. Y.C.L. MSS. Y 328.42.
3. The Corporation would not allow the petition to be left in the Grand Jury Room to await signatures. (B.B., ix, 507).

No. 154

THOMAS WILLIAMSON[1] TO THE MAYOR - 12 January 1780

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 1386/27

(VIII)

Welton. I have seen a printed Case of the Town and County of Hull relating to Trials in the County of York and of the Alterations thereby intended with Respect to the Removal of Trials to York, which seem framed with great Judgement for the Improvement of Property

and for the more speedy Administration of Justice. I therefore hope the Measure will meet with a general Approbation and will be prosecuted with Success in Parliament.

There is another Circumstance of Importance to all Freeholders of the Town and County of Hull and to the Community at large which I presume to mention to you as peculiarly proper for Consideration on this Occasion. I mean the Exclusion at present from voting for Members of Parliament for Freeholds in the Town and County of Hull, either in Elections for Hull or for the County of York: and therefore this may perhaps be a very desirable Opportunity of obtaining for them so just and constitutional a Privilege, by additional clauses in the intended Bill[2] to enable them to vote as Freeholders at Elections of Members for Hull or of Members for the County at large; in either Case a considerable Number of very respectable Freeholders will be brought to the Enjoyment of their most valuable Franchise, and an additional Strength be given to the Independence and Freedom of Election and consequently to the Constitution -

1. An important iron importer of Welton Hill (Jackson, Hull in Eighteenth Century, 123, 265).
2. Such a bill was probably in the minds of the newly-founded County Association in Yorkshire.

No. 155

THOMAS WILLIAMSON TO DAVID HARTLEY - 12 February 1780

Source: Hartley MSS. 017/2/37

(V, VIII)

Welton. I hope this will meet you in London perfectly recovered and engaged in successfull Efforts for the Salvation of this Country, yet I fear the Reception of the Petitions. Lord Carmarthens Dismission from the East Riding Lieutenancy[1] does not seem to promise Conciliation.

My Idea has consistantly been that the American Warr has been a most unjust ruinous and impracticable Measure, and without so boundless a Power of Influence the Kings Ministers could not have kept the Nation seperated from its first and principal Interest and as the Conciliation which you and meny sincere Friends of the Consitution have proposed have been so frequently rejected, it

has been thought in framing the Yorkshire Petition the more likely to include a general Sentiment by omitting any Description of America and to state as proper Objects of Reformation those severel notorious Grievances of general and publick Corruption and it may be hoped if the proper Attention be paid to them and Redress be obtained we may come round to the other most desirable Event of Peace with America and then the united Efforts of the House of Bourbon would not be terrible - The Conduct of a Warr and particularly the present one carried on at such a Distance and with so enormous an Expence gives numberless Opportunities of undue Influence by Centracts and Douceurs and in that light the Termination of it is most devoutly to be wished by all Friends of their Country. Many are of Opinion the Petition of which you have sent me the Form is a very proper one but that at present it may be desirable to Keep to one Object as most likely to excite a general Exertion I apprehend this or any other which should appear to originate with the Opposition would be very coldly received by the Town of Hull - The Yorkshire Petition was very little encouraged there -

1. Carmarthen was appointed Lord Lieutenant of the East Riding in July 1778, but quarrelled with Lord North and was dismissed on 8 February 1779 (D.N.B., xlii, 287).

No. 156

WILLIAM WALLER[1] TO DAVID HARTLEY - 4 March 1780

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/2/40

(V, VIII)

Cottingham. Since the Letter I wrote you a Week ago, have had an Opportunity of hearing from some particular Friends and I am really sorry that cannot flatter myself with their or my own Sentiments that a Visit here from the York meeting would prove either agreable to you or your real Friends, Such an Infatuation still rages amongst the generality of the People at Hull for countenancing the present Ministry and unsuring those who Oppose them - Your Friends have a gloomy prospect at present for what may happen should the present Parliament be dissolv'd before a Change in the Ministry takes place such a Event happening and you having their Countenance and Support would in all Likelyhood secure your ReElection - I have been so much confind by ill Health for these two years past at Least that

have not been able to Associate in publick with any of the Leading People in the Opposition to come at their Sentiments or form any Judgement of their Intentions, but my Fears are great from what I see these otherways, that wish much you would write to some of your other Friends for their Sentiments, and in the meantime if possible be ready with two Strings to your Bow that if one should happen to fail you may succeed with the other -

this is a very Delicate Affair to write upon, but the probability that some decisive Steps will be soon taken, my Esteem and Friendship for you would not permit me to be less Open than I am in communicating my real Thoughts at the present Crisis and to prevent your being in an Respect misled - Mr. Sykes, Mr. Maister and Dr. Chambers may be proper Gentlemen to write to for their Opinions (Messers Williamsons have seen your Letter and I have communicated their Sentiments) that you may in some measure judge how to act upon such an Important Occasion -

1. Chairman of the Dock Commissioners in the 1770's. (Jackson, Hull in the Eighteenth Century, 245).

No. 157

HENRY MAISTER TO DAVID HARTLEY - 11 March 1780

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/2/41

(V, VIII)

Hull. I beg to thank you and those Gentlemen who were so good to attend on my Account[1]. I am sure you did your best and therefore am satisfied, you have obtain'd something tho not all that was hoped for, may you however succeed as well in the Bill you are upon and you will have the thanks of all who you would wish to receive them from -

1. Clearly Maister was unable to attend a meeting of the County committee of which he was a member. (Copy of Resolutions Y.C.L. MS. Y 328.42).

No. 158

BENJAMIN PEAD TO DAVID HARTLEY - 19 May 1780

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/2/48

(V)

Hull. As Mr. Wilberforce is now canvasing for the next Election[1], makes Me trouble You with this Letter to request knowing if You have determind to offer again for this Place, or not as I have promisd to support your Interest with what little influence I may have. You will be kind enough to inform Me (if You think it right) either to make it publick, or not as You please. I sent You in Winter a Turkey and Hare I think, hope they came safe. believe Me with much esteem....

1. As well as canvassing the town, Wilberforce was writing to out-voters. Seven letters survive covering the period 25 May to 22 September 1780, in the Wilberforce House Library, Hull.

No. 159

BENJAMIN PEAD TO DAVID HARTLEY - 26 May 1780

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/2/49

(V)

Hull. I was favord with both yours. Mr. Wilberforce first begun at the time I wrote You to apply in a private manner to the principle People, and last Tuesday met both the Corporations, and offerd himself publickly, and yesterday the inclosd advertizements came out together. that You must Judge for you self what is proper to be done[1], I have done my endeavor to secure You what Interest I am able, but this is a new busyness to Me and indeed what I am not cut out for and I have asurd the Town by telling Individuals, You intend offering your self. Mr. Philip Green who was your Opōsser last time I think You shoud write to directly, and in my oppinion woud now be your Friend. in anything I can be servicable You may rely on....

[P.S.] some People declare against any Man Mr. W. Hamond may want to bring in. that You will take your own measures on that head.

Saturday Morning 27

Mr. W[ilberforce] is I am informd, indeed He met my Wife Last night and told her, He was to have a company of his Friends to breakfast this Morning to consult what was needfull to do. and told her He

should send Me a Card but has not that I know. He has not yet canvasd publickly with his Friends as customary, only by him self.

1. Missing.

No. 160

THOMAS WILLIAMSON TO DAVID HARTLEY - 26 May 1780

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/2/50

(V)

Welton. I have the favor of your Letter desiring a Line of Information as to what is going on at Hull respecting the Canvass for the next general Election.

You will see by the printed Addresses of Lord Robert Manners and of Mr. Wilberforce that they are Candidates and I understand by some of your Friends that some Address should be immediately made to the Burgesses if you design to offer your Services and if it may not be convenient to canvass personally before the rising of Parliament.

Mr. Wilberforce has declared his Intentions not only in Print but also to the two Corporations of the Mayor and Aldermen and the Trinity House, and has solicited the votes and Interests of the principal Burgesses, I have not heard of his Friends attending him on a public or general Canvass.

My Retreat from Business and from Hull and consequently from any Interest or Influence there, precludes me from any competent Judgement of what may be proper on your Part in the present Circumstances I shall be very glad that the Redress of Grievances now shamefully eluded, may be obtained in the ensuing Parliament.

No. 161

WILLIAM WALLER TO DAVID HARTLEY - 27 May 1780

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/2/51

(V)

Cottingham. I had yesterday Evening sent me from Hull your Favor of the 23rd May Instant containing your declaration of standing further as Candidate to represent the Town of Hull in the next parliament.

I sincerely wish you much Success in the Attempt and am greatly sorry that my ill state of Health will prevent my being of that Service to you I wish to be, for I am still confined here and likely by what I can perceive shall be much longer - Inclosed you have two printed Advertisements which I received along with your Letter by which you will see you have extreme old Age and extreme youth to contend with - what Sort of a Reception you will receive from the Towns People is not in my power to inform you as have had very little Society amongst them for these 2 or 3 years past owing to my ill state of Health - when you have found a time for being at Hull you will do well to appraize some of your Friends thereof that they may endeavour to engage a respectable Sett of Gentlemen to accompany you in your Canvas - I do not like the Complexion of the Hull People their backwardness to accede to the general Association shows their principles pretty clearly.

As you have determind to offer yourself again it will be highly adviseable Sir George Savile be desired to write to Messers Milnes of Wakefield to write to Mr. John Stephenson in your Favour without delay if he cannot be made a Friend he may by then be made a sick Antagonist - Mr Sykes in Derbyshire - Colonel Maister and Major Williamson with the Militia.

No. 162

LORD ROBERT MANNERS TO THE MAYOR - 29 May 1780

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 1386/58

(V)

Grosvenor Square [London]. In consequence of an information from several of my Friends at Hull, that some Gentlemen were solliciting your Votes for the ensuing Election, I must beg leave to assure you, that my Sole Ambition is still to continue one of your Representatives.

The very flattering Partiality I have so long experienced in being the constant object of your Choice for upwards of 30 Years, makes me more Ambitious of still retaining this Mark of your Confidence. - I must therefore beg and rely on that kind and steady Support which I have so longer experienced, and that nothing can disolve that mutual regard and Connection which hath so long subsisted between us, as the Honour and Interest of your Corporation, hath

always been the object of my Attention to the very utmost, having ever promoted their Interest in preference to any Connection of my own -

I am only concerned that it is not in my power to Visit you in Person at present, and the more so, as my Son Captain Manners[1] is now employed in the Service of his Country and in the defence of our Property and Commerce, with the Forces under our Gallant Admiral Sir George Rodney[2] and General Vaughan[3]: But hope that I shall have the honour before the End of this Parliament to assure you of my Zeal and Attachment to the Corporation, and your Interest; and that I am with the most Sanguine Wishes of an Old and Trusty Friend....

1. In 1780 Robert Manners (1758-1823) was a captain of the 86th Foot. (Namier and Brooke, Commons, 1754-90, iii, 107).
2. George Brydges, first Baron Rodney (1719-92). Given command of the fleet off the Leeward Islands in 1779, he took part in various operations and won the Battle of the Saints, 12 August 1782. (D.N.B., xlix, 81-87).
3. Sir John Vaughan (1748?-1795) Leiutenant General. He was given command of the forces in the Leeward Islands in 1779, and co-operated with Admiral Rodney in attacks on St. Vincent and St. Estatius. (D.N.B., lviii, 168-9).

No. 163

DAVID HARTLEY TO THE WARDENS OF TRINITY HOUSE - 30 May 1780

Source: Trinity House Letters

(V)

Golden Square [London]. Having lately been informed that a canvass is actually begun at Hull for the next Election, I think it would be the greatest omission of respect in me towards my worthy friends of the Trinity House, if I did not take the first opportunity of expressing my gratitude for the favours which I have received from them on a former occasion, and the great anxiety which I feel for the continuance of their favour and honourable support. As the present Parliament is not within a twelve month of its legal dissolution, I was afraid of appearing precipitate by beginning a canvass at too early a period. But as I find that other Gentlemen have already begun their canvass for the next General Election, I now take the liberty of soliciting your Countenance and support

in my favour. Parliamentary business (as my friends well know) is, and for many years been, in a manner, the only occupation of my life. I have no other merits to claim but such as the kind partiality of my friends, has been pleased to rank under the title of industry and attention. If I may likewise be permitted to flatter myself, that my worthy friends of the Trinity House, will give me credit for a disinterested conduct, I would feel myself encouraged by such an opinion, to entertain an agreeable hope of the further continuance of their most respectable patronage. I shall hope to have the honour of waiting upon my friends at the Trinity House in person as soon as the business of the present session shall be finished.

No. 164

DAVID HARTLEY TO THE MAYOR - 30 May 1780

Source: H.R.O., BRL. 1386/59

(V)

Golden Square [London]. Having been informed that a Canvass is begun at Hull for the next General Election The first duty which I feel incumbent upon me is to express the high sense of gratitude which I feel for the distinguished marks of your favour which you were so good as to confer upon me at the last Election, before I can even presume to express any anxiety, for the continuance of them, upon the approaching occasion. I shall do myself the honor to wait upon Gentlemen of the Corporation in person as soon as the business of the present Session shall be finished, and if I shall be so happy as to become the object of their future choice, I shall allways endeavour to make myself deserving of their favours by diligence and disinterestness. As it is to be presumed in the ordinary course of Law that the present Parliament will continue for one Session longer I shall be very happy to receive your instructions in person respecting the application for an annual assize and (as I am informed) respecting an intended plan for the improvement of the town by rebuilding the Goal[1]. - Permitt me to assure you that the utmost limit of my ambition will allways be to seek the approbation of my Country and the good will of my Constituents.

1. The assize plan came to nothing, but the new gaol was sanctioned by act of parliament in 1783 (23 Geo III.c.1v [1783]).

No. 165

THOMAS WHARRIE[1] TO DAVID HARTLEY - 1 June 1780

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/2/52

(V)

Hull. As you have received Lord Roberts Address of 20th, and Mr. Wilberforces of 24th ult., I have to Advise you to Appear personally as Soon as you Can, Mr. Wilberforce Canvased yesterday for the 1st Time and he Send a Card to me On Tuesday Morning and An Other to my Son to request Us both to Accompany him, but Neither of Us appeared, he Called On Me On Saturday Alone, wee had Near An hours Converse together, I told him I was Inc[lined] to Appear in his favor, but Should not Engage with No Gentleman whatever Untill I knew your Mind, being resolved to espouse your Interest, he Seemed very well Pleased, and thanked me Copiously Speaking very respectfully regarding his Opinion of you, Some of your Staunch friends, has I know, Advised him to keep Unconnected; Meaning with Lord Robert, you have I belive Several firm friends, Some I fear Otherwise, and Soone I think wavering Ones, Several that was at your Last Election Strong Oposers, I know will at the Succeeding One, Exert them Selves to the Utmost in their Power, and those of Some Weight and Consequence, that I Am Clearly of Opinion the Sooner you Appear here, your Interest will be the More promoted.

1. Thomas Wharrie was described by the 1780 poll book as a wine merchant. He cast his votes for Hartley and Wilberforce (1780 Poll Book, p.29).

No. 166

THOMAS WASNEY[1] TO DAVID HARTLEY - 3 June 1780

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/2/53

(V)

Hull. Yesterday Morning I received your Favor of the 30th ult. with some Copies of your Advertisement, two of which I immediately laid in each of the Rooms of King's Coffee house and gave the others to two Gentlemen in Town - about noon some other Copies of the same Advertisement, which had been printed here, were circulated in the Town - Mr. Wilberforce began his Canvass on Wednesday morning attended (as I was informd) by the Mayor, Mr. Alderman Bramston,

Marmaduke Collings, Mr. William King, Mr Richard Howard and his Son, Mr Jonas Brown; Mr. James Smith, Mr Josiah Prickett and Mr. Thomas Frost, Attorneys; Mr. William Joliffe, Mr John Crompton[2] etc. etc. he continued canvassing that Day, Thursday and yesterday, and, I have been told, with very great Success suppose he will continue until he gets thro' the Town and Neighbourhood, his Advertisement has appear'd in one or both of the York Papers and in some of the London Papers.

I have inclosd a second Advertisement of Lord Robert Manners which was circulated Yesterday - there was another Advertisement circulated on Wednesday morning, before Mr Wilberforce went out, requesting that your Friends would not engage their Votes and Interest as You would certainly wait upon them personally so soon as your Duty in Parliament would permit - The mention of Mr Wilberforce Success in his Canvass was made by two of his Friends; some, who ardently wish for your Success, say that You seem to have more Friends than they expected, that several have declar'd in your Favor whom they did not think of. Another very disagreeable Report is current in the Town viz: that a Mr Nicholson, a Blockmaker[3], has declard that he will prepare an American Falg with the Head of Dr. Franklin in it, that this Flag with a British Flag over it, and other Emblems of Contempt shall be carried before You at your Entrance into the Town if You come in the Ferry Boat from Barton - should any such Step be taken by him or any other violent Person, it might cause great Riot and Disturbance, which way every One here has Reason to dread from two Instances of Riot and Disorder which have happen'd in the last 15 months; and which thro' the Supineness of the Civil Power, were sufferd to rise to a height unknown before in this Town -

on this Account I think it would be most prudent for you to come either by way of York, or from Barton to Hessle and so to Mr Thomas Williamsons at Welton, or in some other manner that You think most proper, so that the Time of your Coming into Town may not be known -

in this, Sir, is an Account of Fact and the Report which have com'd to my knowledge; You, I am persuaded, will judge of them very properly; If anything more occurs that I hear of before You come down, I will inform You of it....

1. The occupation of Thomas Wasney may be contained on the missing final page of the 1780 poll book. Bailey's Northern Directory describes him as a grocer (p.212).

2. Using the 1780 poll book, which may be inaccurate, the following may be identified, together with their votes:
Edmund Bramston, Esq. - Manners and Wilberforce (p.4).
Marmaduke Collins, Esq. - Hartley and Wilberforce (p.7).
William King, merchant - Manners and Wilberforce (p.17).
James Smith, bricklayer - Manners and Wilberforce (p.24).
John Crompton jnr., mercer of London - Wilberforce (p.7).

3. Thomas Nicholson, block maker, voted for Manners and Wilberforce (ibid., 20).

No. 167

LORD ROBERT MANNERS TO THE MAYOR OF HULL - 6 June 1780

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 1386/61

(VII)

Grosvenor Square [London]. That no time might be lost respecting the business of the Assizes at Hull, I yesterday morning sent to Mr. Hartley to consult him on the mode of applying to the Chancellor[1] and Judges, upon which he sent me word he could not see me this morning; but on his return from the City would endavor to call on me, accordingly he did at ½ past 12 oClock - he then told me the Chancellor was very ill and nothing could be done, says I, had I not seen you I should have gon to the Secretary and desired him to shew this letter to the Chancellor and to let me know when I could have the honor of waiting upon his Lordship.

Upon which Mr. Hartley was struck with the thought and said he would go and do exactly so - he did so and returned to me again about ½ past 4 (in the carriage where I then was riding) after seeing the Secretary, who told him nothing could be done at present untill the Chancellor was better. This I would have communicated to you last night but I could get no body to write for me - Lady Robert[2] being fatigued after her return from Court and my Steward was out of the way - together with much commotion in this place thro' the Violence of a Tumultious Mob, who for their passtime have been employed in pulling down and Burning Houses and Chapels etc - Assaulting members of both houses of Parliment, rioting and Parading about - last night they broke into Sir George Savils House, striped it and burned the Furniture to make a fire[3]. It is also Mr. Hartleys oppinion and mine that nothing can be done with the

Judges yet a while as several removes is now expected to take place amangest them - we are ready to aquess with Lord Camdens[4] opinion and Mr. Thorntons, that nothing can be done in it but by an act of Parliament or a Grant from the King. This I mentioned to you in a letter some weeks ago.

However so soon as the Chancellor is better and any probability of meeting with the Judges, we will certainly make use of the first opportunioty in the procecution of this business to the utmost in our power.

I received the favor of your letter by last nights Post.... [P.S.] Mr Hartley shewed me your letter which corrasponds with mine and we agreed to write our oppinions - his letter I suppose was received before mine.

1. Edward Thurlow (1731-1806), 1st Baron, Lord Chancellor 1778-83, 1783-92. (D.N.B., lxi, 344-49).
2. Manners married Mary Digges of Roehampton, Surrey on 1 January 1756, by whom he had three sons and two daughters.(Namier and Brooke, Commons, 1754-90, iii, 107).
3. Savile believed generally in religious toleration. In 1778 he had introduced a bill for Catholic relief (Namier and Brooke Commons 1754-90, iii, 407). He thus fell foul of the Gordon rioters who first demolished his coach and then ransacked his house in Leicester Fields, burning his furniture in the square. (C. Hibbert: King Mob [London, 1958] 18, 38, 62).
4. Charles Pratt, 1st Earl Camden (1714-1794), Lord Chancellor 1766-1770 (D.N.B., xlvi, 285-88).

No. 168

BENJAMIN PEAD TO DAVID HARTLEY - 6 June 1780

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/2/54

(V)

Hull. I had a few Lines last night from Mr Waller and the Inclosd to forward to You, indeed I am a very poor hand at this kind of work as I think I wrote You before, I have order'd one of your own advertizements to be printed in the York papers[1] which I presume will be as well as any I coud insert. I have wrote to Mr John Royds of Halifax, to stir up our Friends there, and will gladly do any thing I can, indeed I have tryd every means I can think off. Mr. Pelham shoud be applyd too for Lincoln votes which You I suppose can do as He is in London -

our young Candidate goes on Canvasing, and they have got promises enough, if there Accounts are true and they are not of the pye crust order, I will to Day send my Clerk over to Patrington and try if He can get any freemen there. I enclose You Mr Wallers Letter to me by which You will see You want help[2], He poor Man is ill, and I am very helpless that wish to have your advice, or You woud get some abler hand....

1. York Courant, 8 June 1780.
2. Missing.

No. 169

WILLIAM WALLER TO DAVID HARTLEY - 10 June 1780

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/2/56

(V, VII)

Allson. I sent you a Letter Last Night to be put in to the post office at Cave this Morning - since then I find the Canvassing at Hull goes on briskly in favour of young Wilberforce and they are securing the outlaying Votes as much as possible - at Beverley Mr. Robert Burton is making all the Interest he can for him - I am of Opinion he has gaind such an Advantage by having a longer Start of the Field to himself that he will secure his Election, but not without being at a very great Expence the plan he has set off with will make away with a deal of Money and he will keep at the top of the Hill against every attempt that may be made against him, for dont find that any of your Friends have yet stept forth and shewn any Active inclination or they wod never have suffered the young Candidate to have gone such Lengths without throwing Obstructions in his Way - the Assistance given in favour of America and the Catholic Bill has raisd such a ferment and is industriously propagated amongst the lower kind of People that [I] am vastly afraid all that can be done will prove ineffectual to cool the ferment, so violent is the prejudice at present subsisting at Hull as I am told and the accounts from London will tend to help on it - I dread to see the progres of today from the accounts which arriv'd yesterday the prospect is melancholy and Consequences much to be dreaded - God grant the prejudices of the Nation may cool and calm Reflection succeed nothing else can save us from Ruin.

No. 170

BENJAMIN PEAD TO DAVID HARTLEY – 20 July 1780

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/2/57

(V)

Hull. Permit me to return you my thanks for your last kind present of franks. I only saw Mr. Hamond once since his return, is gone to Whitby I went last night to Cotingham and calld on Mr. Waller who informs me He wrote You fully. He seems quite of my mind as to why that poor W. Thompson is too sanguine. I am much afraid the Plan wont do though I asure you it woud be more pleasing to me than for this Town. far less trouble and I think less expence if Mr. Pelham sends his Brother E. Anderson, or any other Friend that must be one, and Sir James Penyman with all faults must be an other[1]. He has payd the needy well, Mr Waller told me he heard that Sir Thomas Gascoine[2] was coming to Beverley, feard your Plan might have got wind. I hope not, as it may do hard here, I have not oppend my Lips to any One about it. You may very safely now I think venture here, and Mr Waller is of oppinion coming down as a private Gentleman first will be the best plan and avoid expence which is what I am most afraid off I woud not have you throw your money in the dirt. if you think it right to come down woud it not be as well to mention it by Letter to a few, that you intend to come only on a visit that it may be so given out and prevent the mobility teazing I can only add in haste that I am ready and willing to do all in the power of....

1. In the election on 8 September 1780, Sir James Pennyman and Francis Evelyn Anderson were returned unopposed for Beverley (Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90, ii, 432).
2. Sir Thomas Gascoigne (1754-1810) was returned for Thirsk in 1780 (ibid., ii, 486).

No. 171

DAVID HARTLEY TO THE DUKE OF PORTLAND - 7 August 1780

Source: Portland MSS., PwF. 4875

(V)

Golden Square [London]. I shall set out in a few days for York races in my way to Hull, to try my chance there for the next Election but by the accounts which I have received, I fear that I have lost

Hull in America, and by opposition to the present system of Ministry[1]; but if a change of principles on these heads could ensure me a seat in Parliament at the next Election, I should still not reckon my chance at Hull better than it is at present. Nevertheless it is on account of these two points that I should regret just now to be out of the line of public business, more especially on the Subject of America, as I think it might possibly be in my powers to contribute towards the restoration of peace under some wiser System of Ministry. Flattering myself that I may still have your Grace's good wishes for my continuance in public business, as I have formerly had, It would give me great pleasure to have half an hours conversation with you on that subject.

Give me leave to assure you that I still retain the desire that I have allways had of taking part in public business with your connexion and friendship. If your Grace should be at Wellbeck in the Course of the next week, I should be happy to have the pleasure of waiting upon you in my way down, about the 15th or 16th instant. I enclose two papers which I mentioned sometime ago, but going suddenly out of town I forgot to send them. I can give good reasons to believe that the Sentiments of the Second letter are not far from the Sentiments of America. They are the Sentiments which I have always endeavored to Suggest and to cultivate, to which, I have always added my testimony most strenuously, that there are in this Country friends to justice humanity and peace. Such men must in the end be the Saviours of this Country. My best respects attend the Duchess, yourself, and friends.

1. Hartley's views, expressed in his pamphlet of 1778 had upset most of his constituents at Hull. Similarly his views on economical reform in 1780 may have fallen on unsympathetic ears. His fears for the coming election were proved right. (Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90, i, 435).

No. 172

GEORGE TAYLOR[1] TO DAVID HARTLEY - 10 February 1782

Source: Hartley MSS., 017/3/4

(V)

Hull. Eaver since you was Least at Hull I have done all in my power to promote your Intrist And I have a particuler pleasure in so doing the people here in General appear very fond of you And I am sure a Great many wou'd be Glad to See you at Hull which is the wish of our Grand Asembly the Constitutional Club of Independent Fremen which is allready to the amount of 120 Members and this night I hope will be 150 as I know A great many more has promist and all being as Staunch Voters as ever went to Gild Hall -

The Feast of the Said Club is fixd for the 12th of March next now if the Margues of Rockingham Or Sir George would Send a Little Venison at the time I dare Say it wou'd be Gratefully acknowledged By the Members of the Said Club you'll please to Excuse my Boldness - A report prevails here that Lord Robert Manners is Very Ill not Likely to Recover - Anxed is a few of Respectable members Names of Said Club -

Henry Masters Esq., Phill: Green Esq. Promis'd, William Travis Esq., Benjamin Pead Esq., - Sykes Esq. Jnr., The Rev. Mr. Burn, Mr. Moxon - Sheriff, Mr. John Pickwith, Mr. Sparks, Mr. Harness, Mr. Osbourn, Mr. John Boyes Snr., Mr Benjamin Boyes, Mr. Benjamin Metcalf jnr., Mr. John Walker, Mr. Richard Matson, Mr. Francis Taylor, Mr. John Eggleston, Mr. John Wilson Attorney, Mr. Park Surgeon, Mr. R. Kinder, Promis'd[2].

1. Possibly George Taylor, a cork cutter (1780 Poll Book, 26).
2. Of these only three are recorded as voting in the 1780 election (Harness, Metcalf and Osbourn), and they cast one vote for Hartley (1780 Poll Book passim.)

No. 173

WILLIAM WILLSON[1] TO DAVID HARTLEY - 3 April 1782

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/3/9

(V)

Hull. There is a Report all Over the Town that Wilberforce is to be a Peer of the Realm[2], and that you Intend to Stand Candiate if so Say thay he need not fear Saveing his Election as the present Ministry is on his Side, he may be a Servicable man to this Corporation.

1. Possibly a mariner (1780 Poll Book 30).
2. Lord Rockingham certainly entertained a high opinion of Wilberforce, but it is unlikely that he was seriously considering raising the young M.P. to the peerage. (R. Furneaux, William Wilberforce, p.17).

No. 174

TO THE WORTHY BURGESSES OF THE TOWN OF KINGSTON-UPON-HULL, FROM DAVID HARTLEY - draft 1 June 1782

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 016/2/15

(V)

A vacancy having happened for the town of Kingston upon Hull by the death of your late worthy member Lord Robert Manners permit me upon this occasion to solicit your acceptance of my services as your representative in parliament.

If I shou'd be so fortunate as to succeed in the object of my ambition, I shall always endeavour to make myself deserving of your favour by discharging all the important public duties of parliament, and those which may concern you more particularly, with integrity and diligence.

No. 175

TO THE WORTHY BURGESSES OF THE TOWN OF KINGSTON-UPON-HULL, FROM ROBERT MANNERS - 19 June 1782

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 016/2/16

(V)

London. Mr HARTLEY having moved for the Writ, the Day after my Father's Death, which he brought down in his Pocket on a Sunday; and on that very Day the Sheriff having declared the Election to be within four Days after, (the shortest Time possible) was the only Reason that prevented me from offering my Services in Person at that Time. I now take the Liberty to thank you for the many Times you have chosen my Father to represent you in Parliament, and to inform you that I intend to offer myself a Candidate for your Votes and Interest, whenever a Vacancy may happen or a new Parliament may be elected. And I can only add that the first Wish

Nothing but my being obliged to stay in Town to attend a Court-Martial could have prevented me from paying my Respects to you in Person before this Time. And I can only add that the first Wish I have is to have the Honor of succeeding my Father in representing you in Parliament.

1. Robert Manners (1758-1823) eldest son of Lord Robert; M.P. for Great Bedwyn 1784-90 and Cambridge 1791-1820 (Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90, iii, 107-8).

No. 176

Of my entering into Parliament - Hull Election [1782]

Source: Henry Thornton's Recollections in 'Notebook containing family letters copied by Marianne Thornton and Laura Mary Forster', pp.16-19. Cambridge University Library, Add. 7674/1/N.

(III, V)

I had obtained a seat in Parliament before I became a partner with Mr. Down and Mr Free[1]. Indeed my parliamentary situation formed one of the recommendations of me to them. The circumstances which led to this political event were the following.

My brother Samuel being very ill of a fever and my brother Robert[2] (if I recollect right) absent from town, the news arrived that Lord Robert Manners who had been member for Hull was dead. My mother, who especially at this period, had cherished a partiality

for me and was herself not without ambition, suggested to my Father as well as to myself the idea of becoming a candidate for her native place[3]. Nothing could be more rash than this project nor more sudden than the determination which was taken. I was little more than 21 years of age. I had as yet bearly received any education. I was without political friends or acquaintance. I was uncommonly ignorant of the world. I had no certain or considerable income having merely received from my Father a capital of £6000 the application of any part of which to the purposes of an election would leave me without the means of purchasing the necessary qualification of a landed estate of £300 per Annum.

On my arrival at Hull I found that Mr D. Hartley had been already canvassing and I was greatly perplexed by the discovery that each candidate would be expected to give 2 guineas to every Burgess who should vote for him. My Father as I have already intimated was not a man of much prudence and was too little accustomed to the investigation and discussion of nice points of morality. He did not accompany me to Hull - he did not inform me with any distinctness what he would advise me to do when I should arrive - he did not explain whether the election expences were to be borne by me or himself - he did not say a word to me on the custom of giving the 2 guineas a custom which I myself now think ought not to be complied with - he therefore left me to be involved in a scene of great perplexity, and the persons at Hull to whom he introduced me were in no degree disposed to canvass the question of the 2 guineas as a moral point.

I called on many of the principal gentlemen of Hull and was well received. It is worthy of being recorded that I for the first time visited that house at West Ella where the future partner of my life was then residing. I well remember to have enquired before I went to the door, after the usual manner of a canvasser, whether Mr. Sykes had any family. I also recollect that I was told (I forget by whom) that besides his sons he had one daughter and that she was reckoned a very sensible young woman. I saw her sitting in the large bow room, she being then probably about 14 years old. How wonderful are the ways of Providence. The person whom I then accosted in those terms of general civility which I was lavishing upon a multitude of others has at the time at which I now write been 7 years my wife[4].

The embarrassment in which I found myself (an embarrassment arising chiefly from my finding it universally expected by the gentlemen at Hull that I should give 2 Guineas to every voter) induced me to take a sudden but final resolution to decline the contest and partly therefore with the view of precluding the possibility of being any more solicited to stand, I went to Mr Hartley himself - assured him of my intention to withdraw, a piece of conduct which he deemed very honorable and for which I received his thanks.

I shall here briefly state for the future information of my children the ground on which I think that the custom of giving 2 guineas to every Hull voter is so improper that a very conscientious christian (and every christian ought to be very conscientious) cannot be well supposed to comply with it.

The law directs that an oath shall be taken by every voter (supposing any one Candidate to insist on its being administered) in which the voter swears that he has not received any money gift or reward or any promise of money gift etc. in order to give his vote at the election. Now the voter it is true receives no promise of money for a strict and cautious silence is observed by the candidate on the subject of the intended gift but this silence is interpreted by the voter into an intention of making the customary gift and it has therefore all the effect of a promise. It is said in defence of the custom that since all candidates at Hull give 2 guineas no preference is obtained by any one over another and that the object of the legislature in imposing the bribery oath being merely the prevention of a preference the law is not violated. To this it may be answered that it is likely that the object partly was to prevent general expence and it can hardly be doubted that the intention was to preserve a general spirit of purity in the exercise of the elective franchise. That this spirit of purity is lessened by the habit of giving 2 guineas to each voter no one who knows the present character of the electors of Hull will doubt. My brother has recently experienced (Aug. 1802) the disadvantages resulting from the general corruption of the electioneering system in that town. There is also this presumption that the law is broken by the present custom - namely that the candidates postpone the gift of money until that time is passed within which the question of the legality can be tried. If the gift of 2 guineas by each candidate is lawful why do not the candidates pay down the money if not before

the election at least immediately after it? Why do they wait 14 days after the meeting of Parliament before they venture to make the payment? They wait because they know that the House of Commons would not deem the gift of 2 guineas to be legal. But it is not necessary to prove that the practice of which I have spoken is clearly evil - if I have only raised a serious doubt upon it Christianity directs us to avoid it for "he that doubteth says the Apostle is damned (or condemned) if he eat and whatever is not of faith is sin".

My dear Children let me seriously advise you never to embark in any course of conduct of strict rectitude of which you doubt while you have no doubt of the lawfulness of avoiding it. It cannot be necessary for example for any son of mine to be in Parliament but it is necessary that he should not violate the dictates of a well informed conscience by his manner of obtaining a seat in the legislature.

One of my motives for canvassing this question has been a wish to point out to my children the manner in which points of this sort ought to be examined. Morality is a science to be cultivated like any other. Religion does not quite give an intuitive knowledge of it but it supplies the motive for entering into this species of study. My Father erred as I think by not sufficiently acquainting himself with morality. I am anxious that my children should not err in the same manner.

1. Henry Thornton (1760-1815) was elected member for Southwark on 24 September 1782. In 1784 at the age of 24 he became a partner in the banking house of Down, Thornton and Free of Bartholomew Lane, London. (Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90. iii, 524; E.M. Forster, Marianne Thornton, (London, 1956), 23, 63).
2. Robert Thornton (1759-1826) A director of the East India Company and M.P. for Bridgwater (1785-90) and Colchester (1790-1817).
3. Thornton's parents were John Thornton of Clapham and Lucy, daughter and heiress, of Samuel Watson of Hull (Namier and Brooke, op.cit).
4. Marianne Sykes (1760-1815) daughter of Joseph Sykes of West Ella, near Hull, married Thornton on 1 March 1796. (J. Foster, Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire, (London, 1874) i, iii).

No. 177

MARMADUKE COLLINGS[1] TO DAVID HARTLEY - 22 June 1782

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/3/40

(V)

Welton [nr. Hull]. Last Night I met with our friend Tom Hammond who had been a week from London - He informed me that it was universally said in London that there would certainly be a Dissolution of Parliament, and if I do not mistake that it would take place the 10th of next month - and moreover that we Should have 5 Candidates, yourself, Mr W-, Commodore Thompson, yet here, Mr Manners and Mr Thornton[2], which the many, it is thought by your Friends, it will be a means of making your Election the surer. - permit me, my Dear Sir, to give you my Sentiments relative to your Good Self, pay the strictest attention to the two Corporations whenever You think You have anything worthy their notice. - your private Friends, Mr Sykes Mr T. Williamson Mr Philip Green, Mr Pead, Mr Travis the Shipbuilders Ropers; Michael Hammond the Join er, cum multis aliis, that shall be signified to You, in good time - I flatter myself the Writer will not approve himself the most inconsiderable of your Friends - however what is in his power, Shall be most sincerely at your Service. as soon as you can learn with any real certainty when the Parliament is to be dissolved, permit me to recommend it to You not to lose a minute in communicating it to your Friends, that they may have more time to exert themselves for your Interest, neither I nor any of your real Friends have the least doubt or Apprehension of your Success as well as your good Self, yet pray act with all that caution and diligence as the Affairs bore a Different Complection - the Two Thompsons, Mr. Beilby and his Brother, are confidently both talked of for Hedon - and in my Opinion, both likely to be chosen - but these are things, more likely, your Opinion may have been taken upon, than otherwise I Shall therefore not take up more of your Time upon matters of this kind at present - whatever, my Dead Friend, you do, make that worthy and Amicable man at W[est] Ella[3], your principal Friend, for take my word of it, he not only wishes to serve You most zealously, but will as certainly do it if You place your full Confidence in him, and tell him you rely upon him - few have had the Opportunitys of knowing this inestimable Man in every point of View that I have had, and

therefore You may be assured the Character I have here given You of him, is litterally and precisely true. but he is One of that uncommon Delicacy of Feeling, that I beg what I have here said of him, may rest with You, and You only -

this was meant You by Thursdays post, but Company coming in prevented it my Situation will not permit me to shew myself that warm Friend which I really am to You, in public particularly, but in private You may depend on it, none will be more zealously attached to You and your Interest than I hope You will find in Billy Williamson, pray pay an early attention to, for tho he may possibly not immediately Shew himself a Friend to You by that and the Family being Zealously attached to You, he will be gained over -

Stephenson[4] and Sam Wright[5] it may be right to Seem You look upon them as your Friends, but let me recommend it to You, by no means, take them to your Bosom, for depend upon it if You do, the moment they can betray You they certainly will for they are both of them, men of no principle. what I have here delivered to You, You will receive as the Ebulition of a most sincere Friend, and as such You will excuse the Freedom of it, and in case I should hear any thing worth your Notice previous to the pleasure of seeing you - You may be assured of hearing from....

1. Described in 1780 Poll book (p.7) as a 'gentleman' from Welton.
2. Samuel Thornton.
3. Joseph Sykes.
4. Possibly John Stephenson, master mariner. (1780 Poll Book p.23).
5. Described by the 1780 Poll Book as 'Esquire'. (ibid., p.29).

No. 178

MAYOR OF HULL[1] TO DAVID HARTLEY - 10 July 1782

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/3/56

(V)

Hull. I can hardly suppose Mr William Thompson[2] would canvass the Freemen of Beverley without your Consent for their Votes in your favour at the next election as he is now doing - as also is Lord Middleton Son for himself. and yet it appears strange to your

your friends here - as you declared you canvass'd for two Votes when at Hull for the Election then pending, and for the next expected in October.

I could not satisfy myself without acquainting you how much it surprizes your friends here.

1. Alderman Edward Coulson.
2. Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90, i, 433.

No. 179

WILLIAM THOMPSON[1] TO DAVID HARTLEY - 14 July 1782

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/3

(V)

Hull. It is now said some Friend of Sir James's[2] will help him out to pay off the Guineas for last Election, and in that case it's thought he will gain the Hearts of most of the lower People so as to vote for him again, as things have turn'd out I am sery a Canvass in your favor was begun I am ask'd here my reasons for canvassing at Beverley I told them that myself and some friends wish'd to have you Represent that Place and if we could have got sufficient promises we should have sent you an Invitation Mr. Richard Sykes and some of your Friends say they wish it may not hurt your Interest here I tell them that as it was not done with your order I thought it could not injure you I said that you had never mentiond the word Beverley to me, if as above Sir James pay shortly or any time before the Election I believe his Interest will be strong amongst those that I chiefly depended on, I believe you would be one was you yourself to offer now but as things are I think there is some risque and now believe you must still be wedded to Hull at least keep in reserve I think it would not be amiss for you to write Mr. Sykes or some boddy to disavow your approbation of what has been done at Beverley indeed now I think it was wrong and if Mr Thornton or any other [or] others are talkd of should come to canvass or make Interest here whether should you not some way publickly ask for the support of your friend for the next Election come when it will....

1. Described by the 1780 Poll Book (p.27) as a 'gentleman'.
2. Sir James Pennyman (1736-1808) M.P. for Scarborough 1770-74, Beverley 1774-96 (Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90, iii, 264).

No. 180

JOSEPH SYKES TO DAVID HARTLEY - 22 July 1782

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/3/62.

(III, V)

I am favoured with your letter, and I am obliged to you for your intended Nomination which I wish to be in favor of William Andrew, and will be obliged to you to get the Deputation sent down.

I am glad the present Parliament is not likely to be dissolved, my Reasons are so personal, you cannot mistake them: Your abilities were intended to your good, and out of Parliament you once told me they could not be exerted. The trouble of obtaining a Seat for Hull you have experienced, I always thought it one of the most disagreable Places in the Kingdom to represent, for tho its bought dearer than any other, you have ten times the Business to do that saleable Seats require, and besides this, the compleat Hull Member must at last sell himself to provide for other People: The Sensibility you express about your Situation induces me to speak of the Money Matter, now so much a Matter of reputation

I hear its only £1-1- that is expected, I thought that given to those only who promised their Votes sufficient, and as far as Gratitude goes it certainly is so, let others say as much, look forward to another Election, and give to all who will take it: doubtless when £500 is given, it would be right to give £500 more to secure it, but how does this secure it? no other wise then as considering it a Preface to another Giving hereafter, and should you at that hereafter, declare you will not give Money, all that is now given, except to those Friends that promised their Votes, is certainly thrown away. If you have communicated your thoughts to Mr Taylor, when he returns I shall know them, and if Money is determind upon, a day tho it should be at a distance, should be fixed upon for the payment. I believe Hull may be had by expence, but without it impossible, and we want such a Manager as Mr Waller exceedingly, you have seen our defects I am sure, therefore its unnecessary to point them out. What we want one way we must endeavor to to make up another, and you may depend upon me when Money Matters are under consideration

I am sorry you think Peace at a distance, and that you are not likely to be in friendship with a certain great Man, you were once

I understand friendly, I wish you were now so much so, that your means were making use of to reconcile us with our Colonys. If any sudden alteration takes or is likely to take place in this respect soon, a Line to the purport I mentioned to Mr Denison will be esteemd a favor.

My Family is at Hesele, the Granby is filld with the worst Company, Quality, the Dragon will have room in abundance soon if Mr Hammond to whom my Compliments thinks of going over, I shall be glad he would let me know.

[P.S.] I am sorry to say your Bill came safe.

No. 181

RICHARD SYKES TO DAVID HARTLEY - 24 July 1782

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/3

(V)

Hull. The Deputation has come down for G[eorge] Taylor to succeed John Banks as Weigher, who was appointed to fill up the vacant Tidesmans' Place; but John Smith is also appointed with John Banks to fill up the said Vacancy: therefore till the Matter is settled G. Taylor can not succeed John Banks: a little Enquiry at the Custom House will probably set this to rights. Can any thing be done for the Place My Father was to fill up, that is for John Andrews?

[P.S.] Carr will write to the Commissioners on Saturday
9 o'clock

Since writing the above, Thornton is come here to canvass, I shall go to West Ella early in the Morning to consult what is best to do. I think, a handbill desiring the Burgesses not to engage their Votes, as Parliament probably will not be dissolved of some years; as you mean to visit them again at a proper time will be all we can do at the present. Wilberforce it is said will start as soon as Thornton has begun: I will write again tomorrow.

Charles Fox is the first Man in the Kingdoms of Earth or Heaven.

No. 182

THOMAS WASNEY TO DAVID HARTLEY — 30 July 1782

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/3

(V)

Hull. Last Wednesday Evening Mr Samuel Thornton and his Brother Henry came to Town they have call'd upon several of the Gentlemen in the neighbourhood and in Town - Yesterday morning, had a meeting of some at their Lodgings - I have been told there were seven at the Meeting viz The Reverend Mr Robinson Mr Blaydes Thompson, Mr Samuel Wright Mr John Horner etc. etc. - I believe Mr Samuel Thornton has declar'd himself a Candidate to represent the Town and began a Canvass Yesterday Afternoon attended by his Brother Henry Thornton, Mr Prickett, the Attorney, Mr. Richard Terry and a Mr Charles Holt, nephew of Mr. Joseph Kennard of the Sugar House -

I am told Mr Samuel Wright has declard for Mr Thornton Captain Manners is expected over today; his Steward has been in Town two or three Days on other Business and (Mr Popple told me this morning) knows nothing of Captain Manners' coming -

Yesterday Afternoon the inclosd hand Bill was distributed in the Town[1] - I thought it might not be superfluous to acquaint You with these Circumstances, tho' I don't doubt, many other of your Friends will inform you of them - I was favord with yours relative to Mr William Whitehead's Brother Mr Whitehead seems perfectly satisfied with your Reasons tho' not with the Conduct of the Magistrates, who refus'd to remit one Shilling of the Fine which is paid and John Whitehead discharg'd.

[P.S.] I believe Mr. Wilberforce is at Bridlington.

1. Missing.

No. 183

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE TO LORD ST. JOHN[1] - 30 July 1782

Source: Wilberforce MSS. MS. Eng. 415(48). Boston, Mass., Public Library.

(V)

Burlington [London]. I am extremely obliged to you for your having thought of sending me your Plan of a Tour tho' S. Wales, of which,

(tho' I fear I shall not be able to do it this Summer), I hope to avail myself at some Time or other - indeed I am sometimes apprehensive of being engag'd in a very different Scene, and in a much less agreeable Country, for two candidates have kindly made their appearance at Hull, and if they proceed to a general Canvass and all the Business of an Election which I am told is their Intention, I fear my Friends will think it necessary for me to begin Foyning also; in whose Opinion right or wrong, in matters of this Sort it is generally prudent to acquiesce....

1. Henry Beauchamp St. John, 12th Baron St. John of Bletso (1758-1805), succ. 1767. (G.E.C. Complete Peerage, xi, 338).

No. 184

DANIEL TONG[1.] TO DAVID HARTLEY - 1 August 1782

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/3

(V)

Hull. I Received your friendly Letter of 24th ult. I am much Obliged to you for the attention favored to mine of the 20th: I have not a doubt but you will do all in your power to get my affairs set at liberty -

this Post has brought me a letter from them dated at Deale 28th ult. from off Board the Winchelsea desiring my Exertions to get them Clear, I have been with Mr. Wilberforce at Burlington I am persuaded nothing will be wanting on his part so that I flatter my Self your Joint Interest will Accomplish their Release -

I make no doubt but you are Acquainted with what [goes] on here respecting Electionering, but hope we shall postpone any more of that yet Mr. Thornton has been Canvasing for 3 or 4 Days as to the progress he makes cannot say. I have been much pressed by my Principal friends for my Interest in his favours, but to desert a Cause, without a Reasons would be very unjust, if Mr Hartley should at any Time come to a Resolve not to offer his Services for the Town of Hull, then I think it would be well to Inform his steadfast friends and untill then I hope he will find a many that will not desert him, a line in Course will much Oblige....

1. Daniel Tong, Ships chandler, voted for Hartley and Wilberforce in 1780 (1780 Poll Book, p.27).

No. 185

RICHARD SYKES TO DAVID HARTLEY - 2 August 1782

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/3/70

(III, V)

Hull. I received your Letter this Morning, and was extremely sorry to hear of Miss Hartley's Illness: I felt much Concern for you; and more on Miss Hartley's own Account than I thought it possible to feel; for a Lady whom I had never seen. You will please to mention Her Health the next time you write. It has been my Fortune since we parted to be forever plaguing you with disagreeable Business: I have always had something to ask for a Friend, to remind you of some little unavoidable forgetfulness, or to press you to some Declaration of your future Intentions, at a time when it was unpleasant to you. You must however do me the Justice to believe that all this has proceeded from a Regard of your own Interest; God knows I had no other Motive tho what I am now going to say, I believe no other Person will, altho' every friend you have, confesses he sees it in as strong a Light as I do, that there will be no Dissolution of Parliament during some Years I think is most probable; but should that be the case it will not be less necessary to pay the Money, supposing you ever mean to be a Candidate again: Let me repeat it once more; £700 will secure a future Election if it is given <u>now</u>; if it is not given at this Juncture; £7, 000 won't gain it 5 Years hence. I do not wish you to take this on my Word, ask Taylor the Macfarlanes, Philip Green; any of your Friends; if any rational Man will say that he believes you can ever again be chosen without paying this Money, about this time, I will never mention it again. this cannot be disbelieved; therefore the Inference is self evident. "if you will not have this Money paid, you do not mean to be a Candidate here again". If your Conscience will not allow this Species of Corruption; I know the Tongue of an Angel could not persuade you to consent to it; and I am sure I would not wish it: But it is sometimes allowable to do Evil that Good may come. I am School Boy enough to remember that Cato Means to hurt the Cause of Liberty by too much Stiffness, Cicero says he acted "Tanquam in Πολιτεια Platonis, non in pace Romuli vixisset". The Money may easily be raised in the Country; I will engage for it; will that satisfy your Conscience? On Monday August 12th a

Meeting of our Club will be held; the Members will then expect their guinea each, or at least, have a Day named for the Payment of it: the other Burgesses stand on the same Ground; If no Notice is taken, they will all understand no Money is ever to be given them; the Affair will then be at a Crisis; it can be put off no longer, and your fate as Member for Hull, will be decided that very Hour; if I am a false Prophet I will forfeit all the Expences of the Election. So my Dear Sir consider seriously of this. Saying nothing, is saying I will not give. Let me suggest another Idea: As Every Person is convinced that, if you do not pay the Money, you do not mean to be a Candidate, (however true or false that may be, they <u>are</u> convinced of it) is there not some Reason to apprehend that Mr Williamson Mr Bell and others of your Friends may take Offence and say you ought to tell them you do not mean to be a Candidate; that they may fix on some less scrupulous Whig to be your Successor, otherwise in fact you force Mr Thornton upon them; and actually elect him by not impeling their Interest to come into Play. Believe me I do not throw this out at Random; it will not be my own Case in any degree; for my personal Attachment to you is not less strong, than my Attachment to Whiggism: perhaps I ought not to boast of this. I saw my brother Yesterday; he says, there are two Ways of paying the Money; a Guinea to every Burgess who will take it; or a Guinea only to each Promise, at the late Canvass; He does not know how far the former may succeed, but the latter he thinks, is a point of Honour to have paid, as the Majority of Electors certainly promised with that Expectation. Taylor has promised to write his Opinion of these Matters, by this Post.
If we are ever to chuse you again (i.e. if the Money is paid) it is absolutely necessary immediately to publish an Advertisement in your Name to this Effect. That the late Canvass at Beverley was undertaken without your Knowledge or Consent, that you mean undoubtedly to offer your Services here at the Dissolution of Parliament and that you think till that Event happens, you are better employed by Attending to the Interests and Commands of your Constituents in London, than by canvassing at Hull. Pray send the form of this down, that we may have it printed, the sooner the better. I shall only add that if you think my Behaviour has been rude and impertinent, I hope before you condemn me, you will for a Moment reflect, that I had no other possible View or Motive, but your Interest; that

Consideration aided by the Goodness of your own heart, will I trust acquit me; an honest Yorkshireman would make a bad Courtier At any Rate you will always possess a very warm and a very sincere Friend (the more useful as he dare speak his Mind) in the Person of Richard Sykes.

[P.S.] I believe Mr Thornton meets with very Indifferent Success; owing to the general Expectation, the town has of your Money: they looked for it all last Week, and this Week: they say the time is out appointed by Act of Parliament and you are a very honourble Gentleman for you paid before, when you lost your Seat. See what a fine thing it is to have a good Character!

No. 186

GEORGE TAYLOR[1] TO DAVID HARTLEY - 3 August 1782

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/3

(V)

Hull. I have been from home a month, and am grown as strong as Hercules. I am not annoyed that you have sent me no answer to the letters I wrote before I set off, because the Subject was delicate. - Mr Sykes let me see your letter to him which he received yesterday, and seems hurt that you have not answered his more fully. - It certainly is the wish and judgment of your firmest friends that the Burgesses should have an Guinea each, but it seems also to strike them as necessary for You to say something on the Subject yourself. - I rather think too, that some Gentlemen will be turning their attention to some other Objects than your Interest, if you do not gratify their Judgment in this Particular.

Mr R Sykes thinks the money will be raised here, I do not know who will be the Solicitor, but I Suspect that Money will be thought of greater Value by many than your future Interest or the Whig Principle.

I think with You there will be no new Parliament for some time - for 12 Months at least - We don't know what next Winter may produce - I think the County Associations will bring forth something against Lord Shelburne unless he get quit of his ingrowed Duplicity - and it is more than probable with me that our warlike operations will have no favourable Issue.

I understand Mr Thompson has been canvassing Beverley for You - He Asserts without your knowledge - The World is not very ready to credit him. You will not wonder that this should hurt you here - and your friends say, properly enough, that they should have notice to find out another Candidate to their Minds

Mr Thornton is canvassing - I think he will get few promises - and many good wishes - which twelve months wearing will erase. - Mr Wilberforce behaves with great prudence on the occasion. I am informed many venal voters have their prejudices against him because he voted for Lord Mahon's Bill[2] - Atkinson[3] the member for Hedon told them he voted for it.

1. Probably George Taylor see No. 172.
2. Mahon introduced a bill to prevent bribery at elections. It was passed in the Committee stage, although division lists do not survive (Parl.Hist., xxiii, 101-3).
3. Christopher Atkinson (c.1738-1819) M.P. for Hedon 1780-83, 1796-1806. Supported North's Administration. He was expelled from the House of Commons in 1783 for fraudulent dealings with the Victualling Board.(Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90, ii, 31-2).

No. 187

RICHARD SYKES TO DAVID HARTLEY - 6 August 1782

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/3/73

(V)

Hull. I wrote to you so fully on Saturday last, that I should not have troubled you again so soon; if Mr. Harners had not wished me So to do, to inform you of his having seen a Letter in Mr. Manners's own Hand Writing to Sam. Beilby, whereon he says, he always meant to stand for Hull, at the next Election, is now canvassing the Votes in London; desires to have a Poll Book sent him, and means to be here shortly. We don't look upon this Event to be adverse to our Cause, but thought it Right you should be aware of it. The Duke of Portland Ribband may bring strange things to pass. I saw Sam. Williamson since I wrote to you; he agrees with me in all I said, so does Mr. Bourne[1] who desires to be kindly remembered to you.

We sincerely condole with you on your domestick Misfortunes, a little Attention to publick Business may relieve your distress for the present. If Shelburne and you make it up[2]; I shall have a better Opinion of the former; and your Election may better secured, tho' not by a better Method (perhaps) than our present one. Take Care of your Health, and believe me ever most sincerely and affectionately Yours....

[P.S.] Charles Fox is most popular; that is with the Whigs; Every Administration must be defective in which he has no Share.

1. The Reverend Dr. Bourne.
2. In April Benjamin Franklin had written to Shelburne hoping that peace negotiations might be opened. Rockingham suggested Hartley who had long campaigned for conciliation, as the British mediator. Shelburne insisted that an old acquaintance Richard Oswald should go, hence Hartley's anger. (Norris, Shelburne and Reform, 165).

No. 188

RICHARD SYKES TO DAVID HARTLEY - 18 August 1782

Source: Hartley MSS., D.EHy. 017/3

(III, V)

Hull. I have seen Sir G. Savile and I have seen Mr Pead; I plainly understand you have no Intention of giving the Money: Sir G says he would by no means advise you to it, as being unconstitutional; he is Master of my Notions on this Subject, which perfectly coincide with those of all your Friends. It appears right to me to say nothing of this Matter at present; let it sleep till another Election, and then if we are to battle our old Enemies without the Siren of War, Money; be it so: I am sure I will do all in my Power. It is good Policy to give a little to save a great deal; but it is the greatest of all Crimes, to save anything at the Expence of Conscience: As you had taken your Resolution some time since, all I have said must needs have been impertinant and distressing; I wish I had known it sooner; it was your own fault for not telling me what I must so soon have known: however I will never start this Subject again, without very great Necessity; and you shall find I will take as much Pains without Hope of Success, as ever I did with the most flattering Prospect. I have discharged my own Conscience, and must

leave the rest to Fate - I am very glad to find Miss Hartley is growing better; as Sir George Savile has just informed me; I am sure you will be the better for it; pray remember your Promise of coming into Yorkshire during the Summer; if you fix at York, I shall be very glad to meet you there, but I hope I shall hear from you long before that time. My Wife and I are going to Bridlington Quay to bathe for a Month or Six Weeks; you may direct for me at the Posthouse there....

[P.S.] G. Taylor has got nothing yet.

Sir G. Savile and Captain Stanhope are admitted of our Club; it consists of 133 Members; a formidable Engine in <u>certain Hands</u> to secure Mr Thornton's Election. If I must have Cassandra's Fate, I must -

No. 189

RICHARD SYKES TO THE REV. CHRISTOPHER WYVILL - 15 September 1782

Source: Wyvill MSS., ZFW. 7/2/25/11. North Yorkshire Record Office, Northallerton.

(VIII)

Bridlington Quay. I beg leave to return you my thanks for the Favour of your obliging Letter, which I received this day. I am very glad to find there is any Chance of a Prime Minister supporting the Endeavours of the Association of the County of York, towards a Reform of the Representation of the People in Parliament[1]. As far as I am able to judge that is the most essential of all Reforms; any smaller Alteration may ease as for the present, but that alone can secure the Freedom of our Constitution. I shall take care to communicate this truly agreeable Intelligence to all our Friends in the Country, and shall certainly attend our Adjourned Meeting on the 31st October[2] - to give all the Support, in the power of so very insignificant a Member as I am, to a Petition or any other Means, which <u>you</u> may judge to be most conducive to so very desirable an End -

1. William Petty, 2nd Earl of Shelburne, 1st Marquis of Lansdowne (1737-1805) succeeded Rockingham as prime minister in July 1782. He was a supporter of 'economical' and parliamentary reform. (J. Norris, <u>Shelburne and Reform</u>, <u>passim</u>.)

2. On 31 October 1782 a meeting of the Committee of the County Association of Yorkshire was held, and Richard Sykes attended. Among other things resolved was a rejection of David Hartley's plan to prevent bribery at elections. The reason given was that in the next session of parliament there would be a bill 'for refraining [sic] the evils of bribery and corruption' (C. Wyvill, Political Papers, ii, 1-4).

No. 190

DAVID HARTLEY TO THE MAYOR - 19 April 1783

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 1386/193

(VI)

London. I take the liberty to inform you that I have this day received his Majestys Commission and Command to proceed without delay to Paris as his Minister Plenipotentiary for concluding treaties of peace and Commerce with the united States of America. I think myself much honoured by this Commission, and shall make it my sole object to execute the trust with zeal and fidelity. - My principal reason for stating this to you is, because my present employment in his Majesty's service will occasion my absence from the House of Commons. But my Collegue will still be there, to attend your bill[1], and I have desired my Brother to give his attendance in my place, which he will most readily do[2]. I hope therefore that my absence (in this case indispensible) will not be any prejudice to your Concerns. I am now preparing to set out with all possible Speed. I am, with my best respects to the Gentlemen of your Corporation, Sir,....

1. 23 Geo III. c.1v. (1783), "An Act for building a new Gaol for the Town and County of the Town of Kingston-upon-Hull".
2. See BRL. 1386/192.

No. 191

W. H. HARTLEY[1] TO THE MAYOR[2] - 24 April 1783

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 1386/192

(VI)

Soho Square [London]. As my Brother is engaged at Paris upon public concerns which may prevent his attendance in Parliament, I shall be very happy if it is in my power to serve the Corporation or Town

of Hull by attending to any business which may come before the House in his absence.

1. Winchcombe Henry Hartley (?1740-94), younger half-brother of David Hartley; M.P. for Berkshire 1776-84, 1790-1794. (Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90, ii, 594; G.H. Gutteridge 'David Hartley M.P., An Advocate of Conciliation 1774-1783' University of California Publications in History, xiv (No.3) 1926, 293-4.)
2. Alderman John Booth.

No. 192

DAVID HARTLEY TO THE DUKE OF PORTLAND - 17 December 1783

Source: Portland MSS., PwF. 4888

(VI)

Golden Square [London]. Permitt me to remind your Grace of an application which I made to you before my going to Paris, and to which you gave me the most favorable encouragement, viz respecting Mr. George Hammond, who went with me to France as my Secretary[1]. He is a very valuable young man, accomplished for any public employment, industrious and discreet, and worthy of confidence in the highest degree, in any confidential office. He is Son to Mr. Hammond who had the honour of being introduced to your Grace by Sir G[eorge] Savile; and who has been to my knowledge for more than 20 years a sincere and attached friend to the Whig interest in the connexion of Sir G[eorge] Savile Lord Rockingham Lord Fitzwilliam, etc, without fee or reward; and indeed not only so, but much to prejudice of those prospects which he might have had in view if he had been less attached to his friends. I hope your Grace will not think the request which I now make, to be unreasonable, in favour of the Son, Mr George Hammond[2], viz. that he may have some allowance made to him for his expences as my secretary at Paris.

1. In April 1783 Hartley had asked Portland's permission to take George Hammond with him as his secretary. Portland presumably had agreed.(Hartley to Portland, 17 April 1783. Portland MSS., PwF. 4882).
2. George Hammond 1763-1853 (D.N.B., xxiv, 241-2).

No. 193

ROBERT MANNERS[1] TO JOHN STEPHENSON[2] - 6 April 1784

Source: Spencer Stanhope MSS., 60567/1

(V)

Grosvenor Square [London]. Upon my return to town I had the pleasure of a letter from you with the Kind Offer of your support and interest should I return to Hull, but unfortunately I am at present engaged: or perhaps I might have enjoyed the happiness of uniting once again my fathers Old Friends in the same cause which I own I despaired of some timē ago I am now situated for this Parliament and I hope some future season to profit by your Kindness Lady Robert my sisters and self desire to join our best Compliments to Mrs Stephenson and yourself.

1. Robert Manners (1758-1823), son of Lord Robert, returned for Great Bedwyn in 1784.(Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90, iii, 107.)
2. Described by the 1784 Poll Book (p.25) as 'Master and Mariner', voting for Wilberforce and Thornton.

No. 194

WILLIAM PITT TO WILLIAM WILBERFORCE - 8 April 1784

Source: R.I. and S. Wilberforce, Life of William Wilberforce, (London, 1838), i, 69.

(V)

Downing Street [London]. I can never enough congratulate you on such glorious success. I am going to dine at Wimbledon to-day, and mix my joy with Mrs. Dixon's, who has all the trophies of victory, such as hand bills, ballards etc., to adorn your kitchen, and your boy. I hope you will have a worthy successor in the person of Spencer Stanhope. I have seen Manners, who has no thought of standing, and will write to his friends in favour of Stanhope. I hope his accomplishments cannot fail to conciliate the previous confidence necessary for your sanction.

No. 195

ROBERT MANNERS TO JOHN STEPHENSON - 9 April 1784

Source: Spencer Stanhope MSS., 60567/2

(V)

Grosvenor Square [London]. I cannot say how much I feel I am obliged to you and my Other friends at Hull for remembring me and for their Kind Offers of support. Upon the prospect of a contest at Hull and the probability of any dividing the Interest of my Fathers Old Friends, by my coming down, and by that means bringing in Mr. Hartley! I made up my mind, after some contest in my own breast, and at length declined the contest. Circumstances are indeed at present changed but I am now engaged for the present Parliament that I cannot profit by your Kind Offer which being the case I have not troubled you with an answer to your last favor by express as before you could receive this you must receive the answer to your former letter - I cannot enough thank you for your exertions and Kind intentions and I certainly shall ever retain a most grateful sense of them I beg my best Compliments to Mrs Stephenson.

No. 196

WILLIAM BETHEL[1] TO WALTER SPENCER STANHOPE - 9 April 1784

Source: Spencer Stanhope MSS., 60567/3

(V)

Rise. I have Just now Receiv'd the Favour of yours, I have no Intrest at Hull that I know of, but if Mr. Williamsons Support you, and they can point out any Votes that I can prevail with, will use my Endeavour to Secure them for you.

1. William Bethell of Rise (1728-99), High Sheriff of Yorkshire, 1780. (J. Foster, Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire, (1874), iii).

No. 197

WILLIAM PITT TO WALTER SPENCER STANHOPE - 10 April 1784

Source: J. Spencer Stanhope: Memoirs of the Life of Walter Spencer Stanhope Esq. of Cannon Hall, (MS. volumes in Spencer Stanhope MSS. in Sheffield Central Library), iii, n.p.

(V)

Downing Street [London]. I was yesterday favoured with your obliging letter. The events in Yorkshire are indeed most honourable and satisfactory.

I shall be happy to hear that you have a similar success at Hull. I lost no time in applying to Mr Manners who has no thought of standing himself, and will, I find, be very favourably disposed to your interest.

No. 198

ROBERT MANNERS TO JOHN STEPHENSON - 10 April 1784

Source: Spencer Stanhope MSS., 60567/4

(V)

Grosvenor Square [London]. I have by this days post an other favor from you, in Consequence of the last part of your Saturdays letter (being myself so engaged) I entered into conversation with Mr Pitt about a successor and I understand that Mr Stanhope a relation of Lord Chesterfeild proposes Offering himself for Hull he is a supporter of the present Ministry and if he should meet with the approbation of the Hull Gentlemen I dare say they would hereafterwards be contented with their choice One reason of his being an eligible person is that his property is in York shire and is very respectable. Lady Robert and myself desire to join our best Complements to you and Mrs. Stephenson.

P.S. Our Election here goes on as yet very well. Lord Hood 5218 Sir C. Wray 4788 Mr Fox 4472.

No. 199

RICHARD SLATER MILNES[1] TO WALTER SPENCER STANHOPE - 11 April 1784

Source: Spencer Stanhope MSS., 60567/5

(V)

Newland Park. I received the favor of Your letter this morning and lament that I am so situated as not to be able to have the small interest which we have at Hull operate to Your advantage.

The little interest that I have at Hull arising not from Personal acquaintance but Mercantile connections and our house being so exceedingly divided upon Political principles deprives me of the oppertunity of gratifying my wishes upon this occasion I can only say it will give me great pleasure to hear of Your success.

1, A member of a Wakefield merchant family, R.S. Milnes (1759-1804), was returned for York in 1784. (Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90, iii, 142). On the political activities of the Milnes family, see Ward, Merchants and Manufacturers, 66-66.

No. 200

JAMES MILNES[1] TO WALTER SPENCER STANHOPE - 12 April 1784

Source: Spencer Stanhope MSS., 60567/6

(V)

Wakefield. Your obliging Letter I received; any Interest we have at Hull is so trifling, that I fear it will scarcely be of any Service; Inclosed are two Letters to Owners of Ships[2], if the Gentlemen are not previously engaged, perhaps they may assist you with their Vote (if have One) and Advice -

This Day have wrote to Messers Stephenson and Wilkinson in Hull, in your behalf; the former Gentleman has considerable Influence, perhaps you may think it proper to give him a Call; after wishing you all desirable Success, I remain....

1. James Milnes (1721-92?) of Wakefield. (Ward, Merchants and Manufacturers, 64, 66).
2. Missing.

No. 201

JOSEPH SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 12 April 1784

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box X1604

(V)

West Ella, Hull. I should sooner have acknowledge the honor conferred upon my by your Lordships Letter, had I not rather wished to be successfully employed in consequence of it: But this alass has not been the Case, the Phrenzy of the Day has seized us here, and if the elected, are as made as the Electors, might not Parliament properly meet my Lord in Moor Fields?

The Instances of deception that prevailed in other Places, prevaild here, and some Tennants of my own, would I beleive have given up Things very desireable, rather than have had, as they were told would be the Case, Mr Fox for King.

Mr S. Stanhope offers himself here, and his Cause seems espoused by those who two Years ago had a very great dislike to him, when his Politicks seemd different; on this account he may stand some chance, and as the last Election was an expensive one, it may give him another: Mr H[artley] I knew must fail I told him so from the first, He had a Party to encounter whose dislike to him is invincible, and two Gentlemen to oppose, whose Disgrace (circumstances as they were) at the loss of their Election, would be unsupportable, it went as I predicted, and by those Meens.

I am sorry your Lordships Letter should come to me at so unfortunate a Crisis, I have several times successfully accompanied Lord Rockinghams Wishes, and before I was favourd with it, his Memory induced me to take up the Cause. To shew your Lordship you was not mistaken in your application to me, I take the liberty to inclose one bit the last indeed of the honord Traces of that noble Lords friendship; I esteem it too much, not to wish to have it returned: Had he been told when he wrote it that the Gentleman he so handsomely speaks of, would prove the temporary overthrower of his Interest in this County, it would have seem'd an idle Tale indeed.

That your Lordship may live to see the Whig Interest again triumphant over all its Enemys, is the sincere Wish....

No. 202

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO WALTER SPENCER STANHOPE - 14 April 1784

Source: Spencer Stanhope MSS., 60567/9

(V)

Charlotte Street, Bloomsbury. My residence in London have deprived me of the means of knowing the opinion of many of my friends to the matters to which you request an Answer, I can only say that as I have hitherto Connected myself with many of my respectable Townsmen (and with the Trinity House) in the Choice of Representatives, and as I have not only the greatest reliance on their Judgement but likewise of their Integrity in whatever part they Engage, you will I hope therefore Excuse me if I defer giving you any opinion Until I possess the sentiments of my friends,

To the respectable Connection to which I allude they will I trust take a decisive part - they Certainly ought to do it for in my opinion these are not moments for Indolence, to my political opinion I really have not one to give I perceive with amazement the present Convulsion of the Country and I likewise perceive that the Phrenzy is the most Heterogeneous that ever disturbed this Island, and from its unnatural shape Cannot long Continue - It is too much Whig and Tory - Presbyterian and Papist etc. etc. the baseless fabric must dissolve, - They will leave a wreck behind.

My long Attachment to our respectable freind Sir George Savile and the honorable freindship with him for many years secured my mind and sentiments under his Creed, but alass that is over and in Politicks I am now a Citizen of the World, anxious only when I begin again to take up that which has in Appearance the best prospect for the Safety and Interest of my Country - at present I must I am afraid Gaze a little longer - for Notwithstanding the seeming overthrow of poor Rennard yet if my Information is right you will have a very disjointed Cabinet very soon, such as may not be very easily United.

To the alterations of Hull and the transfer of Mr Wilberforce I do Assure you I feel that with Concern and I should have been very glad the occassion had not required it - but by way of doing you some Service however Insignificant I must acquaint you that Mr Wilberforce etc. Cannot I am told vacate the first Sessions on a Double return if there has been any Opposition (however Slight which his was - and to me very unexpected) - The reason given for

this is that there will be no Petitions Admitted during this Short Summer Sessions - should that be the order it must strike against vacating in general.

To any advice I can give you that would be needless you will have it at the fountain head - However I should be very sorry that you should have dificulty and danger, In my Electioneering transactions at Hull I have found that these ways were not pleasant, or were the paths peace.

No. 203

PHILIP GREEN[1] TO WALTER SPENCER STANHOPE - 14 April 1784

Source: Spencer Stanhope MSS., 60567/11

(V)

London. I had the honor of receiving your letter dated the 10th acquainting me that you had offer'd your self a Candidate for the twon of Hull, at present I have no intention of takin a decided part of your Election, if I should, shall concur with some of my friends, whom I wish to join, and whose interests have long been connected with my own -

1. A substantial Hull shipowner, uncle of John Staniforth.

No. 204

MRS. N.M. GREAME[1] TO WALTER SPENCER STANHOPE - 15 April 1784

Source: Spencer Stanhope MSS., 60567/12

(V)

Sewerby. I was Inform'd of your Intention of Offering yourself a Candidate for Hull before I received your Letter on Tuesday, most sincerely wish you Success. My Husband was so kind as give Himself the trouble of Canvassing for you at Burlington Key Yesterday, and was very successful, He has left his Agent with them to take a Chearfull Glass - Mr Greame on Enquiry finds out three or four more persons that have Votes but they have not yet took out their freedom which will be attended with Expence - All the persons you mention'd Voted for Wilberforce and Thornton, and was allow'd their Expences, I suppose you woud be willing to do the same, wish you may be chose

without Opposition. Mr Greame is Inform'd there are some people in Burlington that have Votes, which He will endeavour to secure for You to Day, I Assure you He exerts himself most heartily for You - I have Just been writing to Mr Dunn, my Husbands Steward, a very sensible native Clever Man, that I shoud esteem it a particular favor, if it was in his power to be serviceable to you without giving Umbrage to any of his Employers - He is Steward to Sir Chris[topher] Sykes[2] Sir Henry Etherington Colonel Maister and several of the Hull Merchants. He is generally in Hull every Tuesday and Friday, at the Cross Keys White Fryer gate. It is unnesessary in me saying we shoud be glad to see you if convenient during your Abode in this part - When I have the pleasure of hearing from You tell me how to Direct to You - I send this by your Carrier. My Husband Joines me in respects and best Wishes.

[P.S.] I hope your Lady is well, and that She continues being in a good Way -

1. This lady's name does not appear in the pedigree of the family. (J. Foster, Pedigrees of County Families of Yorkshire (1974), ii). She was Stanhope's aunt.
2. Sir Christopher Sykes (1749-1801) of Sledmere. M.P. for Beverley 1784-1790. (Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90, iii, 514).

No. 205

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 16 April 1784

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box X1603

(III, V)

Hull. I think it right to inform your Lordship that Mr Stanhope has canvassed this Town, I believe with very little Success. If Lord John Cavendish[1], Sir T. Gascoigne[2] or Mr. Drummond would come; there would be a very great Probability of throwing out Mr Stanhope. But it might be still better to send some body who has never been in Parliament nor even taken a decided Part in Politicks: The old Rockingham Interest is able to bring in such a Person, and to secure him a permanent Seat. I should be glad to know your Lordship's determination on this Head.

Mr Wilberforce's Fortunes are much deranged: From his Father and Uncle he inherited £2,000 per Annum in Land, out of which he pays in two Jointures to two very good Lives £1400 per Annum. In

Money he had about £25,000, more than half of which is already spent; His first Election certainly cost him near £8,000 and his last about £5000[3]. He has always lived above his Income; and it is certain he is now in Expectation of a lucrative Post from Government; of which he is in the utmost Need. As this will occasion a Vacancy for the County, I have taken the Liberty of acquainting your Lordship with it: The Accuracy of this Intelligence may be depended upon; but I would not wish to have it known from whence it comes -

Whilst I was writing the above, a Party of more than 100 Voters took me out of the House almost by force and assured me they would give their Interest to any Person I would name; and signed a Paper to that Effect. I told them a Gentleman would come from London in case I advised him to it, but I must first have a strong Party in his favour. The Paper is handing about the Town for Signatures; and in a few days your Lordship shall hear how we go on: But I hope you will have a Friend in Readiness -

I intreat your Lordship to believe that you have not any Friend more zealously attached, than him who has the Honour of subscribing....

1. Lord John Cavendish (1732-96), 4th son of the 3rd duke of Devonshire, M.P. for York 1768-84. (Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90, ii, 203).
2. Sir Thomas Gascoigne (1745-1810), 8th baronet. Member for Thirsk (1780-84) and Malton (April-August 1784). A supporter of Lord Fitzwilliam. (ibid., ii 486.)
3. Wilberforce's account with Smith, Payne and Smith's bank suggests the election of 1784 cost him £8,807, of which he had to meet all but £1000. (Accounts of Smith, Payne and Smith, Lincolnshire MSS., Oxford). Thanks are due to Brigadier A. Llewellyn Palmer for permission to quote from this source.

No. 206

RICHARD MOXON TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 17 April 1784

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box X1604

(V)

Hull. Being return'd from my Journey on which I had the honor of seeing your Lordship, I beg leave to inform you, that I found Mr. Spencer Stanhope Canvasing the Town, and has been some Days, in place of Mr. Wilberforce, who will no doubt take his Seat for the County of York, I thought it Necessary to apprise your Lordship

of what was going forward, tho' to Start an Opposition now I shou'd think of no Effect, but I am ready to follow your Lordships Interest in this or any other Matter in my power to serve you.

there is every reason soon, to expect a Vacancy of a Surgeon to our Infirmary, and as there are three Candidates, permitt me to Solicitt your Lordships Interest in favor of Mr William Bolton Junior to succeed his Father one of the present Surgeons to the Infirmary, who now lays very Ill and just to say, that sooner your Lordship can favor me with a Line the better, nothing more is Necessary than for your Lordship to say, you will Vote for me in favor of - hoping your Lordship will Excuse this Freedom,....

No. 207

JOSEPH SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 18 April 1784

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box X1603

(V)

West Ella. Since I had the honor of writing to your Lordship I find my Son has informd you that another Candidate would be acceptable here and its said Lord J[ohn] Cavandish has been named by others: When such a Character is in question, nothing less than a certainty of success should bring him down, this I think is not the Case, therefore a second Repulse should not be heralded: any thing connected with the old Whig Interest will not now go down till Peoples Eyes are opend, its in vain to contend.

A Circumstance happend yesterday the effect Whereof should be waited for, Mr Pemberton Milnes[1] send his Nephew John[2] to try the Place, which he means to do, but from the information hitherto obtaind, Mr Stanhope appears stronger than was supposed, and Mr Milnes is as yet undetermind whether he should proceed, his Resolution your Lordship shall hear, express as I know it, but if with his apparent Principles, he does not go down, its much against one with opposite ones, tho its even Lord J[ohn] Cavandish against Mr Pitt, such are the Times! Mr Pitt would readily when I told him of the application just made give up all further application. Mr P. Martin is curious and I can easily judge of your Lordships meaning from distant Herts but I can write with more freedom as the Post goes thro the Village I live in....

[P.S.] One Letter to Hull would be sufficient and that without your Lordships Seal or being free. Send a Coppy to Malton.

[P.P.S.] My Lord

Since I made up by Letter Mr Milnes has declined, he found many engaged, and Mr. S. stronger than he expected: from I having doubts with respect to the success of another Candidate and I think it prudent to delay the sending one till this Matter is further considerd I believe Mr S. leaves us this week so that whatever he can do must be done before another Candidate can be here.

1. Pemberton Milnes (1729-95) was a member of a powerful Wakefield Merchant family and a supporter of Rockingham.(Ward, Merchants and Manufacturers, 64).
2. John Milnes (1751-1810) was Pemberton's first cousin (ibid.)

No. 208

WILLIAM PITT TO WILLIAM WILBERFORCE - 18 April 1784[1]

Source: Wilberforce MSS., Duke University Library, North Carolina, U.S.A.

(V)

Downing Street [London]. I can never enough congratulate you on such a glorious success. I am going to dine at Wimbledon to try to mix my Joy with Mrs. Dixon, who has all the Trophies of Victory such as Hand Bills, Ballards etc. to adorn your kitchen and your Bay. I hope you will have a worthy Successor in the Person of Spencer Stanhope. - I have seen Manners who has no Thoughts of standing, and who will write to his Friends in favour of Stanhope. - I hope this Accomplishment cannot fail to conciliate the previous Confidence necessary for your Sanction.

1. A misdated copy of No.194.

No. 209

JAMES SMITH[1.] TO WALTER SPENCER STANHOPE - 2 May 1784

Source: Spencer Stanhope MSS., 60567/25

(III, V)

Hull. I wrote the day after I had the honor of taking leave of you to engage that the £4,500 you want on transfer of a Mortgage

and have received an Answer this Morning informing Me that as I had not got a security for the Money in time the Gentleman who was to have paid it in had been prevailed on to keep it 'till Michaelmas - Now if you would agree with any Banker to lend you the Money for little more than four Months I could then accomodate you with it as I know My Client is to be Depended on - If You shou'd not be able to accomplish this measure I hope you will meet with the Money on a transfer of the Mortgage in London which wou'd be no disappoint-ment to Me as I wish to be no farther concerned in the business than as I may be usefull to you - If you should not want the Money till after the Election you would not have occasion to borrow it for longer than 3 Months.

This Town has been as peaceable and quiet since you left it as tho' no Election was in agitation - I send our friend Johnny Crompton[2] every day to make enquiries what our few Opponents are about - Harry Broadley yet takes on Recruits and several of the Burgesses think some Foxite will start near the Election and I conceive too that if any Person should offer against you (which I hope will not be the case) it will be at or near the Starting Post - I have got several Pro[mises] since you left Hull and by way of fixing the lower class of Burgesses have got Johnny to hint to them that such as withhold their promises cannot expect any favors from you - which I trust will alarm such as are unfixed - Philip Green is returned to Hull a red hot Foxite and much prejudiced against you - If you could get Hammond to declare for you he would bring over P. Green - The latter has much weight and an object worth your attention - The Advertisement we setled was dispersed on Monday Morning and much approved - After reading it half a score times over I Struck out the words "<u>all ranks and discripts of Persons</u>" which would most probably have given much offence to the lower class of freemen - I am sorry you did not call upon the Brigg and Gainsbro' Voters - If they should hear of your passing thro' those Towns without calling on them I fear they will be affronted and in case of an opposition resent it - The Sheriff is at Hull and I will apologize for You to him - The moment any thing occurs worth mentioning you shall hear from Me again.

[P.S.] The inclosed letter arrived since You left Hull.

1. Described as an attorney in W. Bailey, <u>Northern Directory</u> of 1781 (p.211).
2. John Crompton, mercer.(1780 <u>Poll Book</u>, p.7).

No. 210

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 3 May 1784

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box X1604

(V)

Foxholes, near Malton. In a Letter I wrote to your Lordship 3 Weeks ago, I informed you there was a fair Chance of throwing out Mr Stanhope at Hull: I am now under the Necessity of saying there is no longer any Prospect of it; and I should not advise any Candidate to come down, as Mr Stanhope seems perfectly secure. The town in consequence of what I said, expected some Gentleman to have come; and he might have started with more than 300 Promises; 500 would have been a Majority: But the Patience of my Friends was soon exhausted; and Mr Stanhope has gained many of them to his Side. My father always brought in one Member, and could have brought in any Man except Hartley, we have now done with him for ever; our Interest will be stronger before another Election; and I am sure it will always be exerted in Behalf of that Candidate whom your Lordship recommends -

I beg leave to congratulate your Lordship on Mr Fox's Prospect of Success at Westminster; the more pleasing, as we had given up all Hopes; But even this does not compensate for the gloomy Scenes at York. If Lord John Cavendish had come to Hull, within Ten Days after the York Election, he would have been chosen almost unanimously[1].

1. At York on 9 April 1784 Lord Galway and Richard Slater Milnes unseated Lord John Cavendish and Sir William Milner (Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90, i, 441).

No. 211

JAMES SMITH TO WALTER SPENCER STANHOPE - 10 May 1784

Source: Spencer Stanhope MSS., 60567/27

(V)

Hull. The Town remains perfectly quiet - No new Candidate mentioned by our opponents altho I believe they actually wrote an invitation to Lord John Cavendish to offer himself and that he declined it - Our friend John Crompton by my directions attends all the Clubs to strengthen your interest and will do you more real service in

spending sixpence than many Agents would do by spending a Guinea - Mr Rob[ert] Broadley crosses the water today for London and may be heard of at Mr Rob[ert] Smithes Banker[1] in Mansion House Street - If you could shew him any civillity it would attach the family here to you and draw off the shaddow of an opposition -

1. Robert Smith (1752-1838), banker, M.P. for Nottingham 1779-97. Created first Baron Carrington 1797 (Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90, iii, 451).

No. 212

JAMES SMITH TO WALTER SPENCER STANHOPE - 16 May 1784

Source: Spencer Stanhope MSS., 60567/29

(V)

Northallerton. I can assure you with the utmost certainty that you will not be opposed At Hull by Lord John Cavendish altho' the Sykes's have wrote him the most pressing invitations so to do[1] - I met with one of Lord John's most particular friends on thursday who informed Me all that had passed between his Lordship and the Sykes's and he at the same time assured Me that you wou'd not have any thing to fear from that quarter. - I took the favorable opportunity of saying that whoever advised Lord John to come to Hull would prove themselves more the friends of faction than of his Lordship for that you were perfectly secure of your election - I hear that H. Broadley has given over taking down names and upon this information I applied to several freemen to secure their Votes for you and have obtained several good Promises and particularly one from Mr Sykes's own Barber with whom Mr Sykes was angry for engaging himself so <u>early</u> - I shall take every opportunity of reducing our few Enemies to insignifcance - I left Hull Yesterday and am now on a Journey with Mr Pease[2] to Stockton upon Tees to sell an Estate for him there - I shall be at home on Wednesday and if any thing should have happened worth communicating during my absence You shall have the most early information....

1. No letters from the Sykes family survive in the Devonshire MSS. at Chatsworth.
2. A member of the prominent Hull banking family.

No. 213

DAVID HARTLEY TO THE MAYOR[1] - 20 May 1784

Source: H.R.O., BRL. 1386/216

(V)

Paris. Permitt me to entreat your acceptance of some copies of an address[2] from myself to my late constituents, which you will receive together with this. The occasion of it, and the sentiments contained in it, cannot be more fully explained by me than they are in the address itself. My only motive therefore for troubling you with this concomitant letter is, to assure you under my own hand of my gratitude for the favours which I have received, and that I shall always be most desirous to remain in your friendly and honorable remembrance.

1. Alderman John Melling - a Hull merchant and shipowner.
2. The Address dated 'Paris 18 May 1784' was dedicated to the Mayor and Corporation, the Wardens and Corporation of Trinity House, and the 'Worthy Burgesses' of Hull. It was in part a solicitation for support in the coming by-election at Hull, caused by William Wilberforce opting to sit for the County of York, for which he had also been elected; and in part a disquisition on parliamentary reform. In the event the election of the 14 June was uncontested (Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90, i, 435) and the pamphlet did not appear in the newspapers until a month after the election. The York Courant hoped it would not be unacceptable 'as it discusses very ably' the subject of reform. (York Courant, 20, 27 July 1784). There is a copy of the Address in the Hartley MSS. at Merton College, Oxford.

No. 214

JAMES SMITH TO WALTER SPENCER STANHOPE - 21 May 1784

Source: Spencer Stanhope MSS., 60567/31

(III, V)

Hull. Mr Hartley our late Member has sent an Address from Paris to the Two Corporations and many of his friends here offering his services on the ensuing Vacancy but whether he intends to make his Personal appearance or not does not appear from his Letter or Address. however if You can prevail on the Minister in whose service Hartley is now employed to prevent his coming home it will be a great saving of expence to you - His opposition cannot do you any injury except in the Article of expences - The Plan I wish You to pursue is this -

To get the writ if possible on Tuesday Evening - To forward it that night to Me by express - And in your letter to inform Me the precise time you intend being at Barton - I should wish You to come to Hull in a Morning and to send Me a Boat from Barton of your intention of being at Hull at such an hour as may suit with the Tide - and I will get the writ proclaimed the Evening before which will save You a day in expence and trouble - If you come by Barton which will be the nearest and best for you - you must come in the Hull Boat - Your friends will meet you with Colours at the Waterside and you may walk round the Town with them - I shall invite a Party to Breakfast at the Cross Keys and to meet you at the Waterside - You will not have occasion for any Carriage but let me recommend it to You to have a laced Coat on - Your numerous friends the Coblers - Shipwrights etc. - Do not think a Man a Gentleman unless he is well dressed - As soon as You get to Barton do not forget to send a Chaise for the Sheriff to Stockwith and he will return in it - He was at Hull last week I made your Apologies to him and fixed to send a Chaise for him which pleased him much - I shall write You again before You leave London.

No. 215

JAMES SMITH TO WALTER SPENCER STANHOPE - 22 May 1784

Source: Spencer Stanhope MSS., 60567/32

(III, V)

Hull. The lower class of Burgesses who had entered into a written contract to support any Gentleman Mr H. Broadley or the Sykes's should set up in opposition to you are now deserting the Party every day - Their Principal Agent or Runner a very active man of the Name of Green applied to Me yesterday to be taken on for you and I retained him and have no doubt but that he will bring a number of our Enemies into our ranks and indeed I now think your Election not only certain - but will be without any opposition.

Let me recommend it to you to secure the Writ as soon as possible and to be expeditious in coming with it that it may be proclaimed immediately after your Arrival and the Election proceeded on on the fourth day - And you must not forget to give Me the earliest Notice of your intention of being here (fixing the Day and hour if possible) that all your friends with Colours on may bring you

into Town - Do not forget to give Me the Notice of your intended arrival as you promised the Burgesses that you would be introduced publickly and it might give them great offence if You were not to keep Your word with them - I hop to hear from you in a few Posts when we may expect the Honor of seeing You.

No. 216

THOMAS JOHNSON[1] TO WALTER SPENCER STANHOPE - 19 September 1784

Source: Spencer Stanhope MSS., 60567/57

(III, V)

Yarmouth. I received 2 printed Letters in Aprill Last requasting the favour of my Votte, accordingly I wrote to Maiyor Rewick with a promice in Your favour. Their being No ships in this harbour Redey to go sooner then 9 or 10 dayes, which Obliged me to hire a boat with 4 Men in Serch of Some Hull Traders in the fleet wich Lay wind bound in these roads. I went on board of Captain Maxwell from Spain and offerd aney price for my Passage. He answer he had no Lodging for me. I went on board of the Knights Cutter for Hull, he had no room. I wrote to Mayor Renwick of my being Disapointed and hoped You would Concider My good Intent, and not Lett me be 3s and 6d and a dayes work out of pocket, I being a jorneman and Married. [I] received a Letter from the Maiyor which [told] me he gave You mine, and You gave it to Mr. Smith and Desired he would not for get to pay me the Same as Others. Mr Rewick aplied for me, Mr Smith refused the 2 Guenis as I was not their to receivet my Self. I did not know my Preasence was requierd. I recived the Bountey here when Mr. Weddel first was Chose with oute Opsition, and I gave him my Vote on that Acount and have allways kept to one partey at the Poll Books can prove.

Sir the Obligation shall be gratefuly acknowledg....

P.S. please to deliveret to Mr. Hickson Marchent or Captain Hepworth.

1. The Poll Books for 1774, 1780 and 1784 contain several entries with this name.

No. 217

JAMES SMITH TO WALTER SPENCER STANHOPE - 19 February 1785

Source: Spencer Stanhope MSS., 60571/3

(V)

Hull. I expect to be in London in less than six weeks and you may depend on it I will carry my Accounts along with Me and the settling of them will give me great satisfaction for in my life I never had so much trouble as I have had in acting with an equal and just hand between you and the Burgesses and notwithstanding I am conscious of having impartially discharged the trust reposed in me. Yet there are not a few who blame Me and particularly all those who have not fingered the money - With respect to Mr Spyvee's[1] Man who claims the money as a Runner he never was employed in that capacity - He applied to Me to be employed and I expressly refused him the Office because the number agreed to be taken on was filled up and if I had employed him I must have taken on many more who had equal pretensions and if I was to pay this man I must submit to the like imposition of every Man whose chose to consider himself as a Runner and bring myself into endless inconvenience - Arey I paid as his claim seemed well founded - The Sailors who were absent grumble hard and will certainly oppose you strenuously at a future Election, As will also the numerous Outvoters in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire who have sent in long lists and insist that they are equally well intitled with the Hull Burgesses - If you wish to promote and keep up your interest here it would be adviseable to pay <u>all</u> but it will be attended with great expence and you will consider that if you break into the line of distinction the business of the Election will be to go over again. However it is my duty to lay the matter fairly before you and you must judge and determine for yourself - Mr Foster of Selby Sent Me a long list of Burgesses in that Neighbourhood who had declared for you - And the Gainsbro' Brigg Lincoln and Grimsby Voters sent in their Names in expectation of being paid - But I gave a flat refusal to all who had not come to Hull in your favor - The business has been the more troublesome and disagreeable to me as I have been obliged to pay some Persons I had refused in consequence of Certificates such Persons obtained from Gentlemen of Consequence in your interest, of their having promised to Vote for You altho' no entrys were made of their Names which broke into my Rules sadly but however I trust the business is

nearly closed - I requested Mr Johnson to let Me have his Note but he never sent it. I trouble you with a Petition signed by many of your Friends for a Custom House Place when vacant of which you will have due Notice And I am desired by a Mr Robinson (who is not a Freeman of Hull but Supervisor of Hull 2d District) to request your Interest that he should succeed Mr Valentine Budd late Supervisor of Hull 1st District the placing being now vacant....
[P.S.] The Butchers have established a Club and have voted you and Mr Thornton Members - The latter paid 5 guineas on his admission - Would you have Me pay the like for you.
I Paid Spyvee's to Men agreeable to your desire.

1. Samuel Spyvee 'Gent', (1780 Poll Book, p.24).

No. 218

JOHN SHIPSTON et al., TO MR. SMITH[1] - 14 August 1785

Source: Spencer Stanhope MSS., 60567/58

(V)

Arming. Wee have took the Liberty to right to you hoping you will not take it amiss as wee promist you our voat and Intrist for Mr Thornton and Mr Wilberfoss and wee performed the same. Mr. Forster came a Canvasing for Mr. Stanhope and wee promist him our supoart if thay was ocation. Wee hear Mr. Stanhope was pleased to make the free men a preasant that promist him thair Intrist and as we never recived any thing shall be obliged to you to empour us to recivet it of Mr. Forster, and you may depend on our Intrist when ocation serve.

From your humble Servents,
John Shipston, Geo: Shipston, Thos. Speck, Geo: Speck[2].

1. James Smith, one of Stanhope's agents in Hull in 1784.
2. The 1784 Poll Book (p.26) records John and George 'Skipton' as ropers, and the Specks as glaziers. All split-voted for Wilberforce and Thornton.

No. 219

HENRY BROADLEY TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 10 November 1788

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 39, 15

(V)

Hull. I have the honor of your Lordships Letter, in answer to which I shall beg leave to observe that I shall be happy in having it in my power to make any return for the many civilities I have received from your Lordship consequently Lord B[urford] as your relation shall have my warmest Interest if one circumstance does not happen, which I can't say I have the least Idea of but which it may be proper to inform your Lordship. I have lately received Letters informing me that they heard my Brother Robert[1] meant to offer at the next Election, but as he has never mentioned it to me I dare say he has not the least thoughts of it, if he should I'm sure your Lordship would not desire my Interest to go against him, as he is now absent. I thought it better to inform you how I was circumstanced than to wait his return which will not be this week, as the Kings Illness may make affairs critical, In regard to the Election I do not think Stanhope has the least chance, he is now with us making observations, which I dare say will not be satisfactory indeed I should think he would not stand a Contest. Sir H. Etherington (tho' not much respected) his fortune must give him considerable weight and I think Lord B under your Lordships patronage would stand a good chance of succeeding, when you are determined upon it and before it is made public I should think it would be adviseable to write to some of the Trinity House viz. Staniforth Hamond, Sparks and J. Huntingdon[2] (the present Warden) I flatter myself your Lordship will pardon me for giving my advice so freely....

[P.S.] I have just heard Mr Thornton means to begin his Canvass directly on account of some advices he has received about the King.

1. Robert Broadley kept a private journal between 1768-73 which gives a good account of the life of a wealthy young member of a merchant family (Pocket Book of Robert Broadley, in Hull University Library DP/146).
2. For the political affiliations of these men see W.W.M., R12-54, No.152 (above).

No. 220

JOSEPH BECKETT[1] TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 11 November 1788

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 39/3/1-3

(V)

Hull. Stanhope avows his Journey here was to learn how the Town stood and accordingly he has pressed the leading People to declare themselves... they have uniformly given him for Answer: .. it is Time enough yet... the truth is they do not mean to elect him... he was distasteful to them when he came in, he has continued so and his behaviour now is by no means conciliatory... Hammond whom he values as his most intimate Friend has told him so... he stands ill with both gentle and simple and declares he will hazzard no money -

Under these circumstances there is no doubt of bringing in Lord Burford, but the business will require some generalship... Mr. Hammond I am very glad to find, warm in your Lordships Interest and very well cast to conduct the business... but the different Interests, and Humours to be reconciled and the best Modes of reconciliation to be attempted, are too long and intricate to be reduced to writing... Mr. Hammond writes to your Lordship by this post... but as the Subject will be so much better illucidated by discourse; I have pressed Hammond to visit your Lordship, which he consents too, but that I am unable to inform him of your Lordships stay... Letters go quick to Leeds and back, and I think my Brother knows that I have wrote these requesting he will inform Mr Hammond of your Lordships Movements so as to determine his Visit.

Mr. Staniforth (my Father in Law here) tho' inimical to the party will on the present occation... go with it... and his Interest and Mr Hammonds will nearly carry the Trinity House....

As Stanhope sinks in the Esteem of Voters I see a great necessaty for Lord Burford to come forward and avow himself and not play the Baby game Lord Down[2] does but as the Minds of People get empty'd of one Candidate they get filled of another... Mr Father in law has a Story in point... of some Candidate being kept back so long untill the Common People, likened it to the turning out of a Bag Fox the Simile took and spread with so much rage that nothing could stem it, and the election and your Lord Rockinghams Interest hereby much hurt... A Letter by the Doncaster Mail Coach about 6 o'clock

is here the next Morning... that if this reaches you at Wentworth and if your Lordship be pinched for Time, I am sure Hammond would obey an early summons... and I would by all means that your Lordship have a Conversation with him before you leave the County.

Thornton too is here, and report says means to stay the issue of the Kings Indisposition.

Wilberforce Friends give out that all was setled at York, that the two Members are to be rechose... and there appears but my single voice to contradict the report and their Report gains much Credit... If I have been transported to write your Lordship too long a Letter I shall be very sorry.

[P.S.] I leave tomorrow.

1. Joseph Beckett of Barnsley (b.1751), younger brother of the Leeds banker, John Beckett. At this time the family also had interests in the woollen and linen trades. (H. Pemberton, 'Two Hundred Years of Banking in Leeds', Thoresby Society Miscellany, xiii pt.I, (1958), 56).
2. John Christopher Burton, fifth Viscount Downe (I) (1764-1832). Member of Parliament for Petersfield, 1786-90. Fitzwilliam had suggested he stand for Yorkshire when Wilberforce became seriously ill in 1788 (Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90, ii, 306.)

No. 221

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 11 November 1788

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 39

Melton, Yorks. I have the honor of your Lordships letter and I purpose going over to Hull today that I may by that means Collect such information as may be necessary before I give you my opinion on this Subject the plan proposed is very good and I think Mr Stanhope will not risque a Shadow of a Contest, at present I dont perceive any solid grounds for him to Stand upon.

I have been so materially Concerned and have had so principal Share in the late festival at Hull (as Deputy Chairman etc. etc.) that I have been under the necessity of retreating into the Country for a few days to recover my Spirits - our manner of Celebrating I beleive exceeded every place in the Kingdom this business prevented my having the honor of attending your Lordship at York - I take

the liberty to inclose the Hull paper for your amusement[1]....
[P.S.] I shall be obliged to your Lordship to inform me the time of your Stay at Wentworth house I will if possible make you a visit we can then talk of many matters.

1. The centenary celebration of the arrival of William of Orange was celebrated in early November in Hull in considerable style. (Hull Packet, 11 November 1788; Jackson, Hull in the Eighteenth Century, 287-8).

No. 222

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 16 November 1788

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 39, 4/1-5

(V)

Hull. I wrote your Lordship on the receipt of your letter and I did intend being with you for a personal Consultation had you remaind, at Wentworth.

In regard to David Hartley, that cannot be taken into any part of this consideration, his interest and his expectations are totally finished at Hull.

The late Jubilee gave a pretence for the present members visiting this place and they are now making a Slight Canvass without directly Soliciting votes - The Plebeians indeed give them Smiles, for their ale, but it goes no further, to clear away with Mr Thornton I think his interest here is in some degree establishd his Commercial Concerns at this place his Connections with the Dissenters and Methodists and other matters will fix him at the next Election, a favorable Circumstance may be added he will (I have no doubt) go with the Ministry for the time being -

In regard to Watty[1] I know of no interest whatever to give him establishment or that he can depend upon, I have Collected the opinion of many and in particular the Trinity House - who I am Certain will not take him up, and indeed he has declared he will not risque a Contest - which must be the Case I am Convinced if he perseveres,

The Connection Lord Burford has made at this place (If the leader in his alliance could be depended upon) - would give him great advantages as a Candidate, and I think his Chance would be very good and not dificult to manage and if your Lordship anxiously wishes it some Contrivances will be neccessary but these must have their

movements according to the time of performance, I mean either at the Kings Death if that should happen or at the regular dissolution, the only dificulty with Lord Burford, many at this place may think his uncle would have too much power, and Consequence, the Baronet in point of interest is only what is in Common with others but his name amongst the Inferior Burgesses will be of great advantage to the pecuniary part of the business.

At the present time Watty is a visitor at Sir Henrys and no doubt expects his Support but the Baronet to avoid public appearance with his guest has feigned Sickness all the time.

To finish this matter my opinion is that Watty will Continue his attempt until an important opposition offers when that is the Case his prudence will keep pace with the Danger - and he will retreat under this expectation Lord Burford must earnestly keep the Negotiation alive with his uncle - and if the matter Should take place your Lordships freinds here must take the business up as auxileries and not appear as principales Unless any alteration in the Ministry - and if some of Lord Burfords relations were to Correspond with the Baronet <u>at a Proper time</u> it would flatter his vanity - I am sorry it is not in my power to be more explicit - I can only say I will from time to time give your Lordship every information in my power - but I earnestly request that this letter and the whole of my Correspondence with your Lordship on this Subject may be secret - I wish to prevent the Baronet babbling about which he would do to the prejudice of our plan tho he might wish to support Lord Burford - and Lady Burford is very intimate with Watty that I am Certain every necessary Caution will be right for should Lord Burford he kept back by his uncle from opposing Watty yet some other of your Lordships freinds in Yorkshire - Mr Foljombe (a Townsman) or some other Yorkshire Gentleman might make the attempt under your recommendation.

In regard to the County we are all very Quiet, very little is Said in party Conversation but the general opinion is that both the present Cannot be again Elected - the anger at the last Election that I mean which was so wickedly brought forward, is Seemingly over - no prejudices against any particular persons but in Case the Kings Death should happen it seems the wish of most hereabouts that some Junction should take place.

I have long intended writing to your Lordship but I thought Conversation might be more proper relative to an Event in my own family and which I have wished much to explain to your Lordship I must now beg a moment of your time for that purpose.

At the time of the Duke of Portlands administration and Mr Fox Secretary of State, David Hartley was sent to Paris to negociate the American peace my Son was appointed his secretary with a Salary of £400 per Annum on their return the Administration of the Duke being nearly over and the bustle at that time at the Treasury being very great, and tho Mr Fox recomended my sons Salary to be paid yet it was passed over and I was Obliged to Set down with the loss of near £500 bills drawn by my Son on me for his expences at Paris -

Immediately after Lord Carmarthen Came to the office David Hartley was appointed to Conclude the same business again and he requested to have my son again appointed with the same Salary - which Lord Carmarthen very obligingly agreed to do my being he said an old acquaintance and he was likewise happy to pay a respect to the memory of freindship for Sir George Savile at whose House we had frequently had our meetings he likewise added that a Treasury minute should be made of this Appointment as well the other - in point of Salary - David and his Secretary went to Paris they returned - I paid my sons bills as before and the sum total was pretty large. Your Lordship will not think I could have a Second Disappointment, but this really was the Case - doubts and dificulties in the Treasury - and perhaps an Unacceptable name from Connections however some way or other I was again defeated - I must do Lord Carmarthen the most honorable Justice his Lordship was much hurt at my disappointment and assured me by way of Consolation that from my sons Character and Abilities he would take the First opportunity of promoting him in the Diplomatique line, an Imploy he thought him Qualifyed for and that I might depend upon his utmost attention.

In the Course of last summer - and during the time of the late Westminster Election Lord Carmarthen was at Oxford a fortnight my Son being there likewise, his Lordship had him frequently with him and I believe from the Character he there had Confirmed of his Abilities, Integrity etc., his Lordship became more anxious to Establish him according to his former engagement - and Sir Robert Keith desiring his recall from Vienna Soon after - Lord Carmarthen appointed my Son Charge de Affairs at the Court of Vienna - some

further plan I hope his Lordship will have for him should he remain in office (otherways the present) as more expensive will be worse than David Hartley Secretaryship -

For this appointment for my Son I have made no Application to Ministry the whole process of the business I have Clearly Stated, anxious to remove every impression of my being a wanderer - I think I am now too firmly fixed in my principles after thirty years steady practice to make any alteration, your Dearest and most valuable relation whom I sincerely loved and Sir George Savile honord me with their Confidence, beleive me my good Lord I never in any one Instance deviated from what I thought was their interest either in freindship or politicks - And as a sincere farewell the last time I beleive Sir George Savile was in London was for the purpose of going with me to the Treasury to introduce me to the Duke of Portland, saying in his pleasing manner, that he brought me to his Grace as a Legacy, which he requested he would accept being his much Esteemed freind - that he had long Experienced me that I had served the Party faithfully many years and hitherto without reward, but he now hoped I should have some attention for my long and faithful Services.

I have been more particular and more desirous of explanation to your Lordship as I should be exceedingly Concerned if any part of my Conduct did not Stand Unequivocal with the valuable Name of Wentworth and the appointment of my son being so much announced in the papers that I dont wonder at the Cause being an Enigma to my freinds, I ought to have wrote your Lordship, but I always intended being at York and that alone was the reason Why I did not explain this matter -

I will now release your Lordship from a weary Subject and for which I must Apologize by assuring your Lordship that I am....

Sincerely....

1. 'Watty' seems to be a reference to Spencer Stanhope.

No. 223

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 23 November 1788

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 39, 5/1-3

(V)

Foxholes. Your Lordship's Letter arrived unluckily when I was from home, or I should have taken an earlier Opportunity of acknowledging so great a favour.

I shall esteem myself very fortunate if I can be of the least Use, either at Hull or at any other Place; I think if Sir H. Etherington and my Father were to join their Interests in favour of Lord Burford there could be no doubt of his Success: and I should think my native Place highly honoured in being represented by Lady Fitzwilliam's Nephew. As there is no very immediate Probability of a Dissolution of Parliament would it not be right for your Lordship or Lord Burford to apply to Sir H. Etherington in first Place; I believe he is not without Vanity; and tho' he has always been in Opposition to our Friends; yet by proper means he might in this Case be brought over. As for my Father, his Connexions with Lord Rockingham were so strict, that independent of his Regard for your Lordship, I know you may rely on his Services. He has some Transactions in the Banking Business with Wilberforce, which may make his Situation delicate respecting that Gentleman; but he is under no Engagement to him in Politicks. And I hope his five Sons may make up the Want of that Activity which can not be expected in a Man of 67. Lord Downe did me the Honour of taking a Breakfast here the other Day on a Saunter with the Harriers; he is a most amicable young Man; I mentioned to him an Idea of my own respecting a Coalition between Sir W[illiam] Milner and Lord Galway at York; your Lordship best knows how far Lord Galway is to be trusted; but I assure Your Lordship, he has at this day a very strong Interest in the City; and in Case of a Junction, Mr Milnes's Name would soon be consigned to Oblivion. There is a Mr Wright of York a druggist, a fast Friend of Lord Galway's, and a very important Man to us; whom I have some Interest with, and I believe could sound to Advantage, if this Matter should be thought advisable.

I was very glad to see so very numerous a Body of our Friends at York on the fifth of this Month; I have a Notion our Adverseries were greatly mortified; Mr Mason was extremely angry at not being suffered, after many Overtures on his part, to preach the Sermon:

His Friends say he means to print it. They are all in very low Spirits on account of the King's Illness.

Your Lordship makes me very happy by allowing me to suppose, that I can be of any Service to our Friends in the smallest degree; that they may have many more Adherents with equal Zeal, and Superior Ability, is the ardent Wish, of your Lordships much obliged, and most faithful Servant....

No. 224

JOSEPH BECKETT TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 24 November 1788

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 39, 7/1-3

(V)

Barnsley. I am much indebted to your Lordship for the favour of your Lordships Letter of the 18th... Mr Staniforth being unfriendly to opposition and possessing so very much of that independent Spirit usually in Men who acquire their own Fortunes; I am at a loss to say how a Letter immediately from your Lordship would be taken; it certainly ought be esteemed complimentory; and to have this effect, I recommend that your Lordship avoid much as possible party Language... presume, that Lord Rockingham is used to have Interest at Hull and particularly his.. (which Mrs Beckett sais in true) that your Lordship wishes to preserve or regain that Interest, and to introduce your Lordships Relation Lord Burford, with what may occur to your Lordship on Lord Burfords Merits and Independence... if your Lordship was to add you believe the Becketts, well disposed to any Relation of your Lordships, which you are led to hope may dispose him (Mr. S) to favor Lord B.... I think a Letter couched in such general terms and taken up on these Grounds could not offend his private Sentiments, which to be sure are Ministerial.... Mr. Staniforth has declared he will be no more active in an election; but has requested if any resolutions transpird, as to the County or the Boro' of Hull, that I would inform him, now as early intelligence may influence him, if your Lordship judge it proper I shall be glad to hand it to him.

On debating the Matter the Morning after I wrote to your Lordship Mr S seemed very apprehensive that a popular clamour might be raised against Lord B - from his dependance on and thence influence, by

Sir H. Etherington... that the Boro' would be sold to Sir H.. to use popular Language and Sir H.. is so unstable a Man, that as a public Character he is lost to every party... Mr Hammond allowd great force in this and it is here Lord B - is to look for Danger -

I hope your Lordship will not esteem me dictatorial in chalking the Letter to Mr. S - or adopt more of my Sentiments than your Lordship approves.

No. 225

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 24 November 1788

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 39, 6/1-2

(V)

Hull. I wrote your Lordship a very long letter to Milton since which I have the honor of yours, from that place and in regard to my coming over to Milton I have not the least Objection, but I think the business is not yet ripe for a direct determination Whenever I think it is or that you are desirous to have a Conversation I certainly shall obey your summons.

In the first place much will depend on the Kings Health and the time that Parliament may be dissolved, according to those Circumstances the movements must be Quicker or Slower.

In regard to Watty he left this place on Tuesday last and without any material prospect except that in which there can be no solid reliance, he made a Speech at the Town's Hall to a few aldermen wherein he said he should be very glad to represent the Town again - that he was agreable to be at a moderate expence but not to engage in an expensive Contest.

The point to be Considerd, is the most Eligible introduction to Lord Burford and this indeed requires management - the uncle to Lord Burford is unsteady, and uncertain, and yet his name (in point of fortune) to give a Sanction to Lord Burford will be highly necessary - the politicks of Sir Henry are what he Calls supporting administration and therefore should an Election from the present necessity take place I have no doubt of his being ready to acceed and assist Lord Burford.

It will be necessary to observe that Sir Henry tho perhaps without any direct promise seems entangled with Watty - who has been at his house a fortnight - some Contrivance to remove that may be necessary, this might I think be done by Lord Burford and his freinds tickling the Baronet a little to the honor of having Lord Burford the Representative for Hull - that Mr Stanhope, they are given to understand, has no chance in Case of oppqsition - that to have a Stranger step in and take that [honor] which might be so easily obtained for Lord Burford would Certainly be a most disagreable transaction and hurt Lord Burford and his family in the honor of the alliance etc.

These observations well timed might have their weights and if the Baronet should be so far engaged to Watty as to think himself locked up until he resigned - which no doubt will be the Case - they would then operate accordingly - The Trinity House that great Spring in Election matters are I have no doubts safe to the making any engagement with Watty -

I dont think this matter is ripe for a public declaration of Lord Burford, my opinion is that if Parliament is not to be soon dissolved Lord Burford had better remain Quiet I will keep your Lordship informed when any thing occurs and if it is needfull I will certainly have a Conversation with Your Lordship I dont think there is any danger of any further interference, or that the borough will be disturbed Until the occasion requires it.

I have already taken the liberty to hint the needfull Secrecy we are in a land of Jealousy were every man wishes to Support his own Consequence - with a little good management all may do well.... [P.S.] I will as much as I can introduce Lord Burfords name

Amongst other Contrivances (at a proper time) Lord North might if needfull push the little Baronet he gave him his title and did him other favors.

No. 226

EARL FITZWILLIAM TO SIR HENRY ETHERINGTON - 24 November 1788 [Copy]

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 39, 9/1-3

(V)

Milton. I should not take the liberty of troubling you with a letter but upon the subject of a person very nearly allied to you - I need

not observe that at the next general election there will be indisputably a change in one of the members for Hull: a strange accident, an uncommon state of things introduc'd Mr Stanhope: he was then quite a stranger, without connection or interest in the place: since He has not been fortunate in winning the affections of his constituents, and at this time he is acceptable to no description of persons - You, Sir have always had and maintain'd a great interest there, arising from your great property and personal consideration - can any Gentleman be found more proper to represent Hull than your nephew, Lord Burford: I have every reason to foresee that should you approve of his rendering his services, He will be acceptable to many very leading Gentlemen, and will meet with the support of an interest that has often prevail'd in Hull: which I trust is not anywise impair'd, but on the contrary that it will receive additional strength on the next occasion by the support of parties, who hitherto have never honor'd it with their countenance. - in conversation with Lord Burford I have found that a seat in parliament would make him very happy: it is indeed an object suitable to his rank and fortune: but he would not think of offering himself for Hull without the sanction of your full approbation, on account of the deference he entertains for your opinion in all cases, but most particularly so in this, as conveying the best judgement that can be had upon his prospect of success, besides the great weight your hearty concurrence in the undertaking will carry with it - He intends writing to you himself, but I felt there could be no impropriety in my expressing the great satisfaction I should have in uniting my efforts with yours towards placing him in that honorable situation, his connection with your family seems to point out for him -

No. 227

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 26 November 1788

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 39, 8/1

(V)

Hull. I wrote your Lordship very lately to that I beg leave to refer - I have this morning had a Conversation with Mr Sykes brother to the Reverend whom your Lordship has acquainted with the business - and he is intirely of opinion with me that the Uncles Assistance

and Countenance in pecuniary matters is highly necessary - but I shall have frequent occasions to introduce this affair to your Lordship

We have a luxury produced from the Humber (fine Shrimps) - these are potted so as to make them acceptable to our distant freinds - I have taken the liberty to send a small box of a Dozen pots - directed to Milton I hope you will find them agreable, I have sent them by the Peterborough Coach which I expect will be at that place on fryday noon.

From the paper I percieve that the King Continues in the same unhappy Situation - I shall be much Obliged to your Lordship for your sentiments occassionally to what may be the Event of this important affair.

No. 228

SIR HENRY ETHERINGTON TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 28 November 1788

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 39, 18

(V)

Hull. I have the honor of your Lordships Letter of the 24th. If it is Lord Burford wish and allso your desire to have his Lordship in Parliament you my Lord can with the greatest facility place him there whenever your Lordship pleases and that too without either trouble or expence, to the Noble Earl.

No. 229

THE EARL OF BURFORD TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 30 November 1788

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 39

(V)

Dygswell. As I hope this may meet you before you take your departure for town, I have taken the liberty to inclose you a copy of a letter I wrote Sir Henry three days ago, and which I wish may meet with your approbation -

If you can make Dygswell any way convenient to you on your road to Town, we shall be exceedingly happy in being able to give you a bed, and having news to communicate will much oblige....

[P.S.] We beg our best Respects to Lady Fitzwilliam, and the little Lord whom we hope are in perfect health.

[Copy] After having thanked Sir Henry, for a letter of his and a complimentary Kind of preface I say very [clearly] I make no doubt but before this, in all probability, you will have received a letter from Lord Fitzwilliam, requesting your advice and interest, respecting his proposing me, (as Mr Stanhope seems not to stand the least chance of coming in again) as a Candidate at the Ensuing Election, for Hull; This proposition coming from him could not but meet with my concurrence; though I was determined nothing further should take place, unless you was wrote to and your consent being previously obtained, before any other measures were taken, Upon my mentioning this Lord Fitzwilliam said very obligingly, that he would undertake to open the Subject to you, and to state his reasons for proposing me, in preference to any of his other friends, but observed at the same time, that did it not meet with your entire approbation, that I ought to give up all thoughts of the kind -

I dare say my Dear Sir, there may be at Ferriby, as well as at other places, many people not only jealous but also envious of Lady Burfords and my Situation in life, and who dare not openly avow themselves, but do every thing in their power to imbibe clandestinely in the minds of other people the effusion of their own hearts; I trust for that and other reasons, you will just consult yourself and turn in your own mind, whether you approve, that I should represent the Town of Hull, or not for was I sure of success and you was to set your face against the Affair, you may depend upon my giving up all thoughts and remain in Status quo, notwithstanding it might be much against my own inclination and wishes - I rely on having the pleasure of hearing from you soon.

No. 230

THE EARL OF BURFORD TO EARL FITZWILLIAM – 12 December 1788

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 39, 10/1-2

(V)

Dygswell. I have received a letter from Sir Henry, in answer to mine, in which he states his reasons at large for not promising me his support and good wishes for Hull; mentioning numberless difficulties, and objections, both too tedious and absurd for me to repeat -

As it seems to go so much against the grain, I hope you wont think me to blame in very unwillingly declining to profit of your kind assistance, circumstanced as I am, I think it most prudent to give up the thoughts of my being a Candidate - I cannot conclude my Dear Lord without confessing how much I am obliged to you for the very friendly and active part, that you was so good as to take to assist me, and at the same time to assure you, it would have given me infinite pleasure, to have been able to have added myself, one to the number of those, who call themselves your freinds on this, as well as any other occasion....

No. 231

THE MARQUIS OF CARMARTHEN[1] TO THE MAYOR[2] - 2 January 1789

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 1387/31

(VI)

Whitehall. I have this moment received the honour of your letter of Dec. 31 inclosing The Thanks for the Corporation of Hull[3] for my support of The Rights of The Two Houses of Parliament by The Vote I gave on Fryday last in The Committee of The whole House of Peers[4].

That vote Sir was given by me from the fullest Conviction of the Propriety of The Resolutions which had been Communicated to us by The House of Commons and which I conceived founded not only on the necessity of the case, but on the truest principles of the Constitution.

The very flattering mark of approbation contained in the unanimous Resolution of The Corporation of Kingston upon Hull, affords me the highest Satisfaction, and will naturally produce in my mind a fresh sense of obligation towards so respectable a part of The Community, from whom I have already received so many marks of their very flattering approbation of my conduct.

1. Francis Osborne (1751-1799), Marquis of Carmarthen. On 15 May 1776 he was called up to the House of Lords on his father's barony, and took his seat as Baron Osborne of Kiveton in the County of York; he succeeded his father as fifth duke of Leeds on 23 March 1789. Appointed High Steward of Hull on 11 April 1786, he served as Foreign Secretary from 1783 to 1791 (D.N.B., xlii, 286-9).
2. Alderman Benjamin Blayds, a merchant.

3. Mayor of Hull to Carmarthen, 31 December 1788 (Copies of Letters from the Mayor 1778-1795. Hull Record Office BRL. 51); Resolution of 30 December 1788 (B.B., x, 72).

4. Parl. Hist., xxvii, 891. On the issue of the Regency, Carmarthen supported Pitt.

No. 232

WILLIAM PITT TO THE MAYOR - 3 January 1789

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 1387/34

(VI)

Downing Street [London]. I received this day the favor of your Letter of the 31st December, and take the Liberty of requesting that you would have the Goodness to convey to the Corporation of Hull my grateful Acknowledgement for the Honor they have done me by the Resolution which you transmitted[1], and to assure them of the particular Satisfaction I receive from knowing that the Principles which I have endeavored to maintain coincide with the Sentiments of so Respectable a Body.

1. Resolution of 30 December 1788 (B.B., x, 72), thanking Pitt for proposing the Regency Bill.

No. 233

WALTER SPENCER STANHOPE TO THE MAYOR - 5 January 1789

Source: H.R.O., BRL. 1387/33

(VI)

Cannon Hall. I have great Satisfaction in receiving the Honour of your Letter of the 31st of last Month, conveying to me the unanimous Approbation of my worthy Constituents, your respectable Corporation[1], for the Vote I gave on the memorable Occasion of the sixteenth December last[2]. Permitt me to add that I never gave a Vote more zealously, or more to the perfect Conviction of my own Mind. -

I return you my sincere Thanks for communicating to me such agreeable Information, and have the Honour to be, with great Respect and Regard both to the honourable Body, of which you are now at the Head, and to yourself.

1. Resolution of 30 December 1788. (B.B., x, 72).
2. Parl. Hist., xxvii, 779. The debate on 16 December was one of many during the crisis over the Regency question of 1788-89, and ended in a victory for Pitt's government. A convenient summary may be found in J.W. Derry, The Regency Crisis and the Whigs. (London, 1963), 93-103.

No. 234

EARL FITZWILLIAM TO FRANCIS FERRAND FOLJAMBE[1] - 15 January 1789

Source: H.M.C. 15th Report App. V. Foljambe MSS., 159-160

(V)

Milton. It is a satisfaction to think that all the manufacturing parts of Yorkshire are not of one mind upon the present critical business. The corporation of Leeds are to meet for the purpose of addressing Pitt the very day our friends are to meet at Halifax for the purpose of disavowing Dr. Wood's notable address. Though I have had no intelligence directly from Leeds, I think we have such a strength there, that no address will pass with anything like unanimity, but if it should, I hope Halifax will set all straight the very same day. General opinion has been exceedingly biassed by the reports so assiduously and successfully propagated of the King's amendment and of the probability of his recovery. The present examination before the Committee of the House of Commons will produce its effect at the very right moment for the Yorkshire meetings, and I think will come so very opportunely that Pitt's friends will not have time to remove the effect, either as to [the] point of the King's recovery, or as to the suspicion of foul play upon the subject. Truth will come out, and the public will see through the juggle between Pitt and the Queen. The bargain is just this - her Majesty is to have the fingering [of] the private savings, and in return [Pitt] is to hold all the patronage and power that can be filched from the Regent for his (Pitt's) use. Thus the darling passion of each will be gratified - his ambition, her rapacity.

Since you are decided not to look at the county, what should you say to Hull? The interest which Sir George and my uncle kept up there, is still alive; I am almost sanguine enough to think it would be found as strong as ever; its defeat was owing to its unfortunate champion: of all men David Hartley was the worst for that purpose, and indeed he knew it himself, and fairly told me

so, but had not resolution enough to give up what he knew he could not carry, though another person might have carried it. You know Thornton and Stanhope are the present members - the first being extremely strong, being in fact the representative of Wilberforce's interest: the latter exceedingly weak, and a good countenance would make him fly. He has lately been reconnoitring, has spent about 300£. among the lowest class, which will not do him 300 pennyworth of service when the day of trial comes. In my opinion, whoever tries Hull will find Stanhope their best friend: being already in possession and extremely desirous of being in Parliament, a third person immediately creates a contest, which will satisfy the mob, but as soon as ever Stanhope sees the face of an enemy he will be off. I have great reason to think the old interest will be collected together again very easily, and nobody will be better received by them than yourself; indeed they would look upon the support of you, as resorting again to the standard of Sir George. Will you turn this in your thoughts?

1. Francis Ferrand Foljambe (1750-1814) M.P. for Yorkshire 1 January - 25 March 1784, Higham Ferrers 1801-1807. The nephew of Sir George Savile (Namier and Brooke, Commons 1754-90, ii, 446).

No. 235

SAMUEL THORNTON TO THE MAYOR - 19 January 1789 [misdated 1788]

Source: H.R.O. BRL. 1387/35

(VI)

Clapham. I am concerned to see the Date of the Letter in which you transmitted to me the Thanks for the Corporation of Hull[1] for the Vote which I gave on the 16 Ultimo in support of the Right of the Lords and Commons to provide the means of supplying the Defect of the personal Exercise of the Royal Authority[2]. Nothing but Incapacity should have prevented my acknowledging sooner the Sense I entertain of the Honour done me by the Corporation and the Satisfaction I feel from my Conduct on so important an occasion meeting their Approbation

On the Monday following when this Business was prosecuted further, I got a severe Cold from the very great Heat and Crowd of the House which terminated in a Fever that has now confined me three Weeks,

I am however greatly better and likely soon to get out

This is the first Day on which I have been able to use my Pen and I have taken that opportunity to express my Acknowledgements for the Vote of the Corporation and to you for communicating it to me.

1. Resolution of 30 December 1788 (B.B., x, 72).
2. Parl. Hist., xxvii, 779.

No. 236

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 29 January 1789

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 40

(V)

Foxholes. The Letter which your Lordship honoured me with, and which informed me that Lord Burford could not be a Candidate for Hull, has on that account puzzled us not a little. It would be highly imprudent for Lord Burford to engage himself in any such Scheme without Sir H. Etherington's Approbation; but it is much to be regretted that is not to be obtained; for perhaps his Lordship from a lucky Coincidence of Interests is the only Person who can be a Candidate for Hull without Opposition. I think it remains with your Lordship to suggest some proper Person to oppose Stanhope, who certainly is no Favourite with his Constituents. Who ever you recommend will be supported by a very strong Interest: But perhaps a new Man not committed on any political Question, would have the greatest Probability of Success.

I cannot avoid congratulating your Lordship on the probable Restoration of our Friends to Power: If any Administration can subsist, crippled and fettered as the new one must be; it will be Mr Fox's: It is surely a very arduous Task, but we may hope the Genius of England will interfere in their Favour. I trust, without a Miracle, your Lordship will support Mr. Fox by accepting some important Post, which will afford you an Opportunity of displaying the Interests of your Head and Heart, in the Service of your Country and your Prince.

I beg leave to thank your Lordship for the obliging Information you were pleased to communicate to me on the grand Subject of Politicks: Mr Pitt has got a most submissive House of Commons: I wonder he

suffers the Prince to have the Power of dissolving it; and that in Imitation of the long Parliament in 1641, the Commons did not pass a Bill to make their Sessions perpetual. It is plain the present Minister possesses the Quid liber audendi, in a surprising degree, for he has overleaped all the Barriers of Law and Equity, and has insulted his future Sovereign in the grossest manner. The exemplary Behaviour of the Prince on this trying Occasion augurs great Happiness to the Nation: and the little Regard he must needs feel for the present Minister, affords strong Expectations of a fortunate Reign.

Whenever your Lordship is pleased to flatter me with the Idea of being useful to that Party, whose Interests I have ever espoused with Ardour, a Communication of your Wishes will always be received with the utmost Gratitude.

No. 237

SAMUEL THORNTON AND WALTER SPENCER STANHOPE TO THE MAYOR -

20 March 1789

Source: H.R.O., BRL. 1387/38

(VI)

London. We had the Honour of your Letter by yesterday's Post, and have this Morning waited on Lord Sydney[1] with the two Addresses to the King and the Queen, from the Corporation of Kingston-upon-Hull[2], in whose Department it is to lay before their Majesties the loyal Addresses of their Subjects on the present joyful Occasion. We trust it is unnecessary to assure you that we had particular Pleasure in the Performance of so agreeable a Part of our Duty, and have the Honour to be with great Regard....

P.S. I deferred sending this Letter by the last Post in Hopes of receiving Lord Sidney's Letter which is not yet arrived, but, having by this Means an Opportunity of telling you we presented your Petition to the House yesterday[3] -

1. Thomas Townshend, first Viscount Sydney (1733-1800). Secretary of State for the Home Department in March 1789 (D.N.B., lvii, 131-33). Sydney presented the address on 24 March (H.R.O. BRL. 1386/39).

2. On 16 March 1789 the Corporation resolved to send an address to the King and the Queen on the former's recovery from an attack of 'insanity'. (B.B., x, 76; P.R.O. H.O. 55/25/1, 2). On the 20 March a similar address followed from Trinity House (P.R.O. H.O. 55/25/6), and at some stage, one from the Freeholders of the County of Hull (P.R.O. H.O. 55/25/63).

3. A petition from the Mayor, Burgesses, Merchants and Shipowners for leave to introduce a bill to construct another dock was presented on 20 March, not the day before as Stanhope intimated. It was referred to a committee but there was no report. (C.J., xliv, 226).

No. 238

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 2 April 1789

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 40

(V)

Hull. I have the honor of your Lordships letter and in regard to Lord Burford I am afraid a reliance on the uncle may be dangerous, for in Election matters he is the most unsteady man I ever met with - I dont speak this from prejudice but from experience.

I sincerely wish it was in my power to give your Lordship safe advice for should Lord Burford make the attempt and Sir Henry does not stand forward with open Sincerity the Plebeians would have such doubts as Could not be overcome - according to my opinion this matter should be first Established between Lord Burford and his uncle fully and Clearly before any public declaration - and indeed the longer this can be delayed the better for the business.

Stanhope has not improved his interest nor never will, that Certainly the prospect is favorable for a Gentleman of Character and fortune such as I am sure your Lordship would recommend, and Lord Burford from his Connections provided every doubt was removed

I dont think Stanhope will Struggle with an opposition he has publicly declared that he will not, as I dont expect any Election will take place until late in the Summer I shall I hope to have a Conversation with your Lordship - and indeed I expect to be in London in the Course of this month - If you are at Milton I will make that place in my way to town but if your Lordship has any reason to expect a Sudden dissolution you will please to acquaint me.

No. 239

THE EARL OF BURFORD TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 7 April 1789

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 40

(V)

Duchess Street [London]. I should have answered your letter by yesterday's post, but had not an opportunity of conversing with Claridge till this day, in order to consult with him upon the best mode of proceeding in the business -

I am clearly of opinion with Mr Hammond, of not making a public Canvas, till such time, as it is more certain than at present of Parliament being dissolved, on account of the numberless inconveniences attending a declaration made any time before hand, but at the same time think it very right, that some of the leading people, some be informed of my intentions and without mentioning my name, be able to assure their friends that some body will come forth, to oppose Stanhope Claridge after some conversation gave up his favourite plan of a Public Canvas, and thinks the mode I have mentioned the most eligible to be pursued at present; therefore I have to beg of you, to be so good as to inform your friends that somebody, intends to start in opposition to Stanhope, and request they wont engage themselves, but employ their Interest in my behalf without mentioning my name,

I shall take the earliest opportunity of writing to Sir Henry, I am fearful he wont espouse my cause so openly at first as we could wish for, but you may rely on his remaining neuter, and not opposing me, and even in the end I flatter myself of prevailing upon him to give me his support; which is not at present near like what it used to be; The Dock Company and Trinity House I hope you have taken care of. I wish you may approve the mode we have fixed on, of proceeding in the business, I think among other advantages, arising from it will be that it wont create so general an alarm as a public declaration would do - When you are at leszure and will oblige me with a line I should esteem it as a favour....

No. 240

HENRY BROADLEY TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 2 May 1789

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 40, 22

(V)

Hull. I have the Honor of yours, since my last to your Lordship I find my Brother[1] has no thoughts of offering for Hull, consequently Lord Burford on your account will have my Vote and Interest, but if I might presume to advise your Lordship I think your friends should not come in as Principals but as Auxiliarys to Lord Burfords Interest for as the town in general is ministerial and I believe always has been, let who will be minister, it would be better if he could be introduced by some that are not so well known as I am to be your well wisher and it would have the less appearance of Party.

1. Robert Broadley

No. 241

SIR HENRY ETHERINGTON TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 12 May 1789

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 40, 23

(V)

Ferriby. I take the liberty to inform your Lordship of some Insidents that have accurd since I had the honor to write to your Lordship - having sent Lord Burford Copey of a note that had comed to Hull it drew from him a Declaration that he had acquesed in your desire of his offering for Hull - I can only say my objections are not abated but rather increasd from the late revolution in publick affairs when I wishd his Lordship not to displease you by adhering to my opinion,the Regency of which your Lordship was to be the head seemed then certain which would have Made the Elec[tion] practible which I think is not so now, however if you and Lord B think otherwise and wish to trye the experiment I can only say thinking myself under Personal obligations to the best of things and also to our members. I cannot with any sense of honor join any opposition. All I can do for Lord B and which I would not do for aney other Man on Earth - is to retire to Ferriby and to take no part whatever in the Contest, its reported our Two Members are to be supportd at all Events and that if Stanhope declines another is to take his Place and it is

also said that other is to be Colonel Manners the Son of my good old friend Lord Robert which it would hurt me that I could not serve I am also hurt least the expence might injure Lord Burford affairs - as I could wish him to Shine not as Lord B but as a Duke and the expence of a Severe contest cant be less than 6 or 7000£ and Two will have a great advantage against one - I have freely and openly told your Lordship my Sentiments and now I intend to act.

No. 242

JOHN BECKETT[1] TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 15 May 1789

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 40, 24

(V)

Barnsley. I have, at your Lordships instigation, renewed my Solicitation to Mr. Staniforth in favor of Lord Burford, and he replys to me nearly as follows. "I had a hint about a month ago that Lord B had reason to think his offering himself for Hull now would not be so disagreable to Sir H.E. as was expected... it is not unusual for Sir H to change his Mind, steadiness is not the most remarkable trait in his Character.... Lord Fitzwilliam must endeavour to make him speak out and know how far Lord B may depend on his countenance and support... Mr Thornton shall have my Interest for one of the Members but as I never gave Mr Stanhope any encourgement, it is my Intention at present to give him neither countenance nor support and I do not care to lay my self under an absolute engagement to Lord Fitzwilliam.. of my Interest to Lord B- that will be soon enough when he declares himself. I admire Lord Fitzwilliams Character and if I do support Lord B it will be on his Account and your recommendation - It is my opinion that Watty has no stable Interest to depend on here and that if Lord B comes properly Introduced he will decline a Contest." Your Lordship must excuse my transcribing so much of Mr. Staniforths reply, as I think it may help your Lordships judgement better than extracts.... On the whole I think the reply very favourable... for considering Mr S- a shy Man it amounts with me, to little less than an absolute promise.... I heartly wish his Lordship success -

1. John Beckett (1743-1826) of Barnsley, mayor of Leeds 1775 and 1797. He was a leading partner in the celebrated Beckett's Bank; created a baronet in 1813. (R.V. Taylor, Biographia Leodiensis. (1865), 304-5).

No. 243

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 18 May 1789

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 40

(III, V)

Foxholes. After due Deliberation on the Letter your Lordship was pleased to favour me with; my Father and the rest of us were unanimously of Opinion, that the most probable Mode of securing Lord Burford's Election at Hull; would be to keep the Idea of his offering himself a Secret. Because, Stanhope would be frightened away by Lord Burford's declaring himself a Candidate; and a more formidable Opponent sent by Government in his Room; and because the whole Body of inferior Burgesses are so obstinately attached to every Administration; that one of our Friends, should start at the Post; before they know he will ride in Buff Blue[1]. I am directed to inform your Lordship that every possible Exertion, will be made by my Father etc. in your Lordship's Interest on all Occasions: I must entreat your Lordship not to put me to the Blush, by speaking of Favours received from me; since the Business of my Life is devoted to your Service.

In Confidence my Lord, it is unfortunate that Lord Burford has not engaged Lady E. in his Interest; She is a bitter Enemy to him, and is now employed in telling everybody, that Sir H.E. will not support him; but leave the Town when he comes. The Truth is, that Sir H. has not at present one Guinea to spare, and therefore keeps aloof; but wishes sincerely to see his Nephew the Member for Hull. It will probably cost Lord Burford £2000 at the most £2500; and your Lordship will determine whether that Money ought to be raised without the Baronet's Aid. And if you approve our Plan of a bag Fox, Lady Burford must be controled not to mention any thing of the Matter to her Correspondents. There is already a Report of Lord Burford's Intention, but that not being sanctioned by Sir H. nor any of your Lordship's Friends, will not be sufficient to rouse Stanhope from his Lethargy.

My old Friend Mr Croft[2] shewed me your Lordship's Letter respecting the City of York: It is no wonder than Milnes should wish to secure

his own Seat by a Compromise. I am confident that Lord Gallway has a very powerful Interest; and a Union between him and Sir W. Milner, in my humble Opinion could not fail of Success. Whether Lord Gallway is a proper Person, is not for us little Men to decide; but if he should be judged so; I think, if his Vanity was properly applied to, it would not be difficult to make him start[3]. I hear a bad account of poor Sinclair's Recordership; the same Spirit of over Security lost Lord John Cavendish his Election, has endangered Sinclair's Election; and will lose all future ones, if it is not remedied. I can assure your Lordship that from a long Intimacy, I have the highest Opinion both of Sinclair's Head and Heart; but in truth my good Lord, there are other Qualifications requisite for the Post of Manager of a popular Election. He has not that insinuating Manner which he wants to use on every Occasion: Your Lordship who possess it, as highly as your Uncle did, knows it is more easy to be felt than described: You have both felt the great Advantages of it, which need not be pointed out. Sinclair will not stoop to court Men whom he knows to be his Inferiors in Virtue and Knowledge; but my Lord if we are to have no Voters, except those who are good and wise as Sinclair, we shall make a very small Figure on the Poll. A good Intention alone can plead in my Excuse, for obtruding my Conceits on your Lordship; and if they had been my Opinions alone, they never should have troubled you; but indeed it is the Character of your Lordship, which supports our Cause, and by no means the Policy of our Agents. A line from your Lordship may relax the rugged Austerity of our Friend's Brow; may polish his Address, and may soften his Manners: Or at all Events, what I have said may tend to inform your Lordship, that in all Sinclair's Calculations, great Allowance must be made for his sanguine Temper.

I thank your Lordship for the political Intelligence you were so good as to favour me with: I have hopes that Things cannot long remain in their present State: for the English will not bear to have their Sovereign immured like the Grand Seignior; and in the mean time the Prince is winning all Hearts by his exemplary Conduct.

I beg leave to thank your Lordship for the Tickets you were so obliging as to send my Sister: She was more delighted with Mr Burke's Speech, and the Sight of Mr Fox in Westminster Hall, than she ever was in her Life: and will return if possible more attached to her Party, than when she went up.

If your Lordship should convince me by some future Letter that I have not totally forfeited that small Share of Esteem, which your Lordship has been pleased to flatter me with possessing; it will add greatly to [my] Happiness.

1. The colours of Charles James Fox.
2. A prominent citizen of York, and former supporter of Lord Rockingham.
3. On York politics see, V.C.H. City of York, 244.

No. 244

SIR HENRY ETHERINGTON TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 25 May 1789

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 40, 25.

(V)

Ferriby. I have the honor to recve your Lordships Letter of the 19 by which your Lordship is pleasd to say I aquiese in Lord Burfords offering for Hull. I am rather surprised how your Lordship could form the Idea from my Letter when I informd you I thought myself under obligations and Principles to Support our present Members and that I could not support Lord Burford but should retire and take no part what ever in the Contest which I am still determind to do. If that can be calld an acquesance I knowledge it for I cant think I have any right absolutely to forbid Lord Burford Coming more especally when he writes me. Your Lordship has been so Kind as to pledge your self to bring him in, at your sole expence which was so kind an offer. I certainly had no right to forbid his Lordship accepting it and thereby gain your displeasure I would rather suffer any Inconvenience than do that both from the regard I ought to pay his Lordship and also the respect I ought to hold to you I must beg leave to say I think you are mistaken in Two Ideas,first that Government Interest is not from late Events at its Zenith here I think it never was so strong here as at present and I allso think the Expence cant be less of a Contest than 6 or £7,000 and that Government never had so fair a Chance to bring in or Continue Two Members than at present. Your Confidential freinds may have advisd your Lordship different but they are unpopular, I am sure nothing can carry the point but to have it given out Lord B comes on the principles of Lor[d] Robert that whether he succeeds or not, 2 guineas

well given to all those that give him a Vote, and 4 guineas for a Single Vote and as it will be expected he has so many Services to bring at least 5000 guineas with him and Lodge it in the Bank. This will give immediate Credit and may turn the Die in his favor. Nothing else can I think can make him Suceed having done so much already for my Neice its not in my power to supplye him with any powder to make the attack. I have wrote Lord Burford my aversion to the scheeme nevertheless I would not have him to disoblige your Lordship to Oblige me....

[P.S.] Your Lordship seems to forget at all General Elections weak Freinds have been assisted by those what hold the Tempory Key of the king[dom]. Stanhope or Manners may receive such help. Stanhope told me he would willingly spend as far as £3000 and many new Places having lately been made at Hull has occasiond our Members great Influence and particularly Stanhope who being esteemd the weakest has paid the preference to Oblige his Freinds.

No. 245

SIR HENRY ETHERINGTON TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 26 May 1789

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 40

(III, V)

Ferriby. In my last I gave your Lordship the reasons why I could not Support Lord Burford and that tho his coming would be highly disagreeable to me still as your Lordship had been so Kind as to offer to Lord B to pledge your self to bring him in solely at your expence I could not desire him to incurr your Lordships displeasure to Oblige me. This you are pleased to explain into my Acquiesence which I must beg leave to say does not carry that Construction.

I will now beg leave to lay before your Lordship the Difficulties Lord B must meet with and the only possible means he can have the least Chance to surmount them if that can be possible which I think is not

Difficulties

1st Lord Burford will have to meet the opposition of all the Freinds of Government which are now more numerous than ever I remember them, from the very resent Causes your Lordship imagines them to be diminishd - to which may be aded the Personal Interest of Mr Wilberforce and Mr Thornton

2nd And all Those People who are arivaled against Mr Hammond and the Dock Company which are a very powerfull Body Consisting of all the ship yards headed by Mr Blaydes the Mayor I also think the Corporation will be with Government

3rd I am also very apprehensive when I recollect what the Minister lately did for the Noble Duke Lord Burford by such a step might Subject himself to Ministerial Vengeance which I am sure your Lordship would not wish him to do

4th I think your Lordship is allso greatly mistaken in thinking Lord B has more Personal Interest than Stanhope and that he may come in for a little Expence. I can only say I have known it Cost Lord Robert Mr Weddell, Mr Wilberforce above £6000 Each at one Election and I have seen £800 spent in one Night Treat of the Burgesses. Stanhope last Election Cost him £3000 and he will willingly spend the same again if he should decline and God send down Manner I am Clear he would be Choise. Certainly Stanhope having paid the poor Burgesses their Customary fees they will have a greater Confidence in him than a Stranger - to Counterpoise this Lord B must bring 5000 guineas with him and lodge them in Pease Bank and he must to give £200 to the Infirmary and £5 Each to all the poor Persons in the hospitalls and to have it given out he offers himself exactly on Lord Roberts Plan this would give him Immediate Creditt and popularity without which he cannot succeed, your Lordship may depend if Lord B comes I shall take no part whatsoever in the Contest but leave the Country untill the Matter is determind.

No. 246

SIR HENRY ETHERINGTON TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 2 June 1789

Source: Fitzwilliam Mss., Box 40, 27

(V)

Hull. I should not have presumed to have troubled your Lordship again had I not to Day received a Letter from Lord Burford saying The Bussiness I look upon it and remains in a great measure between you and Lord Fitzwilliam and whatever you may determine I shall be happy to Complye with. I think my Lord this resolution is at once an Instance both of his prudence and wisdom - and to it I can only repeate to your Lordship my highest Disapprobation of the scheem

and never can either acquiese or consent to Lord Burford offering himself for Hull and as at the first your Lordship wrote me you did not wish it unless it meet my intire approbation, therefore on this ground I hope your Lordship will give up all Thoughts of it which I am certain in every point of View will be doing Lord Burford the greatest Kindness as well as giving me the highest Satisfaction.

[Endorsed]

Substance of the answer to Sir H. Etherington's letter of the 2nd June -

the business was originally begun, as a mark of attention from one of Lord B's family to Sir H: - it was drop'd on his expressing a disapprobation of it - it was reviv'd under sanction of his Letter of May 12 - and it must be pursued for the sake of my honor, which is concern'd in not perpetually changing without a change of circumstances -

No. 247

HENRY MAISTER TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 18 June 1789

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 40, 28

(V)

Winestead, nr. Hull. I am honourd by your Lordships favour of the 1 Inst. but being from home since its arrival prevented my returning you my thanks so early as otherwise I should have done -

You may ever be assured I shall lbe happy to oblige your Lordship when in my power, but I fear in your present request it will not have that weight I wish, for tho' I dont say the town is perfectly satisfied, yet, to attempt an opposition will have its many difficulties to encounter besides the very considerable expence of which our ffriend Mr Weddell can give a pretty good Account - At present the scale seams in favour of the present Ministry and that can only be attacked with success by Money or superior Abilities in the Candidate, a professional Man in either Army or Navy would have too many objections made to him, every one would see the want which might arise; besides even the making the attempt without a moral certainty of succeeding, would be weakening that Interest of your ffriends which brought forward upon a good foundation might ensure you success; nothing hurts an Interest so much as a defeat, and my Respect for your

Lordship makes me presume to give you these hints; if you think they may be got over I shall certainly do what I can to serve you consistantly with my promise to Mr Thornton -

Allow me to return you my most grateful thanks for your Lordships kindness to Mrs. Maister, her Health would not permit her accepting your obliging Ticket. She is return'd home and better since her arrival, and begs to add her best respects along with mine to Lady Fitzwilliam and your self - being with the greatest Deference....

No. 248

THE EARL OF BURFORD TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 26 June 1789

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 40

(V)

Park Street [London]. I wished very much to have had the pleasure of meeting with you this morning, but my presence being absolutely necessary at the Regiment[1] on Saturday evening, renders it out of my power of waiting upon you at Brook's, according to your appointment. -

I am therefore obliged to commit to Paper the purport of my visit, at the same time inclosing you three letters[2] I have received from Mr Hale on the subject of my offering myself for Hertford, in place of Hull. To his first I replyed, I could do nothing till I had consulted with you on the business, that as you had been so good as to give yourself so much trouble, I could not think of giving my consent to a proposal you knew nothing of. Upon his second and third letters, being couched in such strong terms I took the resolution to come and be present on the spot, in hopes of putting an end to the business, which I have not been able, by not meeting with you this morning -

I well can conceive the dissagreable situation you must be in, should you have occasion to write a third refusal to your Friends at Hull, I have therefore left the matter thus with Mr. Hale, that I should request of you to give me your decided opinion by tomorrow's Post, so that I might communicate mine to him as soon as possible, and that I might rely that whatever you thought on the business I should, do the same, -

I have received a number of Letters from Sir H. Etherington, testifying his utter aversion for my offering for Hull, this other place he will have nothing to do with[3] - Excuse my Haste as I have a long Journey in so short a time to perform.... Direct to me at Shrewsbury.

[P.S.] Pray dont mention to any one you havin read his letters.

1. At this time Burford was lieutenant-colonel of the 34th Foot (Ex.Inf., History of Parliament Trust).
2. Missing.
3. On Burford and the constituency of Hertford, see Burford to Fitzwilliam, 3 July 1789, Fitzwilliam MSS. Box. 40.

No. 249

THE EARL OF BURFORD TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 4 October 1789

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 40

(V)

Dygswell. I feel myself under great obligations to you for your last very friendly letter, and cannot but agree with you, that the Duke is very much to be pitied in the loss he has sustained, and which is not only confined to him, but affects my Sisters very essentially[1] - Any little coolness that may have existed between my father and me, is now entirely forgotten, and every attention that has laid in my power, has been shewn him ever since the unhappy event, and I shall in future indulge him in any of his whims, and sourness of temper whenever it may happen, sooner than give him any reason to complain, and I am sure Lady B. will feel great pleasure in seconding my endeavours.

I think your account of Hull perfectly satisfactory, I have not heard any thing on that head lately from Sir H. E. as he percieves he can get nothing, by writing, and has entirely dropped the subject, though I hear from a correspondent of ours, that he is by no means at his ease, for under the apprehensions of my standing, he has not made any stir in favor of Stanhope, by whom it seems he is very hard pressed, under an idea that he would not oppose the present members, but give them his assistance; With regard to Captain Shirley you mention, I saw his name some time ago in the Papers, as being a Candidate, I cant think he has any interest with any of the leading

people, and therefore trust he and Stanhope would do the Cause more good than harm, -

At this moment I have not the Sum you specify at command, not thought about raising it, as I looked upon the time it would be wanted at some distance; but if you will be so good just for the present as to lend it to me, and let Mr Pease and Harrison know it is forth coming, I will have it ready, by the time it is really wanted; In this measure I can conceive many advantages will arise, it will not only spread the Alarm through the Town and add strength and weight to our Interest, but make Sir H. E. really believe that you are at the whole expence, and are determined to go thro with the business.

I cannot conlude without expressing my concern at your having so much trouble on my account and assure you how much obliged to you I am for it. With Lady Burford and my best Respects to Lady Fitzwilliam I remain My Dear Lord....

1. The Duchess of St. Albans, Burford's mother, died of cancer on 4 September 1789 (G.E.C., Complete Peerage, xi, 291).

No. 250

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 10 June 1790

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 41

(V)

Foxholes. I have just received the inclosed Letter from Mr Sinclair[1]; and have answered it by telling him that Lord Burford (in my Opinion) will certainly be a Candidate for Hull. Should your Lordship have altered your Plan, it might be proper to inform Mr Sinclair of it; I hope that is not the Case; We think Sir H. Etherington is cold to his Nephew, because he can spare him no Money for his Election; and if Lord Burford comes well provided, there is little doubt of his Success. Surely an Application from Lady Burford to her Uncle, would have some Weight.

I hope Mr. Dundas goes on well at Cambridge[2]. Your Lordship will not forget to write to Henry Broadley Esq at Hull. He is a warm Friend but requires a little Attention. Every possible Exertion will be made in Lord Burford's Favour, by your Lordship's much obliged and most devoted humble Servant....

1. Missing

2. George Dundas was returned neither for the borough nor the university (Return of Members, ii, 188). He was later returned for Richmond in 1802 (G.P. Judd, Members of Parliament, (New Haven, 1955), 180).

No. 251

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 11 June 1790

Source: Fitzwilliam Mss., Box 41

(V)

Hull. I have the honor of your Lordships letter of the 8th Inst. and I am indeed very much perplexed to give you an answer with that Satisfaction I could wish.

The Situation of the Town is at present very languid indeed, the sudden dissolution and the surprise arising from that may be the occasion - but several Gentlemen who have from their situation and business Consequence, and Influence, to lead on this occassion, and are very favorable to the Cause in which your Lordship wishes to engage, yet are afraid of the Trouble and perplexity which attends a Contested Election and as I have before observed the relation of Lord Burford shewing so much backwardness is a gloomy part of the business.

On the receipt of your Lordships letter I made my visit into the Country to Consult our freind Mr Sykes - and I recomended an Immediate application to the Baronet for a direct and Explicit declaration of the part he would take; the Correspondence on the occasion with Mr Sykes letter to your Lordship I have perused and they are this post Conveyed to your Lordship.

I dar not give any opinion of the Baronet Answer for fear I might be Mistaken - at present his Ideas are Neutrality - how ever I was determined to have something Under his Sign Manual.

I wish it was in my power to give that favorable information I could wish and yet in the Infancy of the business matters do not look amiss, - Mr Thornton is arrived and Canvassing the Town to day I expect Stanhope will be at Hull to morrow or perhaps on Monday with the writs - if he arrives before Lord Burford he will have the advantage of a first Canvass - Except such Communication as the freinds Can distribute in the Town - for it is not the practice

or will be thought of advantage to Canvass without the Candidate - and Mr Sykes senior, Messers. Williamsons etc. etc. do not incline to take up this part of the business - Lord Burford must not Neglect a moment for his arrival at Hull as soon as possible, and indeed some Gentlemen of Name and Consequence should be desired to meet him at Hull some of your Lordships freinds resident in York here if such Can be had with Convenience.

We have a favorable Idea that Stanhope will not risque a Contest - to Enforce this it may be highly necessary to hint to those who are the freinds of a particular description that Superior is and not Customary attention will be shewn, this it is the opinion of many freinds would have very powerful advantage - and perhaps occasion that desertion which would prevent other expences - it is with great reluctance I mention such matters but I must fairly observe that I perceive the business will be very expensive - Especially if the T[rinit]y do give that Support which is reported.

Mr Sykes in his letter mentions that Lord Burford will from his Canvass have a better opinion of his Success - but this is not always the Case - in such a place as this, it is very dificult to Catch Security.

I wish to do every thing in my power to serve your Lordship - you have my sincere regard, but my situation is at present very awkward - My office of Chairman of the Dock Company gives me the great inconvenience of angry opponents - an Election Opportunity will or may give that vent to rage as may be disagreable - added to this my son in whom my most Sanguine and parental hopes are Established is lately appointed in the Diplomatique line and is now here, those are Circumstances that are very perplexing however they will not I trust prevent my Exercising that sincere regard for your Lordships Interest as far as prudence, and my own personal Safety will admit.

Residing in the Country I did not receive your Lordships letter until late yesterday I did answer it immediately but the Post was gone I will keep your Lordship Informed in all Circumstances that arise....

[P.S.] Mr Thornton will be fixed by many to a declaration of Standing alone, but Wilberforce has applied for both and which has done their Cause harm, one of his letters was to a Butcher he also has recommended Egerton[1] and Sir James Pennyman[2] at Beverley - but Wharton[3] is safe -

as is Beilby Thompson[4] at Hedon.

The inclosed[5] is to meet Thornton at the Trinity House to morrow where I hope we shall Contrive to receive Lord Burford in the same manner when he arrives - and it is proposed to face Thornton to his being unconnected.

pray Contrive to have some good freinds to Accompay or meet Lord Burford - and indeed it will be necessary he should be here very soon.

pray write Immediately, William Williamson Esq Hull - Henry Williamson Esq at Welton near Hull - Joseph Peace Esq Hull [crossed out]

1. William Egerton (d.1806) of Withernshaw Cheshire, Later M.P. for Newcastle under Lyme 1792-1802 and Cheshire 1802-1806 (Bean, Northern Representation, 758-9).
2. Sir James Pennyman, mayor of Beverley 1782, M.P. 1774-96 (ibid., 764).
3. John Wharton (d.1843) M.P. for Beverley 1790-96, 1802-26 (ibid., 768).
4. Beilby Thompson, M.P. for Hedon 1768-80, 1790-6. (ibid., 835).
5. Missing.

No. 252

JOSEPH SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM — 11 June 1790

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS. Box X1604

West Ella. I have the honor to receive your Lordships Letter as I was preparing for a London Journey to meet part of my Family, on their return from Bristol with one of my Sons, who has been dangerously ill there.

As I observe its Lord Burfords intention to offer himself here as one of our Representatives in Parliament. I wish I could give your Lordship a more flattering prospect of his Success, than with Truth I am afraid I can do, tho I have nothing more to add than what I have frequently inculcated to your Lordships Friends. That such an amiable young Nobleman should not be a successful Opponant against Mr S. may seem strange, if this Town was not to be considerd as one amongst the most Ministerial in the Kingdom, and where 200

places are to be given away and perhaps 400 gaping for them, its not to be much wonderd at, if at an Election the Friends of Government, (and Mr S. is avowed to be such) have a decided Majority.

Death has made great Havock amongst the old staunch Friends of Lord Rockingham, and the Dissenters have almost entirely changed their way of thinking: the desertion of Lord Burfords nearest Connection, is also against him, and your Lordship will see from the inclosed coppys I trouble you with, that he has nothing or worse than nothing to expect from that Quarter.

Lord Burfords Friends had a Meeting yesterday, and they did what they thought proper for the present, and will continue to do so: I have been long an Invalid and am but little able to stir from my House in the Country, or I had been now in London to consider about the future disposition of my Son, who is a Student at the Temple[1], but nothing will be omitted by my Sons that it is in their power to do. When a canvas is made a better Judgement may be formd of the Bussiness, tho those to be canvassed are not to be altogether relied upon; it will then however be proper to consider how far a certain expence should or should not be incurred. If my expectations were equal to my Wishes for Sucess to Lord Burford, he would be the first returnd. My 2nd Son is the Sheriffe[2] and every thing consistent with his Duty, and that of an honest Man, he will, and I am sure your Lordship will like him the better for we onelly adhere to....

[Copies by Joseph Sykes]

1. Sykes to Etherington. Thursday Evening.

Lord Burfords coming to offer himself a Candidate for Hull being no Secret I wish for my Friendship for him and inclination to serve him to know whether its a Matter that meets your approbati[on] and mean to counternance: The Sinews of War are I find all prepar'd.

2. Etherton to Sykes.

Ferriby, Thursday Evening. I have just received your Letter Lord B final resolution of offering himself is a Secret to me: I know certain Persons long ago desired him to do so but my opinion was and is against it because he comes on different grounds to what I have always taken but I have no right to desire him to disoblige his Family therefore I shall go out of Town and take no part in the Business. this he knows to be my resolution which nothing can

alter: I also think he comes too late by what I can find most People seem inclined for Government and the Peace of the Town which I am sorry is like to be.

Lady E[therington] joints me in hoping you have good News of your Son Danial which we shall be happy to hear: Had any other Person offerd himself against Government on Principle I should certainly have opposed him but I cannot sacrifice Lord B so near a Relation and this Principle - strong as it is.

1. Danial Sykes (1766-1832).
2. John Sykes (1763-1813), Sheriff of Hull 1789-90 and Mayor 1792-93 (Foster Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire, iii).

No. 253

PERCIVAL FROST[1] TO PEREGRINE WENTWORTH[2] - 12 June 1790

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 41

(V)

Sutton. As the Election for Hull is expected to be in a few days and being informd that there will be an Opposition If you have a wish to serve any particular Candidate you will please to communicate your sentiments to me as soon as convenient and may depend on my Vote and Interest being given to the Gentleman whom you have a wish to serve the Candidates are Mr Thornton Mr Stanhope and Lord Beaufort. [P.S.] Mr Thornton began to Canvas at three Yesterday I hear Lord Beaufort is expected on Tuesday next and it is said the Election will come on the latter end of the week Please to direct for me at Captain Barmbys Dockside Hull.

1. Described by the 1780 Poll Book as a merchant, voting for Hartley and Wilberforce (1780 Poll Book, p.11).
2. Peregrine Wentworth of Tolston Lodge, a Kinsman of Fitzwilliam. (N.C. Phillips, Yorkshire and English National Politics 1783-4. University of Canterbury, N.Z., Publications, No.2 (1961), p.30).

No. 254

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 12 June [1790]

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box X516/4/1-2

(V)

Hull. I hope we are going on very well; but Lord Burford's Absence is a great Loss to us. The Whig Interest is very low; and the only Way to raise it is by being Charitable. D. Hartley was the Ruin of it - We have a very good Return of all the Out Votes except London which has not arrived. We have determined that Lord B. shall subscribe £50 to the Races; and I hope your Lordship will send Pewett to win it. I saw Wharton in all his Glory Today at Beverley; Mr Egerton and Sir James Pennyman have a very hard Heat; the latter is the favourite[1] - I shall have the Honour of writing to your Lordship very often; but wish to know whether you are in Town or at Milton - If Lord B. was here, I think Stanhope durst not stand at Poll. We shall spend a great deal of Money, but if we succeed, We shall establish an Interest not to be overthrown.

Your Lordship will excuse this hasty Scribble....

1. The Beverley election figures were: John Wharton 908; Sir James Pennyman 460; William Egerton 379. (Bean, Northern Representation, 744).

No. 255

JOSEPH SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 13 June [1790]

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 515/38/1-4

(V)

West Ella. I am honord with another of your Lordships Letters, I wish you could have mentiond when Lord B would be here, for its reported S[tanhop]e (who looks as I am told for I have not seen him much out of Spirits) has given out that Lord Burford is returnd to Plymouth and will not be here at all; we however do what we can to set at nought so idle a report, and a vast number of Freemen are gone over the Water to meet him; my young People are much flatterd with present appearances, but I am an old Parliamenteeror brought up under Mr. Waller a very cautious one, and he never thought a Candidate secure till he was returnd.

It is very certain some Circumstances favor us, especially the absence of so many Seamen for I look upon the out Votes to be less under ministerial Influence than those within the Town, and therefore as the proportion of the former is increased the more its in favor of Lord B[urford], my Son being the returning Officer is certainly a very favorable Circumstance, the Writ may be here by 10 o Clock to Night, or by that time on Monday if it comes the Lincolnshire road as I expect it will: if my Lord B was here the sooner the Election was brought on the better for instance on Friday, but if his Lordship does not appear by to Morrow Tide it will perhaps be Monday. I have some little suspicion of what your Lordship mentions respecting Sir H[enry] E[therington] Agents, I am sure he wishes him Lord B success, but he has not spirit enough to enter into explanations with S-pe with whom he has somehow entangled himself I shall however venture to assure some of his dependents that I am convinced they will please him by voting for Lord B for I really beleive it.

Mr Moxon Mr Broadley Mr Green etc. etc. are indefatigable in their endeavors to serve Lord B and Mr S must certainly see he is not quite so well received as I dare say he expected to be. Any Letters your Lordship pleases to send would be best directed by a Servant and a common Seal. I send this round by Beverley and your Lordship will excuse the hasty manner I write in. I am with my Sons respectful Compliments for I have three here and I expect another a Lieutenant in the 3rd Dragoons at Stamford to take up his Freedom on Tuesday[1] and had not another been so ill he would have been here also to vote in the same Cause.

[P.S.] My Son the Sheriff your Lordship may depend never leaves the Place nor will do till the election is over.

1. Henry Sykes had already taken up his freedom on 1 June 1790, according to the Bench Book entry (B.B., x, 106).

No. 256

JOHN STANIFORTH TO JOHN BECKETT - 14 June 1790

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 41

(V)

George Street [Hull]. I have just snatch'd a moment to inform you that Lord Burford got to Hull this morning, the reception he met with was very pleasing, and so much appearance of Success that Stanhope was panick struck and has possitively given up the contest, indeed it is no more than I expected he met with so cool a reception. he was at the Trinity House on Saturday but could not obtain an answer, he was to have waited on the House again, but I suppose we shall now see no more of him, his Agent told me he is so much affected - that he is ill in bed, -

As soon as Lord Burford has taken a little refreshment he will begin his Canvas, and I expect will meet with little opposition, Pray acquaint you Brother of our success, I am with best Respects to Mrs. Beckett and your family....

No. 257

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 14 June 1790

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 41

(V)

Hull. I do with hand and heart most sincerely Congratulate you on the favourable prospect of Lord Burford Election - Stanhope this morning declared his resignation viz that his health would not permit a Contested Election - but I rather think his want of Support - which appeard very Strong this Morning, for on his Application for freinds to breakfast, and Canvass, not above two or three were his Congregation.

Lord Burford is arrived but much fatigued but that must not prevent his Canvass Imediately - the same industry is required as if the opposition had Continued for I dar say some mischeif might happen from neglect and it will be exceeding necessary to guard against danger - and for another reason to Secure for hereafter - I have just been Contriving for a meeting at the Trinity House - this afternoon - Stanhope had solicited that Interest which it will now be very Essential to fix for Lord Burford.

The Election will be on Fryday or Saturday - I will write you again to morrow for your Confidential Sentiments to donations - that matter requires much Consideration Excuse haste and beleive me most truly....

No. 258

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 15 June 1790

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box X1604

(V)

Hull. I have this morning the honor of your Lordships letter and I am indeed much obliged to you for those kind expressions and I may say Consolation for my peace of mind so far as relates to my parental happiness - My Dear Son in whom all my hopes and fears are established is now at this place upon the moment of Embarquing for Denmark - this Evening - his unfortunately being here, raised up all the venom of Ministerial agents and last Saturday I had threats that I was not accustomd to receive - on the advice of my freinds it was recommended not to provoke resentment by public and too zealous opposition - but to do my Utmost by Quiet Services - and this was to be my line I consulted Mr Sykes Senior, Mr Williamsons etc. who approved of this Mode - for myself I made the attempt but whatever may be the event I cannot Conduct myself in that manner but must and shall Stand actively forward.

I will not trouble your Lordship any further to what relates to myself - but Attend more to our public transactions except with this declaration that you have no freind in the line of Service for which I am engaged, more sincere, or more zealous, than I am in your Lordships interest,

I wrote your Lordship yesterday and then gave you the flattering hopes that the business was over but I am sorry to say that the Ministerial people will not Suffer the business to go off in the manner that I hoped it would.

The inclosed advertisement[1] will shew you what we are to expect - Applications have been made by express yesterday (that is returned) and it is given out Duncombe Wilberforce etc are to be here to Night - Duncombe is gone off to Bank Top to Wilberforce and the plot is there to be hatched - how it will turn out God knows Expence

Expected, I have no dread of danger and be reflecting my good Lord what resentment for Such behaviour requires.

Our Industry has been great since Lord Burford arrived - our Canvass goes on as we Could wish - we have Every thing in good prospect - and particularly the resolution this day at 12 o'clock for the Trinity House to Support with Thornton Lord Burford - beleive me the Single Circumstance which has been my anxious object has I trust given the final blow to the attempt -

We have had a dificulty to Establish this vote but I was determind to labor it knowing that by Name and Interest of the Trinity House much depended upon it -

Your letters to the Williamsons are received and they have done great things, both these Gentlemen waited on Lord Burford this morning Colonel Maisters likewise Pray write Immediately John Staniforth Esq Hull - Philip Green Esq you have I beleive - to Mr Staniforth make your acknowledgment for his good Services he was my Capital Assistant to day at the Trinity House and is a good and Important freind he is the father in Law of Mr Becket of Barnsley -

I will only beg of your Lordship to be reflecting that if the Ill Naturd and Wicked Opposition should take place what you would recommend - the writs are not arrived they are Concealed in some place - with Wilberforce I suppose, as Thornton Said in Canvassing the Clubs last Night that they must not forget Mr. Wilberforce - that he might be here with a freind and that the Election would not be of ten days -

Excuse haste my Dear Lord and beleive me....

1. Missing.

No. 259

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - n.d. Tuesday Noon [15 June 1790]

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box X516/6/1-3

(V)

[Hull] After the good news I sent Express by my own Servant Yesterday, you will perhaps be surprized to hear that Duncombe the Sheriff will be here this afternoon attended by Wilberforce. We mean to canvass every Voter, but have only got a little Way yet. Our Book

stands 636 Promises, very few of which were gained on the Canvass - but freely offered themselves - There are about 50 more Votes in the Country, for us, not included in this List; so that we may say 680 - and almost all the Town to canvass - and we meet with very few Refusals. There have been 1200 Votes polled but owing to the Sailor's being absent probably we shall not poll 1000 in all now -

The Corporation of Trinity House and Sir H. Etherington have declared decidedly in our favour. Which are two material advantages, owing to Mr Stanhopes Flight. Therefore do not be discouraged my Lord. - We take infinite Pains I can assure you.

Wharton is canvassing here Today; and I could wish your Lordship would consider who he should bring in at Beverley as the Game is intirely in his own Hands - Egerton will be elected if Wharton is neuter - But if Pennyman is chose he may easily be turned out at a subsequent Election; and if Sykes gets a sure footing it may be difficult to eject him. Wharton will send to Pelham to know which of the two he would recommend; and perhaps your Lordship, might give Pelham a Hint about it. I will write by every Post - Sykes has behaved like a pitiful Scoundrel; Thornton I believe has smuggled the Writ, at least we can not find it. I had the Honour of your Lordship's Letter Claridge is written to. - Lord Burford is indefatigable, and will make a good Canvasser -

All Success and Happiness attend your Lordship....

Committee Tuesday Noon

[P.S.] The great Confusion of this Room, which I dare not leave, must excuse the Blunders of this Scrawl -

No. 260

RICHARD MOXON[1] TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 16 June 1790

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 41

(v)

Hull. I am honor'd by your Lordships of the 12th Inst. prior to which, and indeed on a report that Parliament were likely to be dissolved, I set about a private Canvas in Lord Burfords Interest and as soon as the same were publickly known, your Lordships old staunch Freinds stept forward, and have fully evinced by their Zeal, and attention, their Earnestness to serve your Cause, amongst the

Number who most particularly manifested their attachment were Mr. Hammond, Staniforth, Broadley and Green, the two former we were particularly obliged to for the Trinitys declaration in favor of Lord Burford, to serve him as a Collective Body, and am happy in announcing at some time a compleat Victory in favor of Lord Burford, and that, the Day of Election is fix'd for Monday next, it gives me peculier pleasure in having an Opportunity to serve your Lordship, as I doubt not but it may be confirm'd from other Quarters that I have not been inactive; I am also engaged for Mr. Wharton at Beverley.

1. Richard Moxon was a substantial Hull merchant. (Jackson, Hull in the Eighteenth Century, 265).

No. 261

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 16 June [1790]

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 41

(V)

Hull, Wednesday. I flatter myself I can now Safely assure your Lordship that the business is Completed the Messangers are returned - and Beaufort like die without either Hope or Signal - the resolution of the Trinity House of yesterday gave I trust the final stroke - every thing however is going forward to secure Success - no relaxation in the Canvass.

The writs are at last produced and the Election is declared to be on Monday next - from the present Successful proceeding I hope we shall again revive - and Continue in future our Connections (of such long Standing) in your Lordships family, our good Uncle Sir Henry arrived this morning and his Zeal and Courage keep pace with each other I will write your Lordship to morrow and Continue a daily Correspondence until the Election is over....

[P.S.] I have this moment received your Lordships letter - Headon Election on Fryday - no opposition[1]
Beverley on Saturday - Warton and I think Eggerton - Sir James has not the support of Mr. Bethel - pray write Mr. Staniforth John Staniforth Esq Hull[2].

1. At Hedon Lionel Darnell and Beilby Thompson were returned unopposed (Bean, Northern Representation, 820).
2. The letter was forwarded to Fitzwilliam by John Beckett of Leeds.

No. 262

JOSEPH SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 16 June 1790

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 41, 31

(V)

Hull. I am honord with both your Lordships Letters and I own the retreat of Mr Stanhope so early was more than could have been expected.

The Writ was certainly brought from London by Mr. Thorntons Servant who arrived with it on Saturday Night but it did not appear till this Morning during which Interval great Industry has been exerted to find another Candidate and on Stanhopes Declining an Express was sent to Mr. Wilberforce for that purpose and it is said sevveral applications were made in vain at least no one appears. Lord Burford seems too strong to be thrown out and his Committee go on with unremitted diligence I recomend Caution and if there is no danger from a Petition I think there is none from any thing else: Our Foes are very soon lost and perhaps a Poll may be demanded with this View for every thing that Disappointment and ill humour can suggest will be tried.

I got Sir H E Agent on Monday to join in the Canvass on an assurance I would vindicate him for it and this Sir Henry has since done by canvassing himself.

Mr Banker Pease has behaved shamefully and is induced by some of our Enemys to sollicit an opposition I hope your Lordships Letter to him could be made no ill use of.

The Story Mr Thornton tells of the Writ is this (for when the Servant who was left to bring it down arrived, it was said to be come with him but afterward contradicted) that the Servant had put it in his great Coat Pocket beleiving it only to be a Roll of Diaculun and that not finding it amongst his other Papers which were deliverd to his Master he concluded it was left behind etc. etc. and therefore expected to come by some other Means, but at last was discoverd to be the Writ and the Election is proclaimd for Monday.

[P.S.] Wednesday noon. We have just received an account that finding no one would offer at or about York an Express went from thence this Morning to Mr Pitt at Cambridge to sollicit his sending one and a Subscription was opend for the purposed and that Mr Montague was talked of: if this be true as we beleive it to be your Lordship may soon hear more about it, perhaps from Cambridge: this delay of the Writ produces all the Mischief if any happens.

No. 263

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 17 June 1790

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 41

(V)

Hull. I have nothing material to say this post, every danger is I trust over - tho our opponants have Still their recruiting Sergeants abroad to beat up for a Candidate, and they give various names, all of which will be moonshine.

I have only now the dread of expence - and if I Could Contrive by any means to keep that in moderation I should indeed be happy - but this is a dificult matter to engage in, and for fear of Offence, I have given up my old Election Contrivances for oconomy with generous prudence to younger Generals for alass my old Colleagues are no more - I may wish in Confidence to say something on this occasion especially, if it is materially needfull. My Lord Burford is going forward in his Canvass and altho he has only to walk over the Ground - the race is very fatiguing.

I am a little low spirited this Morning my Son and I have now I am afraid Separated for Ever[1] - a Country Parson would have been of more Parental Satisfaction God bless you my Dear Lord and may you never have such a mind of disquiet as at present possesses.... [P.S.] At most of the Elections in Which I have been engaged - Mr. Weddels etc. etc. we had a Careful family steward to advise with - such as your Lordships Mr. Hall I just hint this as Striking me and two or three Sage freinds as a matter of Importance - but your Lordship will reflect upon it - but Inter nos as a matter of your own Consideration - I must not appear as giving advice of so much delicacy -

1. This may refer to his son George, who was chargé d'affaires in Vienna 1788-1790, and in the latter year moved first to Copenhagen, then Madrid. In 1791 he came Minister Plenipotentiary in Philadelphia. (D.N.B., viii, 1125).

No. 264

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - [possibly 16 or 17 June 1790]

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box X516/75/1

(V)

Committee. I have nothing but good News to tell you, over and over again - We are threatened, but Nobody appears; and we are ready

if they come -

Hammond has behaved like a Rascal; being connected with the D[uke] of Leeds, and having no Principle Your Lordship will be cautious how you trust him. He is very unpopular here -

Lord and Lady Burford are very well;

No. 265

JOHN SYKES[1] TO PEMBERTON MILNES - 16 June 1790 [Copy]

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 41

(V)

Hull. Lest you should not have met with Mr Stanhope returning to his Friends in West Riding, I take the chance of a letter finding you at Wakefield, to say Lord B- Friends are certain of Success and had the fallen Party been able to have raised an Opposition his Lordship must have been first when the Poll [was taken]. Duncombe the Sheriff was proposed but he dare not show himself and is a convineint, Proof it is all over with them, Thornton has this morning delivered me the Writ which has been in his Possession ever since Saturday, The Election comes on, on Monday when Lord Burfords Friends will drink your Health for the Pains you have taken and one so much attached to his cause I hope this will find Mr and Mrs Milnes well after your Journey.

1. John Sykes (1763-1813), brother of the Reverend Richard Sykes. He was Sheriff of Hull in 1789, and mayor in 1792. (Foster, Pedigrees, iii).

No. 266

JOHN BECKETT TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 17 June 1790

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 41, 33

(V)

Barnsley. My Brother would advise your Lordship of Stanhopes defeat - Mr Staniforth since then sais - "the Moment it was publickly known that he had declined he kept his Bed that Day and never made his appearance in Hull after, which was very prudent in him for the Burgesses are so much exasperated against him for his cowardly behavour, that I am of opinion he would not have been used very

civilly if they had got hold of him, his own party are the most incensed against him, they abuse him very he has let them down terribly, he was asked before he left London if he would stand a poll he assured them he would and talked very big but when he came into action his Heart failed him and they could not keep up his Spirits - he must be a mean dastardly covetous fellow and the party are so much hurt they will with reluctance give it up. They have had several meetings and sent two Gentlemen over to York to endeavour to bring another Candidate and yesterday they published hand Bills requesting the Burgesses would not engage their Votes that Mr Duncumb the present High Sherriff would certainly offer himself but that was only a flurish and I believe the Trinity House has put the extenguisher over it for we passed a Resolution that the House would support Lord Burford Election which I hope has had a proper Effect as they are not unacquainted with the weight of Interest of that House when they chuse to exert it - at present they begin to cool as they are not likely to succeed if they could prevail on any Gentleman to be so mad as to stand a poll" - so far Mr Staniforth - am set at the post office between the coming [of] one Mail Coach and going out of another which Me[ans] your Lordship must excuse haste....

No. 267

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 19 June 1790

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 41

(V)

Hull. I have not the least Idea of either dificulty or danger - even should an Imp in the shape of Parson Horne produce his Cloven foot on the day [of] Election.

The fears I had of our fighting wind mills on the day of Election is I trust removed to Poll out would indeed have been folly in the Extreme - in those Cases to Conclude the Election as soon as possible is Certainly the most prudent - Two of our freinds and the Same Number of Mr Thorntons are at this moment Setting on that business - I trust their unanimity on this occassion will be Effective - I recommended last night that their plan should be Secret as that might prevent any opposition to it - I shall not know the result of the meeting - but in the first place I believe it will be to Close

the Election as soon as possible. And should any adventurer Start at the Post - the Present Candidates in such Case, to exclaim against such improper proceedings as without their Knowledge and Countenance - but indeed I have not now the least apprehensions of danger.

Other matters as the Expences on the day of Election out voters etc. will be determined to be by equal proportions all which Contrivances will I hope Conclude this fortunate undertaking and in such manner as will be every way agreable to your Lordship.

I will just mention that the Couriers who were sent to the County Members the second time Carried with them the resolution of the Trinity House to Support Lord Burford and this I have reason to beleive gave the finishing blow to further Negotiation.

I have inclosed your Lordship for your laughing amusement two Squibs many of which we have now in Circulation - in one of these your Lordship makes part of the Dramatis persone[1] - I have great honor in performing any part with your Lordship and where ever you are Concerned; my principles and Connections were early shown with those best of men your Dear Uncle - they will not grow into tares on your Lordships Soil....

[P.S.] If nothing particular I shall not write again to your Lordship until after the Election is over -

1. Missing.

No. 268

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 20 June 1790

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 41/1/1-3

(V)

Hull. Our Victory at Beverley stands thus Wharton 908 Pennyman 460 Egerton 379 Polled 1069 - at Hull Promises for Lord B. 960 Refusals 26 Out 50 - I think there is some Danger of a Candidate standing at the Post, on the Ground of a Petition; but we have been very cautious; and Mr. Thornton has Engaged, with us not to support another Candidate. Your Lordship will hear from me again Tomorrow. Your Lordship will observe, that at York, Beverley, Hedon, we have carried everything before us with a very high Hand; and could have brought in two Members at each of those Places: Here we are so very popular that the opposite Party dare not show their Heads. Neither

Fox nor Pitt have been mentioned at Hull or Beverley, during the Canvass. A List of the London Voters is sent to Claridge. Sinclair will be here Today. Hill and Heywood are gone to assist Lord Gallway at Pontefract.

The Chancellor has sent a 2nd Writ, by Mr Smith who is in his office; we have every Reason in the World to believe that Thornton had it in his Possession from Saturday Night, when it was to have been at Hull till Wednesday Morning when he in a very uncivil Manner delivered it to the Sheriff. The Under Sheriff has declared he saw the Writ in Thornton's Hands on Tuesday Morning 24 Hours before he owned to the having it. But indeed Thornton has broke his Word so very often the last Week, that he seems to have lost all Credit. I am in great Hopes that the Affair of this Writ may be brought before the H[ouse] of C[ommons] And I am sure Thornton is very much frightened. The Writ was delivered in London on Friday Noon; to the Sheriff on Wednesday Morning -

If your Lordship has determined to be at Hull in the Race week June 29, we must have all the Notice you can give us: to prepare for your Reception. The Trinity House will receive your Lordship in a Corporate Capacity - I fear the Corporation will not: as we have only Sykes Melling Broadly Bramston and Etherington, and the last only to be depended upon when Lord Burford is concerned. He has behaved extremely well during the Election; and I believe is really fond of his Lordship. There are two or three Vacancies expected among the Aldermen, which will certainly be filled up with our Friends. This is a material Point. I think it would be proper for your Lordship to write after the Election to Joseph Eggington, Joshua Dobson, William Jarratt, John Staniforth, William Bolton; Robert Pease of Kirk Ella Hull, not the Banker, who has behaved very ill to us, Robert Macfarlane Esq - I will endeavour to recollect some other Persons, Tomorrow that your Lordships Letters may all arrive together.

My Mother Sister and Brother are arrived, I think the latter looks better than he did.

No. 269

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - Received 20 June 1790

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 41/2/1-4

(V)

No appearances, directly, of any Third Candidate, but from rage and disappointment several are named, for myself I apprehend no serious attempt altho I beleive Wilberforce etc. are as angry and as much perplexed as any persons Can possibly be on such an occassion - the Certainty of the Grasp from your Lordship and your long Connections is a most dreadful defeat -

In my letter of yesterday I hinted my Ideas of great Expences - and I own I have my fears on that occassion, the Committee (rather the young Managers) are too little acquainted with this sort of business and for those of Experience and of Age, they are afraid to give their advice from which Cause several Circumstances arise that for myself and some others we Could wish were otherways.

A transaction at the Election is proposed which I own I dont approve viz. to vote out all the Burgesses for the purpose of a Magnificent Number on the Poll, I am indeed as anxious as any person to an appearance but I am afraid of the Expence in many respects, Mr Thornton and his party <u>now</u> avoid all Unnecessary expence they refuse the outvoters their maintenance before the Election, as such these are now with Lord Burford Intirely - and I should not be Surprised if Mr Thorntons freinds should at the Election pass over many <u>Single votes</u> to Lord Burford, by that means - reduce their own <u>and</u> double the Expence to Lord Burford - added to this the Continuation of riot and Confusion all which might be Stopped in one hour - I think it my duty to give your Lordship my <u>private Sentiments</u> which if you approve send by Express - as your own Idea (and that as soon as possible) <u>to Lord Burford</u> recommending a private and Quiet Election, and to Avoid every disturbance as much as possible - if on the Contrary your Lordship approves and has no objection to the Election being extended as in the Case of an opposition, I should even wish you then to Contrive for an opinion at the time, as I really think the Cabinet will be divided.

Your Lordship will excuse me for this <u>Confidential Information</u> having no other motive but what I think will be the most Conducive to your Lordships Interests.

I have taken some little time to reflect on your Lordships intended Visit to Hull and I have privately Consulted those freinds on whose

Judgement and freindship for your Lordship I can relye, and we are of opinion that your visit should be deferred Until party rage is Subsided more than it will be so soon after the Election - I cannot give you by letter all my reasons but you may be assured I have given this every Consideration in my power and abstracted from my advising freinds - I do beleive a later visit than our races, will be not only more agreable but of more advantage - in particular the Trinity House which in some little time may be more Unanimous.

My Situation is indeed very awkward that altho I do every thing in my power to promote the Cause in such Quiet manner as is the most advantageous in Election business, yet I am afraid that there are some Zealots, in our party who may not be Satisfyed with my disapprobation of some Circumstances that are neither prudent nor proper - But we must submit, Elections are happily for this Country Septennial otherways I am afraid - we should not be able to say, Peace within our Walls etc....

[P.S.] Since I wrote my letter - I have perceived that some moderate measures will be pursued on the day of Election, two Gentlemen on each side will be appointed to day to regulate such matters as may be needfull for the avoiding Confusion and needless expence - that I flatter my self any Express from your Lordship for that particular purpose may be unnecessary -

No. 270

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - Monday Noon [21 June 1790]

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS. Box X516/76/1.

(V)

God grant your Lordship a long Life, and every Day fortunate as this -

Lord and Lady Burford have made a grand Entry this Morning; and Stanhope has resigned - <u>for Ever</u>. Your Lordship has been much obliged to your Friends here, for very extraordinary Exertions. And I am sure we have established our Interest for the future. Sir C. Sykes[1] has meanly canvassed against us; after asking and obtaining my Father's Assistance at Beverley. I wish Wharton who has the Game in his Hands, would bring in Sir J. Pennyman -

I think we should have beat Stanhope by a very great Majority if he had stood a Poll.

1. Sir Christopher Sykes (1740-1801), M.P. for Beverley 1784, (Foster, Pedigrees, iii).

No. 271

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - Monday Eleven O'Clock

[21 June 1790]

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box X516/5/1-3

(V)

The Election is very peaceably over; My Lord B- first named in the Writ, and Mr Thornton 2nd - Lord Burford by the Advice of his Friends, yielded the Priority of being Chained to Thornton; very much against my Consent. Mr Cracroft a Lincolnshire Man came over this Morning to make an Opposition; but declined before we went to the Hall. Thornton and his Friends have behaved extremely ill, during the whole Canvass - Indeed they have done so many ungracious Things; that I have a Suspicion he has no Idea of coming to Hull in future; from which the great Expence will help to deter him; We had 1120 Promises on the Book this Morning. I heartily congratulate your Lordship on the fortunate Event of this business; and have great Reason to think that the old Whig Interest will be very strong at Hull, Mr. Pelham has won at Grimsby by a Majority of Seven[1]. It is a delicate Point to determine whether your Lordship should or should not come here at the Races: As we have gained our Point, and have more to lose than win; perhaps it would be more prudent to stay away - Your Lordship will please to write Letters of Thanks to John Melling and Edmund Bramston Esquires.

As some Compensation for the many Letters which I have troubled your Lordship with; permit me to declare that I will never directly or indirectly, ask your Lordship for any Favour for myself or others; whether your Lordship is in Power or out of it: If this should appear to be any Proof of the disinterested personal Attachment I feel for your Lordship; or of my unfeigned Belief in our political Creed; it will add greatly to the Joy I now feel. I can say with Truth and heartfelt Satisfaction, that my Father and four Brothers, are as warm Friends to your Lordship as myself; when they have the Honour of knowing you, they will love you as well as I do, but better is impossible. With the united Congratulations of many many Friends.... [P.S.] This Man will stay as long as your Lordship pleases, perhaps

you will write again to your best Friends whom you wrote to you first -

1. This may refer to the influence of Lord Yarborough, as the members returned for Grimsby in 1790 were John Harrison and Dudley North (Return of Members, ii, 191).

No. 272

PHILIP GREEN TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 21 June 1790

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 41, 30

(V)

Hull. I beg your Lordships pardon for not answering your letter sooner, but the great hurry and tumult in my Lord Burfords Election, entirely prevented me doing myself that honor.

Your Lordship will no doubt receive by Express the pleasing Tidings of Lord Burfords success, tho' Mr Stanhope, decampt from hence this day week, yet being under perpetual alarms, we never relax'd our efforts to the morning of the Election -

Mr Hammond and Mr Staniforth with some others, by great exertion brought over the Trinity house, which effectually securd the Election behond a doubt.

I have been informd My Lord that it was your intention to honor this place with your presence at the races, Your Lordship will I make no doubt excuse my freedom, when I say, that I wish, your Lordships journey, might be postpon'd to a more distant time, we in this town are very far from the habit of peace and friendship and nothing but time can wipe away the violence of disapointment.

No. 273

WILLIAM HAMMOND TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 21 June 1790

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 41

(V)

Hull. This morning we have happily Concluded our Election Lord Burford is at this moment in his Triumphal Car - the Election was declared by the Sherriff Immediately after the proper papers were read and this without any material hustle - much better than I expected for we have been kept in Continual doubts of a third man

- and our opponents this morning brought over from Lincolnshire Mr Cracroft who very genteely gave up his Intentions soon after he had lookd into the Town - the account I had of this intention has given myself and some others a troublesome night.

I most sincerely Congratulate your Lordship on this successful business and which I trust will give you great Satisfaction - I must beg leave to remark that we had not to Encounter those animad-versions which was the Clamour at the last Elections no Names or party abuse all is seemingly forgot and it is to me a good Sign that the Country is again in a State of Recovery -

I have been Consulting with my freind Mr Green who purposes writing your Lordship and he is of opinion with me that your Lordships Journey to Hull at the races might as well be deferred Until the Anger of our disappointed opponents Subside - your Lordships visit might have the appearance of our Exultation - and for myself with many of our freinds of experience we do think that we are in a good way if we dont defeat the plan by too much precipitation -

An Express will I dar say be forwarded by Lord Burford to your Lordship and which may arrive before this letter - for fear of any neglect from the hurry of Election day I thought it right to give you the information by post.

The most Essential part of the business being over I am now going to retreat to Quiet and my little villa (about five miles distant) for two or three days - for with one thing and another my mind and body is almost Exhausted - I have the honor to remain most sincerely.....

No. 274

SIR HENRY ETHERINGTON TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 29 June 1790

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 41

(V)

Ferriby. I have the honor as well as the pleasure of your Lordships Letter of the 23rd I beg leave to return you my Congratulations on the happy Event and tho my Sutuation was so unfortunate as not to permit me in the first Instance to Assist your Lordships wishes, still when I left Town to remain neutral I belive most of my Friends judging of my real wishes from my Connection went with Lord Burford

and when I receivd the Inclosed Letter at York I returned home immediately which I flatter myself in some degree answerd the Intent of the requision.

No. 275

THE EARL OF BURFORD TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 21 November 1790

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 41

(V)

Digswell. I really feel quite ashamed at not having yet made good the payment[1] of the small part the expences, which you have been so kind only to require of me, but the difficulty of borrowing money, when the Security though good, is not Marketable, is the occasion of my not having yet fulfilled my engagement to you - however I have at present accomplished a plan whereby the Security will be indisputable, but as it may be some little time still, before I may possibly have the money, I should be exceedingly obliged to you, to suffer me to pay you interest for the Sum not from any idea of remaining much longer in your debt, but for the lenght of time I have been already -

I trust My Dear Lord in asking this favor you wont think I intrude too much on your goodness, as I thought it was better to acquaint you with the circumstances of the delay, sooner than appear neglectfull, or in any respect ungratefull to you, after the many favors I have received from you.

[Endorsed] desir'd him to let it remain as it now is till it suits his convenience.

1. Final payment was made on 22 July 1802 (See No.307).

No. 276

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 25 September 1795

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F42/51

(V)

Foxholes. I communicated your Lordships last letter to my Father[1]; and he informs me that on full Deliberation it is his decided Opinion that it would be best to let things remain as they are at present. Nor does he know of any Person except Mr Moxon, with whom it would

be prudent to consult. Mr. Henry Broadley is directly against us. Whenever your Lordship can fix upon any Person as a Candidate, my Father will make every possible Exertion in his favour; and he thinks the longer Sir H. Etherington is kept in the Dark and the better; for in all probability he will say that Lord Burford's Resignation has taken place at his Request, in order to oblige the Minister. The King made this Man a Baronet, but it exceeded his Power to make him a Gentleman. My Father has a Complaint in his Eyes, which renders Writing very troublesome to him; he has therefore ordered me to assure your Lordship of his hearty Attachment to your Interest, and sincere Wishes for your Health and Happiness: and to inform you, that to the best of his Judgement our political Strength at Hull would not be injured by suffering it to sleep at the next general Election. An unsuccessful Attempt would tend to weaken us in future; and to carry our Point at present against a Ministerial Candidate if it were possible to be done; would require a most enormous Expence. This does not apply to such a Man as Colonel Rawdon, or any neutral Man whom the Minister would neither support nor oppose.

I am very sorry your Lordship did not come to Scarborough....

1. Joseph Sykes of West Ella.

No. 277

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 12 May 1796

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F115/71

(V)

West Ella. I am very sorry that in consequence of a Visitation at Scarborough on Tuesday, it was not in my Power to have any Conversation with my Father on the Subject of your Lordship's Letter till last Night. I have taken the earliest Opportunity of seeing him, and it is our decided Opinion that Lord Burford should immediately declare his Intentions respecting Hull, both to Sir H. Etherington, and to the Town. At present there is no Appearance of an Opposition, nor Expectation of Lord Burford's Resignation, though it is very possible it may be intended -

My Father desires his Compliments and wishes me to inform your Lordship in a confidential manner, that on Mr. Stanhope's being asked by a Friend whether he did not think of being in Parliament, this Reply was made; that a seat became too expensive for a Man with his large Family; as Boroughs were got to £5,000, and he expected Hull would cost, 6 or 7,000£.

We all join in Congratulations on the Celebration of my Lord Milton's Birth Day; that he may long prove a Comfort to his Parents, and in future a Blessing to his Country, is the sincere Wish of your Lordship's much obliged Friend.

[P.S.] Any of Lord Burfords Friends at Hull, will be ready to communicate his Intentions to his Constituents, on proper Authority from his Lordship.

No. 278

'LETTER TO SEVERAL GENTLEMEN AT HULL, ON LORD BURFORD'S RETREAT' - [Draft 1796]

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F115/70

(V)

An immediate dissolution of Parliament being render'd certain by a variety of appearances it is incumbent on me to acquaint you that Lord Burford has just come to the resolution of retiring from Parliament -

I shall ever acknowledge the effectual support he receiv'd from you and your connection at the last general election which, I confess, would have encouraged me to have solicited it again under any other circumstances than those in which He and I find ourselves at the present juncture. But in consequence of our continued adherence to opinions on that important subject, which occupies, almost exclusively the whole attention of the Nation, as it well may, since it certainly involves all its interests as a member of a civilised world: opinions, not lightly taken upon, but adopted upon most mature and deliberate consideration, justified till lately, by the concurrence of a vast majority of Parliament, a majority render'd still more weighty by the situations of those who composed it: by that adherence however we have now the mortification of finding ourselves left almost single, and without prospect of supporting those opinions with success - thus circumstanced we feel, that to make any great effort would be to give trouble to our friends in a hopeless cause.

No. 279

EARL OF BURFORD TO THE BURGESSES OF HULL - 16 May 1796 [Draft]

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F115/73

(V)

At the present moment, when the report of an immediate Dissolution of Parliament is universally credited, I feel it incumbent on me, to repeat my sentiments of gratitude for the honor you did me at the last general election by electing me one of your Representatives and to express my hopes that the conduct I have pursued in the exercise of the confidence reposed in me has been such as to merit your approbation, and such as might entitle me to the renewal of your confidence: but under the present circumstances of publick affairs, (critical and important as they must be allow'd to be by all persons, whatever opinion they may entertain thereon,) I confess that I wish to retire from Parliament, not because I relinguish the sentiments I have ever entertain'd on those important subjects, but because I find myself almost single in my adherence to them.

No. 280

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - [c.30 May 1796]

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.34/205

(V)

York. Understanding from your Lordships Letter to Sinclair, that you did not mean to take an open part in the present Contest for the County , and perceiving as I thought some Partiality toward Fawkes in your Lordships Mind; I came hither in the Interest of Fawkes and Wilberforce, to both of whom I am bound by personal Regard and ancient Connexions. The High Sheriff behaved with great Propriety; he declared the Show of Hand in favour of Mr Wilberforce; and against Mr. Duncombe (the latter of whom resigned), but after many divisions; he could not determine whether the Superiority lay with Mr Fawkes or Mr Lascelles. A Motion of Thanks passed to the late Member (Mr. Duncombe) for his Service; and a similar one to Mr Wilberforce was negatived. There the Matter rests - Wilberforce was much worse received than I expected. I am just going to dinner with Mr Fawkes, and I suppose it will then be determined to resign or proceed with Vigour - I will inform your Lordship of the result. -

It appeared to me that Sir C. Turner was more likely in some future Arrangment of things, to be of your Lordship's Party, than Stanhope; on this account and to keep up our Interest at Hull - I joined him - We brought him into Security first; and then elected Thornton, who would have been 200 Votes behind Stanhope; but for our Assistance; and of this; Thornton and his Friends are well aware. There would have been no Opposition at Hull to Lord Burford, whose name was very popular with the Mob.

All in Confusion. - We have sent a deputation to meet one from Wilberforce and Lascelles; we offer to canvass for Wilberforce and Fawkes, on condition of Wilberforce's strict neutrality. It will be accepted.

No. 281

ARTHUR MAISTER TO JOHN MAISTER[1] - 2 June 1796

Source: Maister MSS., Hull University Library, DAS 26/6

(V)

Hull. This is to scold you for not writing since your arrival in Exeter which we hope you reached some time ago.

Election news. Two days before the Election no one expected a third Candidate. Scatcherd the Grocer sent for Sir C. Turner, offering first to Mark Sykes[2] [on account of] an ill timed parsimony of Mr. Thornton's, the Mob being exasperated at his recommending the use of mixt bread in Parliament was the reason. [Had] they all joined his party Mr. Thornton would undoubtedly have been thrown out, but a quarrell happening between Mr. Stanhope and Sir Charles upon the second morning [of the poll], the former having accused the latter of bribery he used all his interest for Mr. Thornton, and brought him in with the assistance of the Sykes who then first thought of their relation, which he will resent no doubt.

They carried a barley loaf about and if they saw a Thornton cocade, abused the person terribly. He [Thornton] was obliged to get out of Town in Ben. Thompson's chaise, with the blinds up, which they took for an empty chaise, or they would have torn him to pieces. Every one cried shame upon the Town.

In Sir Charles procession there was Scatcherd, mounted on a black pony with his white hat like a mountebank, and Haworth dancing before him with a flag in his hand like his Merry Andrew all the

day. The numbers were Sir Charles Turner 884, Thornton 734, Stanhope 714[3] amongst which is supposed to be many false votes.

Beverley - Colonel Burton and Mr Tatton without opposition[4]. Headon - Sir Lionel Darnell and Mr Atkinson, the same Mr T. Smith having given up some time before[5]. York - The old members[6].

The County meeting was on Monday, the shew of hands for Mr. Wilberforce was almost universal. Messrs Lascelles and Fawkes nearly equal. The Sheriff declared upon his Honour he could not decide. Mr Duncombe had scarce a dozen hands and gave up immediately, as did Mr Fawkes to avoid a contest[7].

The evening or morning following the largest meeting ever known, about 10,000 people in the Castle Yard. Not a word from Henry yet.

Colonel Charlton and Mr Sampson were at Welton during the Election. The Band came from Elloughton every day. We are all very well except Harriet[8] who has been but indifferent these few days and joins in love to you.

P.S. I have got what I think will turn out a capital chesnut gelding - very handsome. 5 years old 15¼ hands high £35. Got by Schotts Spott and out of I dont know what.

1. Arthur Maister (1775-1833) and Captain John Maister of the 20th Regiment of Infantry (b.1778) were the sons of Colonel Henry Maister (1730-1812). Family tree of the Maister family, at the Maister House, Hull.
2. Mark Masterman Sykes (1771-1823). M.P. for York 1807-20. (Foster, Pedigrees, iii).
3. The final numbers were Turner 886, Thornton 733, Stanhope 715 (1796 Poll Book).
4. Bean, Northern Representation, 744. Colonel Napier Christie Burton and William Tatton were returned without a contest. The other two candidates, Burton Fowler and John Wharton, withdrew.
5. ibid., 820. George Smith, according to Bean, was bought off by Darnell a few days before the election.
6. ibid., 1115. Sir William Milner and R.S. Milnes.
7. ibid., 657. Wilberforce and Henry Lascelles were returned without a contest.
8. Harriet Margaret Maister (b.1786), married James Ramsey.

No. 282

EDWARD CODD I. TO WALTER SPENCER STANHOPE - 16 June 1796

Source: Spencer Stanhope MSS., 60570/13

(III, V)

Hull. I should have wrote you sooner had I known where to direct my letter, but I only received yours yesterday having been sometime from home - I am happy to hear you are so well and that you feel so little for the Disappointment - its a great Mortification to your friends here and to none more than myself, You may be assured; the only Consolation We have is in hearing your Conduct so much applauded by all parties, And the mode of Procedure adopted by your Committee is Universally approved. had our Opponents acted with equal honor and propriety, You must inevitably have been returned; but such Conduct will not do for an Election at Hull. the measures pursued by the friends of Mr. Thornton to obtain the very few legal Votes which gave him the Victory (and which I don't believe would exceed 5 - if the Poll was carefully revised and all the illegal Votes struck off) were such as he himself would not have suffered had he known it; I have too good an Opinion of that Gentleman to suppose him guilty either of Bribery, Corruption, or using any undue Influence; but the business is over; and it is in vain to stir up any thing which might bring on a further Investigation of the Subject, between Mr Thornton and yourself - Many of his friends have declared to me that you was cruelly deserted (on the last day) to support him and I am sure they are in continual dread of a scrutiny before the House of Commons, and will be in hot Water untill he is secure in his Seat, for the general Cry of the whole Town (except a few of his Committee) is that you are the person elected and I verily believe the most of Mr Thorntons friends think so - We have a rumour here that occasions much laughter, it is said that when Mr Thornton was extreemly ill at Springhead after the Election, he used frequently to awake out of his Sleep calling out "Sir Charles for ever no barley bread" and tho' there is something shocking in the Idea of his being in that Situation it excites laughter, and gains Credit - Inclosed you have a rough Estimate of your Expences, exclusive of the Forty two Pieces of Silver which the Worthies have been in the habit of receiving: it is for your Consideration whether to pay them or not, I think there are about 635 of your Voters who will take the Money (if offered) and near 20 of your Single Bullets for you - the Money

for those Gentry will amount to about £1354:10:0. - Some Expences to the Outvoters who were in your Interest have been and must be paid but in dealing with them and in every other matter which recpects the Election I shall be as oeconomical as possible and shall not suffer you to be put to any Expence that can be properly avoided - I have made a Present of your Chair with its Ornaments to our very worthy friend Mr Alderman Osbourne, whose family are much pleased with it, and will I am sure keep it for some time in its present State - in addition to the disappointment I experienced by your losing the Election I feel not a little hurt at the ill treatment of Mr Thornton. Is it not surprizing that after the Reception he met with from the Corporation of the Town, the Trinity house, and all the principal Inhabitants that his friends should be obliged to have recourse to the measures used to secure his Election, and that after all they durst not Chair him?, I am sorry for my Towns Men; I did not before think them capable of such great Ingratitude, but I am now persuaded if he was to give his whole fortune amongst the Burgesses, it would be forgot at the [following] Election, if a third Man appeared - Many Opponants [of the] present Administration who supported Sir Charles voted for Mr Thornton also, that they may have some Claim on him, to extricate them out of difficulties which they are liable to fall into, and which without his Assistance they must inevitably remain in. I hope Mr Thornton will have Discernment enough to find them out, and a Spirit to hear them as they deserve - I sincerly wish you Success if ever you should start a Candidate at any other place....

P.S. - if you should ever have an Opportunity of obtaining the Step for my Brother the Lieutenant which you was so good as to once apply for - it will confer the greatest Obligation in the World on Me - And it is at this time Vacant.

1. Town Clerk of Hull, and one of Stanhope's agents during the election. (E.A. Smith, 'The Election Agent in English Politics', E.H.R., lxxxiv (1969), 23).

No. 283

EDWARD CODD TO WALTER SPENCER STANHOPE - 20 June 1796

Source: Spencer Stanhope MSS., 60570/14

(V)

Hull. I beg leave to hand you the particulars of my disbursements on your account for the late Election at Hull with the Tradesmens Bills as settled by Mr Osbourne and myself and the different Vouchers of several - there are some other non resident freemen who will expect the same Allowance for expences as have been paid to others which may amount to £20: or £30 - Clarkson the Bailiff has an Account for Rodmen and other expences which wants settling amongst the three Candidates - your proportion which may amount to about 30 Guineas exclusive of the 20 Guineas I gave him at the Election - You will determine what is to be done about making the Burgesses who voted for you the usual Compliment of 2 Guineas for a Single and four Guineas for a double Vote - The amount whereof will be about £1500 - the Burgesses seem to expect that you will remember them and are continually coming to the Office to demand the Money and to Inquire when it is to be paid. Mr Thornton and Sir Charles Turner have paid the Burgesses.

No. 284

ROBERT CROFT[1] TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 11 April 1801

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F 36/1

(V)

Rewley, near Cave. A person of influence at Hull with whom I have some interest, having Called upon me today to show me a Letter which he had received from Michael Angelo Taylor[2], who, tho' unknown to him, Strongly Solicits, upon Constitutional Principles, his Assistance for Mr Denison at the next General Election, I take the liberty of troubling You with this, to know if Mr. D. has Your Lordship's Interest and Good Wishes, or if You are Indifferent respecting the Event at this place.

I find from my Friend there is some suspicion that Mr. D Opposition to the late and present Administration, which are the Grounds upon which Taylor wishes to recommend him, is not on fair Whig Principles, but is a little tinctured with Jacobinism, Your

Lordship perhaps may be able to say whether, or no there is any foundation for it.

I hope Lady Fitzwilliam and Lord Milton are well.

1. Robert Croft belonged to an influential York family, and had been politically active at the time of Wyvill's Association. (York City Library MSS., Y328.42.)
2. Taylor was an influential acquaintance of C.J. Fox (Bean, Northern Representation, 156).

No. 285

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 25 April 1801

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F 36/2

(V)

Foxholes. Immediately upon being favoured with your Lordship's Letter, I sent it to my Father; he returned it only this Morning. There is no doubt but your Lordship's Recommendation of Mr Denison, will have great Weight at Hull, and every part of our Family will with much Pleasure support him so recommended, on this Proviso; that none of Sir C[hristopher] Sykes's Sons are Candidates; for were this to be the Case, my Father has already engaged his Interest. I am happy to say that this Obstacle will not intervene; but it is necessary that we should be informed of this affair more officially than we are at present. I shall see Sir C. Sykes on this Business in a few Days; and will then write to Mr. Denison, and inform him of the Result.

I am much flattered by your Lordship's kind Remembrance of me; and shall ever think that the happiest Hour of my Life, which affords me the best Means of evincing my Gratitude and Attachment.

That our present puny Administration[1] may be soon succeeded by a lasting vigorous one; in which your Lordship may hold a distinguished efficient Post, equally honourable to yourself, and beneficial to your Country; is the sincere Wish, of your Lordship's much obliged Friend....

1. The ministry of Henry Addington (1801-4).

No. 286

HENRY MAISTER TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 9 May 1801

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F36/3

(V)

Hull. I have been from home for a few days or should have answer'd your obliging letter of 2 Instant before and for which I beg your Lordship will accept my best and sincerest thanks -

The subject of it has been so little in my thoughts that I really and truly have for some time past never given it one moment consideration for the business here at the last Election was conducted so discreditably to the general good, that I thought myself fortunate to be absent, and indeed the several Interests seem'd to clash so unaccountably that I scarce know the sentiments of any one - I should imagine Sir C. Turner would not offer again as he takes no Interest in the town and in case this should be so, which I believe a fact, for I have just learnt that Mr. D - son of Mr Joseph Denison of London has had some encouragement given him by many of those who espoused Sir Charles, but as these Gentlemen for some time past have taken so strong a part in opposition, a doubt may yet remain whether any other may or may not offer - I could not consistantly go with them - There always appear'd to me a great degree of ingratitude towards the two old members Mr Thornton and Mr Stanhope, the former is the Slave of the town, if one who gives his whole time to it may be call'd so, the latter has a Seat elsewhere at present, but whether that is to continue, or he means to offer again for this place I really know not, it would be handsome in giving a countenance to such an idea to wipe away the very ungrateful behaviour towards him before, these acts are seldom done, that are no hopes of our setting an example and I only mention it to express my own private sentiments -

Should the Gentleman your Lordship mentions be the same that I have heard of, it would vex me much because the respect and regard I bear your Lordship will ever make me anxious to show it - Should I hear any thing on the Subject I will venture to trouble your Lordship, tho very possibly you may be more inform'd than I can be as I have hitherto attended more to my Regiment[1] than to the concerns of the Town -

Mrs. Maister thank God continues perfectly well and begs to offer her best respects to Lady Fitzwilliam and yourself.

1. Maister was commander of the East Yorkshire Regiment of Militia. (R.W.S. Norfolk, 'Militia, Yeomenry and Volunteer Forces of the East Riding', Publications of the East Yorkshire Local History Society, 1965, p.44).

No. 287

W.J. DENISON TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 11 September 1801

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/4

(V)

London. I have this morning received the letter your Lordship has been kind enough to honor me, with; and cannot suffer a day to elapse without begging leave to return you my best sincerest Thanks for its contents. -

I hardly know how to express the obligations that I feel myself under to your Lordship, for the Interest you have taken in my behalf at Hull, and the powerfull supportyour Lordship's rank, situation and character must ever command; allow me to make my most gratefull acknowledgements for it, and to assure you it will never be eradicated from my breast -

We are all in a great fuss, and alarm in the South with the Idea of a French Invasion. - The Stocks have fallen considerably today, Troops are coming down in every direction to the coast of Sussex, and my Father's Team (at Dorking) has been pressed twice, in the course of this week for the conveyance of Baggage etc. - The Negotiation seems to be allowed, on all sides to be pretty near over, and The Government People either are, or pretend to be in a great alarm. I feel myself particularly obliged to your Lordship for your friendly Invitation to Wentworth, but fear it will not be in my Power to avail myself of your kindness 'till next year; but as Parliament it is supposed, will meet in November, perhaps you will be in town at the Meeting, and I shall then be able to pay my respects to your Lordship -

We understand, or rather hope Mr Fox means to attend more constantly next Sessions. -

No. 288

THOMAS SCATCHERD TO ROBERT CROFT - 23 November 1801

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M., F36/6

(V)

Hull. I received Your much esteem'd [letter] on my return from Alderman Shirleys - where I had good Sport - Many thanks for Your kind invitation - and tho' I cant get to York - yet will I pay off old debts next Season at Rewley - My best regards to Mrs. Croft and have sent a few Pots of Shrimps for this days Haul -

You would heare my Friend Ned[1] is chose the Mayor - I have had some talk with him about a High Steward for this Place and under the Nose he means to Propose our Noble Friend - I find some of the Bench wish for the Earl of Carlisle[2] but We Can out-Vote them - Jarrold ought to have don this - but his a most dillitory Mortal -

I have answerd M.A. Taylors letter respecting Mr Denison - and have desired he may come with letters from our Noble Friend to the different Gents in our Interest in this Place -

This will place the Interest of the Borough under the Noble Earl - and lay Denison under his Patrons eye - 'Tis all I wish.

Poor Wharton[3] I understand is to Canvas Beverley to day - and this Place Tomorrow, - he will whin his Election - I shall be glad of it - I think Lord Y[arborough][4] has used him Ill - Please to Say to Mrs. Croft that I do think January will be a very good time to buy her Sugars - they are full 10 per hund[red] Cheaper -

[P.S.] Votes

Coulson 2, Wilton 1, Eggington 1, Jarrold 1, Jos. Sykes 1, John Sykes 1. 7 the Main

1. Alderman Edward Coulson elected mayor on 30 September 1801 (B.B., x, 351-2).
2. Frederick Howard, eighth Earl of Carlisle (1748-1825), suc. 1758 (G.E.C., Complete Peerage, iii, 36-7).
3. John Wharton headed the poll at Beverley in 1802. (Bean, Northern Representation, 744).
4. Charles Anderson - Pelham, Baron Yarborough (1748/9-1823). (G.E.C. Complete Peerage, xii, 884.

No. 289

ROBERT CROFT TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 24 November 1801

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F36/5

(V)

York. Enclosed I send You a Letter which I have by the last Post received from Scatcherd; if you are not already Acquainted with the Compliment the Corporation of Hull intend paying to Your Lordship, it will I think give You pleasure, as you will now have a greater Connection with the town than you have hitherto had, and I have not a doubt that the old Interest will be reistablished, and upon a firmer basis perhaps than Ever.

I thank You for your kind Favor in Consequence of which I have written to Sir Henry Vane[1] informing him that He had your good Wishes at the next Election for the County of Durham.

P.S. The Mayor's Name is Coulson, and the Alderman's which is Tom Bolton, both of them respectable men whom I should have taken the liberty of Introducing to You, had they not been absent from Hull during your stay there.

1. Vane was defeated in the election of 1802. (Bean, Northern Representation, 101).

No. 290

EDWARD CODD TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 5 December 1801

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M., F122/71

(V)

Hull. I have the honor to inform your Lordship that at a Meeting of the Bench held yesterday, it was unanimously resolved, that application should be made to the King, praying that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to appoint your Lordship to the office of High Steward of this Corporation, which is now vacant by the death of his Grace the late Duke of Leeds; provided your Lordship will do the Corporation the honor to accept the Appointment[1] - This being the highest mark of respect the Corporation of Hull have in their power to confer on your Lordship, and your Lordship's late Noble Ancestor the Marquis of Rockingham having done them the honor to hold the Office, the Bench hope and trust your Lordship will at this time accept the Appointment, as a Testimony of their esteem

and regard for your Lordship -

1. On 4 December 1801 the Corporation formally resolved to invite Fitzwilliam to become High Steward of Hull (B.B., x, 357). This proposal had been in the air for some time.

No. 291

EDWARD CODD TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 16 December 1801

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F122/72

(V)

Guildhall Hull. I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordships letter of the eighth Instant which I have laid before the Gentlemen of this Corporation, Who have directed me to inform your Lordship that the Mayor is at present absent on a Journey, and that as soon as he returns the Common Seal will be affixed to a Petition to his Majesty for your Appointment to the office of High Steward and transmitted to the Secretary of States office to be presented to his Majesty.

No. 292

THOMAS SCATCHERD TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 3 March 1802

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., F.36/7

(V)

Hull. I have Your highly esteem'd [letter] dated 8 Dec 1801 - and am glad you approve the appointment - I'm sure, you do the Town high honour to accept it - I certainly did my utmost to promote it - for Jarrald promis'd me whilst the Mayor, to bring it forw'd - but repeatedly neglected - When I got my Fast Friend Coulson to be the Mayor - against Wrays Interest (I did this for Two Reasons - First, to bring Your Lordship forward - Second, to have the Hall, and returning Officer, in my favor in Case of an Election) accordingly Coulson said to Jarrald, If you will not Propose Lord F., I will - this brot it forward Immeadiately - It was askd by The Mayor at the next bench - was it a Proper time to Nominate a Lord high Steward - for it - Coulson, Jarrald, Osborn, Eggington, Melling - against it Wray, John Sykes[x], Bolton; Your Lordship was movd for at the insueing Bench - and chose Unanimously; Thus, they could not beat us.

I had spoke [to] Mr Osborn (Prior) Saying, I had askd Your Lordship for half his business in the Buff line - Your answer, - that You would remember Mr Osborn. Mr Cole, is the First Friend of the Moxons - and they are good Customers of mine - as such Your Lordship need not say from whence Your advise - But if You are to have a firm footing heare, Osborn, his Your Man - His activity, in matters of Election his Interist, his dislike to Thorntons Interest - makes him highly valuable to Your cause - You must have him - Indeed his now in Your Power - and forget not my Lord the advise of Tom.

I saw Mr Denison when in London and desired he would (ere he came to Canvas) get letters from Your Lordship to Friends here - This don, he might be secure of his Election, I wish'd him to make it Public - that he was coming down in Your Interest - and that he was determind to whim it. Iv'e said the same here, - Mark its good efect - Randal Jackson of the India Direction has applyd to me, - Your Lordship will be much surprisd, When I say T'was Jarrolds intention (This may account for his delay in proposing Your Lordship etc) - Of this I'm cleare - as he sent Martin over to see if an opening at Lincoln - and from what has escap'd him in conversation. Tis' said (by some of his first Friends) that Mr Wilberforce will loose the County, and that he means (in that case) to come here -

I have been, and am, preparing a most warm reception, and a hearty beating for him - I am sorry to say, this will cost Mr Denison neare £100 - not more - but this is much better my Lord Than Mr D. coming down; It would cost £500 - and no better for his Interest - I do this in such a Maner, that Mr Thorntons Friends or Wilberforces - are not aware of - nor do I mention it to any one -

But this I will affirm - The Rockingham Interest never stood on so Firm a Foundation, as at Present. May Your Lorship live long to see it fullfild...

[P.S.] x Tis' said he was much displeasd , he had not had the honour to bring it forwards himself.

No. 293

THOMAS SCATCHERD TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 19 May 1802

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/8

(V)

Hull. I think it my duty to Say that I wish Your Lordship to have Your Letters ready wrote for the Friends in this Town - as I much feare We shall have an opposition - and that Mr. Denison <u>may</u> be calld to this Place <u>very suddenly</u> -

I am truely sorry for this - as it will make it more Expencive.... [P.S.] The Wardens of the Trinity House, Mr Horncastle and Mr Frank. Mr Lundie, Mr Harnes, Mr. F. Hall as <u>Brothers</u>

Mr Coulson as Mayor, Mr Osborn Mr Eggington Mr Bolton and Sykes etc. as Aldermen

Mr Phill. Green Mr R.C. Broadley Mr Riddle, Mr Jos. Howarth Jnr. Mr. Milnes.

Mr Aldermen Melling and Jarrald.

No. 294

ROBERT CROFT TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 22 May 1802

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/9

(V)

Rewley, near Cave. I was Favoured with Yours this Morning and in Consequence of it have been over to Hull and have seen Scatcherd; I find there are a great many York Voters resident in the Town and Neighbourhood, which he will Endeavour immediately to make out, and will Canvass on Monday and Tuesday, and as I know to secure success in Contested Elections, the greatest activity and Exertions should be made at the first starting, I therefore sent over a Servant to Lord John Cavendish's old Agent at Beverley, and by his Answer received this Evening, I find he has secured Sixteen Voters, who are all that he can at present make out there.

I have made the Enquiries of Scatcherd You desired respecting the persons You should write to, and I find from him that he thinks a public Letter to the Wardens of Trinity House Messers Horncastle and Frank, and to the Mayor Mr Coulson will be well received; and

that You should likewise write to Messers Harness, Laundy, and Francis Hall, Brothers of the Trinity House. To the Sykes's, Osborne, Eggington, Jarrett, Coulson, Bolton and Melling, Aldermen.

To Mr Philip Green, Mr Mathew Dobson, Mr Thomas Riddle Architect, and to any other person whom You may have Called upon when at Hull: He has reason to think the above Gentlemen are Friends and Well Wishers to Your Lordship, and He is quite certain they would be pleased and flattered by a Letter from You.

Old Mr Sykes has had a paralytic Stroke a few days ago, which it was expected by his Physicians would have carried him off, as he was Speechless and insensible for many hours; but quite Contrary to their Expectations he is perfectly Recovered, and what is very remarkable at his age, being in his Eightieth Year, there are no Symptoms of the disorder remaining, and he is at present not at all aware that he has been ill....

[P.S.] I forgot to say that Scatcherd thinks Your Lordship had better write these Letters before a dissolution takes place, as there has lately appeared a greater wish for an Opposition than was expected; A Mr Cracroft a Gentleman in Lincolnshire has certainly been Applied to.

No. 295

THOMAS SCATCHERD TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 26 May 1802

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/10

(V)

Hull. I have Your Lordships two esteemd favors and it is with sincere Pleasure I inform Your Lordship that my Friend Croft and me Canvasd this Place Yesterday in favor of Mr. Dundas - and that We had not one Refusal.

Truely the People, behave well to me - Implicitly relieing on my Word - I also sounded them as to Denison and found them Faithfull; Yet too much secureity, sometimes proves fatal - as such I'm ever alive - Numbers have Sign'd for a Third Man - and Should be come - and he a Ministerial Creature - Will not Mr. Thornton (Grown Strong by this Dock business) support him? - I think so - This would make it Expensive - But We would still (in my opinion) beat them Compleatly - ...

[P.S.] If Your Lordship was to Write a General Letter to the Trinity House directed to Messers Horncastle and Frank as Wardens - The Brothers would be summonsd to attend its being Read - both Harnes and Laundie are Staunch Friends and may be wrote too -

The Wardens of the Trinity House Mr Horncastle and Mr Frank Mr Harnes, Mr Laundie, Mr Jackson, Mr Frank Hall, Mr Thomas Lock as Brothers.

E.F. Coulson Mayor, William Jarrald, William Bolton, William Osborne, John Melling, Jos. Eggington, Jos Sykes, John Sykes - Aldermen
Sir Henry Heatherington

Philip Green, Robert Pease, Daniel Sykes, Revd Mr. Bourne.
[The list of names is crossed out]

No. 296

THOMAS SCATCHERD TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 9 June 1802

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/11

(V)

Hull. Mr. Osborne and Thompson set off for London on Monday Respecting the Dock Act - If you can Render them any assistance pray do - And do my Lord ask Osborn to see you -

I am honourd with Your Lordships this Post - and will answer it fully by Saturdays Post - I do think We stand on high Ground heare, and at York - I've no doubt of Success - I think our Friend Denison much wanting, in not paying attention to the Dock Delegates - In my minde his no Canvaser I should have had them all to have seen me and Mr. H-.

I write this merely that Your Lordship may avail Yourself of doing the Town a kindness and Osborn attention....

[P.S.] On Second thoughts, as Parliament is so neare a Close - I would advise Your Lordship to Send Your letters by first Post - and I do think Mr D. ought to Canvas the Town next Wednesday or Thursday But of that We will advise him.

No. 297

DANIEL SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 16 June 1802

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/12

(V)

Kirkella. As you was kind enough when you was at Hull to interest yourself on behalf of Mr Denison's Election, I have been advised to transmit to you the names of the underwritten Gentlemen, and to say that your Influence by Letter with all or any of them may be beneficial to our Candidate. I have taken care to put down no Gentleman, the writing of whom will bring your Lordship into any Difficulties.

Philip Green, Samuel Bean, Sir H. Etherington, John Coase, Messers Eggington, William Osbourne, John Harneis, Colonel Maister, Robert Pease, Thos. Lundie.

No. 298

THOMAS SCATCHERD TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 17 June 1802

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/13

(V)

Hull. I wrote to your Lordship on Wednesday Last - Saying, on Second tho't I wishd Your Lordship to write immeadiately to the different Gentlemen heare, and am most truely sorry to find No one has yet herd from Your Lordship. Pray my Noble Friend Write by return of Post - Things wheare a Truely serious aspect heare - And a most strong Opposition Indeed has, arrived - Phill. Green has brot down his Nephew Charles Staniforth of London; That great Interest which I know was for us - is now by an opposition to Mr. Thorntons Interest, will make us sit on unsure Ground - For Mr Thornton In my minde has secured his Election, by the Support of the Hull Dock Bill -

However I will run them a Good Heat - I do firmly beleive had Mr. Denison seen all the Hull delegates, when in London this would not have been -

If Your Lordships letters are not sent - I think I forgot Gardiner Egginton Esq....

[P.S.] Phill Green (for sometimes) has felt himself verey Ill used by Mr. Thornton -

No. 299

SIR HENRY ETHERINGTON TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 19 June 1802

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/14

(V)

Hull. I had the honor to receive your Lordships of the 15 which am sorry is comed so very late having some time ago ingaged myself to my old Friend Mr. Thornton. Mr Dennison is a stranger to me nevertheless as your Lordship Desires I shall give him what Support I can - Consistant with my Conection with Mr T. I think Mr D. has been Ill advised not to come much sooner as am certain if he had comd a month ago and given the Men a good Drink there would have been no Third Man the Burgesses being disatysfyed at not being taken notice of. About 670 of them meet and Signd a Paper to Support a Third Man, and they have found a Mr. Staniforth Nephew and Heir to Mr. Philip Green of this place who Supports him with both his Purse and Interest neither of which are small. Mr D. committed a great error in not Introducing himself to the Gentlemen in Town and not taking Notice of them as they where both men of Fortune and Interest. I am informd Mr. Staniforth is a Person in great Bussiness and in the Shiping Line this will have much weight here. I shall be always happy to oblige Your Lordship in any thing in my power. I am Much affraid your Lordship Letters if they are not previous to mine will come too late. It seems to me as if your Lordship and Mr D. had entertaind the Ducisive Deer there could be opposition to Mr T. and Mr D. which is ever fatal in these Matters....

P.S. I am much affaid nothing can save Mr D. Unless he chuses to play Sir Charles Game.

its just reportd the Third Man will again be the first - Mr. Alderman Melling has just been here and desired me to acquaint Your Lordship he had received your Letter and that he was also ingagd to Mr Thornton and would go with me -

No. 300

JOHN SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 22 June 1802

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/15

(V)

Hull. I had the Honor to receive your Lordships Letter; and you may be assured, that I should have paid great attention to your Recommendation of Mr Denison, had I not from long Friendship, already promised him my Vote and Interest. I fear the Contest will be very arduous; Mr. Staniforths Friends have been very active, and have spared no Expence in securing Votes. Mr. Denison arrived here yesterday, and since his arrival We are in much better Spirits. Your Lordships last letter to the Moxons has had a good Effect, and I beg leave to hint to you the Propriety of recommending, Mr. Denison to Mr. Hugh Blaydes; (he has a company in the 3rd West Yorkshire Regiment) at present Mr Blaydes and his Family profess to be for Mr Thornton only. He is now resident at Paghill in Holderness, but a letter directed to Hull would reach him.

No. 301

HUGH BLAYDES[1] TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 28 June 1802

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/16

(V)

High Paull, nr. Hedon. I have just had the Honor to receive your recommendation of Mr Denison and it will give me great Pleasure, in compliance with Your Lordships wishes, (so far as does not interfere with Mr Thornton's coming in, and who is thought to be pretty secure) to give Mr Dennison my Second Vote and all the Interest I can make -

Being 11 Miles distant from the Town and making some alterations in my House, I have not as yet been much there, but have sometime since promised my support to Mr Thornton as a very old Friend and Connection - I however hope it will not interefere with Mr Dennison's Interest, as the contest is likely to be with the other Party.

If Your Lordship should wish to interest yourself either for Mr Lawrence Dundas or Sir W. Milner for York, there are 100 Freemen who reside in Hull, who I know have been convassed for Sir W. Milner, but I think I could have a good deal of influence for either Party, should you wish it, by desiring them publickly to meet me at an

Inn and being empower'd to give them something to drink at the same Time - and should Your Lordship have any intention of giving your Interest to any independent County Gentleman to represent the landed Interest of the County of York, which appears to myself and every other County Gentleman I have conversed with upon the Subject, to be imperfectly represented in Mr Lascelles, or rather not represented at all, I should be very happy to give Your Lordship any assistance in my Power -

1. A descendent of a Hull ship-building family, who reached the ranks of the gentry (Jackson, Hull in Eighteenth Century, 183).

No. 302

DANIEL SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 1 July 1802

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/17

(V)

Hull. Hearing that you were at Milton, I have thought it right to send you an express to inform you of the State of the Hull Canvass - Staniforth under the powerful name of the third Candidate is in the opinion of all here much the strongest. Of Course, our Contest lays with Thornton and our Success depends not a little upon the assistance we shall derive from the 2nd Votes of Staniforth. Mr. Green inclines to favor us in this way, and I think a Letter from you would make that Inclination very decisive. If you have no objection to add this to the many proofs of your kindness to Denison, you may write by return of our messenger; and the Topics will be, the advantage to the Whig Cause by Thorntons defeat and such other points as are likely to please one of Mr. Greenes Character and Opinions, I am almost sure the letter will be well taken. Our Contest has been long arduous and expensive. Denison goes through with it with great Spirit and whatever may be the Issue, I am sure his Exertions deserve the greatest praise from his Party. Our Agents think that our prospect of Success is very good. I confess that my fears are greater than my hopes. And if toward the conclusion of the Poll, our Defeat should appear inevitable, I propose to start a fourth Candidate who upon a polling a few votes may petition on the grounds of treating and Bribery; the Laws against which have been broken in my opinion by all the Candidates - Under this Impression

I wish you would mention the name of some person to whom such a plan would be agreeable - Denison desires to be remembered to you.... [P.S.] Mr. P. Green is Uncle to Mr S. and supports his Nephew who we conceive to be safe; and might materially serve Mr D. by throwing the spare Votes to him when Mr S. is out of danger; which would compleatly overthrow Mr. T. and which might be accomplished by your writing to Mr Green who has already declared his inclination to serve your Interest, and an approbation of your friend D-. with the utmost abhorrence of Mr T's political conduct. Samuel Martin

No. 303

THOMAS SCATCHERD TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 1 July 1802

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/18

(V)

Hull. I am honourd with Your Lordships on the disolution, as also on the London Voats - for which my Sincere thanks - I am truely sorry to Say Our Great Interest at this Place - has had a most severe Shock - The New Dock has coalesd all Partys, in favr of Thornton - (This amongst the Rich) - for even Coulson Eggington, Bolton Osborn - his former Enemys - now divide for him - and the Lower order with Philip Greens Interest are universal, for what they call a Third Man - This puts us betwixt Two - yet I trust, We shall not fall - Had my advice been taken this could not have happend - Refering to mine on the Signing of the Burgesses for a third Man - Your Lordship would see my Fears - I then advisd Daniel Sykes that Mr. Denison should Immeadiately come down and make his Canvas - and that the outVoats (which are Numerous) within Twenty Miles should be Canvasd also - his answer was, "that this would bring down Thornton, create much Trouble and Expence - that we was So strong there was no need."

The consequence - was Thornton broke his Word with Denison, and arrivd Three Days at this Place to canvas before him.

Phillip Green in one Moment, (and unknown) dispatch'd for all the out Votes - and began a Most Vigerous [canvass] amongst the Ship Yards, Rope Walks etc - which on my part - I indeaverd to counter act - and I must Say that in my opinion We shall Throw Thornton out after all.

The out Voats will (I think) secure Mr. Staniforth - I must Say our mutual Friend Denison stands the Contest with Firmness -

and most Gentleman like Conduct - I shall lament the longest day I have to live, If his beat - If so - I will never (in my present minde) Start again - My Boddy and minde are all agitation - and Your Lordship must forgive any errors.

No. 304

JOHN VOASE[1] TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 6 July 1802

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/19

(V)

Hull. I had the pleasure to pay my Respects to you under date of the 4th Instant - am sorry to say our friend Mr Denison being un successfull Candidate after a Hour excersions - be being a verry worthy good Man - I am much hurt he should have lost it - I am certain it is from want of an earlier application in Canvissing - he would have made more friends and that was my advice to Mr. Heywood of Wakefield some time ago - I did not like the appearance of his Success when the other Candidates took the head of the Poll - if Mr D- should think proper whenever any Vacancy offers at this place to offer again. I should not doubt of his success - he haveing many well wishers.

[P.S.] Mr Thornton 1207, Mr Dennison 719, Mr Staniforth 1116: Mr Bell of this place offered himself a Candidate got one Vote this Forenoon.

1. John Voase, merchant of Hull, voted for Thornton and Denison, 1802. (1802 Poll Book, p.49).

No. 305

W. J. DENISON TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 7 July 1802

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/20

(V)

Hull. Notwithstanding the unfavourable issue of the Contest, last night, I cannot delay one moment, returning you, my most sincere Thanks for the Kindness you have shewn to me, and to assure your Lordship, that I shall ever remember with heartfelt Gratitude, the trouble you have taken, the recommendations you have given; and your kind zeal and anxiety on my behalf. Nothing could stand against

the weight of administration, joined to the three Corporations in favor of Mr. Thornton; and "the Third Man's Party" with Mr P. Green's shipping Interest in favor of Mr Staniforth -

Mr Bell polled three votes, and means to petition against Thornton. - Our Final numbers were: Thornton 1266, Staniforth 1183, Denison 767. Though unsuccessful, I have the greatest pleasure in assuring your Lordship, that I think the cause by no means lost; and will I am confident again revive in abler and better hands than mine. - Though I hope my Friends will give me credit for carrying on the contest, with as much ability and zeal as I was master of; and I can only add the Kindess and affection of the People has amply repaid me for every thing. They would not suffer Mr Thornton to address them from the Hustings, demolished the Chair prepared for him, and would have torn him to pieces, if he had not escaped privately. Nothing could exceed the Labour, and unwearied Exertions of my Kind Friends, the Sykes's, Moxons etc: and I am sure your Lordship will believe that D. Sykes did every thing that old Friendship, affection, and professional ability could suggest.

Poor Scatcherd has by his exertions worked himself into a Fever, and set off for Scarborough quite broken hearted. -

I beg Your Lordship will accept my best Thanks for your kind present of a Buck; upon which our Committee and Friends are going to feast today.

[P.S.] I have taken the liberty of inclosing you my Farewell address. -

No. 306

THOMAS SCATCHERD TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 18 July 1802

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/24

(V)

Hull. Your Lordships kind favor under the 9th Instant came to me at Scarbr'o - and I deferd an answer untill I could write more to the Point -

I was unexpectedly calld home Yesterdy Where Your Lordships favor of the 14th found me this Post - I cannot Express my high Sense of Obligation, for Your Lordships Solisitus enquires after my health - In truth my Boddy and minde did recieve a severe Shock— and left me extream inervated and low - The Sun, and Repose, have don wonders for me - and I am, thank God, much better - Your Lordships

Freindly letter of the 9th aded great consolation - and I so trust my high sence of honour regard, and esteem for Yr Lordship, will ever, make me act, in such manner, as to be worthy of Yr Lordships Freindship.

Mr Denison is every thing I could wish - full of honour, Integrity and of true Whig Principles - This, - when alone - recalls our defeat with Sorrow - and when I well know we could have Won - It eats me, like an Evil Contume.

I did inform Yr Lordship what a most decided and even unprese-dented Part the Three Corporations took - You would heare, how Unpopular Thare Tool - Obligd, to sneak out of Town - Not Chaird - and Feard of his life - and From that time, I was cleare the People would finde some Pretext, to resent the Conduct of the Corporations - and I am sorry [to] Say last night it was fullfil'd - They broke all the Windows of the Towns Hall - got into their Store Room and broke all theire Dishes Plates China and Glasses to Attoms -

But nothing in my minde can ever Coalece, the three Boddys again - and tho' we have lost this election - I am Proud to Say - Your Lordship and Mr Denison Stand on higher Ground than before.

[P.S.] State of the former Poll:

Sir Charles 884, Thornton 734, Stanhope 714

State of this of which more fully Soon:

Thornton 1253, Staniforth 1160, Denison 767.

No. 307

THE DUKE OF ST. ALBANS TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 22 July 1802

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 61, 13

(III, V)

Morris Hotel Lower Brook Street [London]. I am exceedingly concerned to think, it has so happened, that I never have had it in my power before now, to pay you the £2,500 as agreed upon, when I stood for Hull; I have the satisfaction to say the money is now ready, and if you will have the goodness to inform me who your Banker is, the sum shall be immediately remitted to him[1]. I beg my best Respects to Lady Fitzwilliam....

1. Fitzwilliam's bank book shows that on 24 July 1802, £2,500 was paid by the Duke of St. Albans at Brooks's. (Fitzwilliam Miscellaneous Volume 769 [1802-1807] - at Northampton).

No. 308

DANIEL SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 12 November 1802

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box X1605, 46

(V)

Kirkella. When I had the pleasure of seeing you at York Races I did not anxiously seek for any communication with you on the Subject of the Hull Election or the Petition that was to arise out of it. I felt that both Denison and myself were entangled in Difficulties through which I could hardly see my way at that time. I was sure that neither he or I could be the ostensible movers in a Petition and I doubted whether one from any other quarter would be persisted in to Effect. As however some forward steps have been taken since my last Interview with you, I think it right to acquiant you with them together with my Notions of their probable Result.

Bell has continued hearty in the Cause and, at the expence of much Odium here and loss of Business in consequence of it, went up to London about a fortnight since to consult with his Counsel and Agents on the Subject of his Petition[1]. From them he recieves the most favourable accounts of his prospect of success. His object is a Petition against Thornton only. He would at my Instance, I dare say, have made it against both. But I did not press him; as I wished to be able to say that he did not act under my directions: though at the same time I felt Mr Denisons Cause to be more directly opposed to Staniforth than Thornton: Bells Attorney at Hull is waiting for further Instructions from London, and when these have arrived will proceed to get his witnesses together in support of the Allegations in the Petition; the prayer of which will be that the Return as to Thornton may be void.

The Petitioner's arrival in Town is become publicky known and the Friends of the sitting Member are much alarmed. In consequence, from an Idea that Bell acts under my Influence, I have been repeatedly applied to, to use that Influence to stifle the Petition. I have as yet disclaimed all Authority over Bell, and have likewise refused to exercise it. And certainly I would not consent that the Petition should be stopped gratuitously. However if an offer should be proposed to procure Mr Denison a Seat in the present Parliament by means of Mr Thorntons friends, I think I should find no Difficulty in quieting Bell. It seems a large price for Mr Thornton to offer. But such is his alarm that I should not be surprized at it, or

in other words I greatly expect it, if there are treasury Seats so circumstanced as to admit of such an arrangment. The first attempt will be to buy Bell off: but in this I have every reason to suppose that they will not succeed. After that I feel persuaded that any measure will be resorted to rather than encounter a Petition filled with various charges of Bribery and Corruption.

If the important Object I have in view should be obtained, I trust I may take the liberty of turning your Lordships Consideration to the Expence attending it. Bell has engaged in the work upon my single promise that he should be indemnified. Denison has directed that £200 of his money should be applied to this purpose; and after the very heavy expence which he incurred at the Election, I cannot think of letting him subscribe more. I do not wish for a general subscription at Hull, Because I do not wish to have it known who are Bells Patrons: But if the Expence of the Petition should amount to a Sum larger than I and my Brothers can bear without inconvenience, I trust you will excuse me if I mention the subject to you again.

I shall write to you again when any thing new occurs, and I am of Opinion that an Opportunity will soon be offered.

1. C.J., lviii, 47-8, 61-2, 86, 112, 234, 324, 643.

No. 309

THOMAS SCATCHERD TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 21 October 1805

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.41/3

(V)

Hull. On a shooting excusion, I joind my Lord Yarbro' Fox Hounds; his Lordship informd me, that Your Lordship had been a Fox Hunting, and was going to Scarbro' for the further establishing your health - May a kind providence grant this -

I have to thank Your Lordship for the bountifull present of half a Buck; Coulson, Jarratt, Croft, the Sykes's etc. etc. partook -

I rejoyce to say from some of the Oldest members of the Trinity House, That your Lordship has gain'd a firm footing, and that they will support Your Int[erest] at the next Election- Pray when may we expect one? -

Dare Billy meet the Patriotic and Addington Int[erest] undesolv'd? -

I think he means to steal a march on us, soon as the seed Wheat is in the ground - As such, let me advise Your Lordship to keep a few Circulars wrote - and if it be so, send to the names as below -

The names and Place of abode, of all the York freemen in this Place, might be known - They will take up a Weeck unknown, to finde them - If know, a Day - This, a very great advantage, should We have an Oposition - - No one can be too much on theire guard, that has so slie a Cub as Billy to deal with. -

Bone, seems to play his game dexterously, with the Allies - and I much fear Billys Army will just arrive in time, to be cut in pieces by detail - - All this summer spent in - O[pposition] - as it was in the beginning etc. etc.

My high and attach'd regards to Lord Milton with self and Lady F....

[P.S.] Aldermen: Sir H. Etherington, John Melling, William Jarratt - Mayor, Edward Coulson, John Sykes, William Osborne, John Osborne, Joseph Eggington.

James Thackray - Warden

John Harnes, Thomas Lundie, Henry Denton, Thomas Lock, Thomas Jackson, James Dewhit, Joel Foster, Mr. Horncastle, Mr Simp[son] - Brothers of the Trinity House.

No. 310

W. J. DENISON TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 5 November 1805

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.41/4, 5

(V)

London. The sad detail of the terrible events in Germany[1]; which we had yesterday in the publick papers; so compleatly sunk me; that I had not spirits to thank your Lordship for your kind and obliging letter of 2nd Instant, nor indeed to weigh over with coolness, the communication you are pleased to make. -

I hope your Lordship will believe how gratefull I feel for the many acts of Kindness, with which you have honored me. The letter before me, only adds one more to the number; and I assure you, I never can forget the trouble you took, and the support you gave me at the last Election. -

Powerfull as I know that support to be; and active as I hope, many valuable Friends, (whom I flatter myself, I have in Hull,) would be; yet still I have not the nerves to look another contest in the Face; and must beg leave to decline it. -

We know Thornton's Interest to be strong; and Mr. S. from his contracts, and always voting with the Minister, has obliged so many people; that it would require a good deal; to beat him.

An untried man, with the charm of novelty, would have the best chance of success. From my Politicks; and various local reasons; which it is unnecessary to detail to your Lordship; I have many Ennemies there, which a new Candidate would not have. -

It would mortify me most cruelly, if your Lordship's Interest should be defeated a second time; through my Fault, or want of Popularity with the leading people; and I most sincerely hope and trust it will prove successful with a better man. - But believe me, my dear Lord, I shall ever remember with heartfelt gratitude, your Friendship and Kindness, upon this; as, upon every other occasion. -

I hardly know what to say to your Lordship upon the dismal news from the continent. - We are all so thunderstruck here, we can scarcly yet credit it. - In every point of view; it the most fatal event, for the country, for the world; and for civilised society. - Some evil Genius seems hovering over Europe, and malignantly, paralyzes every effort, defeats every Plan. - It confirms Buonaparte's Throne; raises his character, and increases his Popularity and Power, to that extent; it almost tempts one to exclaim with Hannibal; "Agnosco In Fortunam Carthegenis". That the Emperor has been most cruelly decieved by the Elector of Bavaria we doubt not; but what Infatuation could possess General Mack to shut himself up in Ulm; without retrograding to meet the Russians; without one effort to escape; and then capitulating upon terms, that he might have made in the worst possible case, baffles every conjecture. - But when he surrenders the Town, five days sooner than he had occasion by his treaty; (which five days he must have Known, were invaluable to B[onapar]te) there seems something, worse than Infatuation. - But we must suspend our Judgement 'till we hear his own sad story; and hope in the Interim, the French accounts, are exaggerated.

Lord Harrowby's mission, will I fear, compleatly fail. Had the first Blow been otherwise; I have pretty good grounds for believing; Ministers expected; not only Prussia; but Denmark, with Saxony; and the inferior Powers of Germany, would have joined the confederacy. -

The Government people say; they shall gain sixty, by a dissolution. But yet in the present state of affairs: I think they hardly dare dissolve; especially when they reflect on the issue of the contests, for Down and Gloucester. -

It is not supposed the Addingtons will join the Opposition. Lord Sidmouth is in a bad state, both of health and spirits. - Pitt called upon him; on the business of his poor Son; said if any thing happened; he should only think it right to continue the Polls in his Family. -

I have many apologies to make to your Lordship for presuming to trespass upon your time; and intruding any observations of mine, upon your superior Judgement; but the crisis is so awfull; I trust to your wonted goodness for my Pardon. -

It gave me much concern to find from an observation in our good Friend, Scatcherd's letter, that you had been unwell lately; but I have been living in the Isle of Wight this summer, in so secluded a manner, that except Whitbread, (who was there, for Mrs. W.'s health,) I hardly saw any person, whatever. -

I hope I have an occasion to say, how sincere my wishes are; that for the sake of your country, your Friends and your Family; your Lordship may soon be restored to complete health. -

I have taken the liberty of writing to our Game Keeper this evening, to supply your table with Game, during your stay at Scarborough. May I trouble your Lordship to make my best respects and wishes to Lady Fitzwilliam and Lord Milton; and begging you, once more, to accept my grateful Thanks for all your Goodness to me.

1. The surrender of the Austrian army to the French at Ulm.

No. 311

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 17 October 1806

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M., E210/10

(V)

West Ella. I have this Moment received the Intelligence of the Dissolution of Parliament. Staniforth is canvassing the Town this Day; and Mr Sam Thornton's Son[1] has declared himself a Candidate. We have Nothing of Mr Denison or any third Person. The Report of the Day is, that Staniforth is strong, and Thornton very weak indeed.

Your Lordship will please to give us such orders as seem expedient to you; which I, (and I believe all my Family[2]) that have great Pleasure in obeying.

I can not avoid condoling with your Lordship on the great and irreparable loss which we have so lately sustained by the Death of the greatest Man which this Kingdom ever produced[3]. My Affliction is not a little increased by the evil Consequence which it is supposed it has had on your Lordship's Health. When you favour me with a Line I shall hope to see a better Account than the Papers have announced.

1. John Thornton (1783-1861), (D.N.B., 1vi, 307).
2. Daniel Sykes considered the existing members would be returned unopposed (D. Sykes to Fitzwilliam, 18 October 1806. Fitzwilliam MSS. W.W.M. E210/6.)
3. Charles James Fox died on 13 September 1806.

No. 312

EARL FITZWILLIAM TO LORD GRENVILLE - 20 October 1806

Source: H.M.C., Fortescue, viii, 392-393

(V)

Wentworth. As Denison, the former candidate for Hull, did not choose to engage again, I have done what I can to secure a peaceable election to the two old members, and hope I have succeeded.

Pray, don't let anything be done about Scarboro', I mean for the two present members[1], both enemies; as I have in contemplation to send one of my own nephews.

We are engaged in the tremendous business of a contest for this county; Mr Fawkes is the new candidate. I don't suppose government

can do much, or anything; but I solicit at least for the countenance of government for Fawkes. I believe he will carry it beyond all expectation, the trustees of the Cloth Hall at Leeds have send a deputation to him to promise their support; and, from appearances, he will have the general support of the manufacturing district.

1. At Scarborough Edmund Phipps and Charles Manners Sutton were returned unopposed. (Bean, Northern Representation, 1051).

No. 313

DANIEL SYKES TO [M. A. TAYLOR] - 22 October 1806

Source: B.L. Add. MSS. Grenville MSS. (Boconnoc), 59390 f.47

(V)

Raywell. Not having had the pleasure of seeing you lately, I do not know what are your Parliamentary Views. But there is something so extraordinary in the present situation both at this and the neighbouring Borough, Beverley that I can not refrain from representing to you the probability nay even the utmost certainty that you or any other person of respectability might come in to the exclusion of Staniforth at the one place and Burton at the other[1] - The Expence I do not think would be heavy. I have not leisure to state you the grounds upon which I have formed this opinion; but I think I speak with well founded Confidence.

[P.S.] I will thank you not to make this communication more public than necessary.

1. John Wharton and General Richard Vyse were returned for Beverley, Burton was placed third in the poll; Sir Mark Sykes apparently received no votes. (Bean, Northern Representation, 745).

No. 314

M. A. TAYLOR TO LORD GRENVILLE - 23 October 1806

Source: B.L. Add. MSS. Grenville MSS. (Boconnoc), 59390 f.45

(V)

Ledstone Hall, Ferrybridge. The inclosed came to me this morning[1]: the Gentleman who gives the Information is a strong friend and a barrister of the greatest respectability - I transmit it to your Lordship in order that you may judge of the political sentiments of General Burton and Mr. Staniforth, and then decide - I beg your Lordship, occupied as you are, not to trouble <u>yourself</u> with answering this letter; Mr. Freemantle or any confidential person could inform me of your determination, and I have advised Mr Sykes, that he would receive a communication without delay, <u>and</u> by the same post that it was made to me: a letter must therefore go from town to him.

1. <u>Supra</u>.

No. 315

LORD GRENVILLE TO M. A. TAYLOR - 25 October 1806 [Copy]

Source: B.L. Add. MSS. Grenville MSS. (Boconnoc), 59390 f.91

(V)

Downing Street. I have to acknowledge ——————[1] Government is certainly not bound to give any signpost to General Burton in any views he may have at Beverley - on the other hand there is no disposition to withdraw that continuance which has been pledged both to Mr Thornton and Mr Staniforth at Hull.

1. Details not contained in this copy.

No. 316

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - [31 October 1806]

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. E.210/11

(V)

[Hull]. In compliance with your Wishes, we were not disposed to give any Trouble to the two late Members for this Town. But the lower Sort of Voters could not be restrained; and as an Opposition

was unavoidable, we proposed Mr Denison yesterday when the Poll commenced. This Day at one o'clock the Numbers being: Staniforth 1003 Denison 915 Thornton 702[1]. Mr Thornton declined the Poll; which is now going on in a very amicable manner; to settle any disputable Point in future -

We have obtained a signal Victory without giving any Liquor, and Ribbands, or having made any Canvass.

Your Lordship has never been mentioned on this Occasion; though you can never be forgotten by your Lordship's most obliged humble Servant....

[P.S.] We are canvassing with Success for Mr. Fawkes.

1. Final figures were:- John Staniforth 1133, William Joseph Denison 1062, Samuel Thornton 733 (1806 Hull Poll Book).

No. 317

EARL FITZWILLIAM TO LORD GRENVILLE - 2 November 1806

Source: H.M.C., Fortesque, viii, 420-421

(V)

Wentworth. The county is settled; Lascelles has withdrawn[1]. An extraordinary event has happened at Hull. Denison is chosen and Thornton thrown out; it happened without my interference, or even knowledge, and I venture to say without Denison's; but the populace would have a third man, and Denison as a favourite of theirs was put up.

1. At York Lascelles withdrew before the election so Wilberforce and Fawkes were returned unopposed. (E.A. Smith, 'The Yorkshire Elections of 1806 and 1807: A Study in Electoral Management', Northern History, ii (1967), 62-90, passim.)

No. 318

SAMUEL THORNTON TO THE MAYOR[1] - 3 November 1806

Source: H.R.O., BRL. 1971

(V)

Lincoln. I trouble you with a letter which I wish you to read to the corporation the first time there shall be a bench[2],

I embrace this opportunity to express my sense of the long continued friendship and support which I have invariably recieved from you - I assure you with great sincerity that the separation from such friends as you, excites in my mind more concern than the privation of rank and estimation in the world.

1. Alderman Richard Moxon.
2. An address of thanks was resolved by the Bench on 2 December 1806 (B.B., x, 481).

No. 319

SAMUEL THORNTON TO THE MAYOR - 3 November 1806

Source: H.R.O., BRL. 1972

(V)

Lincoln. A more abrupt departure from Hull than I intended has deprived me of the opportunity to pay you my personal respects.

I therefore take this method to thank you for the support you were pleased collectively and most of you individually to give me - Whilst I lament that it was not more effectual I shall take the liberty to express my regret at the cause that has been assigned for the necessity of the change of one of your Members.

Mr Denison who I doubt not will make you an able representative I have good authority to say had never expressed a wish to become a candidate, but it has been alleged that it was necessary to propose him or some other person in order to allay the ferment of the people - To the future effect of the Admission of this principle, Gentlemen, I beg leave to call your attention - Will you permit it for a moment to be held out to your representatives in parliament that they are to look for the reward of their services and the continuance of their situation to the precarious clamour of the populace excited often by artful and designing men for purposes very different from the true interests of the borough - May I not exhort you on every occasion to suppress with energy the first symptoms of tumult and disorder, which by discontinuance will then be less likely to break out at such periods as the last.

I should not presume to express my sentiments on this point with equal freedom if I could be supposed to have a personal interest, but looking on our political connection as at an end I can be

suspected of no design but an anxious desire still to promote the welfare of a place that is dear to me by the ties of past obligations and long continued connection and a hope to secure a better reward to those who hereafter shall serve you faithfully than I have met with in the present instance.

I lament that during my stay at Hull notwithstanding many attempts and some on the day of election I had never the good fortune to see the Mayor, nor altho' I addressed him by letter had I the satisfaction to learn his opinion of my publick conduct, a circumstance from the eminence of his situation most desirable to a representative that wished to render an account of the important trust that had been committed to him.

With respectful compliments to the Mayor and other members of the Bench and an earnest wish for a continuance and increase of their prosperity....

No. 320

W. J. DENISON TO THE MAYOR - 11 November 1806

Source: H.R.O., BRL. 1974

(V, VI)

London. Having had the Honor to be returned to Parliament for your most respectable and wealthy Town; I hope you will Pardon the liberty I am now taking in addressing you, as its chief Magistrate, with an offer of my best services.

May I request further, you will be pleased to inform the Aldermen and Corporation of Hull; that I shall be proud at all times, to obey their Instructions, to comply with their directions, and to make myself usefull to them, in every way, that lies in my Power. -

With every good wish for the welfare and prosperity of your opulent Town; and with every sentiment of respect for you, and for them, I have the Honor to be....

No. 321

SAMUEL THORNTON TO THE MAYOR - 8 December 1806

Source: H.R.O., BRL. 1980

(V, VI)

Albury Park, Surrey. Your recent assurance of esteem, and regret[1] in the cessation of that connection which has so long subsisted between us has once more called forth those emotions which your partiality on former occasions had often excited in my mind -

I have uniformly endeavoured to discharge diligently and faithfully the duties of the important trust which was repeatedly committed to me - It is not for me to say how far my parliamentary life has been free from error, but I can assure you with truth that I have ever been activated by a desire of promoting the welfare of my country and the prosperity of your populous and commercial town.

It is certain that the plaudits of the populace are sometimes at variance with the esteem of the Wise and the Good. If in this instance a sacrifice of the one or of the other was to be made it is my satisfaction that I have only lost that which was least valuable; that if for want of just suspicion or of undue condescension on my part the people of Hull have been misguided, your good opinion and what will ever be nearly connected with it my own equanimity are inviolate -

1. B.B., x, 481; Hull Advertiser, 13 December 1806.

No. 322

DANIEL SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 13 December 1806

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 70/5/1-2

(V)

Raywell. In answer to your letter about Mr. Delamain I have to say that until the Receipt of it, I did not know that there was such a person in Hull. So that his services must have been of a very secret kind. I presume it is somebody who wishes to get off his Stock of Wine under the Colour of supplying you. I am glad the Elections have turned out according to your Wishes. Mr Thorntons friends at Hull will attribute our success there at trick and management and are inclined to include your Lordship in the Conspiracy. The Idea is however cont[r]adicted by reason a Reference to the

Poll Book, for all those whom your Lordship might be supposed to influence as the Moxons - Prance[1] (for whom you got the promise of a Place) and others voted either against Denison or not at all - And I do assure you we never made use of your name or influence in any degree. The Election was gained by the unaccountable eagerness of the lower Class of voters together with some Dexterity in taking advantage of it. It was very gratifying to your Lordships political Friends to witness Lord Miltons Intilligence and Assiduity as Chairman of Fawkes's Committee. I went over to the nomination and am sorry that my short stay in York did not give me an opportunity of being introduced to him.

1. John Prance, merchant, voted for Thornton (1806 Poll Book, 32).

No. 323

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 14 December 1806

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box 70/9/1-4

(V)

Foxholes. I was favoured with your Lordship's Letter Yesterday on my Return from Wykeham. It had always seemed an Impossibility for me to receive any Pleasure from a Circumstance which occasioned Uneasiness to your Lordship: But in the present Case, when you kindly assure me in the most flattering Terms, that I have been so happy as to serve you; your Lordship will permit me to rejoice for myself; however deeply I may lament that your Lordship has met with any Vexation.

I think my Lord, that Mr Thornton's Expulsion does not necessarily bear the Meaning, which you attribute to it. Or rather it appears to me in a different Light. He says, "I was promised Support from a Quarter which out of Delicacy, I forbear to Mention". Surely he must mean to allude only to your Lordships Interference in an Election; and in his Favour, as a Cabinet Minister, and Peer of the Realm. Upon this Exposition of his Words which to me seems very natural; his Meaning will be simply this, "Amongst the many Reasons which I had to expect Success; I was promised Support from a Cabinet Minister, who had great personal Influence at Hull; but as he was a Minister, and Peer of the Realm, I can not from Delicacy name him". This my Lord has always appeared to me to be Mr Thornton's

real Meaning: and here there is not the smallest Allusion to any Want of Candour in your Lordship's Conduct. The word Delicacy referring merely to your Lordship's Situation, not to be Behaviour. And this Explanation is still farther strengthened by what I happen to know of the Modes and Habits of the Thornton Family. They have constantly expressed a Sort of Horror at the Idea of Ministers or Peers intereferring in Elections. This Opinion has not prevented this Man from trying to obtain Support even from a Quarter; whence he thought, or affected to think that it ought not to proceed; for indeed he has been too cunning for us all. But still in Conformity to the Principles of his Family, he might Say: "Though I was promised Support, yet Delicacy will not allow me to mention the Source from which it was to flow". And I think that if his Meaning had contained anything inqissive to your Lordship, it would have conveyed some sly Insinuation in this Manner;" I was vainly led to expect Support; I was deceived. I was lulled into a false Confidence"; and when he said even this; the Caution of his extreme Delicacy, would shield him from unpleasant Enquiry. These are my genuine Sentiments; If they seem groundless, from my unwillingness to suppose that any Man dared to think ill of your Lordship; I confess that they are liable to this Objection. What I have already said to Mr Thornton ought to satisfy him, Whatever his Opinions may have been; And I mean to take the following Mode of having his Sentiments, but only on Condition of its being honoured with your Lordship's Approbation.

My Sister Mrs Henry Thornton from superior Virtues and Talents, has Obtained great and deserved Influence with her Husband's Family. I have written to her in the Words which your Lordship will find on the next Page; but I will not send my Letter to her; untill I receive your Lordship's Permission to do so -

To Mr. Henry Thornton

"- I will also trouble you another Subject, but still connected with the Hull Election. My Thornton says in his Letter to Mr Knowsley "I was promised Support from another Quarter which out of Delicacy I forbear to mention". This I suppose alludes to Earl Fitzwilliam, whose whole Conduct to Mr T. I well know to have been uniformly friendly and candid. Now I am very desirous of being informed what Mr. Thornton means by the word Delicacy. Does he mean that my Lord's Conduct will not bear Examination, as being uncandid? Or does he mean that Delicacy will not permit him to allude to any Sort of

Interference in an Election, by a Cabinet Minister and Peer of the Realm? I suppose that Mr Thornton can have no Objection to state in Writing what he really did mean. In the former Case I am able to vindicate Earl Fitzwilliam most compleatly; in the second, I am satisfyed to let the Matter rest, for the Interference expressed, I believe, little more than good Wishes, but they were perfectly sincere" - R. Sykes.

As soon as I receive your Lordship's Answer; I will send this Letter, as it is, alter it, or put it into the Fire, as I am directed. I am emboldened by your great Goodness, to ask one Favour. Since you are pleased in the most flattering Terms, to approve of my Conduct as a Negociator; Since no Man, who has not the Honour of being connected with your Lordship's Family, can be more jealous of your Lordship's Fame than I am; I do most earnestly beseech you, not to supercede me in this Affair, even by personal Interference. I will obey every reasonable Injunction which your Lordship shall be pleased to give me. If I should prove negligent or unfaithful, may I never have another Opportunity of subscribing myself....

No. 324

HENRY MAISTER et.al. TO THE MAYOR - 26 December 1806

Source: H.R.O., BRL. 1985

(VI)

Hull. We the Undersignd request you will have the goodness to appoint a meeting of the principal inhabitants of this Town and Neighbourhood, for the purpose of Considering of the propriety of voting an Address of Thanks to Mr. Thornton, for his Services to the Inhabitants of This Town and Neighbourhood at large, during the time he represented the Borough in Parliament[1]

Henry Maister, Robert C. Broadley, William Williamson, Thomas Williamson, Henry Etherington, George Knowsley, Thomas Thompson, Jonas Brown.

1. Nothing seems to have come of this, but similar addresses of thanks were sent by Trinity House and the Dock Company (Hull Advertiser, 15 November, 13 December 1806).

No. 325

SAMUEL MARTIN[1] TO RICHARD SYKES - 26 April 1807

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M., F.36/28

(VI)

Hull. The names to the requisition[2] tho' numerous are not of the most respectable Class[3], and I should think may be overvoted if Gentlemen would make some arrangement previous to the meeting; and I think it would be better to combat the point at the meeting, rather than convene another as our side the Subject is certainly the unpopular one[4]. I've a Letter from Mr Popple says he will be here, and I understand the Vicar has said he meant to call on Mr John Sykes on the Subject. Mr. Lee and Mr Spence two very sensible Young Gentlemen mean to give their opinions against the address. Mr Kirkbride a silly purse proud upstart who was the other day Clerk to the Baptist meeting house in Salthouse lane is the man who handed the requisition about, but he is utterly incapable of delivering his opinion even if he has any on the subject[5].

I really think Lord Fitzwilliam should be desired to write to Moxon's one of whom you'll see has signed, their Ingratitude to him is intollerable - If Mr John S[ykes] is well enough to attend he would add a certain degree of influence - Our friend Mr C. Briggs is quite violent.

1. Samuel Martin, attorney of Bowlalley Lane, Hull. (Battle's Hull Directory for 1806-7 (Hull, 1807, p.55).
2. The requisition was for an address to the Crown in support of the Protestant faith and against an attempt to relieve Roman Catholics. (Hull Advertiser, 25 April 1807).
3. ibid. The requisition came from the 'gentlemen, clergy, merchants, shipowners and other inhabitants' of Hull.
4. The issue was a bill before Parliament to grant religious and civil liberties to Roman Catholics. The proposed meeting was to address the Crown against this move.
5. Popple and Spence spoke against the address at the meeting on the 27th, Kirkbride for it. (Hull Advertiser, 2 May 1807).

No. 326

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 26 April 1807

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/29

(VI)

West Ella. I have the Honour of enclosing two Papers for your Lordships Inspection[1]. I shall attend the Meeting at Hull Tomorrow, and do my utmost to negative the Address[2]. Should it be carried against the Motion of Adjournment; I shall move an Amendment thanking the King for making Lord Melville a Privy Counsellor.

I had great Pleasure in hearing from Mr. Croft that your Lordship's Health was re-established in a great degree....

1. Missing.
2. Hull Advertiser, 2 May 1807.

No. 327

JOHN STANIFORTH TO THE MAYOR - 27 April 1807

Source: H.R.O., BRL. 1994

(VI)

London. It being understood that Parliament will be prorogued this day preparatory to an immediate dissolution, I take the liberty of announcing to the Gentlemen of the Corporation of the Town, my intention again to offer myself as a Candidate for the representation of your most respectable Borough; and I flatter myself that my general conduct has been so far approved as to merit a continuance of the liberal and honorable support which I so recently received.

No. 328

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 28 April 1807

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. E.171/4

(VI)

West Ella. We were outvoted at the Meeting Yesterday by a Mob of the lowest Mechanicks: of the respectable Persons present, there was a Majority of more than Four to one, on our Side. The People who moved the Address, denied having any Retrospect to the late Change of Ministers; and made their whole Effort on the ridiculous

Cry that the Church was in danger. All the decent Speakers were on our Side[1]. The Motion for an Address was negatived in the Corporation. The respectable People in the Town were cheifly absent; and this Business was set on Foot by a few inconsiderable Zealots of Mr. Staniforth's Party. I see very little Attachment to the present Ministry in the Town of Hull; almost every Gentleman says to me, that he wishes the late Ministry had kept their Situation. Perhaps the Instability of Administrations causes this seeming Coldness to the Duke of Portland and his Crew[2].

We shall have a Partner similar to that of the Town of Northampton; signed, I hope, by many Individuals of great Respectability, which will appear in the same Papers with the Address to his Majesty; - the Courier, the Sun, and the Star.

I am sorry my Lord, that I transmitted to you Mr. Martin's Letter, which accused the Address of Ingratitude; I hope that a little honest Indignation on my Part, will plead in my favour. I enquired minutely into this Business yesterday; and I do not believe that it can be supported. Beyond all favor; the Moxon's do not feel that Attachment to your Lordship, which they reasonably ought. But I see not how any real positive Charge can be brought against three of them; and the fourth, who signed the Requisition; is a gloomy half-witted Fanatick, and has no Connexion with his Brothers.

Thornton is forgot at Hull; and Denison not so popular as I could wish.

1. Hull Advertiser, 2 May 1807.
2. The Ministry of 'All the Talents' was headed by Portland.

No. 329

W. J. DENISON TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 28 April 1807

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/32

(V)

London. As I find by a Gentleman from Hull, this morning; my agents have been unguardedly paying the polling money, Saturday; yesterday, and today; and that in case of a Petition against my return; my seat would not be tenable; I am reluctantly obliged to decline offering myself again as a Candidate.

I thought it only my duty to give your Lordship the earliest information of my Intention; and beg to assure you; I shall ever

retain, to my latest hour, the deepest gratitude for your Kindness; and for the warm Interest you took in my behalf.

No. 330

DANIEL SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - R. 29 April 1807

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/30

(V)

Having heard today in town a Report that Mr Warse[1] (an eminent Russia Merchant) is likely to be a Candidate for Hull, I write to appraize you of it. It being my anxious wish that you should not be drawn into any difficulty by my representation. If therefore any friend of yours goes down, let him examine his Ground before he proceeds to entangle himself in Great Expence - Denisons motives for resigning lie a little deeper than he has represented. A Sort of Despair about the Country, and a weariness of the teizing Requests of his Constituents....

[P.S.] When I wrote you before, I did not know of Lord Miltons start for the County -

Warse is against us in Politics and in every Respect a dangerous Man - I believe he has not made up his Mind about standing -

1. The Hull Advertiser described him as 'Mr Wear'. (Hull Advertiser, 2 May 1807).

No. 331

DANIEL SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - R. 29 April 1807

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/31

(V)

London. Our Friend Denison certainly does not stand for Hull. His Intention is not known to any but himself - I consider his re-election as secure, probably without opposition. Some imprudent payments recently made have impressed his Mind with a notion that he could not retain his Seat. I feel myself little inclined to engage in the bustle of a Contest; and certainly unless you propose somebody I shall not go down. Should however you wish that Lord Milton - or any of the Dundas's should start, My best exertions

are at your Service. The probability of Success is very great, though I think no one So sure as my friend Denison. There is no opposition that I have heard of. If you adopt this place, your friend may make the best of his way to Hull and find out any of my Brothers, and I will follow as soon as I hear that this is your Resolution. Denison will act so as to favour this Plan to the best of his power - and I should think Success pretty certain. If, as I advise you do not send for the distant Voters the Expence will be from £4-5,000....

[P.S.] If the proposal I have made should not be accepted - I should esteem it a favour that you write immediately to Mr Martin Solicitor Hull, or to any of my Brothers to say so.

No. 332

W. J. DENISON TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 30 April 1807

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. E.171/2

(V)

London. Lord Mahun goes down to Hull in my room. I had a letter from Martin my agent there[1], this morning; to say, he had paid away Two Thousand Guineas on the Saturday and Monday to the Burgesses. This certainly puts out of the Question, any further thoughts of Hull. -

It is very vexatious - but I am sure it was done with the best Intentions, and we must submit to Fortune. -

I have already written to Yorkshire, to canvass all the voters, in my neighbourhood in favor of Lord Milton; to whom, I hope I have an occasion to assure your Lordship I wish every success. - Pray let me know in what way I can be usefull to you, or shew my Gratitude for the many Favors you have conferred upon me.

1. Samuel Martin.

No. 333

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 30 April 1807

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/33.

(V)

Hull. We are all thrown into Confusion by Denison's unexpected Conduct when I really believe that his Success was certain -

We have sent a Deputation to him; the Gentlemen who are confidential Friends, will wait on your Lordship as they return from London -

It has occured to me that Wilberforce (who is much warmer) might be induced to take our Interest and a certain Seat at Hull; and give up the County[1]. Pray tell me what you think of this. Our Deputation will engage themselves to No Body except Denison, till they see your Lordship on their Return on Saturday -

I fear Sir M. Sykes, will be a most dangerous Opponent to Mr Dundas at York[2] -

Would it be advisable for him to come to Hull? We keep Denison's Resignation a Secret; and continue a promising Canvass -

1. This did not happen, and in 1807 Wilberforce was returned for the county at the top of the poll (Bean, Northern Representation, 637).

2. This was the case, the figures for York were:- Sir William Milner 1454, Sir Mark Masterman Sykes 1316, Laurence Dundas 967. (ibid. 1116).

No. 334

DANIEL SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - [R. 3 May 1807]

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. E.171/1

(V)

London. I have received yours to-day - Lord Mahon is to be the Candidate for Hull and I trust with your good Wishes - Perhaps you will have the goodness to write a line to Sir Henry Etherington and the Moxons, thoug they are all a parcel of Shabby fellows -

No. 335

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - [R. 3 May 1807]

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. E.171/3

(V)

[Hull]. Lord Mahon is just arrived; and I have every Reason to hope for Success.

Will your Lordship please to write in urgent Terms to Mr Moxon the Mayor, by return of Post, in favour of Lord Mahon?

I have received both your Lordships Letters and have only time to say how truly I am....

[P.S.] Our Election is next Tuesday.

No. 336

JOHN STANIFORTH[1] TO EDWARD CODD - 18 May 1807

Source: H.R.O., BRL. 1995

(V)

George Street, Hanover Square [London]. Be pleas'd to communicate to the Mayor and Gentlemen of the Corporation, my ardent wish to cultivate their friendship and my inclination to give every assistance in my power to promote the general prosperity of the Town of Hull, while I have the honor of being one of its Representatives, And that it will at all times be gratifying to me, to be honor'd with their Confidence and Commands.

1. Staniforth was re-elected without a contest on 5 May 1807, together with Mahon. (Hull Advertiser, 9 May 1807).

No. 337

DANIEL SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 25 November 1808

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.42/60

(V)

Raywell. I return you herewith Mr. Bells Letter[1]. I have no distinct recollection of any promise being made, nor can I refer to any Letter of your Lordships on the subject of the Petition; but I do remember that Mr Bell acted in conformity with our Wishes and Desires, meaning yours as well mine, when the Petition was withdrawn. Of his Son I know nothing; of the father I have a very good opinion. He is

one of the few who have attached themselves to our political opinions on the purest Motives. At the time he alluded to a great stir was made by the Government people to ruin him in his Business of an Auctioneer: but I do not conceive that much injury was done to him. His sound understanding and his industry carried him through.

I shall endeavour to make an acquaintance with the young man, and will in course of time report to you my Opinion. At present, I think, it would be sufficiently gratifying to the father, if you acknowledged the claims he presses, leaving it to other times and opportunities to satisfy them.

You would observe that we have not petitioned from Hull. We waited for the County to shew us the way, and I cannot help thinking that an opportunity was missed of attaching public opinion to our party in opposition to the Court. I would have had the Petition or remonstrance rest distinctly on the answer to the City Address. In my View public affairs do not look so well as they did several months ago. Spain has to resist the undivided force of Buonaparte; and I fear greatly for the result. If our troops instead of going to Portugal or the western extremity of Spain had been sent to Biscay or Catalonia, I should have had better Hopes. Not wishing however to trouble your Lordship with my Crude notions of Politics, I hasten to subscribe myself....

1. William Bell, a candidate in the 1806 election, had solicited Fitzwilliam's patronage on behalf of his son. (Bell to Fitzwilliam, ? November 1808 (Fitzwilliam MSS. W.W.M. F.36/34).

No. 338

LORD MAHON TO THE MAYOR[1] - 22 April 1809

Source: H.R.O., BRL. 2008

(VI)

London. I had the honor this morning to receive your Letter of the 19th Inst. transmitting a copy of the Resolutions which passed unamimously at a meeting lately held of the Inhabitants of the Town and Neighbourhood of Kingston upon Hull[2] and I beg leave, Sir, to assure you that I feel highly flattered by the approbation which that meeting was pleased to express of the vote I gave upon the recent Inquiry respecting the conduct of the Commander in Chief[3].

1. Alderman Andrew Hollingworth, a merchant.
2. Hull Advertiser, 22 April 1809. The meeting was held at the Guildhall, Hull on 19 April, and condemned the actions of the Duke of York.
3. In all recorded divisions throughout 1809, Mahon had voted with the minorities against the Duke of York. (Parl. Hist., xlviii-xlix, passim.)

No. 339

JOHN STANIFORTH TO THE MAYOR - 24 April 1809

Source: H.R.O., BRL. 2014

(VI)

London. I have the honor of acknowledging the receipt of your Letter, transmitting me the Resolutions of the Inhabitants of the Town and Neighbourhood of Hull[1]; and I beg leave to assure you, it is highly gratifying to me to be inform'd my Parliamentary Conduct[2] has receiv'd the approbation of so respectable a meeting.

1. Hull Advertiser, 22 April 1809.
2. Staniforth voted against the Government on the question of the Duke of York's alleged corruption. (Parl. Hist., xlix, passim.)

No. 340

DANIEL SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 30 October 1809

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.42/61

(V)

Raywell. Your letter of the 27th Instant has alarmed me not a little; as, looking to the comfort of my friends as well as of myself, there are few things that I deprecate so much as a general Election. Such a measure appears to me very improbable at the present time, tho' Mr Staniforths appearance at Hull with a large sum of money to discharge old arrears had already excited some speculation on the subject. Be this as it may, I shall be at Home, and ready at all times to attend to your Wishes. The Jubilee was celebrated in this neighbourhood with much Noise and nonsense as in the rest of the Kingdom[1]; but no Party politics were intermingled. And I trust that, though the Minsters are endeavouring to shelter themselves behind the Throne, neither this nor any other of their shabby

tricks will protect them long in office. I do not purpose to communicate what you say about a dissolution of Parliament to any but my Brothers, as I would not create a needless Alarm to our friends, or put our Enemies on their Guard. Looking to the Boroughs in this neighbourhood, I think we can get one Whig for Hull, tho' the seat is attended with so much trouble and Expence that I hardly wish to assist a friend in obtaining it. At Beverley, I fear Wharton is weak by neglecting to do that, which Staniforth has been doing at Hull.

Though I had not an opportunity of paying my personal respects to you this Summer; I was gratified by hearing at different times that you and Lord Milton were well. I beg to present my Compliments to him and the Ladies....

1. The celebrations marked the fiftieth anniversary of George III. (Hull Advertiser, 14, 21, 28 October, 18 November 1809.) Addresses of congratulation were sent by the Corporation (B.B., x, 515), and Trinity House.

No. 341

LORD YARBOROUGH[1] TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 14 September 1812

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.83/6

(V)

Brocklesby, near Brigg. After our first conversation about Lincoln, it has sliped your memory we had agreed I should have some talk with Mr Vyner[2], and I told you he was averse to have any thing to do with Lincoln - it may appear strange, but in truth, I have great difficulty in leading him into a conversation on politicks nor indeed can I say I am really acquainted with his sentiments[3].

He lives a good deal with the D[uke] of Montrose[4] (you know he married an Ashburnham) - and Lord St Asaph[5] - however, his mother Lady Theodosia is a good politician after all, I am in hopes he is with Us - I shall see him either on Wednesday or Thursday next, but I am persuaded I shall not be able to turn his views towards Hull - you shall hear from me soon again - I am glad you have got a proper man for our County Town - if the Monson[s] will thoroughly give their support, I have no doubt of success - every post brings conviction to my mind of the intention of Ministers to dissolve - I hope you will have no disturbances in Yorkshire - I have heard

no rancour of any here -

1. Charles Anderson Pelham (1749-1823) M.P. for Beverley 1768-1774, Lincolnshire 1774-1794, created Baron Yarborough 1794 (Namier and Brooke, House of Commons 1754-90, ii, 22-3).
2. Probably the son of Robert Vyner M.P. for Lincolnshire 1794-1802 (G.P. Judd, op.cit., 366.)
3. In the event John Nicholas Fazakerley of Prescott, Lancs, and Sir Henry Sullivan of Thames Ditton were returned (Hill, Georgian Lincoln, 224-5).
4. James Graham, third duke of Montrose (1755-1836), suc. 1790 (D.N.B., xxii, 326).
5. Bertram Ashburnham (1797-1878) Viscount St Asaph, succeeded as fourth Earl of Ashburnham in 1830. (G.E.C., Complete Peerage, i, 274).

No. 342

EARL FITZWILLIAM TO LORD GRENVILLE - 18 September [1812]

Source: B.L. Add. MSS. Grenville MSS. (Boconnoc). 58955 f.131

(V)

Wentworth. Owing to Lord Mahon's absence from England[1], there will be an opening at Hull - the last election cost Lord Mahon barely £4000, as I am informed - I do not mean to hold out that an election might not exceed that sum, and considerably exceed it, but that it will not necessarily do so - I am looking out for a Candidate - can you point one out?

1. At this time Mahon was abroad, first Malta and then Sicily.

No. 343

DANIEL SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 30 September [1812]

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.42/17

(V)

Raywell. I write a few lines to say that I beg you would give yourself no more trouble about Hull. Lord Mahon, notwithstanding his Absence and his want of popularity, will be proposed on our Interest[1], and will I have no doubt be re-elected, and at a very moderate Expence. I never knew the Whigs in greater force at Hull. Mr Staniforth the Government Member is much afraid of an Opposition

and will do any thing we please to forward Lord M's election or that of any other person we may propose. - Wharton's secure at Beverley[2], and I hope we shall have two Whig Members for Grimsby[3]. Wilberforce's retreat from the County has occasioned so much surprize that it seems any one may come and seize the vacant Seat before the Freeholders have recover'd from their astonishment. I don't think that Mr Wortleys name was known to one tenth part of the County before it was seen in the Newspapers. I much lament Wilberforces secession, principally on account of the trouble I forsee to Lord Milton, and not a little on account of himself - We all that is

my Brotherhood and political as well as personal friends, expect to hear *from you on* Lord M. as to the preparatory Steps we are to take. I have done nothing as yet but circulate his advertisement and write letters to a few friends whom I thought wavering. The rest I propose to defer until the nomination.

[P.S.] May I take the Liberty of suggesting that the first Paragraph of Lord Miltons advertisement seems to me to imply that he meant to follow Mr W's intention to retire - or at least to leave the point obscure.

1. Mahon's supporters announced his intention of standing again. (Hull Advertiser, 3 October 1812).
2. John Wharton and Charles Forbes were returned after a contest (Bean, Northern Representation, 745).
3. Sir Robert Heron and John Peter Grant were returned for Grimsby (Return of Members, ii, 261).

No. 344

LORD CARRINGTON[1] TO LORD GRENVILLE - 8 October 1812

Source: B.L. Add. MSS. Grenville MSS. (Boconnoc), 58983 ff.190-191

(V)

Whitehall. I left Wycombe this morning in my way to Deal Castle. I am happy to be able to answer your letter without delay, and I shall do it as you desire with perfect openness.

My Friendship for Mr Horner remains unaltered, but my powers are considerably diminished Lord Mahon is at this moment abroad, and that has laid me under considerable difficulties about Hull. I mentioned in a letter to Mr Horner my intentions to withdraw Lord Mahon from that place. I also told Mr. Horner that an opposition

had started for Wendover, and that therefore it was necessary to have two of my own family proposed for that place. Mr Cochrane Johnson was the person alluded to, and though it turned out a mere gasconade, yet so late as the evening before the election the place was canvassed by order of two other gentlemen, but with so little success that they did not make their appearance either then or afterwards[2]. I had expected my family had formed a permanent interest at the place which my nephew represented; but the principal agent falling into great indisposition, or, I rather believe, fatuity, this was found proper to be abandoned.

Afterwards with a view to make more room I unfortunately listened to an urgent request that Lord Mahon should be proposed for Hull. The result was unsuccessful as you will perceive by the newspapers.

Under these circumstances you will see, that, with two opportunities less than at the last time it was not in my power to make the same offer to Mr Horner and Mr. Abercromby as I did before, the other places being filled with my own relations or more particular connections.

1. Robert Smith, first Baron Carrington (1752-1838). A member of the Nottingham banking family, he was raised to the Irish peerage in 1796, and that of Great Britain in the following year. He was captain of Deal Castle, and between 1800 and 1803, President of the Board of Agriculture. In 1780 he married Anne Barnard of South Cave, near Hull (Burke's Peerage [1970], 490).
2. George Smith and Abel Smith were returned in 1812, relatives of Lord Carrington (Return of Members ii, 257).

No. 345

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 14 May 1818

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/35

(V)

West Ella. I beg leave to trouble your Lordship with the following Statement of Hull Politicks. Mr Staniforth is supposed to be secure. Mr Mitchell, respectable in his private Character, but firmly attached to Ministers, is now Canvassing the Town under the Auspices of Mr. Coulson, a Vain Man, of little Weight or Estimation. Much Jealousy is excited in the more considerable Merchants by Mr Coulson and his Pretentions on this occasion; and Mr. Mitchell's Party is very weak indeed. It is the opinion of your Lordship's Friends that

a third Man with their Support is almost certain of Success: Probably to the Expence of £3,900, but that £4000 would be the maximum. This is on the Supposition that the Candidate is to enter at the Post. If in the mean time a third Man should appear, our Candidate could only be elected at a great Expence; If your Lordship has any Person to recommend, he will find some very staunch warm Friends. Our Party has always stood high in publick Estimation, from the Liberality of our Conduct; and whoever has the honour of your Lordship's Recommendation, will meet with nothing to disgrace it - We shall wait for your Lordship's reply.

I am very glad to hear of Lord Milton's perfect Recovery, I did not know til lately how very ill he had been. We have been extremly near losing poor Mr. Croft in consequence of a Violent Inflammation on the Chest: he is now declared to be convalescent.

No. 346

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 27 May 1818

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/36

(V)

West Ella. Since I received the Honour of your Lordship's Letter; I have made further Enquiries into the State of Politicks at Hull, and am perfectly Convinced that any Candidate would beat Mr Mitchell, and that a popular Man would be at the Head of the Poll. We all hope to have a Gentleman recommended to your Lordship; and if we are not forestalled in the mean time, Success, (by entering at the Post,) is as certain as anything in the Nature of popular Elections can be. If your Lordship can not find a Candidate for us, we have a last Resource in Mr Eggington a wealthy Merchant resident at Hull. He has considerable personal Interest, which united to that of the old Whigs would make him quite secure; but I think he will not come forward solely on his own Strength. He is a respectable Man in his Character, but I fear not sufficiently decided in his Politicks: And we should very much prefer a Man of your Lordship's Selection - Wharton's Friends here positively assert that he will be a Candidate at Beverley; and I hope it will prove so, for his Interest, I believe is much stronger than usual, Much of it is certainly personal; but still I am of opinion that in Wharton's Absence a Whig would have a very good Chance at Beverley.

I saw Croft Yesterday who makes sure if not rapid Advances to perfect Recovery; he is excessively feeble in Body, but vigorous in Mind; and desires me to assure your Lordship, that though he has lost 17 lb. of Blood, he has a great deal more at your Service. He joins with me in hoping that Lord Milton being less than half his Age, will recover more than twice as fast. I trust we shall meet him at York on the Nomination Day, when alone we can be of any Service. My Brother Daniel arrived safe and well at Rome on May the 4th. He has timed this Absence ill, for we shall want him very much: But all that Zeal and Industry can effect shall not be deficient.

No. 347

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 1 June 1818

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/37

(V)

Hull. Mr Eggington in consequence of some Engagement to Mr Staniforth is unable at present to determin whether he will or will not be a Candidate. But he assures us that if our Friends produce a Gentleman before he makes his Decision, he will immediately decline. The Report here is that Sir Robert Heron is not likely to Succeed for the County of Lincoln[1]; should this be so, we could bring him in at Hull triumphantly for less than £4000 - I hope your Lordship will be able to find us a Candidate very soon; for though it might not be advisable for him to appear til the Day of Election; it is desirable that we should be prepared - Our party is alert and in high Spirits, but impatient to hear from your Lordship.

I hope Lord Milton continues to go well -

1. In 1818 at a contested election, Heron came bottom of the poll, and attributed his defeat to not having paid his agents. (Hill, Georgian Lincoln, 226).

No. 348

J. R. G. GRAHAM TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - R. 5 June 1818

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/38

(V)

I must confess that I am obliged beyond measure by your condescending kindness in again communicating with me, after our conversation of yesterday, on the subject of your late correspondence with Hull. I was and still am anxious to meet Your Lordship's wishes: and in truth I can assert, that the Honor of being recommended by you, and the pride of being thought worthy of your support almost mislead my judgement and stagger my resolution. I had rather owe to Your Lordship an obligation of this nature, than to any public character now living: and even failure, with your approbation, I could prefer to success without it. But feeling this strongly, I am naturally more afraid of the step proposed: my apprehension is this; that only having a limited sum, which in prudence I can expend, I may be placed before the close of the Poll, should this Sum be exhausted, in the painful situation of either relinquishing the contest, when success might be almost within my reach, or of making a pecuniary sacrifice, which might inconvenience my Father and cripple my own Independance. If on the one hand I abandoned my Friends under such circumstances, I might be accused of frustrating their exertions, of betraying their party and injuring Your Lordship's Interests: if on the other hand I sacrificed myself, I feel that I should be injuring others, who are dear to me, for the gratification of my own ambition. This is my objection. It is a difficulty, which may not occur; but also it is a possible one; and it is wiser to know and to avoid, than unawears to be mistaken and embarrassed. I confess that the objection, as far as concerns myself, appears to me a fatal one: but I think, that to a man, armed with larger resources, and recommended by Your Lordship, the prospect of success at moderate risk is very fair.

I have, however, such implicit reliance on Your Lordship's Judgement, and am so conscious of my own inexperience, that I am prepared, should you think my objection futile, to trust my conduct to your guidance and to abide by your decision: at the same Time it is my opinion, that greater justice may be done to the cause, if you transfer it into abler and better hands than mine. I shall await Your Lordship's answer in the certainty that you will feel

the difficulty of my position, and in the hope that you will pardon the frankness, with which I have stated my view of it to you.

No. 349

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 6 June 1818

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/39

(V)

Hull. I received the Honor of your Lordships Letter dated June 1st but have not heard any more from you - At a Meeting of our Friends, this Day, it was determined in consequence of the large Sum of Money expended by Mr Mitchell; and the certain Strength of Mr Staniforth; that we ought not to advise any Stranger to become a Candidate here. It is by no means our Opinion that he would have no Chance of Success; but that the Probability is not sufficiently strong to justify us in requesting him to come. Mr Eggington I believe will decline; but this is not absolutely certain; there is also a Report that Mr Thompson, M.P. for Midhurst will stand forward[1]. Either of these Gentlemen would have a better Prospect of Success than a Stranger; but I have not much Hope that either of them will be a Candidate. I am very sorry to give your Lordship such melancholy Intelligence; but our Friends dare not incur the Responsibility of different Counsel.

Mr Wharton has sent all the Money to Beverley requisite to pay the Expences of his last Election; and there can be no Doubt of his being returned even should he be absent. Mr Forbes declines -

1. Thomas Thompson of Cottingham, near Hull, elected for Midhurst in 1807 and 1812 (Return of Members, ii, 250, 265). Nothing came of this report in 1818.

No. 350

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 8 June 1818

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/40

(V)

Hull. I have this Day received the Honour of your Lordship's Letter of the 6th. Mr Graham arrived at West Ella yesterday Noon, and a better Candidate both in Recommendation and Appearance cannot exist: He is gone to Mr. Langley's at Houghton Today. I am afraid

that my Letter of the 6th would vex your Lordship, and I wish most heartily that I had not sent it. We have determined in Consequence of the protracted dissolution of Parliament to delay Mr Graham's Appearance for a few days; as the Expence would be enormous if we were to start on a few days' Canvass. Besides a third Man ought not to start before the Day of Election in Polling. There is no Chance however of delaying our Appearance so long. I really think that we have a fair Prospect of Success; though Mr. Mitchell spends his Money at a furious Rate. I should like but to beat Staniforth. I can not think there can be the least danger of any Battle in the County. Mr. Duncombe is too cautious to come forward.

I inclose an Address of my own Composition.

No. 351

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 9 June 1818

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/41

(V)

Hull. We begin our Canvass Tomorrow with a grand Cavalcade; our Committee is more numerous and respectable than we ever could raise till now; Our Friends are ardent, and it seems the Opinion of us all that a third Man never yet started with a fairer Prospect. Had it been arranged that Mr G. could have come to Hull on the Evening previous to the Election, we should have saved a great deal of Money: But after his Arrival at West Ella we had no means of keeping him back, without ruining the Cause. All the Persons to whom I have introduced Mr Graham are charmed with him.

I shall have the Honour of writing to your Lordship to London almost every day, till I receive Directions to alter the Address.

No. 352

J. R. G. GRAHAM TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 11 June 1818

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/42

(V)

Hull. I cannot resist the pleasure of writing you a few lines, hurried as I am and actively engaged in a personal canvass. Mr Staniforth yesterday withdrew, and tho' his party appears anxious

to find some other champion, yet I think the moment is your Lordships, and the probability of my success amounts <u>almost</u> to certainty.

I cannot describe in terms of sufficient gratitude or praise the zeal and the kind of exertions of Mr. Sykes and your other friends: I am not vain enough to imagine that I deserve them: they originate in a devoted attachment generally to Your Lordship, which seems to say to us young men, 'Remember, Resemble, Persevere'.

For myself I will not attempt to say how gratefully I ever must remain....

No. 353

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 12 June 1818

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/43

(V)

Hull. We have made an excellent Canvass; and Mr Graham is beyond all doubt the first of all Candidates; indeed with some few Exceptions the first of Men. Mr. Staniforth it is now believed will be nominated without his Consent on the Hustings; Whether it be meant for him to contest the Election, or only to Poll a few Votes for a Petition, we can not tell. I know that on his Resignation many of his best Friends came over to us; and that he can not be so strong by some Hundreds as he was two days ago. Mr Mitchell spends his Money very freely and <u>uncautiously</u> and is very powerful. We are extremely careful as to the Legality of Expence; consequently not so popular as we were. In my Opinion we have every Reason to expect Success. The Idea of Staniforth being proposed seems to keep off <u>another Third Man</u>, who I think would now be a more formidable Opponant than Staniforth himself. We are indefatigable in our Exertions; and not too sanguine. All is civil and peaceable so far on all Sides; and we shall be careful to give no Offence.

The Interest I take in this Business does not make me regardless of Lord Milton: I am most distressed at the News Paper accounts I saw of his Health, and trust Your Lordship when you favour any of us with a line to say how he goes on.

The Writ will not be down till Tomorrow, the Election on Wednesday.

[P.S.] I will write Tomorrow[1]....

1. On the following day Sykes reported that Staniforth had canvassed the town and 'has got the popular Cry from us'; he thought 'a most bitter contest' would ensue. (Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/44).

No. 354

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 14 June 1818

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/45

(V)

Hull. I have been at the High Church with Mr Graham; Our Popularity returns; and it is Mr Martin's Opinion, that nothing but some unforeseen Piece of Ill Luck can now prevent our Success. We have about 1,000 Promises, and a third of the Town is yet to be canvassed; Very few of the Out Votes are included; they will be against Staniforth to a Man. I hope to go to the Poll with 1400 Promises at least; 950 will secure our Election; and to allow for 400 is extremely liberal. Mitchell will lead the Poll decidedly, and his Friends seem kindly disposed to us, and hostile to Staniforth, whose Conduct is - inexplicable. Our Canvass in the whole of Yesterday exceeded everything. I have seen Lord Milton's Address to the Paper; it will be out Tomorrow. We are sorry for the Complaint in your Lordship's Eyes, and beg that you will not write to us.
[P.S.] last Man. The Mail may be expected any moment.

No. 355

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 15 June 1818

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/47

(V)

Hull. In spite of the most ardent Exertions of both our Enemies, I continue to have the most sanguine Hopes of Victory. Staniforth has got a Subscription of £10,000 but this is of no Consequence as he does not spend it; nor do the Subscribers mean he should. We dine at Three Today, and the Post goes out soon afterwards, so I can only give your Lordship an Account of the Canvass to the present Hour, past Two; and it has been glorious. We have made such arrangements as are legal and satisfactory, with the Out Voters; with whom we are as strong as Staniforth is weak. If we could revive the full Popularity of the third Man, <u>legally</u>, we should lead the Poll;

as it is, I feel very bold. We take abundance of Pains; and all we can do will be requisite. The Enemy call Graham a Papist, an Atheist, a Rebel, a Jacobin, a Gambler, a Beggar from his Extravance etc. But with the People we are popular, and cheared all Day in our Canvass. Dr. Milner Dean of Carlisle[1] has this Day sent just such a Letter of Commendation as we could desire: it must have a considerable Effect.

[P.S.] Graham is well - sends his Regards.

1. Dr. Isaac Milner, Dean of Carlisle 1792-1820, (Haydn, Dignities, 476).

No. 356

SAMUEL MARTIN TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 15 June 1818

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/48

(V)

Hull. I steal a minute to inform you that the Election is fixed for Wednesday next. The Candidates are Mr Mitchel the nephew of a Wealthy West India planter and Mr. Graham who is going on very well and takes very much with the freemen; and I have very great hopes of his ultimate success altho Mr. Staniforth the old Member after canvassing the Town for some days and having declined the contest is now again started by his friends who are both numerous and respectable and are making every exertion in their power to get him elected; in the Course of their progress it has been circulated with uncommon industry that Mr G - the third man will not stand the Poll which we have but little difficulty in counteracting - I have wrote to request Mr. Maude to be here by Wednesday.

No. 357

SAMUEL MARTIN TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 19 June 1818

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/51

(V)

Hull. I have the great pleasure of informing you of the success of Mr Graham the Poll closed about half past one o'clock when the numbers were for

		Votes
	Mr Mitchell	1323
2144 persons	Mr Graham	1074
polled	Mr Staniforth	1036
		38[1]

when the Sheriff was about to declare the two former duly elected, but the friends to Mr Staniforth demanded a Scrutiny, on which the other two Candidates did the same[2]. The Sheriff has adjourned the proceedings of the Election until tomorrow at ten o'clock to consider whether he shall grant the Scrutiny and has sent for Mr Nicoll to come hither to advise him on the move, we are not in the least alarmed at a Scrutiny, but hope the demand may be withdrawn before morning.

The Election has given general satisfaction to the Inhabitants of Hull with whom Mr G. has become very popular indeed.

1. This trend was already clear when polling ended on the previous day at 3.30, although the figures reported varied. W. Lunn recorded Mitchell 1035, Graham 800, and Staniforth 736; Richard Sykes returned the same order but with different figures: 980, 764, and 689 respectively. (Fitzwilliam MSS. W.W.M. F.36/49, 50).
2. Richard Sykes and J.R.G. Graham sent similar information. (Fitzwilliam MSS. W.W.M. F.36/52, 54).

No. 358

J. R. G. GRAHAM TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 20 June 1818

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/55

(V)

Hull. Contrary to my expectations Mr Staniforth's friends persevere in their demand of a scrutiny, and this morning after a very long and somewhat angry discussion, the Sheriff conceeded the point to our adversaries, and the Scrutiny is granted. I am informed by Mr Martin and my Friends here, that I need not entertain much fear of the result; but the anxiety is in the mean Time distressing and the expence I fear will be considerably increased. By the care and diligence of my Committee and thro' the exertions of an Agent of my own, this protracted and most severe contest has cost less than we might have anticipated; the accounts of course are yet uncollected, and the calculation must be a vague one; but I am in hopes the whole amount will fall short of Six Thousand Pounds. I did not think it proper under the circumstances to relinquish

the advantage I have gained from the fear of an increase of expence, which I trust will not be material; and I have determined, I hope, to maintain it. The scrutiny is to commence on Monday the 29th Instant; and as my presence will not be of any use here, I propose setting out immediately for London, where I am anxious to obtain the best legal advice on a point, which most materially affects me; that is, whether a Pauper <u>having given</u> his Vote without being objected to can be struck off the Poll Book on account of his Pauperism, if proved on a Scrutiny. Should the Law of Parliament be decisive, that such Votes once given cannot be invalidated, I am safe; if not, I am not clearly put in, but am in danger.

I wish Mr Maude could so have settled his engagements as to have remained here; his absence we have felt severely, as I fear we cannot have the benefit of his assistance at the Scrutiny, as he told me he is going to the contested Election in Westmorland. I have resolved therefore to take Mr. Scarlett's opinion in London as soon as possible, and to be guided by him in the selection of some young Man of talent and active exertion, whom I will send down here in the course of next week to attend the Scrutiny on my behalf.

I hope to have the Honour of hearing from your Lordship, whether this arrangement meets your approbation, my direction will be 54 St James's Street, - Mr Martin, for whose other assistance I never can express sufficient acknowledgements, will conduct all necessary measures here, and maintain a constant correspondence with me in London. He is far from desponding; and I hope the Triumph we have gained will not be snatched from us either by artifice or vexatious opposition. We have resorted, as far as I know, to no dishonorable means, and I do not think our cause can be injured by fair investigation - I will write to your Lordship again from London.

No. 359

J. R. G. GRAHAM TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 26 June 1818

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/56

(V)

London. I consider the Scrutiny a vexatious proceeding, but I fear it falls within the limit of the Law: it is our inefficient Court, not having the power of compelling the attendance of witnesses, and its decisions are not final; it appears to have been constituted

for the purpose of ascertaining on the spot at a less expence on which Party the onus of Petitioning ought ultimately to fall, and whether also there be sufficient grounds for a Petition. Your Lordship's argument is a strong one against the Equity of such an investigation, which may go to impeach the Right of an absent Freeman without his having the Power of vindicating that Right; and it ought, I think, to have weight with an Assessor, and make him cautious in the use of his Power, with which I fear, always subject to Appeal, he is armed by Law. The weak part of my Case was the Question of Pauperism; Paupers having voted at this and all previous Elections at Hull promiscuously without objection. Now I am happy to tell you, that Mr Scarlett and Mr Sergeant Lun are clearly of opinion, that those Votes cannot be struck off by a Scrutiny, if even they could be by a Committee, which they doubt. To have the Right of Voting consists in Scot and Lot, a contribution to Poor Rates, a man, who draws from that fund more than he contributes, is fairly pro tempore disfranchised: but when the Right, as at Hull, is hereditary or chartered, the distinction is broad and obvious; and parochial Relief can be considered no disqualification, in absence of any decision of a Committee of the House of Commons to the contrary, and provision being made by the Granville Act, that, failing such decision, custom should be the Rule. Now at Hull custom justifies the voting of Paupers; and this I hold to be conclusive.

I have had two consultations with Mr. Scarlett, and by his advice have sent down Mr Alderson, a young man of Talent, whom he strongly recommends; and shall myself leave Town for Hull tomorrow, taking with me a Case, by no means a leading one, containing all the points at Issue, and the opinion of Sergeant Lun and Mr Scarlett upon it. These together with the exertions of Mr. Alderson and myself who will be present, may I trust induce the Assessor to assert his disfranchising power with moderation. I think we have done all that can be done in so short a Time to prepare for our Defence and I go down in the confident hope, that I shall be able to announce to your Lordship our Triumph there.

With regard to the pecuniary part of the Transaction, the accounts are not yet wound up; and I cannot therefore state with accuracy the amount of the Extra Expence. As soon as the business is concluded, and the accounts made out, the whole shall be laid before Your Lordship's Auditor, and any arrangement which you may judge proper:

myself, however, thinking that it would be best the money should be paid into my Bankers hands here, without saying from whence or for what purpose. But this is for after-arrangements; as I am in [no] hurry whatever on the subject.

I am happy in having given Satisfaction to your Lordship's friends at Hull; by their zeal and their kindness they merited from me every possible exertion; but I will confess to you, the motive, which stimulated me most, was a wish to justify Your Lordship's recommendation of me and my anxious desire to obtain and enjoy your favorable opinion. If I am so fortunate as in this to have succeeded let the contest end as it may, I have had my reward.

We are all most anxious to hear, that the Nomination for the County has passed without disturbance. I cannot think Mr. Beckett, a Placement from Leeds, degenerate as a Man, in these bitter days; can we presume to the dream of filling a station once adorned by Sir George Saville and occupied by Lord Milton.

No. 360

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 4 July 1818

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/57

(V)

[Hull], Committee Room. Please to accept my best Thanks for your Lordship's very kind Letter. I would have written sooner respecting this vile Scrutiny, if there had been anything pleasant or certain to relate.

Two great Decisions were made against us. All Paupers were disqualified; else we had been secure. And Voters not having legally served their Apprenticeship, but who had their Freedom granted by the Corporation, were allowed to be good. This was very injurious to us. This is the sixth day of the Scrutiny, and we are now in a Minority of Eleven. We think that our Adversaries have gone through most of our bad Votes, and we are sure that there are many bad ones yet on their Side. How it will end it is quite impossible to say; but our Hopes are better than they were two days ago. We suppose the Scrutiny must end on Wednesday. Mr. Alderson is an excellent Counsel; and Mr Graham as great an Heroe in Scrutinies as in Elections. He is in all respects far beyond my Praise, and so universally popular, that I tremble for the Safety of certain Individuals, in case of

our Defeat. Mr G. will exert his utmost, I am sure, to protect his bitter Enemies, should it be requisite. We have had a most powerful Interest indeed to contend with - I will write when the Scrutiny is over -

I attended the County Election, and should have the Pleasure of congratulating both Your Lordship and Lord Milton, if Mr. Maude had not undertaken to do so. We made a much better Show in the Castle Yard than Mr. Wortley[1]. I hope Sir Samuel is secure at Westminster[2]; should this be so, and should we succeed here, my Joy will know no Bounds; for most certainly the Whig Interest has prospered beyond all Expectation.

We did all in our power to serve Mr. Dundas and Mr. Cook at York; I wish he had not started.

[P.S.] I write against much Bustle.

1. Lord Milton and J.A.S. Wortley were returned unopposed (Bean, Northern Representation, 660).
2. Sir Samuel Romilly and Sir Francis Burdett were returned for Westminster (Return of Members, ii, 275).

No. 361

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 5 July 1818

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/58

(V)

West Ella. Mr. Graham, who came here last Night to get a little Rest, informs me that before the Close of the Scrutiny Yesterday, he gained Seven Votes, being now in a Minority only of Four. Our Spirits are raised; and if we can succeed in the Case of a Custom Officer Tomorrow, on which Decision ten Votes will depend; I shall be very happy. I will give your Lordship the lastest Information Tomorrow that the Post will admit; and I think the good News of our reducing the Adversery's Majority to Four, will plead my Excuse for Troubling your Lordship Today. Mr. Nicholl the Sheriff's Assessor is unaccountably hostile to us: Out of the Court our Popularity exceeds Belief.

I am just going to Church at Hull with Mr Graham who desires me to offer his most Respectful Regards at Wentworth.

No. 362

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 6 July 1818

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/59

(V)

Committee Room. I believe we are about Five behind our Antagonist; this we consider of no Consequence - yesterday Mr Nicoll sent a Paper to the Committee stating that he had resolved to alter his Decision respecting those Voters against us, who had obtained their Freedom by Fraud or Inadvertence; he <u>had</u> determined them to be good, because he would not distrust the Corporation Books: But <u>now</u> he said that he would alter that Decision, and allow us to revise all those Cases - This would secure our Election - But this Day Nicoll says that he will not allow this Decision, till he has seen Sergeant Hullock, who is now absent; but expected here Tomorrow. We are much afraid that Hullock will frighten Nicoll out of his present Opinion; and this same Apprehension gives us all great Uneasiness. I believe Nicoll to be a good Whig and an honourable Man; but he has a feeble Mind; and Hullock who is our Enemys' Advocate <u>may</u> bully Nicoll most fatally for us. Nicholl told me that it was proper to see Hullock on this Subject; but that he had made up his Mind; and that Hullock should not induce him to alter it. Of Nicholl's present Intention I have no doubt; but of his Firmness, a good deal. - So we stand at present. If Nicholl proved staunch, we win easily; if imbecile,we must continue like Widdrington, till we come to our Stanife[1].

1. This allusion is obscure.

No. 363

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 8 July 1818

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/60

(V)

Business as a Magistrate prevented my writing to your Lordship Yesterday; and I can not be at Hull Today; but I shall desire an intelligent Friend to inform your Lordship how the Scrutiny stands at Three this Day, the Post leaving Hull at half past Three - Yesterday we were either 7 or 8 behind Mr Staniforth. If our timid

Assessor is not bullied by Sergeant Hullock, I have no doubt of Success; if he proved a Recreant, there is still a Chance.... [P.S.] State of the Scrutiny at three oclock as follows, Staniforth stands the same as yesterday 7 ahead - Hullock has been heard this day respecting the Apprentices but the Assessor has determined against him -

No. 364

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 9 July 1818

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/61

(V)

Committee Room. At the Close of the Scrutiny this Day we are in a Minority of Four only - on the whole - The Assessor has kept his Engagement like a Man of Honour, and Tomorrow we shall revise the Cases of the Apprentices; which we trust will give us a decided Majority. Our Antagonists spare no Pains or Expence; they seek Delay on all occasions, and the Assessor is much more at this Devotion than we think he ought to be. We are all in good Spirits, I think more favourably of the Business this Day, than we have ever yet done. If we come once ahead of them, I should be quite easy.

No. 365

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - R. 10 July 1818

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/63

(V)

Committee Room. We have gained one on this Day's Poll, and remain in a Minority of Three - We were going on extremely well, when Mr Staniforth's Party (seeing no other Prospect of Success perhaps) objected to all the Freemen (about 520) made immediately before the last Election, in consequence of their Admissions as Burgesses not being on Stamps: which is the Frank of the Town's Clerk. This Matter remains undecided till Mr Mitchell can have some Counsel from Town to argue the Case for him. Probably Mr. Graham will send for some Counsel also. This violent Stir will cause such Commotion in the Town, as soon as it is known - And I <u>fancy</u> would place Staniforth perhaps at the Head of the Poll. This if persevered in must come before the House of Commons.

No. 366

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 11 July 1818

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/64

(V)

Committee Room. The abominable Plan of disfranchising 520 voters was argued this Day, and Mr. Nicoll decided against it in a manly determined Manner. So that now we have done with their Act of Opposition; and are going on in the usual Way. At the Adjournment of the Court at one Clock, we had gained one, and are now in a Minority of Two. On Monday Evening we expect to lead; and we all entertain Strong Hopes of Success.

Mr Graham who is almost harrassed to death will write fully to your Lordship Tomorrow and I will write on Monday -

No. 367

J. R. G. GRAHAM TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 11 July 1818

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/62

(V)

Hull. I can assure you, that this is the first moment I have had at my disposal, since I returned to this place. The struggle has been desperate indeed, and I have contended with more than ordinary difficulties. I write your Lordship word, that I conceived my security principally to depend on the right of Paupers to vote at Elections here. My opinion of this right was founded on reasoning, which I consider sound, and which is established by the concurrence of Mr Scarlett and Sergeant Lun, I believe also Sergeant Myrcock, who all are clear upon the Point. They contend that at Common Law Pauperism is no disqualification, except in Boroughs, where the Right of Voting is vested in Persons, paying Scot and Lot, or supplying their own Food: in these cases it is evidently a disqualification, for the condition of the franchise is violated by the Receipt of Parochial Relief; but when the Right of Voting, as in Hull, is chartered and hereditary, it stands on higher grounds; it numbers rather a Freehold, which is not alienated by Pauperism; and certainly no Statute can be shown whereby <u>generally</u> it is made a disqualification in all Boroughs. Previous to the passing of the Grenville Act, where contested Elections were decided on Petition in Committee of the whole House, the Minister of the Day carried his Majority

and questions of this nature were decided on opposite Principles, so as to meet the particular Interests of the Court Candidate, who either petitioned or defended; and however we see in several chartered Boroughs the Right of Voting limited by a decision of the Whole House to the Mayor and others not receiving Alms. But to prevent these unequal Judgements and thus sacrifice of Principle to Party the Grenville Act was passed; and by this it was provided, that in those places, where the Right had been settled by a decision of the House, the last Determination should be held as conclusive: but when the Question never had been raised, and no such Determination come to, Custom then must be the Rule, until some other be established by a Committee. Now in Hull it does so happen, that there never has been a Petition on an Election; consequently here, there is no Decision of the House of Commons: Paupers have therefore almost a prescriptive Right to vote, since from Time immemorial they have exercised it without molestation; and the common Law being silent as to the general disqualification, and no special decision of the House of Commons confining the franchise in Hull to those not receiving Alms, I think it follows that the general pratise should furnish at least until some higher Court than one of Scrutiny determine otherwise. -

It is the decided opinion of Mr Scarlett that this argument would be irresistable in favor of the Right of Paupers even before a Committee of the House of Commons; much more did he think it binding on an Assessor: but Mr. Nicholl has come to an opposite conclusion; for tho' it was urged to him with great ability by my Council Mr Alderson, yet he determined the Point against me, and has proceeded to suspend the franchise of above 250 Freemen on the slightest Evidence of Pauperism and without legal proof of Identity of the Voter and the Pauper. We have fought the ground Inch by Inch and Day by Day: I have had but one legal adviser; and my opponants have had Sergeant Hullock and a List of Attorneys and Actuaries. I have had to do a great deal for myself, and in a time, when I was quite a novice: I have been in a minority of Eleven, and, I believe, seen my friends all despairing around me. But perseverence has done wonders, and for the last two days I have been moving towards an equality and have left off this evening with a minority of Two. On Monday Morning the Assessor will pronounce Judgement in five cases, where it has been postponed; and I have every reason to believe

he will decide them all in my favor. This will again place me second on the Poll, a station I hope to preserve, tho' I am very far from confident or sanguine. I am engaged in a conflict, not with a single Gentleman, on whom the laws of honor and good faith are binding; but with a Committee of Subscribers, who have raised £20,000 and are determined to spend it all as vexatiously as possibly against me, and who think, I fear, any monies justifiable, by which this object may be obtained. The tricks they have played off upon me are innumerable; and yesterday they endeavoured, finding the Pauper Question fail them, by a Quirk as to the Stamp, which ought previously to be affixed to the Entry of a Burgess Admission, to deprive the last 500 new freemen in a Body of their Suffrages. I have been fortunate enough however to repel this attack; and I am willing to hope it may prove a dying effort and that the conflict is drawing to its' close. Whatever may be the Return, I have little doubt of success by a Petition: for I think a Committee would replace on the Poll all the Paupers, that have been struck off; the Corporation have granted freedoms so partially and illegally, that by actions of Quo Warranto in the Court of King's Bench, I have reason to think I could quash a large number of the un-made Admissions, and at all Events I could vitiate the Election by clear proof of Bribery. But all future proceedings must be for Your Lordship's consideration: since I am sorry to tell you, the expence of this Scrutiny is heavy and more than with prudence I can sustain. I am placed in an awkward predicament. Having the majority originally I could not but labor to support it; and once embarked in its defence I could not desist, while a hope of victory remained: and yet, as I foresaw, the contest is far beyond my means, and the precise end of it as yet does not yet appear. I have little doubt in my own mind, that if duly followed up our advantage will not ultimately be lost; that we have Right on our side; that the Law is with us, and that in the End we should prevail. But I must use my natural frankness with your Lordship and tell you candidly, that I have exceeded already the bounds, which I had put to my expenditure for this object: that I can afford to dedicate no further sum than I have now contributed; and that it must remain for your Lordship to determine what further steps you may wish to have taken. As far as relates to my personal exertions, I only lament that they are not more powerful, but such as they are, You may at all Times command them, and it is my pride to fight

in such a cause under the banner of such a Chief. I certainly have done all, that lay within my power, to promote the triumph of your friends here, and to rest this superiority on Principle, rather than Faction. If we succeed, I hope we shall gain the day by means, that will not tarnish the lustre of the Prize; and if we fail, we shall have our consolation in the realisation, that we have not lost all, while we still hope to retain your Lordship's approbation, and feel confident, that we need not blush to look back upon this Contest. I am ashamed to have troubled Your Lordship so much at length; but I have long been silent, and I send you an exact account of the state of the Concerns here; and perhaps you may pardon the full declaration of my Feelings also. As far as concerns myself, I know not what is best for me, and perhaps a disappointment is a wise dispensation. I certainly should have liked to have been in Parliament, but I might have been useless there; and I have hitherto lived happy and contented without venturing on the slippery path of Ambition and of Favor. Certain Principles I ever must retain, whether in or out of Parliament: they are Principles, to which my King owes his Crown, and my Country its Liberty; they have grown up with my Youth, they will abide with me to my Grave; and if they have made me known to your Lordship and obtained for me some small portion of your Esteem, even already they have had their Reward.

No. 368

J. R. G. GRAHAM TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 13 July 1818

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/65

(V)

Hull. I have particular satisfaction in announcing to you, that the Scrutiny is closed, and that I have a majority of Four. The Friends of Mr Staniforth have retired, but threaten a petition; a threat, which I doubt whether they will execute; and at all Events, we had better argue the Point of Law on the Pauper Question before a Committee with the Return in our favor rather than without it. I am sure Your Lordship will rejoice with me in this Triumph of Principle over Power; and I own must be proud both of my Cause and of my Patron.

I write in very great haste to [catch] the Post....

No. 369

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 16 July 1818

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/66

(V)

West Ella. Your Lordship's very kind Letter of the 14th attributed more Merit to your Friends at Hull, than they really deserve; and I beg leave to trouble your Lordship with a short Statement of what happened at Hull during the late Election as a Proof of my Assertion.

Mr Graham arrived at my House on Sunday June 7th. On Wednesday 10th he began his Canvass with all the Spendour of a third Man: on his Appearance Mr Staniforth resigned; that is; he pretended so to do, that he might raise a Sum of Money from his Friends; who never ceased canvassing for him, with great Activity. On Thursday Mr Graham made an excellent Canvas, and was very popular as a Third Man. But on Friday all this Popularity had ebbed away; we made a very bad Canvas, and our Committee Room was deserted by the lower Ranks. The People were dissatisfied by Mr Staniforth's apparent Resignation; they said there were only two Candidates, and they wanted a <u>real</u> third Man. We filled this <u>respectable</u> Station no longer. Then it was that the Talent of our Candidate shone forth. His personal and mental Qualifications and above all his frequent Speeches, brought back to us on Saturday all that we had lost, with abundant Interest. From that Moment to this, he was in full Possession of such Popularity as no other Man has ever possessed at Hull.
On Wednesday June 17th we proceeded to the Poll. Every Vote for us was loudly cheered by the Multitude, and each Vote for Staniforth received with Hisses and Execrations. Not a Gentleman of that Party was suffered to speak from the Hustings; and in despite of the basest Tricks, the most violent Measures, and the gross Partiality of the Sheriff, we obtained a Majority of 38 on the final Close of the Poll. Then came the Scrutiny. The People were enraged beyond measure at the delay of the Return. Three Companies of the 54th Horse in defiance of the Law, at the Garrison not half a Mile from the Hustings, were all Day under Arms with Ball Cartridges; and nothing perhaps but the Influence of Mr. Graham could have prevented a Scene of Bloodshed. On his most earnest Entreaties, the People quietly dispersed, though in ill Humour. On Monday June 29 we entered on the Scrutiny with the greatest disadvantages. Our Adverseries were

prepared, we were quite otherwise. Sergeant Hullock came to bully our Counsel, and the Assessor, in the latter Instance he succeeded but too well; all our Attornies were nearly useless; and Mr Graham supplied their Places, as ably as he spoke in publick, and canvassed; he made out all the Lists of the Voters to whom we objected; and put our Measure into a regular Trein of attack and Defence. In short he was a compleat Man of Business. The Non Admission of Paupers to vote, gave our Adverseries at first a terrible Advantage. We had at least 60 more Paupers than they had; of other bad Votes not so many. On the fourth Day of the Scrutiny we were in a Minority of 12; so that we had lost 50 in the whole. About the Nineth Day we were only 2 behind; and the Assessor having promised to revise some Apprentice Cases which before he would not suffer us to argue; we were sure to have a small majority on Monday last July 13. To parry this, on the preceding Friday our Antagonists had the Effrontary to propose, that the new Burgesses (500) should be disqualified, because the Officer of the Corporation had not affixed the proper Stamps to their Admissions, though the Voters had actually paid for them. The Success of the Nefarious Scheme, which has annhiliated the Interest of the Corporation, and had now given Mr. Staniforth at least a Majority of Seventy. The good Sense of the Sheriffs Assessor put a decided Negative on this infamous Plan, the last Recourse of a disgraced, defeated Party. Before Sergeant Hullock went away on Saturday, it was determined that Staniforth should resign, whenever we obtained a Majority. On Monday Noon, July 13th, our Adversaries desired a private Meeting, at which I attended, repeating mentaly "a Timeo Danaos et Dona ferentes"; They offered to allow us "a decided Majority of four, and an immediate Return; with Leave for each Party, to institute such Proceedings both as to Points of Law and Fact in the House of Commons, as to them should deem expedient". This was no Bargain, for they might resign whenever they pleased on the same terms; nor do I see their Object; for they [had] an Abundance of Money; unless it were to let themselves down more easily, after all their Boasts, by a seeming Compromise. I believe that in another Week our Majority would have been Twenty; but the expence would have been considerable: And the lax Proofs of Pauperism admitted by the Assessor opened a Door to Perjury and our Destruction. It was only necessary to find two Persons to swear

falsely, of which Description they had Abundance, and our Election was lost. On these Grounds we acceded to the Proposal of our Adverseries; and were returned with a Majority of four on Tuesday last the 14th, and with that Splendour and Exultation as Hull never before witnessed. Mr Staniforth will never show his Face again; and I consider his utter total defeat to be almost half as important, as our own great and glorious Victory.

Be pleased my Lord to accept of my Congratulations on our Triumph; and do me the Justice to believe that half the Pleasure which I feel arises from the Idea of pleasing your Lordship. Now I am sure Mr. Graham cordially joins with me. We give your Lordship's Health every day; prefaced by Intelligence which I envied him the Power of so happily introducing. His Politicks are exactly those of Your Lordship; he loves, honours, and reveres you, and will be guided by your Advice. Permit me to say, that however I may be charmed and delighted by this very extraordinary young Man; yet that I can not feel that Enthusiasm for him, which I always must experience for Wentworth House. No my dear Lord, that attachment which your condescending and unchanged Kindness so long ago created in my Breast; which in a lesser degree I also feel to Lord Milton; no other Man or Being can ever have Power to excite - Happiness here and hereafter to Wentworth; is the first wish of....

[P.S.] We are under great Obligations to our Counsel Mr. Alderson; he seems to be a young Man of extraordinary Talent: Any bit of Kindness Your Lordship could bestow on him, would be considered a signal Favour by Your Lordship's Friends at Hull.

No. 370

J. R. G. GRAHAM TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 17 July 1818

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M., F.36/67, 68

(V)

54 St. James's Street [London]. I have had the Honor of receiving two Letters from you, one, before I left Hull on the subjects there under dispute, the other, after Your Lordship had been informed of the defeat of my opponents. The view, which you have taken, of the Points at Issue between me and my adversaries leaves me nothing to say or to desire. I now am satisfied, that the opinion, which I entertain, of those transactions is correct, since I find it in

Trouble I have given Your Lordship lately, that you will accept my humble Thanks for your great and unexampled kindness, that you will rely on my gratitude and unfeigned Respect....

No. 371

SIR MARK MASTERMAN SYKES[1] TO LORD SIDMOUTH - 6 August 1818

Source: P.R.O. H.O. 50/179

(VIII)

Sledmere. Inclosed I send your Lordship a Hand Bill with a Letter sent to me this Morning, of the Man who sent them I know Nothing, but I have written to a Friend of mine of that place confidentially, and as soon as I receive his Answer I will with your Lordship's Permission forward it to you. As Vice Lieutenant of the Riding, and a Man most firmly attached to the Government must be my Excuse, if it should turn out to be nothing worthy of the Attention of the Government.

[Endorsed]

Thank him and assure him Lord S[idmouth] will be happy to receive further Communications which he may deem worthy of the Attention of Government.

1. Mark Masterman Sykes (1771-1823) 3rd baronet., M.P. for York, 1807-20 (Foster, Yorkshire Pedigrees, iii, n.p.)

No. 372

THOMAS LAMBERT TO SIR MARK MASTERMAN SYKES - 6 August 1818

Source: P.R.O. H.O. 50/179

(VIII)

Hull. Thare is at this moment a Plot going on in This town and in the Contry a Plot of a serious Nature, and i thought it my duty to inform you wat was going on in the Contry, i thought and Earley information was the best of a Nature of This kind, England Expects every man to do is Duty: those very mens intentions are as base And as black as the old man Can make them. Thare intentions is to overturn the house and bring The Kings head to the block: thare wat i Call a set of idole Bloodthirsty men. Thare Thirsting after thare own Brothers Blood, and Thay wish to inflame every mans mind,

union with yours: and I cannot believe that the Corporation of Hull, identified as it is with Mr Staniforth's Committee, will venture to risk their reputation for common Honesty on a Petition, which must disclose the awkward fact, that the Town Clerk, whose criminal neglect is to suspend the franchise of Five Hundred Men, was at that very moment filling the situation of Mr. Staniforth's Agent. If Party virulence should tempt them to forget what is due to the Remnant even of their character, I think the House of Commons would not fail to mark strongly its disapprobation of such unfair and irregular Proceedings. I am sure it is the Interest of my opponants to bury this contest for ever in oblivion; but if I mistake not, in Hull at least it will be remembered for some Time to their shame, and if they carry it to a higher Tribunal, it will be stamped with publick disgrace. I am willing, however, to hope, that Reason will supply the place of Passion, and that they will pause before they make so hazardous an attempt. I shall however be on my guard; and I have directed Mr. Martin to endeavor to get up a complete case of Bribery against them, which I hope I shall be able to obtain, and which at once will extinguish their Petition. I have also retained Mr. Scarlett and Mr. Warren for fear of accidents; and at all Events I shall have the advantage of arguing the Pauper Question before a Committee with the Return in my favor instead of against me. Mr. Alderson will attend the Rotherham Sessions, and will pay his Respects to Your Lordship at Wentworth. He has been to me a most faithful advocate, has fought an uphill Game with wonderful talent, persevearance and courage, and has entered into the spirit of the cause and done more for it than I could possibly have anticipated. He will put Your Lordship fully in possession of the merits of every part of my Case: and will submit to Your Lordship's Judgement a Question, on which we have some doubts; it is this; whether it may not be expedient to enter Quo Warranto Actions in the Court of Kings Bench against a number of defective Apprenticeships, decided in my favor by the Assessor as falling within the disqualification of the Durham Act, tho' duly admitted to their Freedom, in Favor as we contend, by the Corporation. Their Freedoms have been granted on false Certificates of Service: there is no Question, that Judgement would be entered up against them in the Courts of Law here; and such Judgement would be received by a committee as evidence in limine against the votes. This course is certainly the superior, if we

really anticipate a Petition; for tho' in the Thetford Case, a Committee did try a Quo Warranto, yet it was considered a stretch of Power and an unjustifiable proceeding; admission to the Burgess Books being generally received as primā facie Evidence of the Validity of a vote. In this case however the Assessor has tried the Quo Warranto, and has given Judgement <u>against</u> the Votes: therefore my adversaries must move the Committee to secure his decision, that is, they must move them to retry this very point of Law, which a Committee has no Right to try. If they try it, all the merits of the Question are with me; if they do not try it, the decision of the Assessor is undisturbed: but certainly to make security more secure the Lawyers appear to wish this Quo Warranto Point should be set at Rest by the decision of a competent Tribunal. If Your Lordship sees Mr. Alderson and hears him on this subject, I should be happy to learn the opinion which you entertain: it is rather a nice point, and I think I shall consult Mr Warren upon it before I leave London.

I cannot, My Lord, conceal from you the personal satisfaction, which your praise conveys to me: I told you and I told you truly, before I embarked in this contest, that end as it might, if I succeeded in obtaining Your Lordship's approbation, my first wish would be gratified. It could be no losing Game, which made me known to you; I would experience no disappointment, to mortify even my vanity, while I continued to retain the esteem and to merit the support of such a Person. This is not the language of flattery, it is the language of the heart; and I hope to evince its sincerity by an earnest endeavour to justify your partiality and not to disgrace your recommendation. I am happy in commencing publick life under such auspices, and having such an example immediately before me: I trust, I may be allowed to profit by it, and the kindness I have experienced at your hands will fix me steadily in the course, which I ought to pursue. In the course of the Summer, if Your Lordship will permit me, I should have a particular pleasure in paying my Respects to you at Wentworth. I am going to the Isle of Wight for a short Time, and afterwards into Cumberland; but about the time of Doncaster Races, [if Your] Lordship has no objection, I should be happy in the Honor of waiting upon you. Should Your Lordship wish to write to me, my direction will be <u>here</u> for the next three weeks; after that, Netherby, Carlisle. I hope you will pardon the

in the Same way thay want to overturn both Church And state and thay say that Solders will not Longer fight if thay were not paid, and Think this is a leeding to a Revolution in the Contry, but i am at all times Ready to Defend my King and Constitution, hart in hand in a just and lawful Cause whe will make the Rebels for to fall.

that Honoured Sir

Any information you require I shall Allways think it my Duty to wate Upon you at your Pleasure.

No. 373

J. R. G. GRAHAM TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 21 August 1818

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/69

(III, V)

Netherby. I have postponed an answer to Your Lordship's letter, because I was anxious to send you some certain information as to the steps it may be necessary to take; and because also it was my wish to put you in possession of the expence already incurred, before these ulterior proceedings are adopted.

With regard to the first Point, after a consultation with Mr Alderson in London, I have drawn a Case to be submitted to Mr. Scarlett, a Copy of which I have forwarded this Evening to your Lordship. To the best of my recollection, it is a correct statement of the transactions at Hull up to the close of the Crutiny and comprehends all the difficulties, which I anticipate in the Event of a Petition. There is little doubt in my own mind, but that this last Effort will be made to force me from my seat. Mr Warren has been retained by my opponants; the Petition itself I know to be ready; and tho' I do not think ill of my cause, yet I confess some legal difficulties present themselves, which may afford a Committee, adversely composed, loopholes of Conscience that may annoy me.

My success in the first Instance will turn upon the Question of defective Apprenticeships: and here I am placed in an awkward Dilemma. If I move for Quo Warranto Information, it is clear that Judgement cannot be obtained in the King's Bench, until after the Petition will have been decided by a Committee. Then, as Your Lordship observes with so much Truth, the Committee may say; we are not competent to try these Questions: tis not subjudice: we shall receive the Evidence of the Burgess Books as conclusive in favor of the

Vote, until the proper Court, to which you have applied, shall have determined against it; and then even were I to obtain Judgement in my Favor at Law, the effect will not be retrospective: it will not operate at least on the last Election, the merits of which will have been previously set out not by a decision of the Committee.

On the other hand, if I do not move for Quo Warrantos, the Committee, as in the Fowey Case, may say, you have not used all proper diligence to try the validity of these Votes: the Court of King's Bench was open to you; why did not you agitate the Question there? and if you could not obtain Judgement in time to aid our decision, then we should have had a reason for trying this Question ourselves: as it is, the presumption must be in favor of the Vote.

Thus Your Lordship will perceive there is a choice of difficulties in deciding on the propriety of moving for Quo Warrantos; and this will resolve itself after all into the temper and composition of the Committee, which it is impossible to foresee. I submit my Case with great confidence to Mr Scarlett, of whose learning and preimenence there is but one opinion, and I will forward to Your Lordship his answer to my Questions as soon as I receive it. I have heard, that he was likely to pay his Respects soon to Your Lordship at Wentworth; if so, perhaps you might favor him with your view of the Case, and hear from himself his reasoning upon it.

It remains to touch on the only part of this complicated affair, which gives me pain. I felt indeed that I was placing myself under a great obligation to Your Lordship, when first I consented provisionally even to accept of pecuniary assistance; but I did not anticipate so severe or protracted a contest; much less did I apprehend that I should have to draw so largely on Your Lordship's munificence. When I have the Honor of seeing you at Wentworth, I shall be able to show you an account of all the Items: but I now can state generally that the expence up to this Time, including the whole Scrutiny and Lawyers Fees, amounts to about £6,000; and after the meeting of Parliament a <u>pure</u> sum, denominated Polling Money, will be due amounting on an Estimate to £2,500 more: thus, independent of a Petition, the last Hull Election will cost £8,500, or there abouts. -

Now literally I know not how to express my feelings on this subject to Your Lordship. All questions of this nature are singularly unpleasant, and I fear lest you should think me deficient in liberality or encroaching too much on yours: but I candidly stated my position

to Your Lordship, when first I had the Honor of being made known to you; there is no sacrifice I would not make in preference to the loss of your approbation; and if I must owe so great an obligation, I had rather be under it to you than to any other Individual I could name.

Your Lordship now knows the estimated Amount of the present expence: the future, in the Event of a Petition, I cannot guess: it will be for Your Lordship to decide, whether <u>any</u> shall be incurred, for, tho' I might reluctantly resign without a struggle an hard-fought advantage, yet I should be sorry to add in the least to that Burthen, which Your Lordship must have found me, except with your certain concurrence and by your special direction.

I state these things for your consideration: I am ready to enter into any new arrangement Your Lordship may judge proper, and I shall be guided implicitly by your decision. I shall have the Honor of seeing Your Lordship at Doncaster, and, if you will allow me, shall be happy to visit Wentworth either immediately before or after as you may appoint; and perhaps in conversation we can best arrange this last disagreeable matter. I never can forget Your Lordship's unexampled kindness to me nor cease to join gratitude to that respect, which I must ever feel for Your name.

No. 374

J. R. G. GRAHAM TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 3 September 1818

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/70

(V)

Arran Castle. Your letter followed me to this Island, where I have been staying with Lord Archibald Hamilton for the last week and been actively engaged in an attack upon the Highland Moor game.

In compliance with Your Lordship's request, I beg leave to suggest that the best mode of remitting to me the extra sum of £2000 incurred at Hull would be, that Your Lordship should direct it to be paid to the Credit of Lister Ellis Esq., my Father's Agent, into the hands of Messers Graham and Company Bankers Carlisle. In this way the mention both of Your Lordship's name and mine may be avoided.

There is one difficulty, however, which is, that I am not certain whether £2,000 may not rather exceed the actual expence: but this

will Appear, when the accounts are collected, which I expect to be the case in the course of the next Fortnight; and then any surplus. which may be found, can be refunded by me.

I have mentioned this arrangement, not from any desire on my part to raise this sum now, as delay with the final close of the whole proceeding would have been equally satisfactory to me, but because Your Lordship has twice expressed a wish, which I must always consider as a command.

After Doncaster I anticipate with pleasure a visit to Your Lordship and shall delight in beginning the season with the Father of the Chase.

No. 375

J. R. G. GRAHAM TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 13 September 1818

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/71

(V)

Netherby. I had the Honor of receiving your letter on my return from Arran the day before yesterday; I am very much obliged by the trouble you have kindly taken in sending me the substance of Mr Scarlett's answers to my questions: they appear to me highly satisfactory, and I doubt not, when we have his reasons in detail, we shall rest even still more confirmed in the soundness of the judgement, which he has formed on the merits of my case. I confess, as far as they are concerned, making some allowance, however, for natural prejudice, I do not entertain any great apprehension: my fears are confined to the manner, in which the Committee may be composed; and a decided preponderance of ministerial influence may give an unfavorable turn to some nice questions both of law and fact, which I think will arise on a petition.

I am sorry to say that I have reasons to apprehend, that active preparations are still in progress, and that a Petition will be presented against me: the Mayor is now in London; and at Hull every effort is made to obtain information which may lead to the detection of any objectionable votes given in my favor. I understand an additional per Centage has been raised and paid on the original Subscription; and on the whole I incline to believe that we shall have to fight one battle more, and I trust it will prove as triumphant

as those we have won.

I am very much obliged by Your Lordship's remittance of the £2,000: when I have the Honor of seeing you; which will be next week at Doncaster, I will show you the accounts, as they at present stand.

It grieves me to hear that Lord Milton should find it prudent to leave England for the Winter: but tho' his friends and indeed his Country must regret the necessity of his absence, even for a short Period, from his publick Post, yet they must rejoice in every precaution, which may tend to secure a life of such inestimable value to his family and all connected with him. I shall feel particularly sorry to be deprived of the benefit of his example in the House of Commons.

I have taken the liberty of sending you a Black Cock, which I shot yesterday: I hope it may arrive safe and in good order.

No. 376

J. R. G. GRAHAM TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 12 November 1818

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/72

(V)

Frystone. It is with great reluctance that I find myself under the necessity of again obtruding upon Your Lordship a subject, which only makes me known to you as a source of annoyance, of trouble and expense.

Since I had the honor of seeing you at Doncaster, all the information, which I have received from Hull, has tended to confirm me in the opinion I have uniformly entertained, that a Petition against me will most certainly be presented. An Agent and his Assistant from London have now been in Hull for near a month collecting evidence on behalf of Mr. Staniforth; and active preparations are in progress among my opponants, which sufficiently indicate their design and have no doubt, that I must sustain the last attack.
I have hitherto contented myself with simply selecting a Gentleman of the name of Vizard to conduct my defence in London, who is conversant with business before Committees and strongly recommended by Mr. Martin and his friend Mr. Denison: and at Hull I have only directed information of bad Votes to be so classified and put into readiness, that when the emergency arrives, we may know where to turn for our

testimony and have the means in our power to be used at our discretion. I have been strongly urged to adopt offensive measures, such as commencing actions against Mr Staniforth for Bribery and against the Mayor and Returning Officer for partial exercise of their authority. But these expedients I have not adopted, wishing to stand on the defensive only, and thinking them rather measures of retaliation than of useful importance to my Cause.

The case therefore stands thus at present: since the Scrutiny little or no expense has been incurred; but in looking forward to ulterior proceedings this view of the subject appears most formidable. Mr. Scholefield, the Partner of Mr Martin, is now in London: there he will have an interview and consultation with Mr Scarlett and Mr Alderson, my Counsel, and Mr Vizard, the Attorney whom I have mentioned above. By them the general plan of my defence must be arranged; and the previous steps necessary concerted. The point, on which this hinges, appears to me the Expense: if any Opponants, not content with Points of Law, open up new facts before a Committee, and disqualify Votes anew, then a whole cloud of Witnesses must be brought from Hull to London, and who can calculate the Expense?[1] I have reason however to apprehend that they will seek to have me down in this way; and the question remains, how am I to meet it? Independent of the Expense, the obvious course would be to follow their steps, and to disqualify Vote for Vote, as I think I could do: but with a view to the Expense, such a course would be ruinous to me and far beyond my reach: yet, unless I abandon my seat, if I be attacked as I anticipate, and as I ought to be prepared for, I see no other course which promises me success. I have felt this difficulty so strong, that, tho' pressed, I have been unable to lay down a scale of expense, beyond which I would not carry my defensive measures: and I take the Liberty of inclosing you a letter I have received this morning from Mr Scholefield[2], which brings this question to a point, where of myself I can neither answer or evade it.

Throughout this transaction I have considered myself so entirely Your Lordship's Instrument, and have rested so much on your assistance and support, that I must throw myself again on your better judgement with a determination to be guided by your advice. It is not for me to point out the considerations, which will influence your decision: it must depend on your own feelings and your own wishes, exclusive

of me, who am ready to make every personal exertion but confess myself unable to sustain such a burthen of expense as I forsee must be the result of this protracted contest. If Your Lordship feels disposed to relinguish it, I shall be happy at least in having fought under your banner, and shall retain a grateful recollect[ion] of your unexampled liberality and unmerited kindness: if on the other hand [you] resolve to maintain our advantage to the last; I shall regret my inability to [take] the share in the struggle I could desire, and the weight of my obligations to Your Lordship will be great indeed; for already I fear the Hull Election has cost you very nearly as much as it has me. No personal exertion on my part shall be wanting; and whichever way the event may terminate, my gratitude to you will be the same.

I shall be anxious to hear as soon as convenient from Your Lordship, since my directions to Mr. Scholefield in London must in great measure be guided by your answer: I will trouble Your Lordship to direct to me at Bramham House, Tadcaster. I hope your last accounts from Lord Milton were favorable; I propose going into Lincolnshire in about a Fortnight or Three Weeks for hunting; I there shall hope to have the Pleasure of seeing you. Hoping you will excuse the weight of this letter....

1. Graham considered the most expensive part of the defence of his election would be the conveying of witnesses to London to give evidence. (Graham to Fitzwilliam 27 November 1818, Fitzwilliam MSS. W.W.M. F.36/73).
2. Missing.

No. 377

J. R. G. GRAHAM TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 9 December 1818

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/74

(V)

Lincoln. The melancholy event of a Sister's Death called me from hence to my Father's, and I only returned here the day before yesterday.

On my arrival I found the joint opinion of Messers Scarlett and Anderson on a new Case, which had been submitted to them by Mr Vizard, containing much additional matter and giving, as I hope, additional strength to my position. The papers are too voluminous

to trouble Your Lordship with; but I am happy to say they are highly satisfactory: and whenever I have the Honor of seeing you, I will bring them with me. I have, however, a private letter from Mr Scarlett, which, in as much as it contains an high commendation of Mr. Vizard, to whom I told you I had entrusted the principal management of my Defence, I feel anxious to communicate to you.

The letter is in answer to one of mine, and touches on other subjects, which will not be uninteresting; its' conclusion, I am sure, will gratify Your Lordship since it makes the sincere and private feeling of a man who is an honor to his profession and yet is most honored by your kindness and support.

No. 378

J. R. G. GRAHAM TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 8 January 1819

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/75

(V)

Lincoln. I have great satisfaction in sending you the Note enclosed[1], not because the misfortunes of an adversary can please me, but because the generous assistance you have afforded me will not now prove abortive, and I hope I may have occasion to prove my grateful recollection of it.

The intelligence of Mr Staniforth's Bankruptcy does not so much surprise me, because I had reason to anticipate such an Event; but it was impossible to expect; it should have happened on any opportunity, as it would appear to have done.

I have as yet received no confirmation of this report from any other Quarter; but my last accounts from Hull led me to entertain hopes, that a Petition would not be presented; and other collateral circumstances convince me, that the fact will turn out correct. When I have the Honor of seeing you at Milton, which will depend on your answer to my former letter, I doubt not I shall have the pleasure of announcing to you, that our troubles are ended and our victory secured.

I shall stand in need of Your Lordship's advice on many minor Points, which I will defer until I see you.

1. Missing.

No. 379

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 23 January 1819

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M., F.36/76

(V)

West Ella. I have the heartfelt Pleasure of informing your Lordship that Yesterday Afternoon the Managers of Mr Staniforth Election, announced to me, as Chairman of Mr Grahams Committee their Resolution not to present any Petition against him. At an Expence of £8,000 we have now obtained a complet Victory. I am afraid it is dearly purchased. Your Lordship will please to consider that the Scrutiny cost £2,000 of this Sum; and that in the Opinion of us all here, £2,000 more would have been saved, if Mr. Graham had started at the Post. We are now extremely popular; I mean the Cause, the Interest; for Mr Graham must be popular always, and every where. I never saw his Equal. On a future Occasion, even with another Candidate, we shall start more powerfully than we have lately done; with Graham again, I should have little Doubt of Success.

I hope Your Lordship continues to have good Accounts from Naples. If Lord Milton would like an Introduction, (and has it not already) to the French Ambassador Le Duc de Narbonne I can easily obtain it; having lived on intimate Terms with him in Yorkshire. Being of course deeply interested in Lord Milton's Welfare, nothing would give me more Pleasure than to hear of his being perfectly well.

Observing that your Lordship has taken your Seat in the House of Peers, I shall direct this Letter to Grosvenor Square.

No. 380

J. K. WATSON TO EARL FITZWILLIAM [R. 23 January 1819]

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/77

(V)

Peterboro'. I avail of the opportunity as I pass thro' here to acquaint Your Lordship, that the Subscription Committee for Conduction Mr. Staniforths Election at Hull and supporting the Petition to Parliament against the return of Mr Graham, had a Meeting at Hull Yesterday when they Came to the unanimous Resolution to abandon all further proceedings, this pleasing information I hope to Communicate to Mr Graham this Evening and I Sincerely Congratulate Your

Lordship and the Cause after the accession of so promising a Young Gentleman to the Wig Interest, in the House of Commons.

No. 381

J. R. G. GRAHAM TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 24 January 1819

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M., F.36/78

(V)

London. I have the greatest pleasure in forwarding to you the Note enclosed, which I yesterday received from Mr Watson, son-in-law to the Warden of the Trinity House a principal Subscriber against me. The resolution adopted at the Meeting quiets every alarm from that Quarter: I have but one remaining apprehension, which centres in the person of a Mr. Broadley, who is an obstinate and inveterate opponent, and capable of prosecuting the Petition single-handed.

He is however on Terms with Mr Sykes, and thro' him I have endeavoured to obtain an assurance of the cessation of all hostile dispositions. Tomorrow or the next day I hope to receive an answer; which will allay all further anxiety and which I will not fail to communicate to you[1]: we may almost consider our victory secured; and I congratulate with many thanks you, whom I may truely term 'et praesidium et dulce decus meum'. -

I dined at the Fox Club yesterday: the Duke of Sussex attended; Lord Holland was in the Chair: we had a very strong party, and great unanimity and moderation prevailed. We are sanguine as to our division over Mr Tierney's motion: tho' I am against the encouragement of high expectations; because, if disappointment ensues, the subsequent depression is apt to keep pace with the previous elevation; and all the shabby followers sunk away in the Gloom.

The Government, however, is certainly alarmed: in Lord Castlereagh's absence they could find no one to reply to a very spirited and powerful attack made upon them by MacDonald[2]: they are endeavouring rather to out manoevre than to meet us; to anticipate our own questions; to get the Enquiries we want into their own Hands and to stifle them, when they have possessed themselves of the Power. It is far from certain whether the Windsor Establishment they will prepare and which they hope most secret will not exceed the amount the necessity of the Case requires.

I hope you had Sport on Friday: I fear my hunting for this Season is at an End.

[P.S.] I have a Lodging No. 7 Cork St.

1. On 26 January Graham reported the 'Cessation of Hostilities and Security of my Seat'. He promised to send Fitzwilliam an account of the polling money remaining to be paid. (Graham to Fitzwilliam, Fitzwilliam MSS.W.W.M. F.36/79).
2. Speech of James Macdonald on the Address on the Prince Regent's speech at the opening of the session. (Parl. Hist., xxxix, 45-60).

No. 382

J. R. G. GRAHAM TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 4 February 1819

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/80

(V)

House of Commons. I am very sorry to inform you that a Petition against my return has been just presented to the House signed by two Burgesses, whose names I do not know, and it is fixed to be taken into consideration on Tuesday the 4th May[1]. We thus have ample Time to prepare, even should the Recognizances be entered into, which still I doubt, inasmuch as I suspect some trick on the part of Staniforth and a wish to tamper and gain Time with his Creditors - I write in great haste. You shall hear again tomorrow.

1. C.J., LXXIV, 92-3.

No. 383

J. R. G. GRAHAM TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 5 February 1819

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/81

(V)

House of Commons. My Letter of yesterday would inform you of the Fact that a Petition had been presented against me. Today I have seen it; it is signed by two common Burgesses, and is charged of course with every possible Plea. To use it would appear to point rather to a fresh Scrutiny of Votes, which is the most vexatious mode of proceeding they could have selected; but it is also the most expensive, and whatever pecuniary aid Mr. Staniforth may have received, I cannot help thinking, circumstanced as he is, this con-

sideration must have its' Weight with him. I confess until an hour ago, I doubted whether my opponents were in earnest, and fancied this some artifice either to obtain assistance from Government or Time from Creditors. But Brougham tells me, he has spoken to Warren, who is retained against me, and who says, they are determined to proceed, and that Funds, <u>having been advanced</u>, (whence I know not) are ready and in hand: that the Investigation will be a long one, likely not to terminate this Session, and that the Petition will at all Events be prosecuted. This I think on the whole probable; for if Staniforth can resume business, a Seat will be of infinite Service to him; if he cannot, and I am turned out, the Seat is vacant, and Government will try to carry it. I suspect the money to have been furnished from a Quarter connected with Administration. Until I see the recognizances entered into, I have thought it wiser to incur no expense, beyond retaining Sergeant Bosanquet, and sending down to Hull a Copy of the Petition, and by Express a list of Witnesses summoned, one of whom I believe it is desirable should be found out of the Way. When the Recognizances are entered into, or voided, you shall hear from me again: in the mean Time I intend to remain watchful [but] quiet. This is a disappointment; [but] for myself I could bear it, end as it may; what grieves me is the anxiety and additional expense I fear it will entail on you; but my proceedings are absolutely at your disposal. To resist temptation, which might call me from my Duty here, I have sent my Horses into the North, thrown them out of condition, and with regret can hunt no more this Season....

No. 384

J. R. G. GRAHAM TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 9 February 1819

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/82, 83, 84

(V)

7 Cork Street [London]. I enclose you a letter[1] from Mr. Scholefield the Agent in Hull, which in describing the sensation produced there by the first Intelligence of the Petition against me sufficiently proves the fairness of the Subscribers, and Mr. Broadley, who was my bitterest adversary, positively refuses to take any part against me. Mr Schonswar, formerly the Mayor and a Partner in Shipping with Staniforth, who was also most inveterate, is now in London

and openly declares his disapprobation of the proceeding and is anxious to disown all participation in it. The Circle then of my opponants is narrowed to Staniforth himself, Colonel Wray his Relation, and the Becketts, who are your Enemies, and thro' them I suspect to the Lowthers, who now unhappily are mine. The latter I believe will be found to be the principal agitators and had he not been powerfully backed, Staniforth, circumstanced as he is, could never have thought of Petitioning. His private calculation is, if I can obtain my Seat, it may procure me some aid from the Bank of England, some Favor from the Government, and enable me to resume Business under a Deed of Trust without committing an Act of Bankruptcy. The Government calculation is first to annoy you and me; then secondly, if they seat Staniforth, he is a dead Vote with them for this Parliament, if the Election be a void one, with some other Candidate they will resume the Contest for a single Vacancy; and if Staniforth be seated and after all compelled under the Bankrupt Laws to go out of Parliament still for a year they will have his Vote; and at the expiration of it may start some new Candidate to supply his Place. Such I believe to be their joint calculations. The hardship to me is that those, who had hitherto been my opponants, should formally have renounced the Contest; and that now in the last hour of the day it should be taken up by those, who have been no part in it; that he, who by an act of Insolvency has rendered himself <u>incapable</u> of being a Director of the Bank and has vacated in consequence his Seat at the Board, should still be capable of sitting in Parliament; that he, whose Credit is at an End should seek to supply my place; and that a man with reputation blighted, tottering on the very verge of Bankruptcy, should yet aspire in my stead to a Seat in the House of Commons. Until I see the Recognizances I can hardly credit the firm Intention; if executed it will be a cause of unexampled hardship; if attempted, it is most vexatious, and to my mind unjustifiable. You shall hear from me as soon as I ascertain Recognizances are entered into.

I can assure you, I consider the Government as standing on very precarious Ground; the temper of this Parliament must make them trouble; and both in the House and in their own Committees they find an unbending Spirit, which is almost refractory. Last night was a brilliant triumph: we commenced with dividing on a pure party Question within 42 of them; and then a long prepared Statement of

the Finance of the Country, not entrusted to Vansittart[2] but made with vast pomp by Castlereagh to show the flourishing posture of our Commerce, was off hand answered by Tierney in the best Speech he ever made, which left the Noble Man at once confuted and ridiculous - If we act together as we are now doing; and if the Opposition Members will but attend as I must say they now are doing, and if there by no <u>hunting</u> and [fighting], it is the opinion of much better Judges than I am that the [Government] must fall. They certainly last night looked far from [secure on...] our division. I delight in the occupation: it is the very one to my taste, which can equal Fox-hunting and it more than equals it. I am happy to hear you are enjoying your amusement, and that this and every other blessing may long be yours....

[P.S.] I enclose you two letters to throw[3] light on the State of Feeling in Hull; one from my Agent Scholefield; the other from Mr Sykes: the part in the letter of the latter, which relates to the former Individual, I have answered by an assurance, which is correct, that [I h]ave reason to be more than satisfied with his honesty, his talents, and his Exertion.

1. Missing.
2. Nicholas Vansittart (1766-1851), Chancellor of the Exchequer 1812-23, created Baron Bexley 1823. (<u>D.N.B.</u>, xx, 140-44).
3. Missing.

No. 385

J. R. G. GRAHAM TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 13 February 1819

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/85

(V)

Brooks's. I have but one moment to tell you that George Lamb[1] has been put in nomination this morning at Westminster with the fairest prospect of success. Burdett and Douglas Kinnaird proposed Hobhouse in moderate speeches, but the Candidate himself made a tedious and unintelligible harangue which was intended to define the difference between <u>general</u> and <u>universal</u> Suffrage, a distinction which few can understand and which the Mob did not appear to relish. Major Cartwright was then nominated by two Runners, I believe, from the Statesman Newspaper Office, and they appeared to have borrowed the

Major's prolixity and folly for the Day - Macdonald then proposed George Lamb; he was not listened to, the Hustings being surrounded by Hobhouse's Friends: Evans the Bookseller seconded him; he also was not heard; then came George Lamb himself; who by a strong voice and good humered countenance obtained an hearing, and made a most admirable speech which took most wonderfully - I can assure you the thing looks very well; and by a united Whig Effort I hope we shall carry our Candidate triumphant and drive the spurious Reformer, the illegitimate Offspring of the worst passions of the Day, with ignominy from the Field.

You shall hear from me on Monday: I am sorry to say I have notice served me that the Sureties, which I find unexceptionall will enter into their Recognizances on Tuesday next. I still somehow have hopes the matter may yet drop: they know I shall be too happy to allow them to withdraw their Recognizances any Time before the 4th of May; and in the Interim they keep their Course open to be guided by Circumstances - The Petitioners are two of the lowest of the People; one a Cobler in London, the other a Glazier in Hull[2], both of course Creatures and mean Instruments of Staniforth's; the Sureties are a respectable Merchant in the City Staniforth's particular friend, and a relation of his the Collector of Customs at Newcastle. Thus they offered us no Clue to the prime Movers and Instigators of this Proceeding.

1. George Lamb was returned on 3 March 1819. (Return of Members, ii, 275.)
2. William Wilkinson and John Firth (Bean, Northern Representation, 852).

No. 386

J. R. G. GRAHAM TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 19 February 1819

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/86

(V)

House of Commons. I have infinite and extraordinary pleasure in informing you for the last Time, that the Petition against us is at an End, and can rise no more to Judgement - The Sureties were admitted as sufficient; but yesterday, when the Recognizances were to have been completed before the Speaker, the Agent of my Opponents

notified me that it was no longer intended to enter into them: and that all their Proceedings against me were at an End - The Speaker will announce this to the House this Evening, and the Order for taking the Petition into consideration on the 4th of May will be discharged. Thus then 'Per varios Casus per tot discrimina Rerum' the Victory has been gained, and we are secure - Nothing ever rejoiced me more; nothing has so much excited both my gratitude, and my Pride -

Success also attends our Arms in Westminster: at the Close of the Poll today at Four O'Clock the Numbers were

Honourable G. Lamb	1547
J. C. Hobhouse	1017

About the middle of next week I think our opponents will be satisfied, and I hope to have the Pleasure of announcing to you the Completion of our hopes.

No. 387

J. R. G. GRAHAM TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 1 April 1819

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/87

(V)

7 Cork Street. By a letter received this morning from Hull I learn that the Polling money of both my adversaries is in progress to be paid, and that it is considered of importance, that mine should not be long delayed. It is calculated that £2,500 will about cover this expense; but the accounts can be balanced afterwards; only if it be not convenient, I could wish this sum to be placed to my Credit in the hands of Messers Pease, Watson and Co. Hull. To prevent the appearance of its coming direct from Your Lordship, it might be transmitted either thro' the York Bank or by your Bankers in London either in the name of Chaloner or some other person not immediately connected with you: or it might pass as before thro' the hands of Mr Ellis, my Agent; only this would create delay, which I am rather anxious to avoid -

I leave this, however, to Your Lordship's decision and convenience; and am only sorry to be forced again to call on you for my pecuniary aid, which I wish sincerely I could have dispensed with, but which in proportion as it is most generously given I most reluctantly accept.

[Endorsed] recommended to have it placed in his name in Pease's Correspondent in London to be immediately remitted [to] Hull -

No. 388

J. R. G. GRAHAM TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 3 April 1819

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/88

(V)

7 Cork Street. It occurs to me that the shortest and best way of remitting the money to Hull will be thro' my own Bankers here. I have accordingly remitted thro' them by this day's Post £2,500 to Messrs Pease Watson and Company, which you can replace to my Credit at your convenience by [an] order [which] I now [place] in the Hands of Messers Marsh Tibbald and Company: Brewers Street who are my bankers. This appears to me the shortest and most direct mode, and as such I have adopted it. The polling money will thus be paid in Hull in the course of the next week. Such after all is the purity of a popular Election, an Election so popular, that no Reformer could desire to infuse into it more democratic Spirit; yet who could attack Hull and its' pure Electors annually? By the Time you come to London, I expect the whole account will be closed. [Endorsed] order'd the payment to be made by Snow -

No. 389

J. R. G. GRAHAM TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 11 May 1819

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/89

(V)

7 Cork Street. I take the Liberty of enclosing for your perusal the two last letters, which I have received from Messers Martin and Scholefield at Hull[1]. They will inform you of the manner in which the Sum of £2,500 has been expended; and will show you, what I am sorry to state, that there still is a deficiency. It is also of a considerable amount; for exclusive of the Fee to Martin and Scholefield, which I know not how to fix, for their trouble since the Scrutiny, there appear against me claims unanswered to the Value of Seven Hundred Pounds. All these claims, however, have been examined by the Committee; and I have reason to believe that the

utmost aconomy has been observed and a careful desire to detect and punish fraud.

I confess that I feel great reluctance in calling on Your Lordship for an additional advance of money. Already your Lordship's share of the expence is greater than mine; and already the last Election for Hull has cost you more than the Purchase Value of a Seat in Parliament: but still I am willing to hope that it is not entirely thrown away: that the Whig Interest in one of the first commercial Towns has not been strengthened, but, I may say, revived; and that the Interest of Your Lordship's Family has acquired fresh power and consistency in that part of Yorkshire from the Victory we gained. In all these circumstances I trust Your Lordship will find some balance, tho' not an equivalent, for all you have sacrificed to obtain the success: and as for myself I am ready to declare, that with pain I make the application, since, if I had the means of bearing such an Expence, there could be none I should meet more cheerfully, since in public affairs it unites me with you; but at the same Time I remember with satisfaction the open understanding, which from the first has prevailed between us - an understanding, which nothing can interrupt, and which Your Lordship will, I trust never have the occasion to regret.

1. Missing.

No. 390

J. R. G. GRAHAM TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 7 July 1819

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.36/90

(V)

7 Cork Street. I have taken the Liberty of sending for your inspection by this Day's Post the final account of the Expenditure at Hull[1], which will show the manner, in which the two last Sums advanced by Your Lordship have been employed. In the Bank Account marked No. 2. you will find placed to my Credit on April 15th, £2,500; and on June 16th, £700, both of which Sums came from Your Lordship thro' Snow to my Bankers. On the Debit side of the Account you will perceive various Sums paid to Mr Schoefield, who acted as my Agent, and paid all such demands, as were after examination approved by my Committee. The Sum total of this on June 19th exceeded my

remittances by £259; but I had a Balance in hand of £300 from the last advance made by Your Lordship of One Thousand Pound, which, together with another Hundred due to Your Lordship from me on a former account, I have paid into the Hands of Messers Pease Harrison and Company thus leaving about £140 Balance in my Favor, which will, I think, more than cover the few remaining claims, which are not already satisfied. Thus the whole account is as near wound up as possible: I wish I could make it more distinct, but the very nature of the transactions, which it discloses, precludes both regularity and precision; and I only can state that to the best of my knowledge and belief the money, which has been expended, has been managed with prudence and fidelity. I hope to have a small Sum to return as due to Your Lordship on the complete Close of this irksome Business; but at all Events I can safely congratulate you on the termination of all further calls on Your Lordships liberality for a Contest, which has proved so expensive, and which, I fear, will confer on you no permanent advantage; since the venal character of the Place baffles any hope, which adherence to Principles might inspire, and I fear the longest Purse and the newest face will continue paramount recommendations to my worthy Constituents. I have, however, one satisfaction; and that is the favor, which I have experienced from Your Lordship, favor, which, while I endeavour to deserve, I hope never to forfeit, and which I consider and always shall remember as the pride and honor of my life. Tomorrow I take a step of great importance to my future domestic happiness: I am to be married; and I trust, that both in publick and in private I may become a better man. I go to Cowes in the Isle of Wight, where at your leisure I will thank you to return me the Accounts[2], which I have sent this day, after you have inspected them: and any explanation, which you may require, I shall be most happy to afford.

1. Missing.
2. Graham received the accounts in mid-August. (Graham to Fitzwilliam, 15 August 1819. Fitzwilliam MSS. W.W.M. F.36/91).

No. 391

DANIEL SYKES TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE HULL POLITICAL PROTESTANTS - 29 September 1819

Source: Hull Rockingham, 2 October 1819

(VIII)

Raywell. I have received the Requisition for a Meeting of the inhabitants of Hull and the neighbourhood; and as I cordially approve of the public mind being expressed on all subjects affecting the public welfare, and generally have taken a leading part on such occasions, you seem to have something like a right to know why I do not add my name to the list of signatures. If the Meeting had only been for the purpose of expressing our opinion of the late transactions at Manchester, I should have left my retirement in the country and attended the discussion of a question which appears to me to involve our most important rights. I have carefully perused every document which I have the means of procuring, relative to the events of 16th of August; and anxious as I am to find a vindication for the act of the Magistrates, I can meet with little to palliate, and nothing to justify, their conduct on that memorable day.

The Prince Regent having been advised to approve of the conduct of those by whom so many of his subjects have been maimed, mutilated, and killed, and by whose interference one of the most beneficial public rights has been obstructed, the question now becomes a public one, and I trust every part of the kingdom will pass a judgment upon it. The cruelty of this transaction first strikes the mind; and if one's attention could be drawn from the barbarity of sending an armed force to trample upon unarmed men, women, and even children, it might well be excited by the flimsy pretence to cover it by reading the Riot Act when there was no Riot, and taking depositions of a breach of the peace yet to be made.

Had your views therefore extended no further than the proceedings at Manchester, or had they embraced such a Reform of Parliament as had been advised by Sir G. Saville, Mr Fox, Mr. Pitt in his early and best days, Mr. Wyvill, and other eminent characters, I should certainly have joined you. But when Radical Reform is the main object for which you contend, and Universal Suffrage, and nothing but Universal Suffrage will satisfy your wishes, I feel an unwillingness to give my support to the proposed Meeting, lest I should countenance doctrines that appear to be founded on an erroneous

view of our Constitution, and which, if adopted, would be productive of great mischief. I observe likewise much in the Speeches and Resolutions, at some of the Public Meetings, which I cannot acquiesce in, and to which I particularly object, as tending to increase the hostility now unhappily subsisting between the high and low classes of Society. Should the same be adopted at Hull, and in my presence, it would disturb that harmony which alone can give effect to our efforts. I also disapprove of sending for Mr. Wooller, or any other stranger, to preside over or assist at a Meeting of the Inhabitants of Hull. These are the principal reasons which dissuade me from joining your Meeting; and to those I might add, the increasing disinclination to appear in public which advancing years never fail to bring.

My love of civil and religious liberty is however still as warm as ever; and my conviction of the necessity of a Reform in Parliament, to resist effectually the encroachments of Ministerial Power, is strengthened by every year's experience. Instead, however, of pressing on the public mind a particular mode of Reform, as the only cure of our grievances, I would venture to suggest to you the propriety of petitioning the Prince Regent to remove, for ever, from his Counsels, the men who, in answer to the complaints of a suffering people loaded them with increased taxation, derided their miseries, and, finally, to stop their complaints, have approved of trampling and sabering them to death. Until this is accomplished I have no hope of relief from our burdens, or security for our liberties.

No. 392

J. R. G. GRAHAM TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 4 February 1820

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.49/57

(V)

Doncaster. I left London on Wednesday Evening with the Intention of waiting on Your Lordship this morning at Wentworth House: but on my arrival at Rotherham I found that I was unfortunate as to have missed you, and that Your Lordship had returned to Milton -

The approaching dissolution of Parliament has rendered my journey into Cumberland necessary, altho' most disagreeable: and I was anxious to have seen you on my way, since every feeling both of gratitude

and honor is united to make me openly declare to Your Lordship my position and my views; and to consult your wishes and intentions, before I finally decide on the course, which I shall adopt.

The Gentlemen of Cumberland have come to a Resolution to start a Candidate of their own at the ensuing Election: the recent conduct of Lord Morpeth has given great and general offence: moreover some compromise between him and Lord Lonsdale is more than suspected, and the Independent Interest of that County is resolved, if possible, to return some resident County Gentleman, professing sound Whig Principles, who shall seat neither to Lowther Support nor Lowther connivance, but standing fairly on his own ground fairly represent the Country Party. I think they are strong enough to effect their purpose and will carry their one member, whether Lord Morpeth or the Lowther Candidate go to the Wall. The choice of their Individual has been the difficulty. I long have looked to this high station as an object of fair ambition, to which I one day or other might attain; but I now find that Mr. Curwen entertains a similar desire and in his own person unites a considerable body of support. It is not my wish to divide, by obstinate adherence to pretentions of my own, a party, which when firmly united can only cope with the strength of its' very powerful opponants. I am disposed therefore, should it appear the general wish, to withdraw for the present my claim, in the hope of succeeding hereafter in the post, which I shall assist Mr Curwen to obtain; but then the condition of this assistance must be the resignation of Mr Curwen's seat for Carlisle in my behalf, which I think I can carry without much difficulty, if he will relinguish it. But, here is the point for negociation - He will wish <u>first</u> to secure his seat for Carlisle, and <u>then</u> to speculate on the County; whereas I conceive, and a majority think with me, that he is bound to play the whole Game, and either at once declare for the County, abandoning Carlisle; or if he prefer the security of one to the uncertainty of the other, then to allow me to take my chance for the County. This is the point, which I shall have to drive, and which must be determined without delay[1].

But before I take any decisive step I have prior obligations to Your Lordship. With regard to Hull, I have no doubt a Whig Candidate will succeed there; perhaps I, more easily than any other, because I have formed something like an Interest there on the ruins of Mr Staniforth's, and have now some friends in the Corporation

and the Trinity House: but then on the other hand, an Election there, even without a contest, is beyond my means; or rather I should prefer expending near home, where I have a natural Interest, whatever Sum I can raise for such purposes to expending it at a distant spot, where every Interest is perishable, which is a Pit of fathomless corruption, and where the flagrant abuse of Polling money exists to such an extent, that not 200 men out of 3,000 ever vote without the Payment of Two Guineas for their single, and Four for their double Suffrage. Thus even the return without a Contest amounts to 3,000 Guineas -

On the whole, as a married man, I am not disposed to spend such a Sum again, at such a place, on my account: but if Your Lordship chooses to fight it, and thinks, that I, from past circumstances, am more likely to succeed than a stranger, I hold myself bound by a large debt of gratitude to obey your commands and shall cheerfully do my utmost to obtain for you the Return, postponing to some future Parliament my plans in Cumberland - I shall return to London before the 17th, and, if not inconvenient, wait on Your Lordship, at Milton: if you wish me therefore not to engage myself positively elsewhere, I will thank you to write to me to that effect without delay, directing Netherby near Carlisle, and I shall follow your directions: if on the other hand you have no wish to call on me for Hull, early intelligence of this will be of importance to me, since then I shall be at liberty to act at once on Carlisle or County, as may seem fit. Mr Grenfell, I understand from the Committee now sitting at Brooks's for Election purposes, is willing to go down to Hull, if I decline; but I have obtained a promise from them as well as from Lord Lauderdale, who, as Trustee to Lady Mary Durhurst, has the management of the whole of Sir Henry Errington's property and with it can command the Interest, that no one shall declare himself a Candidate on our side, until my decision be formed; and I have asked them to wait my return, before they expect my final answer. Might I request the same of Your Lordship; and might I beg, that you will keep the Place open for me, until I pay my respects to you at Milton in about Ten days, when I shall see my way clearly thro' the difficulties of the Case in the North, and be able with Your Lordship to decide on the nature of the Address, which I must make to my present Constituents: for the delay of an Intimation of my Resolution to stand masks an indecision, which is not unlikely to elate hopes,

that may beget a contest. In the mean Time what I wish speedily to learn, is Your Lordship's Intention on this subject; for tho' I am almost determined not to stand on my own account, yet, if for reasons of your own, you wished me to stand, I hold myself bound so to do: on general Politics there can be no difference of opinion but I must say, that recent events have satisfied me of the practical necessity, if not of the theoretical expediency, of some temperate, rational reform in the Representation: it would not be candid to conceal this, because I fear, you may think this an erroneous, if not dangerous, conclusion -

I have once again had occasion to write to Your Lordship at very great length: I could have wished to spare you the trouble of reading this, more especially of answering it, by an hours' conversation: that has been impossible; but I may be allowed perhaps to repeat, on paper, what to yourself I could ill express, that I am proud to own as my first Friend in Politics him, whom no royal insult could disgrace, when the love of his Country has repaid for the favors and petty vengeance of a Court, whose example I hope to follow while I live, whose very name is noble in the estimation of Your ever faithful and obliged....

[P.S.] Had I seen your Lordship, I was requested to state to you from Brooks's that it was thought there both the Town and County of Huntingdon might be carried by a little arrangement and without much difficulty: in the Town the power of the Corporation must be much diminished by the recent decisions as to the Charity there -

1. In 1820 Lowther and Curwen were returned for Cumberland; Graham was returned for Carlisle in 1826. (Bean, Northern Representation, 8, 42).

No. 393

J. R. G. GRAHAM TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 9 February 1820

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.49/59

(V)

Netherby. I have made up my mind not to think of standing any more for Hull; and in obedience to your directions have written this day to Mr Sykes, and one or two private friends there, informing them of my fixed determination, and requesting them to reserve their Interest for a Whig Candidate, who, I have reason to believe, will

declare himself before the day of Nomination - The way to give the full Effect to the Magic Influence of the third Man, is for our Friends to remain perfectly quiet, after my resignation, until a second Candidate appears as well as the sitting Member: then for them to advertise, that somebody may be certainly expected from our side; and the very day the Writ arrives in Hull, that this Somebody should make his appearance. It was Lord Lauderdale, who told me, Mr Grenfell intended to stand, if I did not; and I have this morning notified both to his Lordship and to Mr Tierney, that I have determined not to come forward and that I shall be ready to afford any assistance in my power to the Opposition Candidate; and that I will not advertise to the Electors my Resignation, until I return to London next week, so as best to consult the Interest of our friend -

I am sorry to say that I find sad jealousies and confusion prevalent in this County. An unnatural compact or secret understanding between the Cavendishes and the Lowthers occasions our difficulty: the Duke of Devonshire succeeding to the Duke of Portland became the hereditary chief of the Whig Party here, on the death of the late Duke of Norfolk; but instead of occupying his natural station and acting as a Counterpoise to the Lonsdale or Tory Interest he has thrown his weight into the same scale, destroyed the balance, and involved us in trammels, from which it is difficult to escape but which we are resolved to burst. I think it most probable, that I shall not have a seat in the next Parliament; but from domestic reasons I do not regret this; and I hope at some future Period to return with a mind improved and Judgement more mature to a House of Commons, which, with all its' defects, is still the boast of England. My wife being in London and unwell, I am anxious to return to her; and fear therefore that I cannot pay my respects to Your Lordship at Milton.

No. 394

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 17 February 1820

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.49/24

(V)

West Ella. Permit me to add my honest little Tribute of Applause to the Vote of so large and respectable a Portion of the West Riding on a late memorable Occasion[1]. Your Lordship has been insulted

by a few Strangers who knew you not, his Majesty's Ministers; but honoured by a Multitude of your Neighbours, who knew your Lordship well. Sheridan says in the Critick, When they do agree on the Stage this Unanimity is wonderful: So it may be said of Messers. Canning and Castlereagh; who make more by their Acting, than their Brethren behind the Curtain at other Theatres.

We are much, much grieved by the Resignation of Mr Graham; he tells me that domestick Reasons have induced him to take this Step. He acts wisely; for the Expence at Hull is enormous, having been greatly increased by Mr. Mitchell's Conduct; who it is believed does not mean to offer himself again. Mr Graham mentions Mr. Grenfell as likely to be a Candidate. It would be very convenient to me to decline the Labours of another contested Election at Hull. But if your Lordship wishes to support the fine old Whig Cause; of course I will attend at my Post, and do my best. An early Communication of your Lordship's Intention, would be a great Favour. I think the County can not be disturbed; and perhaps Sir Mark Sykes will not be sorry that his Retreat at Rome, saves him what he can ill spare £10, or £12,000.

Have the Goodness my Lord to remember me to Lady Fitzwilliam and Lord and Lady Milton, and rest assured that the Health and Happiness of your Lordship and your Family, are amongst the first Wishes of your Lordship's most obliged Friend....

P.S. I have opened my Letter to acknowledge the Favour of Your Lordships letter of the 14th and to say that by a line just received from Mr Graham, it appears that Mr Grenfell is canvassing a Cornish Borough. Graham says that he does not publish his Resignation, as it is just possible that Circumstances may alter his mind.

1. Fitzwilliam had been dismissed as Lord Lieutenant of the West Riding for his criticism of the government's actions over Peterloo in 1819. (E.A. Smith, Earl Fitzwilliam, 346-51).

No. 395

J. R. G. GRAHAM TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 23 February 1820

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.49/60

(V)

31 Montague Square [London]. Finding on further Enquiry that the old Game is certain to be played, and that a Third man will inevitably be produced so as to ensure a larger Expenditure at the approaching Election for Hull, I resort to my original intention and finally abandon the place -

I have written this day to Mr Sykes, and released him from all further care on my account: and in a few days I shall advertize my resignation.

With many Thanks for Your Lordship's constant kindness....

No. 396

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - [R. 18 March 1820] possibly 6 March 1820

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.49/25

(V)

Hull. I have the Pleasure of telling your Lordship that if Counsellor Alderson to whom we have sent an Express to York, does not chose to be a Candidate at Hull, my Brother Daniel certainly will. We are very busy canvassing; the Election will take place Tomorrow; should a third Man be started, I am of opinion that Graham's unexampled highly merited Popularity will certainly bring us home: And I trust at a Moderate Expence. Wharton is quite safe at Beverley[1]. Mr. Barton means (it is said) to poll a few Votes and petition. Messers Dundas and Wyvill have made a good Canvas of the York Voters here, who used to be in the Interest of Sir M. Sykes[2].

[P.S.] Mr. Williams is gone to Preston.

1. Wharton and George Lane Fox were returned after a contest (Bean, Northern Representation, 747).
2. They were returned after a contest (ibid., 1116).

No. 397

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - [R. March 1820] possibly 7 March 1820

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.49/28

(V)

[Hull]. Mr Mitchell and my Brother were this Day returned for Hull without Opposition. Mr. Wooller's white flag was carried about by a shabby little mob[1].

Mitchell is very weak and very unpopular; had Graham been here, beyond all doubt your Lordship's Interest would have returned two Members....

[P.S.] This Day We sent off 42 Men by the Steam boat to York to vote for Dundas and Wyvill.

1. Hull Rockingham, 10 March 1820.

No. 398

DANIEL SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - [R. March 1820] possibly 7 March 1820

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.49/29

(V)

[Hull]. The Supernusilia will tell you what has passed here - Another Whig could not be found, and therefore I consented to give up my own Wishes to my Public Duty. If I have any pleasure on being an M.P. it principally arises from knowing that you Lord Milton and others of my best friends will be pleased also. We had no Poll: but that does not materially Afect the pecuniary part of the Inconvenience.

No. 399

JOHN MITCHELL TO THE MAYOR[1] - 7 March 1820

Source: H.R.O., BRL. 2338

(V)

Hull. Having had the honor of being again returned one of the Members for this Town, I beg to take the earliest opportunity of repeating the tender of my best services to the Corporation in all matters relating to their public affairs, and the Parliamentary interests

of the People in General.

1. Alderman John Carrick.

No. 400

MAYOR TO JOHN MITCHELL - 8 March 1820 [Copy]

Source: H.R.O., BRL. 2337

(V)

Hull. I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of Yesterday which I have this day laid before the Bench and I am desired to return you their united thanks for the very handsome and polite manner in which you have made them a Tender of your Services, which they will not fail to avail themselves of on any occasion when the Interference of one of the Members in Parliament may be Serviceable to the Interests of the Town or of the Corporation.

No. 401

DANIEL SYKES TO THE MAYOR - 10 March 1820

Source: H.R.O., BRL. 2328

(V)

Hull. The Burgesses of this Town having done me the Honor of electing me one of their Representatives, I think it my Duty to make a tender of my Services in Parliament to your Corporation. Under any Circumstances it would be the Duty of a Member to attend to their Wishes; but to me it will be a pleasure as well as a Duty to consult the Interests of a Body of which my family has so long formed a part.

No. 402

DANIEL SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - [R. 24 March 1820]

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.49/26

(V)

Raywell. My Brother has shewn me a Scrap of Paper from you, to which, Solace he has given the same answer which I shall do. But as I fear that I said something to mislead you on the subject of

the Expences of the Hull election, allow me also to say a word or two. -

Your Lordship can hardly imagine the pleasure which that Note gives me; and if it were necessary on this occasion to draw supplies from any one out of my own family, it would be from you and you only that I could satisfactorily take them. But the tail is that I find on Enquiry the Expence is so moderate that I could bear the whole without the smallest inconvenience. I am sure you will be glad to hear that my friends were so eager to serve me that the Expence preceeding and attending the Election including the Sherrifs charge for the Husting and Poll Clerks will not exceed £300 and I am not pledged to pay a farthing more. But it is meant to give the usual gratuity, for in Honor I cannot avoid it: and this will amount to £2000 additional. And thus my Seat will not cost me more than 2500, after I have satisfied every expectation. About 400 of the poorer freemen offered to poll gratis: but when the day of Payment comes I presume they will take it with the rest. You will pardon me for entering into these Details.

I am now returning from the County Election, which, tho' there was no opposition, was very interesting. I never heard Lord Milton speak so well, or so effectively. The Truths which he stated boldly were received cordially. All this makes one presumptious enough to hope that better days are approaching. -

[P.S.] Raywell nr Cave. Nota bene

No. 403

RICHARD SYKES TO EARL FITZWILLIAM - 27 March 1820

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., W.W.M. F.49/27

(V)

Billing. I received the favour of your Lordship's Letter, just as I was setting out to attend the County Election. I sent it to my Brother, immediately; and his Words will be better able than my own to express some part of that Gratitude, which we, and all of us must feel for this new Instance of your Lordship's great Goodness, adorned with a Delicacy peculiar to yourself.

The only Merit I ever claimed in the long Connexion with which your Lordship was pleased to honour me, was simply this, that on all occasions I spoke the Truth: And I will not forfeit this Character

in my declining Years. I do assure Your Lordship, that the Hull Election will not cause the least Inconvenience to my Brother. The whole Expence can not exceed £2500. I subscribed £500; and from the other Branches of his family he will also receive Assistance. With many Many Thanks, permit me to say, that if pecuniary Aid had been requisite; it is from your Lordship that we could, or would have accepted it.

The terrible Contest and most glorious Victory, fought and won so nobly by the gallant Graham in 1818 under the Auspices of Your Lordship, paved the Way for the successful Skirmish of 1820. The Blues are now most compleatly beaten; and we could have returned two Members as easily as one. One grand Cause of this, is an Improvement in the Minds of the People. Severity is an able School-mistress: The Duke of York's Pension the immense Prodigality of Ministers, the Increase of the Army, the Refusal of all Enquiry into the Manchester Affair, and the five bills passed last Session, have been brought home to the Bosom of the lower Classes by the Pressure of the Times. Mr Mitchell amiable, pleasing and respectable, was assailed by bitter Cries of Abuse, for having supported these obnoxious Measures. His Colours were destroyed, his Party was driven from the Hustings; and to chair him was impossible. That in future, one Ministerial Candidate, lavish of his Purse, may again be popular and victorious, I will not deny; but I will continue to say that also in future the Whig Interest at Hull can not easily fail to bring in one Member.

I am greatly obliged by Your Lordship's very kind Invitation to Milton: but as my Stay here is limited; I had rather visit you at Wentworth next Summer; when R. Croft promises to be of the Party: and your Lordship knows how to excuse a little over-weening Fondness for the Society of Grand Children.

Mr. Elwes is gone to meet the Melton Hounds, or he would have sent his best Respects: He means to hunt next Saturday with your Lordship: He has fallen most desparatly in love with Camelopard.

No. 404

DANIEL SYKES TO LORD MILTON - 25 September [1825]

Source: Fitzwilliam MSS., Box X1610

(V)

Raywell. I am still in a Puzzle about Hull, and this is not a little increased by a Letter received today from Lord Yarborough in which he offers to take on his own Hands the excess of Expence beyond £4,000. Had I know this earlier I think that I should have stuck to Grimsby[1]; but I apprehend that I have now no alternative, as he tells me that he has written to Lord Fitzwilliam to recommend another Candidate.

In this Situation of things, I do not mean to interfere further than to say that if no Whig Candidate be found to occupy the place intended for me I would request that such an Arrangement might be made as to the time of holding the Elections, that if I am compelled to give up Hull, I may cross the water to Grimsby. The returning Officer at each place is in our Interest.

I shall mention this to Lord Yarborough, and in the Event of a sufficient Candidate not being found at Wentworth House, I wish you would back my request.

All is yet perfectly quiet both at Hull and Beverley....

Direct to Scarbro.

P.S. You will see the reason of my not deciding about Hull - Were it not for the Expence I had rather sit for that place than any other: but until the very opening of the Poll, I cannot say whether that Expence my be from £6-8.000 or the moderate Sum it cost last time.

1. In the 1826 election Charles Wood and George Fieschi Heneage were returned. (Return of M.Ps., ii, 304).

No. 405

THE MARQUIS OF CLANRICARDE TO THE MAYOR[1] - 1 June 1826

Source: Wilson-Barkworth Election Literature, Hull Public Library

(V)

Foreign Office. I had the honour of receiving your letter yesterday. Mr. O'N[eill] is a Gentleman of very old Family, great respectability and considerable property. The landed estate of his father is in Ireland, and chiefly in the County of Galway.

I have long known Mr. Augustus O'Neill, and any service that you can render him, in his present Canvass, for the representation of Hull, will be esteemed a great favour by me.

1. Alderman W. W. Bolton.

No. 406

DANIEL SYKES TO [THE MAYOR] - 16 February 1827

Source: H.R.O., BRL. 2527

(VI, VIII)

Warrens Hotel [London]. I yesterday received your Letter, and today the Petition which you announced[1].

According to your desire I mean to present it today[2], when I presume Mr. O'Neill will be in his place.

Altho' I entertain opinions quite the reverse of the Petitioners and think that much greater danger is to be apprehended from refusing than conceding to Catholics the participation of civil Rights, I shall be happy to present the petition and am obliged to the Corporation for this Much of their Confidence.

1. On 10 February 1827 the Corporation resolved to petition both houses of Parliament against granting further concessions to Roman Catholics (B.B., xi, 458).

2. The petition to the Commons was presented on 19 February (C.J., lxxxii, 190), and that to the Lords on 22 February (L.J., lix, 96).

No. 407

JAMES ACLAND TO THE ELECTORS OF HULL - 22 September 1832

Source: Hull Portfolio, 22 September 1832

(V, VIII)

Permit me, at a time when attempts are being made to deceive you, on the one hand by your inveterate enemies the Tories, and on the other by your pretended friends the Whigs, to remind you of the principles on which I have besought your suffrages at the ensuing Election.

I profess myself a radical reformer. I am sure that nothing but radical reform can save the country. The desperate evils which afflict the immense majority of my countrymen can no longer be endured. Half-and-half measures for the removal of existing abuses will leave to our posterity the necessity of revolution, I would avert this evil from our children. I would look the danger full in the face - and now; I would secure to the country peace, and to its industrious population bread. Would temporary expedients effect these desirable objects? No! they would merely shake from the shoulders of a cowardly generation the obligation which must then devolve upon their off-spring of righting themselves, and of securing justice to unborn millions.

I denounce the factions of Tory and Whig as the common enemies of the people. I call upon you, Electors, to remember that to these factions you are indebted for what is called the National Debt - for your deprivation of justice by the high cost of legal proceedings - for the tax upon bread and upon light - for the punishment of truth when written of bad men - for the pauperism of millions - and for all of disgrace and of shame that attaches to your national character.

The government of the country has been for nearly half a century, no more than a well organised means of oppression, for the purpose of plunder. The system of mock representation, under, and by which, you have been reduced to the level of slaves was devised, and it is still maintained as the instrument for your deception, and the agent for your destruction as freemen.

Under these serious convictions of the flagrant injustice to which you have so long been subjected, and for which there appears to me to be no remedy but in the eradication of the gross abuses which have caused, and still continue, at once your misery and degradation, I deem it but right, as a candidate for your unbought suffrages, thus voluntarily and publicly to bind myself in the most solemn manner - as between man and man, and before God, to the following

PLEDGES:-

1. I utterly abhor CORPORATE CORRUPTION, because I know its effects to be local oppression and local debasement.
2. I consider UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE imperatively necessary because the payment of taxes and obedience to the laws are universally enforced.
3. I am sure FREQUENT PARLIAMENTS will be a guarantee for the honesty of the representative - and if elected I will act upon this assurance, by relinquishing my seat in the House of Commons year by year, so long as you may entrust me with the guardianship of your rights.

4. I believe the poor man to be entitled to the protection of the VOTE BY BALLOT, and without which I do not think he can safely satisfy his conscience in the exercise of his Electoral rights, and in the discharge of his Electoral duty.

5. I religiously abominate SLAVERY, whether known under that denomination, or suffered under any other name or pretence, or inflicted under the colour and cover of legislative enactments. Slavery is a crime against nature and against religion. IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION will, therefore, be but bare justice - and a tardy atonement for all the miseries and all the murder of which the accursed Slave Trade has been the prolific and inhuman parent.

6. Man, as a member of civilized society, is entitled to the necessaries of life in the greatest possible abundance. The taxation of bread is a shameful and heartless violation of this natural right; the necessity of an ABOLITION OF THE CORN LAWS is, therefore, imperative, that all may obtain an untaxed and CHEAP LOAF.

7. LIGHT and AIR are essential to the health and enjoyment of existence. Their taxation is unnatural and blasphemous - and must cease with the termination of Aristocratic misrule, and the commencement of a really representative form of government.

8. TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE (or more properly, the taxation of the means by which knowledge is diffused) are most unwise, and operate to the perpetuation of ignorance, and, with ignorance, of its twin curse - despotism. Freemen - by themselves, as well as their representatives, should oppose so slavish an enactment.

9. I am of opinion that the ARMY should be forthwith discharged - this being a maritime nation, and the military having always been used to compel submission to arbitrary power. From ten to fifteen millions would thus be annually saved, even in the time of a general peace - the Aristocracy would be deprived of one great means of corruption, and the rights and liberties of the people would no longer be endangered by the sabre and the shot of the compelled instruments of our most bitter enemies.

10. TITHES must be abolished; they are a remnant of Jewish law; they are oppressive and aristocratic; and they constitute a great proportion of the tax on bread.

11. There must be no STATE CHURCH; because it is the very worst species of monopoly that could be imagined. A Christian government should give christianity fair play - and neither patronise nor prejudice any of the various sects into which religion may be divided.

12. IMPRESSMENT OF SEAMEN is a slave trade in British blue jackets; they must be immediately emancipated from its iniquitous operation.

13. MAN-FLOGGING - whether the man wear a red coat or a blue jacket, can no longer be suffered.

14. THE LAW OF LIBEL must be reversed. It now offers every protection and encourgement to wealthy rogues; it must in future, protect and encourge truth and honesty.

15. ALL SINECURES AND ALL UNMERITED PENSIONS must be abolished; the salaries of public servants must be reduced to the scale of their merit; the civil list must be cut down with a liberal hand; rigid economy must be introduced and acted upon in every department of the Government of the Country, from the King upon the Throne to the lowest menial deriving pay from the taxation of an impoverished people.

16. ALL INDIRECT TAXATION should cease, because it is deceptive and dishonest.

17. THE NECESSARY REVENUE should be raised wholly by the taxation of property - that being the only honest means, and every other system of taxation being impolitic, oppressive, unjust and heartless.
18. Every species of MONOPOLY must be discountenanced as partial, unjurious, extortionate, and aristocratic.
19. THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE should not be required to produce other qualification than the will of the Electors.
20. THE HEREDITARY PEERAGE should be abolished, and rank and honor be reserved alone as the reward of virtue and of merit.
21. The Succession of FEMALES TO THE THRONE should no longer be tolerated; and every female paying direct taxes for and from her own property should possess the elective franchise.
22. The welfare of Great Britain cannot be reasonably anticipated so long as the people of Ireland are misgoverned and oppressed by Governmental factions. Justice must be speedily rendered to the brutalized people of that beautiful country.
To these important principles I hereby deliberately and seriously pledge myself, my time, my energies, and my talent in the service of the People of Hull and of my Country, from the moment of my election as a representative member of the House of Commons to the period of the full attainment of National Justice, or to the day of my death.

No. 408

JAMES ACLAND TO JOSEPH PARKES[1] - 26 November 1833

Source: H.R.O., BRL. 2735

(VIII)

Bury Gaol. I herewith forward my second series of Accusations (7 to 12) against the Mayor and Aldermen of Hull.

I have been aware of your absence from London for the past week and am therefore at no loss to account for your silence on the subject of my two last (epistolary) communications - most anxious as I am for the solution of my queries.

I learn from Hull that there was to have been a Public Meeting on Monday evening last - to petition His Majesty for my removal and to form a Radical Anti Corporate Committee to collect and arrange evidence etc. (The Whig Committee wilfully cut its own throat because I was nominally a member).

I am informed that the Town's husband (son of one Alderman and nephew of another) who is a Corporate pluralist and the most important witness - being as it were Secretary and Accomptant - has disappeared. One report says he is to be represented as Insane and therefore in an assylum. Another that he is in Devonshire. May I beg that without delay you will cause a summons to be served on him (William Bolton the younger) or at his residence. The Bolton family have

long enjoyed a controlling influence over the Corporation.

I hear the Commissioners are expected at Hull on Saturday next after leaving Beverley and before taking Hedon. This is a surprise, as few expected that "in the course of the month of December" would be the 30th of November. If however this cannot be prevented, we must be constant and do our best to assist the Commission.

That there will be considerable excitement at Hull on this occasion there can be no doubt - but it will be an excitement every way gratifying to the Commisionērs who should be regarded (and I doubt not will be) as the protectors of the poor people against their oppressors. I sincerely trust the Commissioners will not by an unnecessary restraint of strong but general feeling on the part of those who have suffered so much and so long under the existing system, turn the stream into other than its natural channel. Were I there, all would be well; and, as it is, I shall take every possible precaution for ensuring a calm and deliberate investigation. If it be but searching it will be satisfactory to 99 of every 100 of the population.

1. Secretary to the Royal Commission on Municipal Corporations.

No. 409

THOMAS PERRONET THOMPSON TO CHARLES THOMPSON - 25 May 1835 [Copy]

Source: Thompson MSS., DTH.4/6

(V)

13 Hanover Terrace, Regent's Park. I am much obliged to you for your letter. If there were any prospect of turning Carruthers out of Parliament now, it might be worth thinking of making a push. But from all the inquiries I make, there appears no more chance of doing it than moving the moon[1]. Six weeks is the appointed time for all complaints against a return to Parliament; and if, as somebody said to me: it was established that the man in the House was not the same man that had been returned, but another, he could not be turned out after the six weeks allowed for petitioning had been suffered to elapse.

I said in my last letter to you that we could have nothing to do with further reductions of rent, <u>especially on account of lightning</u>.

I grieve to see that the qualification for a county, which I once had, is frittered away by these reductions. The agreement, however, is that the rents are to be raised whenever there is any alteration in the Corn Laws in the way of removal; and I shall abide by it[2]. I am afraid there would not be much use in your going among the tenants; as, though they might not kill you for the heir, they would not pay much reverence to your youthful years. You are, however, quite at liberty to do any good you can. If you get involved in controversy with anybody, threat them down that I should have £150 [a year] instead of £50 for the house at Cottingham if only the trad[e] of Hull was free; and rent for land, if not altogether in the same proportion, still in a proportion that would be very comfortable.

Write to me again if there should turn out any real probability of a vacancy being made.

1. Mr. Carruthers died a few days after, which led to the writer being elected in his place. [The footnotes in this, and in subsequent Thompson letters, were added by the recipient, who was his nephew].
2. His correspondent remembers thinking this a postponement ad Gracas Calendas but the time came nevertheless.

No. 410

THOMAS PERRONET THOMPSON TO CHARLES THOMPSON - 10 June 1835 [Copy]

Source: Thompson MSS., DTH 4/5

(V)

13 Hanover Terrace, Regent's Park. I have just seen in two evening papers, that Mr. Carruthers, the member for Hull, died suddenly today. Such reports often get into the papers by mistake, and the next day it is discovered that it was a relation of the same name, or something of that kind. If, however, it is true, the news will be sure to have come to Hull, and probably to Beverley too, in an undeniable manner.

If the Hull people are disposed to follow the advice of the Advertiser[1], I shall be glad to serve them. But, in the first place, I could not spend money, or at all events not above two or three hundred pounds for expenses of hustings etc. And this by the token that I have already spent in promotion of the liberal cause, two

or three times as much as would have carried a contested election even in the Tory Times. Secondly, I could not have a contest with Mr. Hill[2]. Whether he means to stand or not, I have no knowledge; but it is clear that there could be no contest between us, and that this point must be previously settled. Thirdly, I should be very glad to escape all the nonesense of an election; and if the Hull people would elect me quietly as their compatriot, I would endeavour to organize a plan of correspondence with them, after the manner of Andrew Marvel's time[3], which with their aid, I doubt not, might be made to tell to the public good. I would push the question of the opening of the ports to free trade, to the utmost; and do all that was practicable to resist and put down Impressment. Finally, I would agree to give up when called upon by a majority of the voters on my side; - or annually; - or anything else of that kind the voters chose to agree upon.

You may go to Hull if you like, and talk upon the subject to anyone you please. I can suggest nobody but Mr H[ammond], Mr J[arrett], and the Editor of the Advertiser.[4]

1. 'A liberal newspaper, which had lately mentioned him favourably as a future candidate for Hull'.

2. Mr. Matthew Davenport Hill, a liberal ex-Member, who lost his seat for Hull at the general election of 1835.

3. The Corporation of the Trinity House possess a collection of Marvel's letters on public matters in which the port was interested, addressed to his brother-in-law, Edmund Popple, merchant, and Warden of Trinity House [H.M. Margoliouth (ed.): The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell (London, 1952), ii, 237-331, passim.]

4. His correspondent, then a youth of nineteen, laid the above letter before the liberal Committee at the "Cross Keys", who immediately sent the writer a requisition to stand for his native town.

No. 411

THOMAS PERRONET THOMPSON [junior] TO MRS THOMPSON - 17 June 1 35

[Copy]

Source: Thompson MSS., D.TH 4/5

(V)

Cross Keys Inn, Hull. When we arrived at Hessle on Sunday, we were met by several of the leading Hull men, and immediately posted off

with them to Joe Sykes's at Kirk Ella, as it was not thought proper to risk offending the serious part of the community at Hull by entering on Sunday. It was well that it was so settled, as there was a large crowd waiting the arrival of the London mail; notice of the arrival of a candidate had been sent off from Brigg (where we had stopped to change the horses) by another and shorter road to Hull, so that the news was known in Hull half an hour before we got to Kirk Ella. Several then came off to Kirk Ella to make their manners to their candidate; a good many of them seemed quite abashed by the awfulness of their situation in presence of the long-expected great man; but no sooner had they had one glass of Champagne than they were all quite <u>up</u> and noisy, and there was considerable difficulty in keeping them tolerably sober[1]. My Father wrote his address that night; I think it is very good; you will have seen it in the [Hull] <u>Observer</u>[2] we sent you yesterday. The Whigs, Radicals etc. seemed desirous to pull well together, but several of the Whigs nevertheless kicked strongly against the clause pledging to resign when called upon,... It is astonishing how well my Father bears the "nonesense" of elections; he bows to old women etc. as assiduously as any one could wish, and shakes their hands with delight. He speaks very well, so clearly and so fluently that when reported (which they do <u>verbatim</u>) his speech reads like an article out of the Westminster Review. His voice is very weak and hoarse [from speaking], which is against him. He spoke four times on Monday, and twice yesterday. I think every speech is better (for electioneering) than the preceding one, as he amuses the people more, now that he has less to say on dry matters.... He is very popular; the feeling is quite in our favour. I hear them asking which is the "little fellow", "where is the old boy", "go to it old cock" etc. The Tories give out that he has flogged three men to death; that he swindled the Government out of £30,000 at Sierra Leone, and my Grandfather had to pay it for them. In an address they talk of him as "a man of whom it is no disrespect to say that he is simply a wild theoretic trading politician"... The nomination is tomorrow, and polling on Friday and Saturday.

1. Mr. Sykes's hospitality knew no stint that day.
2. <u>Hull Observer,</u> 16 June 1835.

No. 412

CHARLES THOMPSON TO MRS. THOMPSON - 18 June 1835 [Copy]

Source: Thompson MSS., D.TH 4/5

(V)

Cross Keys, Hull. "Since my last we have all been working hard - my Father speechifying, and P[erronet] and I canvassing. We are all in high hopes in consequence, and expect to have a 'triumphant majority'. The Nomination took place this morning. My Father spoke for more than an hour to an assembly of five or six thousand people before the hustings, and in consequence is as hoarse as a raven. Mr. Mildmay (or Wildman as he is called) made an attempt at a speech in which he was frequently enlivened by groans and hootings. After the speeches the Mayor or Sheriff (I forget which) called for a show of hands, upon which there arose for us such a forest of dingy fists of all shapes, sizes and colours as I never saw before. The like was asked for Mr. Mildmay, and about 50 were held up. On this a poll was demanded, by the Blues, which commences tomorrow at 9 and closes on Saturday at 4. The 'entuzzymuzzy' for the Orange candidate is extreme, and he is cheered and applauded wherever he goes. My Father went this evening to Cottingham, and he says that they set all the bells ringing and nearly pulled him in pieces with kindness."

[Endorsement]

This letter was not posted until next day, and ends with a hasty P.S. giving the state of the Gross Poll at 11 A.M. the first day, Friday, 19 June, 1835. Thompson 517, Mildmay 292, Majority 225.

No. 413

CHARLES THOMPSON TO MRS. THOMPSON - 21 June 1835 [Copy]

Source: Thompson MSS., D.TH 4/5

(V)

Hull. "An election for a single vacancy in Parliament has not been known in Hull for fifty years[1], and everybody declares that such a neck and neck race was never beheld. Our majority, the early part of the first day (Friday) was 300 - then 200 - and it kept gradually decreasing until 79 was all that we could boast of. However, we 'kept our tails up', and patrolled the streets the whole of the

night, visiting the public houses and doing everything to check the bribery which we knew would be employed by the Tories. I was up the whole night, and only got half-an-hour's sleep on a couple of chairs about 3 o'clock in the morning. At 8 on Saturday morning the polling recommenced - 79 increased to 81 - we then fell to 50 - 55 - 30 - and so on till 4 o'clock brought us to the close of the poll -

Thompson 1428
Mildmay 1423
Majority 5

The Tories looked blue[2] indeed at this; - to have the election so nearly and yet so unable to gain it, put them out of all patience. The Sheriff declared the state of the poll about half-past 4, which settled the matter. Mildmay ran away and durst not show himself, and the rest of the Tories kept themselves closely ineured up at home. In the evening we had a procession all round the town - my Father in a carriage with four white horses decorated with Orange ribbons, and followed by fifty more carriages filled with friends - the windows lined with beautiful women[3] waving flags and scarves - and the streets filled with a dense mass of men, women and children."

1. 'Not since 1784, when Wilberforce and Samuel Thornton were elected; but the former preferring to sit for the county of York, for which he had been also returned, Walter Stanhope was chosen in his place M.P. for Hull.'
2. Blue is, or was, the Tory colour at Hull, and Orange the Liberal.
3. 'Without meaning to qualify a compliment no doubt fully deserved and sincerely offered, it may be remarked that eyes at nineteen are less critical than they afterwards become.'

No. 414

THOMAS PERRONET THOMPSON [Junior] TO MRS THOMPSON - 24 June 1835

[Copy]

Source: Thompson MSS., D.TH 4/5

(V)

[Hull]. The expenses of the scrutiny, it is said, would be about £5000 on each side unless the petition or the opposition to it were to be declared "frivolous and vexatious", when the losing party would have to pay the whole. Our friends here are in excellent spirits about it; they think that there is no doubt of a decision

of the H. of C. being favourable to us as we cannot hear of any of our own side having intentionally polled bad men; (during a hard contest there will of course always be a few bad votes) and we know of several cases of dead and absent men having been polled against us....

On Monday we entered Beverley in a carriage and four with ten other carriages to attend the formation of a Reform Association.... I have not room to tell you all the reports about us, Charles will tell you them all at full length. I will only say, that Colonel Thompson was kicked round a blue Committee Room; that he went about to the public houses at night in a mask canvassing voters, and that I was seen going about between 2 and 3 in the morning in a smock frock to the public houses. They say that although Colonel Thompson did not bribe himself yet his two sons were actively engaged in giving away his sovereigns to all electors.

No. 415

THOMAS PERRONET THOMPSON TO GEORGE PRYME[1] - 4 July 1835 [Copy]

Source: Thompson MSS., D.TH 4/5

(V)

13, Hanover Terrace, Regent's Park. I had missed your countenance on the usual bench "and 'neath the wonted tree", for some days back; being specially moved to the remark by a desire I had to see you tonight at dinner to meet my half-cousin Mrs. Opie and others.

We have anticipated your idea in retaining Austin. For Solicitor, we have Edgar Taylor, a man entirely with us in principle.

I have sent a copy of the Petition to Hull, with a view to inflaming <u>animos virorum</u>. They accuse us of <u>omni scibili cum quibusdam aliis</u>. In fact it is the old story of the man that stole "Eight bulls, eight cows, eight oxen, eight calves". We have been counselled to look very sharply out for some act of bribery, as what would blow up a projected scrutiny.

There can be no doubt of great zeal existing at Hull, both in individuals of mark, and in the multitude. We shall be sure of all the aid that individual intelligence can supply.

1. A Hull solicitor, descended from an ancient family of the town. He was the biographer of Daniel Sykes.

No. 416

BURGESSES OF HULL TO THE MAYOR[1] AND ALDERMEN - 25 July 1835

Source: H.R.O., BRL. 2720

(VIII)

Hull. We the Undersigned Burgesses[2] of this Borough beg leave respectfully but earnestly to call upon you as our Representatives and Protectors of our Rights to take immediate and the most powerful measures for opposing the Municipal Reform Bill now before the House of Lords inasmuch as it goes to destroy and annhilate the rights of every Freeman to which they have as great a claim as any Individual in the Country has to his Private Property.

We a[11 deplore] more particularly those parts of the Bill which go to deprive us, our Children a[nd Ap]prentices of the Right of Voting - which take away those Privileges of exemption fro[m] Toll and Dues which we and the Burgesses of this Borough from time immemorial ha[v]e enjoyed and which gives to almost every Inhabitant of the Town and Borough not only equality of Rights but even enjoyment of that Property which belongs exclusively to the Burgesses; the Income arising from which far more than compensates those contributions payable by non-Burgesses. We are likewise particularly averse to the extreme latitude proposed to be given to persons filling the office of Common Council Men without even any qualification as to Amount of Property or Rental, feeling assured, if such should become the Law, the Government of the Town may come into highly improper hands and lead to many more serious evils, than even the greatest enemy to Corporations as at present constituted have hitherto accused them of.

We again repeat our request that you will use every legal means in your power by Petition and by retaining Counsel to defend our Rights -

1. Alderman Edward Gibson.
2. The petition carried 320 signatures.

No. 417

THOMAS PERRONET THOMPSON[1] TO THE SECRETARY OF THE HULL REFORM ASSOCIATION - 1 August 1835

Source: T. Perronet Thompson: Exercises, Political and Others, (London, 1842), iv, 59-60

(V)

13, Hanover Terrace, Regent's Park. As the only communication I have received from Hull since the abandonment of the petition against the election, has been through the newspapers, I feel apprehensive that we may have been waiting for each other; and so proceed to put an end to it.

On the subject of that petition and its consequences, I have no hesitation in stating my personal conviction, that I have been laid down and robbed at the door of the House of Commons, with the single object of holding out an example of the punishment to be inflicted on an individual who is bold enough to allow himself to be returned to Parliament by a majority of his fellow townsmen. The smallness of our majority in the first instance, was effected by subornation of perjury on the part of our opponents; for which I refer to the evidence before the Committee of the House. And they afterwards rendered it impossible that I should avoid the contest, by advancing against me disreputable charges, of no one of which did they attempt any proof before the Committee. There are few terms of disgrace which public opinion would not justify me in applying to such conduct; but I chuse, for conciseness, to comprehend them all, by stamping each and every of the parties concerned, with the elaborate infamy of robbing by means of charging with disreputable offences.

As your Representative, I take the opportunity to point out to the Hull Reform Associaiton, and through it to every association of the same nature throughout the country, the insulting falsehood contained in asserting that you, or any other set of electors, have freedom of election. You are free to elect whom you please, under the understanding that he shall be mulcted in his personal property to any extent the adversaries may chuse to effect by the expenditure of perhaps a much inferior sum of their own. To take the present case; here am I, a man of comparatively small property, and no means of increasing it, - one, in fact, who could just, consistently with prudence, produce the moderate sum necessary to defray the legitimate expenses of an election, - robbed of the provision of my children to the amount of, I suppose, several thousand pounds, by possibly a conspiracy of the richest and most powerful individuals in the kingdom, - men for aught we know, not confined to the rank of Members of the Commons House of Parliament, but extending upwards to the very footsteps of the Throne. For that the ostensible instruments are not the substantial ones, is matter of public evidence and notoriety. And this is <u>your</u> freedom of election.

But the inference I want to draw from the exposure of this falsehood, is the practical inutility, in the existing state of the laws, of you, or me, or anybody, attempting to arrive at political amelioration through the instrumentality of the House of Commons. Calculate, for example, how much the money and trouble which have been extracted from you and from me in the present attempt to obtain one vote in the House of Commons, would have effected if applied in the way which was our natural channel, - the raising up that

"pressure from without" which is daily recommended to us by the terrors of our opponents. I do not advise you hastily to lay aside altogether the pursuit of improvement by the first and feebler mode; but I do advise you to make it entirely subordinate to that more politic and useful mode in which your natural strength lies, and to give no effort to the one, except what you have not the means or opportunity of applying to the other.

It is scarcely necessary for me to say, that the power lodged in a Committee, of finding a petition "frivolous and vexatious," is no security against the recurrence of a case like ours. We had the option of expending perhaps ten thousand pounds more, for the chance that the Committee would give us a claim on, it may be, half that sum lodged as security.

1. The writer was returned to Parliament for Hull on the 20th June 1835, by 1428 votes against 1423.

CONCLUSION

The political correspondence presented in this study covers the years 1678 to 1835, from the death of Andrew Marvell to the implimentation of the Municipal Corporations Act. In this century and a half Hull grew from an old port surrounded by its walls and the river, to a substantial centre of commerce drawing on a large hinterland, with three new docks, multifarious manufacturing industries, and broad new streets beyond the medieval fortifications. As an outport it never seriously rivalled Bristol and Liverpool on the west coast, but on the North Sea it was the main outlet, of more significance than Newcastle upon Tyne, or King's Lynn.

Behind this economic expansion lay political stability. The period under consideration opened with a royal attempt to regulate the political life of the town, and closed with a serious assault on the oligarchy which controlled the commercial, social and municipal life. This oligarchy held political power in various guises. Merchants, shipowners and bankers controlled bodies such as the Corporation, Trinity House and the Dock Company, as they did at Bristol and Liverpool, although there was no Trinity House there. Individual families such as the Ramsdens, Maisters, Etheringtons and Sykeses were also of significance, not just because of their wealth and social prestige, but also because of their connections with magnates of national political stature such as the Duke of Newcastle, Earl of Danby, the Duke of Monmouth, the Marquis of Rockingham and Earl Fitzwilliam, several of whom became High Stewards. These families did not play much part in the political life of the surrounding East Riding of Yorkshire, although Richard and Daniel Sykes were justices of the peace, and their cousins at Sledmere became gentry, acquired a baronetcy, and on one occasion represented the county. This may be explained by the fact that Hull was a self-contained county, and there was little need to look beyond its boundaries.

The oligarchy at Hull however, did not have a complete political monopoly. As a port and a garrison, town Hull was subject to the influence of the Crown, although after 1782 revenue offices were disfranchised. Of more significance was the large freeman electorate, the right to vote being mainly acquired by patrimony and apprenticeship,

as at Exeter and York, for example. The numbers of enrolled freemen rose as elections approached, but the Corporation frequently tried to control this. Not all those enfranchised lived in Hull, and there was a considerable out-voting element in the surrounding counties of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, and in London. Others were at sea during election time. Analysis of the poll books for 1774, 1780 and 1784 shows that outvoters accounted for between 25% and 30% of the total votes cast. Thus they needed to be conciliated as the hustings drew near. Supporters of David Hartley in 1774, and Walter Spencer Stanhope in 1784, sought out London voters, as did William Wilberforce in 1780 and 1784. Hartley and Wilberforce are also recorded as canvassing in Yorkshire generally. In the 1820's Daniel Sykes tried to resolve the plight of freemen away on long whaling expeditions to Greenland, and also those unfortunates nearer home who were freeholders of the county of Hull, but could vote neither for the town, nor for the county of York.

Contested elections were welcomed by the freemen and formed a vigorous, if unedifying, aspect of the political life of the town. Such elections were expensive and the political correspondence of the time contains many references to the payment of polling money together with other expenses, such as transporting the more accessible outvoters, drink in large quantities, handbills and stationery, and the employment of runners. In 1780 and 1784 Wilberforce was said to have spent £8,000 and £5,000 respectively; this was not all, regular subscriptions to local charities, clubs, and racing plates helped maintain popularity. The fashionable races and assemblies at York inflated expenses there far beyond those at Hull.

Some contemporaries saw all this as corruption, and petitioned against the return of over-generous members - 13 against Hull M.Ps., but only five at York - jealousy rather than a thirst for political purity may have been the motive. From the correspondence it would seem that many people at Hull accepted such expenses as a fact of political life, and freemen often voted according to what they received rather than any deep-seated political convictions. In general national issues did not always deeply stir the majority of the townsmen, and party differences meant little until the early nineteenth century. In the 1830s political radicalism attracted the interest of many, and the old oligarchy was in retreat. It had

never had complete political control, and few mourned its passing.

There is little direct evidence of abstract political thought in Hull during the period under consideration, but the practical implications of national trends are there. Cautious resistance to royal interference in municipal affairs runs through the events of the last two decades of the seventeenth century. The emerging balance between Crown, magnates and legislature, giving the country political security, was evident at Hull, as elsewhere. Whig members of parliament proliferated, and competed against each other, in the first seven decades of the eighteenth century, with only hints of Tory opposition in the mid 1750's. After 1784 the power of Whig magnates was challenged. Wilberforce stood against the influence of Wentworth Woodhouse, but he would never have described himself as a Tory. Thereafter, government supporters stood against long established Whig interests, and were often returned. Hints of party polarisation were there. A Tory party, not the Tory party, was in process of being re-born; a liberal element of the Whig party emerged, and, after a false dawn in 1818-19, a radical grouping took shape in the 1830s, under the overbearing influence of James Acland.

Naturally elections and political crises caused considerable local excitement, and were the occasion of most of the correspondence in this study. In the late 1670s and early 1680s, before his fall from grace, Monmouth directly interfered in the electoral politics of the town, making use of his office of High Steward. However the Corporation resisted or conceded as situations changed, or as it suited their interests. The bench learned its first lessons in dealing with arbitrary royal power. Between 1683 and 1685 Charles II and James II attempted to bring Hull, and other corporations, to heel by revoking and revising their charters, and, as with Monmouth, applying pressure to return pliant Court members. After a struggle, which, incidently, produced a vast amount of documentation probably unrivalled elsewhere, Hull received what it considered an acceptable charter, and managed to circumvent royal nominees in elections. The lessons of the 1670s had been learned, although Norwich experienced far more troubles.

The landing of William of Orange at Brixham may have caused a flurry of excitement at Exeter, but far-away Hull was not without

incident. The Catholic governor, Lord Langdale, intended to implement plans to frustrate a possible landing in the Humber, and forestall the advance of Danby's forces. However he was arrested in a colourful coup d'etat by his Protestant deputy, Lionel Copley. The Glorious Revolution and the Hanoverian Succession were well received at Hull and there were only two contested elections between 1690 and 1722. From then until 1768 there were five contested elections. Whig candidates were returned at most of these contests, a manifestation of the political security of the town. Unfortunately correspondence concerning most of these elections is thin, with only small numbers of letters in the Houghton (Cholmondley), Newby Hall and Sykes papers. Similarly newspaper reports are slim: York, Leeds and London journals have to be used as the Hull Courant does not survive for these years.

From 1760 the second Marquis of Rockingham, one of the most important magnates in the north of England, built up considerable political influence in Yorkshire, and became High Steward of Hull in 1766. On his death his estates and influence were inherited by his nephew, the Earl Fitzwilliam, who also was made High Steward in 1801. The family papers from Wentworth Woodhouse and Milton House, Northamptonshire, are particularly rich in correspondence relating to elections in Hull, Beverley, Malton and other Yorkshire boroughs between 1766 and 1820. It is a pity that little has survived of the papers of Rockingham's great friend, Sir George Savile, a much respected Yorkshire M.P. Rockingham and Savile used their influence to return William Weddell in 1768 and David Hartley in 1774 and 1782, neither of whom proved popular at Hull. The marquis was never really keen on Hartley, and did not admit him to his inner circle of political acquaintances. In spite of this, Hartley was a man of some independent means, and possessed the courage of his convictions. His papers shed much light on the details of elections between 1774 and 1784. A general election was rumoured in 1782, and Hartley carefully canvassed local support, and even considered standing for Beverley. Earl Fitzwilliam persisted with the Rockingham interest, and put his electoral weight behind the Earl of Burford in 1790, William Denison in 1806, and James Graham in 1818.

Opposition to the Wentworth interest took various forms. Lord Robert Manners was a government supporter from as far back as 1747. Outsiders like Captain Thomas Lee, R.N., and Thomas Shirley, unsuccessfully contested the elections of 1768 and 1774 respectively. Serious opposition came in 1780 when William Wilberforce was returned as an independent member. From a wealthy local family, he would not have described himself a Tory, but his friendship with the younger William Pitt set him apart from the Whig magnates. The seeds of a Tory 'renaissance' in Hull, as elsewhere, had been planted in the early 1780's. Other independent or government candidates followed. Walter Spencer Stanhope was returned after Wilberforce opted for the county in 1784, he withdrew in 1790 and was defeated in 1796. His career at Hull was not a success,but he left by far the best records of a Hull member in the period under consideration. The wealthy and influential Samuel Thornton, returned in 1784, 1790, 1796 and 1802 would certainly have described himself as independent, and so might John Staniforth in 1802, 1806, 1807 and 1812. But John Mitchell in 1818 and 1820,and Augustus O'Neill accepted the Tory label.

By 1826 the Wentworth interest had ended. Fitzwilliam was ailing, and his son, Lord Milton, had aspirations elsewhere. The Whigs could now stand on their own feet without the backing of a great house. They produced two men of average ability: George Schonswar and William Battie Wrightson in 1830 and 1831, and three others of ability and industry: Daniel Sykes in 1820 and 1826, Matthew Davenport Hill in 1832, and William Hutt in 1832 and 1835. Finally in 1835,a radical, Colonel T. Perronet Thompson was returned, a man of great respectability, but a far cry from the thinking of Lord Fitzwilliam. By the 1830's the Corporation was Tory by inclination and fear of the Whigs, but the party produced candidates rather than elected members. Thomas Burke was beaten into third place in 1830, Humphrey St. John Mildmay in June 1835. David Carruthers suffered a similar fate in 1832, but was successfully returned in Janury 1835, only to die five months later.

After the election of Sir Charles Turner in 1796 - the triumph of the Third Man - Hull freemen were increasingly zealous for a contest, as this would be to their benefit no matter who came top

of the poll. Of the eleven subsequent elections within the range of this study, nine were contested. In many of these cases election literature survives, which together with newspaper accounts, provides a detailed impression of the happeneings during the run-up to the hustings. Excited letters from prominent supporters further convey the tension, especially the well-documented election of 1818.

Whether ultimately contested or not, electioneering became more intense in the second half of the eighteenth century, and some form of local organization began to develop. Naturally the Whigs took the lead. The Rockingham-Fitzwilliam interest was cultivated at election time by various people of different social backgrounds. These ranged from the Reverend Richard Sykes, rector of Foxholes, J.P., and an accepted member of the East Riding gentry, to William Hammond, prosperous merchant, warden of Trinity House, and father of the first British ambassador to the United States, and to Tom Scatcherd, grocer and solid Yorkshireman par excellence. These men headed ad hoc committees which died away after elections, only to be revived when the next one loomed. After 1780 the 'independent' candidates followed suit. It is not clear who ran the campaigns of William Wilberforce, but his local origins did much to facilitate his progress. Walter Spencer-Stanhope made use of the able attorney James Smith. The wealthy Thorntons could afford to employ men of intelligence,with a shrewd knowledge of the town. In the early 1830's matters began to change. The terms 'Whig' and 'Tory' began to take on different meanings, and a clearer division between the two emerged. At Hull the Society of Liberals was established as a semi-permanent organization, and suggested a shift of emphasis from the days of the great Whig magnificoes. The Tories had a less consistent history, but by 1835 they too had their own Conservative Society, again an indication of change. The radical political flower bloomed with the over-colourful James Acland, and became almost respectable, with Colonel T. Perronet Thompson. Radicals too, had an organization, albeit shorter lived. The local press became more partisan: the Hull Rockingham for the Liberals, the Hull Packet for the Conservatives, and the Hull Portfolio, and other ephemeral journals, for the radicals. Hull was not alone in this development, as studies of Exeter, Bristol and Leicester have shown.

In spite of all the electoral activities, the quality of Hull representatives was revealed in the metropolis. Barrels of ale and gold pieces sweetened the lordly High Stewards in their negotiations in Whitehall and St. James's, but the members at Westminster were judged on their efforts in the Commons and its committee rooms. William Ramsden was the last M.P. to be paid for his efforts, but indolence was one of the keys to electoral defeat. Hull probably considered itself best served when one of the members came from the Yorkshire or Lincolnshire gentry, preferably with connections with the government of the day, and the other was a local merchant. This was however, by no means the rule, and two London bankers and men of commerce - Samuel Thornton and David Carruthers - also sat for the borough. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, when provincial newspapers were few, members were expected to keep their constituents fully informed of events at the centre of government. A steady flow of letters from Gilby, Warton, the Ramsdens, Osborne, St. Quintin and William Maister told of the Popish Plot, the Exclusion Crisis, Monmouth's rebellion, and problems of the reigns of William III, Anne and George I. York's representatives, for example, are known to have fulfilled a similar duty.

Until the 1760's the M.Ps. duly cast their votes in the Commons, and served on a number of committees, but they are recorded as saying very little. Indeed the popular Lord Robert Manners sat for over thirty years without apparently ever opening his mouth officially. Once Richard Crowle seems to have misbehaved, and was forced to apologise to the house on his knees. Political letters are few in the period 1715 to 1767, although of course, some may have been mislaid by incompetent town clerks at Hull. But the members in those years - George Crowle, Micklethwaite, Carter, Henry Maister, Metham, Pulteney and Weddell - were not men of distinction. All were Whigs, but Richard Crowle was described as a Tory. With the advent of Lords Rockingham and Fitzwilliam, men of greater stature were returned to Westminster, although they were not always popular with their constituents. Hartley, Wilberforce, Thornton, Stanhope and Staniforth served the town well and many of their papers survive. As was to be expected, there were also lesser men, such as Burford, Turner, Denys and Mitchell who did little. From 1820 onwards the

town was served by three exceptionally hardworking members. Daniel Sykes wore himself out in the service of Hull, and more than deserved his statue in the Guildhall; Hill and Hutt were very active in the early 1830's - the years of reform - although they were virtually disavowed by the Tory Corporation. The period under consideration closed with the election of the radical T. Perronet Thompson, hardly a favourite of the unreformed bench. But by this time radicals were being returned by several northern constituencies.

The activities of M.Ps., as well as elections, divided Hull people, but the threat of a foreign invasion or trouble in the colonies did not fully unite them. The Jacobite risings of 1715 and 1745 caused a flurry of military activity in Hull, as elsewhere in the north, but in the case of the '45, there was some recrimination over the state of the defences of the town. The support of David Hartley for the American colonists in the mid-1770s exacerbated differences between the corporate bodies, and influential merchants supporting Rockingham. Addresses supporting the position of Lord North's government were despatched, and aldermen such as Etherington and Broadley attempted to win personal aggrandizement from the affair. Hull was not alone in this: there were similar divisions of opinion in Leeds, Nottingham and Birmingham, for example. Hartley's letters of 1778 produced another altercation, but this time Hull was on its own. The appearance of the American privateer John Paul Jones, and the engagement off Flamborough Head emphasised the inadequate state of the town's defences; east coast neighbours, Newcastle on Tyne and Great Yarmouth were also concerned, as was Southampton, which expected a French invasion. Political differences again arose at Hull, as Lord Rockingham offered to supply cannon at his own expense, whereas North's government was the obvious source, in spite of the muddle of responsibilities. Perhaps this was the marquis's revenge for the town's loyalty to the government in 1774-5. The Bench was embarrassed, but Rockingham did not get his way, and hotly denied that he and Edmund Burke had been chased from the town. Naturally his supporters rallied to his defence, and the whole Jones affair occasioned the flow of much ink.

The outbreak of war with Revolutionary France and the danger of a French invasion, again emphasised the vulnerability of the Humber and the Yorkshire coast, and this probably played a part in helping to discourage support for the radical societies which

sprang up in Britain in the 1790's. The prompt repressive actions of the Corporation suggest that the rumours of radical activities in Hull may have had some substance,and it is possible that there was briefly a Corresponding Society in 1799. But unlike Leeds, Bradford, Leicester, Derby and numerous other places,there was no organization which lasted long. The repressive actions of Liverpool's Tory government, especially in the north of England, brought protests to the columns of local newspapers. However the real birth of radicalism in Hull came in 1818 with the establishment of the Political Protestants. In Hull at least,they were harmless and short lived, but, like the Corresponding Societies which emanated from London, they spread over much of the industrial north. Perhaps more important in stirring the conscience of the more respectable Hull liberals was the dismissal of the Earl Fitzwilliam from the Lord Lieutenancy of the West Riding for attacking the events at Peterloo. Thereafter in the 1820s, Hull liberals sent addresses and petitions to parliament, but radicalism had no hold.

The first five years of the 1830's brought a disturbing excitement to Hull which had not been seen since the mid 1680's. Party political organizations in the town began to crystallize, mainly over the passage and implimentation of the 1832 Reform Act, as in other plans such as Exeter and Leicester. To make matters worse at Hull, the activities of the radical James Acland, freshly arrived from Bristol, added swingeing attacks on most forms of corporate government to the issue of parliamentary reform. There was not the violence of Nottingham or Derby, but Acland was a considerable nuisance to the authorities at Hull. In the end the reform of the franchise in Hull, as elsewhere, was achieved, but on the banks of the Humber it was a triumph of principle rather than an extensive augmentation of the electorate. Acland, however, pressed too hard, alienated much of his original support, and vanished almost as abruptly as he had first appeared.

Nevertheless he had a chastening effect on Hull radicals. Cooller, more moderate heads carried on the campaign for municipal reform, and after the passing of the act ultimately benefitted from it. The Whig Revolution, it has been said, was thus complete; an era had come to an end. The outgoing bench, as heirs of the burgesses of 1688 were not pleased: in the Market Place the gilded William III, 'our Great Deliverer', remains silent.

APPENDIX I

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT FOR KINGSTON-UPON-HULL, 1661-1835

(The dates are the final declaration of the results of the elections)

1 April 1661	ANTHONY GILBY	294
	ANDREW MARVELL	240
	Edward Barnard	195
	John Ramsden	122
25 November 1678	WILLIAM RAMSDEN *vice* Marvell, deceased	
24 February 1679	LEMUEL KINGDON	
	WILLIAM RAMSDEN	
	William Gee	
1 September 1679	SIR MICHAEL WARTON	
	WILLIAM GEE	
14 February 1681	SIR MICHAEL WARTON	
	WILLIAM GEE	
16 March 1685	JOHN RAMSDEN	460
	SIR WILLOUGHBY HICKMAN, Bt.	422
	William Gee	127
	Sir Michael Warton	32
10 January 1689	WILLIAM GEE	
	JOHN RAMSDEN	
13 March 1690	JOHN RAMSDEN	
	CHARLES OSBORNE	
23 October 1695	CHARLES OSBORNE	
	WILLIAM ST. QUINTIN	
25 July 1698	SIR WILLIAM ST. QUINTIN, Bt.	
	CHARLES OSBORNE	
11 January 1701	SIR WILLIAM ST. QUINTIN, Bt.	
	WILLIAM MAISTER	
3 December 1701	SIR WILLIAM ST. QUINTIN, Bt.	
	WILLIAM MAISTER	
25 July 1702	SIR WILLIAM ST. QUINTIN, Bt.	
	WILLIAM MAISTER	
19 May 1705	SIR WILLIAM ST. QUINTIN, Bt.	
	WILLIAM MAISTER	
15 May 1708	SIR WILLIAM ST. QUINTIN, Bt.	
	WILLIAM MAISTER	

14 October 1710	SIR WILLIAM ST. QUINTIN, Bt. WILLIAM MAISTER	
5 September 1713	SIR WILLIAM ST. QUINTIN, Bt. WILLIAM MAISTER	
2 February 1715	SIR WILLIAM ST. QUINTIN, Bt. WILLIAM MAISTER	
13 March 1717	NATHANIEL ROGERS, vice Maister deceased	
11 July 1720	SIR WILLIAM ST. QUINTIN, Bt. re-elected after appointment to government office. (Vice-Treasurer and Receiver-General of the Revenues of Ireland.)	
31 March 1722	NATHANIEL ROGERS SIR WILLIAM ST. QUINTIN, Bt. George Crowle	733 448 420
23 January 1724	GEORGE CROWLE (vice St. Quintin deceased) Sir Henry Hoghton	419 299
23 August 1727	JOSEPH (Viscount, I) MICKLETHWAITE GEORGE CROWLE Matthew Chitty St. Quintin	719 717 167
7 March 1733	GEORGE CROWLE, re-elected after appointment to government office (Commissioner for Victualling the Navy)	
6 February 1734	HENRY MAISTER, vice Micklethwaite deceased.	
1 May 1734	GEORGE CROWLE HENRY MAISTER Robert Thornton	389 384 7
17 May 1738	GEORGE CROWLE, re-elected after appointment to government office (Commissioner of the Navy)	
7 May 1741	GEORGE CROWLE WILLIAM CARTER	
2 May 1744	HARRY PULTENEY, vice Carter deceased	
29 June 1747	LORD ROBERT MANNERS THOMAS CARTER Richard Crowle	594 559 353
18 April 1754	RICHARD CROWLE LORD ROBERT MANNERS Henry Maister	720 493 397
5 July 1757	SIR GEORGE MONTGOMERY METHAM, vice Crowle deceased	

27 March 1761	LORD ROBERT MANNERS	
	SIR GEORGE MONTGOMERY METHAM	
15 March 1766	WILLIAM WEDDELL, vice Metham deceased	
17 March 1768	WILLIAM WEDDELL	774
	LORD ROBERT MANNERS	545
	Thomas Lee	308
12 October 1774	LORD ROBERT MANNERS	1065
	DAVID HARTLEY	646
	Thomas Shirley	581
11 September 1780	WILLIAM WILBERFORCE	1126
	LORD ROBERT MANNERS	673
	David Hartley	453
6 June 1782	DAVID HARTLEY, vice Manners deceased	
31 March 1784	WILLIAM WILBERFORCE	867
	SAMUEL THORNTON	751
	David Hartley	337
14 June 1784	WALTER SPENCER STANHOPE, vice Wilberforce who chose to sit for Yorkshire	
	SAMUEL THORNTON	
21 June 1790	AUBREY BEAUCLERK, EARL OF BURFORD	
	SAMUEL THORNTON	
27 May 1796	SIR CHARLES TURNER, Bt.	886
	SAMUEL THORNTON	733
	Walter Spencer Stanhope	715
6 July 1802	SAMUEL THORNTON	1266
	JOHN STANIFORTH	1183
	William Joseph Denison	767
	William Bell	3
31 October 1806	JOHN STANIFORTH	1133
	WILLIAM JOSEPH DENISON	1062
	Samuel Thornton	733
5 May 1807	PHILIP HENRY STANHOPE, VISCOUNT MAHON	
	JOHN STANIFORTH	
6 October 1812	JOHN STANIFORTH	1446
	GEORGE WILLIAM DENYS	905
	Viscount Mahon	364

		Poll	Scrutiny
14 July 1818	JOHN MITCHELL	1324	1155
	JAMES ROBERT GEORGE GRAHAM	1074	931
	John Staniforth	1036	927

7 March 1820	JOHN MITCHELL	
	DANIEL SYKES	
10 June 1826	AUGUSTUS JOHN O'NEILL	1537
	DANIEL SYKES	1138
	Charles Pelham Villiers	1055
30 July 1830	GEORGE SCHONSWAR	1564
	WILLIAM BATTIE WRIGHTSON	1213
	Thomas Gisborne Burke	869
28 April 1831	GEORGE SCHONSWAR	
	WILLIAM BATTIE WRIGHTSON	
13 December 1832	MATTHEW DAVENPORT HILL	1674
	WILLIAM HUTT	1610
	David Carruthers	1429
	James Acland	433
8 January 1835	DAVID CARRUTHERS	1836
	WILLIAM HUTT	1536
	Matthew Davenport Hill	1371
20 June 1835	THOMAS PERRONET THOMPSON	1428
	Humphrey St John Mildmay	1423

Sources:-

History of Parliament 1660-90, i, 475; 1715-54, i, 359; 1754-90, i, 435; 1790-1820 (typescript), passim.

Return of Names of Members Returned to Servce in the Lower House of the Parliament of England, Scotland and Ireland 1213-1874. lxii (1878), passim.

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APPENDIX II

The Elections of 1774, 1780 and 1784

A detailed comparison of the poll books for the above elections was carried out on the computer of Hull University under the supervision of Professor W.A. Speck. The author thanks him for his time and expertise, and alone bears full responsibility for the results expressed below.

1. Continuity of voting between the elections

A substantial number of freemen voted in all three elections: 411 in 1774 (out of 1190) and 1780 (out of 1180); 270 in 1774 and 1784 (out of 982), and 391 in 1780 and 1784. As percentages of the total votes cast the figures are: 34.5% and 34.8%; 22.7% and 27.4%, and finally 33.1% and 39.8%. Thus there was a measure of continuity of voting of between one quarter and one third.

Plumping was never a serious factor in these elections, but numerically the top four splitters in each pair of elections show significant changes:

120	who voted	Manners-Shirley	in	1774,	voted	Manners-Wilberforce	in	1780
76	" "	Manners-Hartley	"	"	"	Hartley-Wilberforce	"	"
75	" "	Manners-Hartley	"	"	"	Manners-Wilberforce	"	"
47	" "	Manners-Shirley	"	"	"	Hartley-Wilberforce	"	"

79	who voted	Manners-Shirley	in	1774,	voted	Wilberforce-Thornton	in	1784
53	" "	Manners-Hartley	"	"	"	Wilberforce-Thornton	"	"
35	" "	Manners-Hartley	"	"	"	Wilberforce-Hartley	"	"
22	" "	Manners-Shirley	"	"	"	Wilberforce-Hartley	"	"

149	who voted	Manners-Wilberforce	in	1780,	voted	Wilberforce-Thornton	in	1784
61	" "	Hartley-Wilberforce	"	"	"	Wilberforce-Hartley	"	"
53	" "	Hartley-Wilberforce	"	"	"	Wilberforce-Thornton	"	"
25	" "	Hartley-Wilberforce	"	"	"	Thornton-Hartley	"	"

Clearly the government supporter, Lord Robert Manners, so popular in 1774, was replaced by William Wilberforce, the local man in 1780 and 1784. Other candidates trailed on all occasions. This does not suggest the emergency of party, but the traditional Hull pattern of supporting the man whom the electors thought could do most for the town.

2. 'Out-voter' support

Outvoters technically lived beyond the bounds of Hull, which for electoral purposes, included Drypool and Sculcoates. In general they lived in the adjacent counties or in London. Numerically they were as follows:-

1774 278 out of 1190 - 23.3%
1780 376 out of 1180 - 31.9%
1784 205 out of 982 - 20.9%

Clearly they were a significant group of just below a quarter to just below a third of the electorate, and they could not be ignored. Plumping was of minor importance but Manners and Wilberforce were aware of the significance of outvoters and acted accordingly. In 1774 Manners and Hartley secured 43.6% of their votes, Manners and Shirley 41.5%; in 1780 Manners and Wilberforce received 56.6%, and Hartley and Wilberforce 33.5%. Finally in 1784 Wilberforce and Thornton had the remarkable 72.8%, with Wilberforce and Hartley getting 10.7%, and Thornton and Hartley 10.2%.

3. Social classification and Voting

Social classification of voters in these elections is arbitrary, and J.A. Phillips has made an attempt, with regard to other places and other elections. (Phillips op.cit. 195, 321-2). Plumping at Hull generally was low, with 52 and 30 voting for Manners and Hartley in 1774, 83 for Wilberforce in 1780, and 31 for Wilberforce and 25 for Thornton in 1784. The only important 'block vote' being the 37 for Manners in 1774 described loosely as 'professional'. As before, however split-voting is of more importance. Electors concerned with the sea are numerically the most significant in all three elections. In 1774 the largest block votes were sea-orientated, voting Manners-Shirley 139, and Manners-Hartley 133; in 1780 the figures were Manners-Wilberforce 151, Hartley-Wilberforce 102, and in 1784 Wilberforce-Thornton 176, Wilberforce-Hartley 40, and Hartley-Thornton 50. The building trade is numerically next, but follows the same pattern: 1774 Manners-Shirley 31, Manners-Hartley 57; 1780 Manners-Wilberforce 76, Hartley-Wilberforce 35; and 1784 Wilberforce-Thornton 70, Wilberforce-Hartley 22. Once more the government suppporter and the wealthy local man are in front.

4. Excise Officers

Excise officers were disfranchised in 1782 but their overall voting pattern confirms the above trend. 35 out of 44 officers plumped for Manners in 1774, seven split for Manners and Shirley and two for Manners and Hartley. In 1780 out of 46, 44 split between Manners and Wilberforce,and two plumped for Manners. Of the 19 officers who voted in both elections the position is the same: in 1774 15 voted for Manners and four for Manners and Shirley; in 1780 a similar number for Manners and Wilberforce, and for Manners.

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