WHITEHAVEN 1688-98

English Provincial Society in Wartime

by

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FIGURES

To the best of my knowledge this thesis contains no material which has been previously accepted for the award of a degree at another university and contains no previously published material except that to which due acknowledgment is made.

SUMMARY

This thesis is largely based on the Lowther Estate Correspondence 1688-98, a series of letters between Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven who lived in London and his stewards at Whitehaven. It deals with the growth of the port of Whitehaven in the 1690s. During this time the town itself, its population and its trade expanded and laid the foundations of Whitehaven's growth into a major port in the eighteenth century. This period of growth coincided with England's involvement in a major continental war with Louis XIV and the thesis examines some of the effects of this war on the town. Whitehaven was directly affected because between 1688-91 the war was fought in Ireland as well as in Europe. This not only affected Whitehaven's trade with Ireland but made the town a source of military intelligence for the government in London. Whitehaven was also affected by the rise in taxation and by the activities of privateers and the press gang. The thesis also examines Whitehaven's links with county society and the working of patronage in the Customs, the Church and at election time. It concludes that the growth of the town was the result of compromise and co-operation between Lowther and his stewards and the townspeople and that while the war caused much short-term hardship to the ordinary people it was not responsible for any permanent hampering of the town's expansion.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to acknowledge a debt of gratitude to several people connected with this thesis, of whom the foremost is my supervisor, Dr D.R. Hainsworth of the Department of History at the University of Adelaide. He was responsible for my undertaking this particular field of study and I have benefited much from his wide knowledge of the subject. I am grateful for his detection of errors which might otherwise have passed unnoticed and for his suggestions, not least for assisting in the rewording of several phrases into more felicitous expressions. Dr Hainsworth is currently preparing part of the Lowther correspondence for publication and I am happy to have played a small part in the work.

I would also like to thank the University of Adelaide for providing, by means of a scholarship and a travel grant, the money to undertake this thesis. In this way I was able to travel to England to study documents both in the Cumbria County Records Office in Carlisle and in the Public Record Office in London. My thanks is due to the staff of these institutions, in particular to the archivist at Carlisle, Mr Bruce Jones and his assistant, Mr Jeremy Godwin. As with all users of the Lowther papers I am indebted to the Earl of Lonsdale for loaning them to the archives and allowing access to them. I am also grateful to the people with whom I stayed while in England.

Thanks are also due to the staff of the Barr Smith Library and to Mr Denholm of the Department of History who read through the manuscript. Especial thanks are due to my mother for the typing of the manuscript in spite of having many other commitments.

ABBREVIATIONS USED

C.C.R.O.	Cumbria County Record Office
CSPDom	Calendar of State Papers Domestic
CTB	Calendar of Treasury Books
C.W.A.A.S.	(Journal of) Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaelogical Society
D.N.B.	Dictionary of National Biography
E.H.R.	English Historical Review
Flemings in Oxford	J.R. Magrath, ed. The Flemings in Oxford 3 vols Oxford 1904, 1913, 1924
Fleming Papers	Microfilm of the original documents which are in the Kendal Record Office.
H.M.C.	Historical Manuscripts Commission. I have used short titles for all volumes cited, eg. H.M.C. Fleming - Le Fleming MSS. 12th Report Appendix part VII. See Bibliography for others.
J.M.H.	Journal of Modern History
O.E.D.	Oxford English Dictionary
P.R.O.	Public Record Office
V.C.H.	Victoria County History (Victoria History of the County of Cumberland ed. J. Wilson 2 vols London 1905)

The majority of quotations come from the Lowther Papers, for details of which see the Bibliography. The dates are old style but I have taken the year as beginning in January. Abbreviations, usually initials have been used for the main correspondents, eg. Sir J - Sir John Lowther, JG - John Gale, WG - William Gilpin, TT - Thomas Tickell, Sir J.L./Ld L - Sir John Lowther of Lowther, later Lord Lonsdale. Thus a typical footnote reads Sir J to Ld L 1699 Nov.16. Unless otherwise mentioned the stewards are always writing to Lowther.

INTRODUCTION

> "In the year 1561 ... there were no Houses at Whitehaven but Six; No Shipping but one Small Pickard of Eight or Nine Ton ... No Mariners but Fishermen. Nothing exported but Herring and Cod Fish. Nothing imported but Salt. Sir John Lowthers Ancestors were the first that sett themselves to introduce a Trade by Sea in that County; And by building a Peer and Some Ships at Whitehaven they made Some Advances towards it."[1]

> [Whitehaven] "is now the most eminent port in England for shipping off coals, except Newcastle and Sunderland, and even beyond the last, for they wholly supply the city of Dublin, and all the towns of Ireland on that coast; and 'tis frequent in time of war, or upon the ordinary occasion of cross winds, to have two hundred sail of ships at a time go from this place for Dublin, loaden with coals."[2]

Whitehaven is a port on the Cumbrian coast in the north west of England. This thesis examines some of the factors which contributed to the dramatic change which had taken place in the town between the end of the sixteenth century and the early eighteenth century as is illustrated by these descriptions. Although the growth of a town is often gradual, planned towns, such as Whitehaven was, tend to expand more rapidly at particular times. The 1690s were such a period at Whitehaven. It was during this time that the harbour was improved, various public buildings were erected and Whitehaven's trade to the American colonies and to the Baltic expanded, at the same time as attempts were made to establish new industries in the town.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century Whitehaven did not seem of any more importance than the neighbouring coastal inlets. It lacked the advantages of a deep natural harbour or good communications by land for the transporting of goods, nor did it possess a prosperous community searching for methods of investing their wealth. Why, then, did Whitehaven rise from obscurity to a position where it challenged some

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1. D/Lons/W Whitehaven Various, 13 (cited hereafter as W. Various)
2. Daniel Defoe, A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain (London 1974 ed.) p.273 The comment dates from c. 1724

of the largest ports in the country? There is no single answer to this question: the foresight of the Lowthers, and in particular, Sir John Lowther (1642-1706), the presence of coal and the proximity of the Dublin market, the enterprise of the townspeople, all played their part in Whitehaven's development. All of these factors are important and cannot be isolated one from the other.

Sir John Lowther of Lowther (1582-1637) grandfather to Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven (1642-1706), acquired Whitehaven as part of the manor of St Bees in the 1630s, partly from the Irish Lowthers and partly from the Wyberghs, by a combination of purchase and mortgage, as an estate for his younger son, Christopher (1611-1644).[3] From the beginning the Lowthers took an interest in developing the harbour and encouraging the growth of the town. The planning of the town itself was largely the work of Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven, although he was rarely there to supervise its development himself because he spent much of his life in London. Thus for the day to day duties connected with the town's growth he relied upon the co-operation of his stewards and that of the townspeople, both of whom therefore had more influence on events than if Lowther had been resident. While many absentee landlords neglected their estates, Lowther took a keen interest in everything pertaining to the town and no major projects were undertaken without his approval. In spite of this it is unlikely that Whitehaven could have developed as it did without the presence of substantial coal deposits in the immediate vicinity. Coal proved the basis for a steady trade which attracted ships masters to settle in Whitehaven and made work for seamen, miners and leaders.[4] The Lowthers

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3. For the Lowther family see the family tree

4. The Whitehaven coal industry has been studied by W.H. Makey, "The Place of Whitehaven in the Irish Coal Trade 1600-1750" (unpublished M.A. thesis 1952) Leaders took coal from the pits to the harbour by pack horse.

pursued a consistent policy of purchasing or leasing as many collieries as possible but as their interests in shipping were minor they remained dependent on the co-operation of the masters for the shipment of coal. This co-operation was essential not only for the coal trade but for other foreign trade and the general growth of the town. The Whitehaven masters showed themselves to be willing to venture to new markets and seem to have reinvested much of their profit in trade. Many of them built houses in the town and took an interest in other ventures there. However, it is a mistake to assume that they were subservient to Lowther's wishes or that he could ignore their opinions. They demanded and obtained a say in both the regulation of the harbour and the choosing of a new minister for the town, as well as in some less important matters, and in certain instances, as this thesis shows, Lowther was forced to give way in the face of determined opposition from the townspeople.

The 1690s are not only an important time in Whitehaven's growth but they also provide the opportunity to examine the effects of war upon a provincial community. The Glorious Revolution did not lead merely to a change in the domestic policy of England, but it meant that the country was inevitably drawn into a costly land and sea war with France, which began in 1689 and continued until 1697. Wars are usually studied for their national or international effects and it is often difficult to determine how they affected local communities in the past. For Whitehaven, however, the Lowther correspondence provides sufficient evidence to be able to demonstrate some of the effects. Since most of the war was fought in Europe it appears unlikely that it could have had much effect on Whitehaven until it is remembered that Ireland was in a state of war from 1689-91. This disrupted the coal trade, especially as the

Navy decided to hire Whitehaven ships to transport troops to and from Ireland. It also led to a sudden influx of Protestant refugees. But even after the war in Ireland was over, Whitehaven's trade continued to be affected by the naval war: by occasional embargoes, by the frequent pressing of seamen, and especially by attacks by French and Irish privateers. The war also touched those people who had no direct connection with trade for the cost of maintaining the war effort was too high for the government to fund from ordinary revenue and special taxes and excises were introduced. The burden of this taxation was felt more acutely not only because of its novelty but because it coincided with the recoinage of 1696. This led to a shortage of coin for over a year and caused much hardship among the townspeople. Thus national policy impinged upon the everyday life of the community.

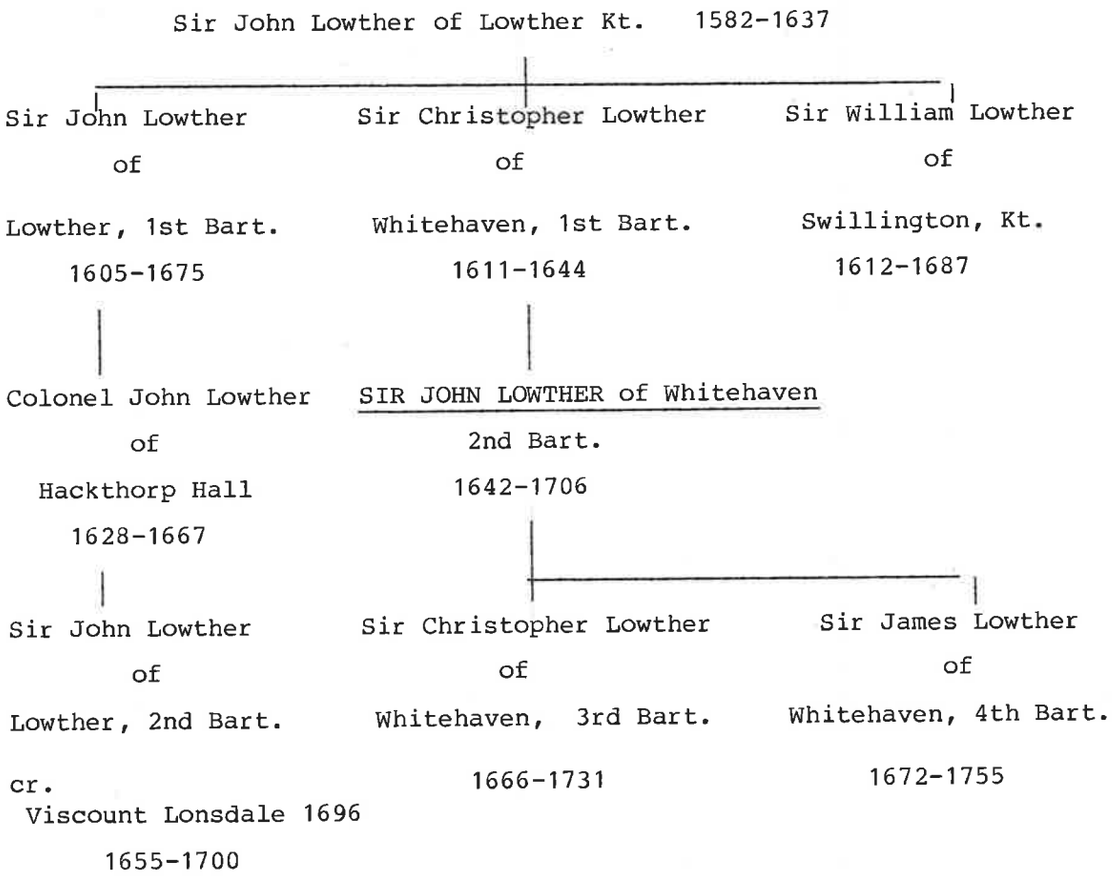
This thesis also attempts to place Whitehaven in the county community. Cumberland and Westmorland form a unit because many families, apart from the Lowthers, owned property or had connections in both counties. These links were reinforced by business and family relationships. Such connections were particularly important at election time. Sir John Lowther was one of the members of Parliament for the county throughout the decade and his younger son, James was elected for the borough of Carlisle in 1694. Lowther's position as lord of the manor and a Commissioner for the Admiralty from 1689-95 gave the townspeople a source of patronage and some influence in London. His influence as a patron is demonstrated particularly in the filling of places in the Customs and the Church.

This thesis therefore examines life at Whitehaven in the decade between

the Glorious Revolution and the end of the war and Lowther's return to the town in 1698. It attempts to assess the importance of Lowther's influence upon the town at this time and to place the town in the context of the county community. This is possible because of the survival of the Lowther estate correspondence; a series of detailed letters between Sir John Lowther in London and his stewards at Whitehaven. The estate correspondence dates from 1666 until 1698 when Lowther returned to Whitehaven and increasingly bad health prevented his return to London. With his return the correspondence with his stewards ceased and other surviving correspondence does not provide similar detail about the town. Although the estate correspondence does not cover every aspect of life at Whitehaven, because of the diversity of Lowther's interests, it provides a more rounded picture than had it been solely concerned with landed estates. The thesis is divided into two parts. The first looks at the town of Whitehaven, its growth, its connections with the county and the operation of patronage. The second part deals with the war and its effects upon the community and in particular on Whitehaven's trade. This enables some conclusions to be drawn about how the war affected not only Whitehaven but other ports on the north-west coast of England.

THE LOWTHERS

A Simplified Family Tree



Neither Christopher nor James Lowther left any heirs and their sister, Jane 1667-1731 never married. Thus the Whitehaven Lowthers became extinct in 1755. None of Lord Lonsdale's three sons left any heirs, and so the Lonsdale title, raised to an earldom, and James Lowther's fortune, passed to Sir James Lowther of Mauds Meaburn, who became the first Earl of Lonsdale.

THE LOWTHERS AND COUNTY SOCIETY

Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven was the eldest child and only son of Sir Christopher Lowther of Whitehaven and his wife, Frances Lancaster. He was born in 1642 and succeeded his father in 1644 when he inherited the manor of St Bees and property in Westmorland. Sir Christopher had been a royalist commander in the Civil War and the St Bees estates were sequestrated, but had been recovered by the Restoration. Although Sir John spent much of his time in London he took a keen interest in his estates and worked at their expansion. In the 1680s and early 1690s he bought land around Whitehaven to consolidate his holdings, encouraged building in the town and tried to establish a number of industries. An Orange Tory, Lowther supported William III in 1688, and in 1689 he was appointed a Commissioner of the Admiralty. He seems to have fulfilled his duties consistently until forced to resign in 1695 as a result of ill health.[1] In 1698 he visited Whitehaven and his increasingly deteriorating health prevented his return to London. In 1700 he decided not to stand for re-election as member for the County of Cumberland, a position which he had held since 1665. Lowther had three children: Christopher, his elder son, who was a gambler and was ultimately disinherited Jane, who lived with her father in London, and James who became a borough member of Parliament in the 1690s and who inherited the estates upon the death of his father in 1706.

Lowther did not visit Whitehaven at all between 1688-98 which meant that his estates were left to the management of his stewards. Although not without faults, on the whole the stewards seem to have safeguarded

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1. John Ehrman, The Navy in the War of William III 1689-97 (Cambridge 1953) p.604. Lowther suffered from gout which affected not only his legs but also his hands, at times making it impossible for him to write.

Lowther's interests and to have been diligent workers.[2] A regular correspondence was conducted between London and Whitehaven and the stewards usually wrote to Lowther once a week and sometimes more frequently.[3] From 1689-98 there were three men responsible for Lowther's estates: Thomas Tickell, his steward since 1666 who died in December 1692, William Gilpin who replaced him in January 1693, and John Gale who was his mine manager throughout the decade. Tickell speaks of himself as having served in the Customs at Newcastle prior to the Civil War and so must have been an elderly man in the 1680s. His letters to Lowther are very detailed and his long experience had given him an intimate knowledge of the people with whom he was dealing. In spite of this he was clearly reluctant to take any major decisions without his master's approval and always fully discussed proposed transactions. Apart from his duties as steward he also served as a Surveyor in the Customs at Whitehaven and as a governor of St Bees' school. He and his wife lived at the Flatt, Lowther's Whitehaven residence after 1675. They had at least five children; a son, Richard, who was a clergyman and four daughters, one married to John Gale junior, one to Ebenezer Gale, one to Richard Jackson, the schoolmaster at St Bees and one to Dr. Thomas Wilson, a clergyman. Tickell's successor, William Gilpin of Scaleby Castle, was both a younger and a better educated man. He was a lawyer and prior to his appointment at Whitehaven, was Steward of Their Majesties' Court upon the Border.[4] At Whitehaven he continued to practice as a lawyer both at the manorial courts and the local

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2. Sir J to Ld L 1699 Nov.16 On his immediate return Lowther complained about the state of his affairs, "Your Advice about Agents is certainly right, less inconvenience happening from Men somewhat inferior to their Imployment than from those above it." However, in general he seems to have been happy with his stewards.

3. See the Bibliography for the extent of, and gaps in the correspondence.

4. WG 1694 June 4

quarter sessions. As well as serving individuals he also represented the town in the later hearings of the Carlisle tolls case.[5] He was married to his cousin, Mary Fletcher of Tallentire, and they had a number of young children. They lived at the Flatt until Lowther's return whereupon the Gilpins returned to Scaleby, although Gilpin continued to visit Whitehaven monthly to transact Lowther's affairs.

John Gale lived in the town and was possibly of a slightly inferior social standing to the other stewards. He wrote that he did not call at the Flatt to consult Tickell or Gilpin but always met them in the town.[6] Gale was involved in trade and held shares in several ships. Like Tickell he owned horses which were used at the ginns for pumping water from the mines. He had a large family and most of his sons went to sea, either in the navy or as merchants.

Whereas the relationship between Tickell and Gale seems to have been amicable, there was antipathy between Gale and Gilpin which often flared into open hostility. In the interval between Tickell's death and Gilpin's arrival in Whitehaven, Gale's eldest son, John, had kept the accounts and it is probable that Gale assumed that his son would succeed to Tickell's place. Gilpin was a stranger both to Whitehaven and to Lowther's affairs and it was natural that he should enquire about the mines as well as the other concerns. Gale seems to have resented any enquiries seeing them as attempts to encroach on his duties, and indeed the first quarrel between the stewards was about whose horses should operate the ginns.[7] However, an even deeper root of discord was the religious affiliations of the two stewards. As a fervent Anglican Gale could scarcely overlook the

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5. For details of this long running case see Appendix A

6. JG 1693 Oct.8

7. The quarrel took place in April-May 1693 and resulted in both stewards losing the contract when Lowther decided that the charges were too high. WG 1693 May 29

fact that although Gilpin himself was an Anglican, his father Richard Gilpin, was one of the most prominent Dissenting ministers in the north. This would not have been so important had it not been for the religious dissentions within the Gale family. John and his brother Ebenezer were staunch Anglicans but their mother and other brother, Elisha were equally staunch Dissenters. Gilpin became involved in their quarrels when Mrs. Gale asked him to draw up her will and the two Anglican brothers suspected that it was in favour of Elisha. Although the breach between the two stewards did not affect the day to day running of the estate, it could lead to delays in important matters such as the choosing of a minister for the new church at Whitehaven, and it meant that when there was a conflict of interest between Lowther and the townspeople he could not rely on his stewards to present a united front. All that Lowther could do in his absence was to urge moderation and lament.

> "There is nothing I do but I desire your joint advice for my direction, and if you communicate as I expect, you wil be helpful to one another but I hear too much from all hands that you do not agree, which is both a trouble and a reflection upon me. ... My affairs will not bear this situation..." 8

The different areas for which the stewards were responsible meant that they could work apart for much of the time. The chief duties of Tickell, and later of Gilpin, were connected with the administration of the estates - the collection of rent and prevention of arrears, keeping the manorial court and issuing leases with Lowther's permission, the purchase of land and the keeping of the accounts. They supervised the construction of buildings in the town, were responsible for making payments and for sending returns to London. They arranged for the freighting of Lowther's share in voyages to Virginia and at election time they consulted

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8. Sir J to JG 1695 July 30. In 1693 he wrote that if the stewards did not co-operate "my affaires wil be as a house divided against it self." Sir J to JG April 21.

Sir John Fletcher, Lowther's partner for the county, and Sir John Lowther of Lowther, Lowther's cousin, about the holding of the poll and "the treat" with which voters were rewarded. Gale's duties centred on the collieries. He was responsible for the working of existing pits and boring for new coal seams. He must have supervised the bankmen who in turn supervised the leaders who took the coal from the pits to the harbour. Gale was assisted in this work by Richard Scott who seems to have been in charge of work below ground. Gale and Scott inspected mines which Lowther wished to purchase and gave estimates of their value. In the late 1690s, together with Anthony Richardson who was manager of the bank at the pithead and estate bailiff, they wrote a series of comments on many of the collieries in the Whitehaven area.[9] Apart from these duties Gale assisted the stewards with other matters, such as the sale of Lowther's share of the Colonial cargoes and the keeping of the accounts. Gale's letters are particularly informative about trade and the effects of events such as the coinage crisis on the people of Whitehaven.

Apart from the stewards there are a number of other individuals and families whose names appear frequently in the letters. Many of them were Lowther's tenants and many were involved in trade as either merchants or masters and owners of ships. The Gales were among the most influential of these families. Elizabeth Gale, mother of the Gale brothers, was obviously a strong willed woman and her sons shared this characteristic. Ebenezer was particularly forthright and was usually involved in quarrels both within the family and in any disputes which arose between Lowther (or Gilpin as his representative) and the townspeople. This is evident in matters relating to property titles and to the new church. Ebenezer Gale had undertaken the building of the new church and the town remained indebted to

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9. D/Lons/W Colliery papers (hereafter cited as Collieries)

him for the cost throughout the 1690s. He played a prominent part in the choosing of the minister for the new church and in all matters relating to the church. No reason is given in the correspondence for Ebenezer Gale's hostility to Lowther and it probably predated the 1690s.[10] Elisha Gale does not seem to have shared Ebenezer's hostility to Lowther. He was a ship's master and appears less frequently in the correspondence than his brothers.

Another prominent family was the Addisons. They had interests in the Colonial trade and in local industries such as quarrying and the rope works. Thomas Addison, the most frequently mentioned member of the family, had been an official in the Customs at Whitehaven in the 1680s before resigning to concentrate on his trading concerns. In 1689 he was appointed one of the Commissioners for the Sick and Wounded and the Exchange of Prisoners, an office dealing with seamen and established for the duration of the war. He therefore spent much time in London, but unlike Lowther, appears to have visited Whitehaven from time to time. Together with Lowther he was often able to assist Whitehaven seamen who were captured by French privateers during the war.

As a group the townspeople appear to have been jealous of their independence, and Lowther, although lord of the manor, was never able to act arbitrarily. Indeed he wrote to Lord Lonsdale in 1699,

> "...the ingratitude and perverseness of this Place is not to be conceiv'd, had your Lordship or an Oracle told it me at London I should not have beleiv'd it, seeing and feeling was necessary to convince me. Such a Levelling Principle is got amongst them, that an Acre of Land wanting for the accommodation of my House, a passage onely for Workmen is not be had [sic], but they cry out, Sir John has too much Land already..."[11]

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10. There is a letter dated 1680 from John Gale, probably the father of the Gale brothers, to William Fletcher of Moresby, which from its strong anti-Lowther tone, suggests that there was a tradition of hostility to Lowther control of Whitehaven in the Gale family well before the 1690s.

11. Sir J to Ld L 1699 Nov. 16

Lowther could have turned the more recalcitrant tenants out of their land but this would have defeated his object of encouraging people to settle at Whitehaven and might have led to some of the masters transferring their trade to rival ports. Thus, far from being able to compel his tenants to obey him, Lowther was forced to conciliate them and to make the best of the situation when their will prevailed against his own.

Lowther also faced challenges from rival landowners who wished to follow his example. In the 1680s and early 1690s the most persistent of these was William Fletcher of Moresby. Fletcher owned collieries and hoped to rebuild the pier at Parton, a neighbouring inlet, and to develop it into a port to rival Whitehaven. In this he was supported by some of the Whitehaven merchants who were hostile to Lowther, such as Robert Biglands, William Atkinson and John Gale, probably the father of Lowther's steward. In 1680 Lowther won an injunction against Fletcher and his supporters and by the late 1680s part of Fletcher's estates were mortgaged to Lowther.[12] Fletcher, however, retained the right to grant leases and resolutely refused to lease any of his mines to Lowther, preferring to lease them to another of Lowther's rivals, William Christian. Christian was a Customs officer and had served both at Newcastle and Carlisle. He also claimed to have played a part in the development of Whitehaven and was viewed with mistrust by Tickell. As Fletcher's debts increased he abandoned the project at Parton to Thomas Lamplugh of Lamplugh and in the mid-1690s the stewards reported the progress of this work with alarm.[13]

Thomas Lamplugh of Lamplugh, if not a Dissenter himself, certainly gave

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12. For evidence in the law suit see D/Lons/W Foreshore Papers (hereafter cited as Foreshore Papers)

13. See the following chapter for further details about Parton in the 1690s.

strong support to the local Dissenters and tried to persuade them to go to Parton rather than to Whitehaven.[14] He too owned collieries and planned to enter the Dublin trade, in which he had some success, but he had little success in luring the Whitehaven masters away from the town. Lowther's relations with the other Lamplughs were more cordial. Both his mother, in her second marriage, and his sister Frances, had married Lamplughs and although they were both dead by the 1690s, there are numerous references to "Brother Lamplugh". This was Richard Lamplugh of Ribton, a cousin to Thomas Lamplugh of Lamplugh. Richard Lamplugh represented Lowther at several elections and could be relied upon for advice in county affairs.

Lowther's most important relation was his cousin, Sir John Lowther of Lowther, (1655-1700). Although Lowther himself was well placed to assist the townspeople in many ways, he was not as well placed as his cousin, who not only held important offices in London but was a confidante of William III. He was alone among the large landowners in the two counties in making regular visits to his estates in the north.[15] Sir John Lowther of Lowther owned property in Cumberland, Westmorland, Yorkshire and Middlesex and his seat was Lowther Hall near Penrith. A staunch Anglican, he held important government offices during the 1690s, including Vice-Chamberlain of the Household, Lord Commissioner of the Treasury, and Privy Seal in 1699.[16] He was a county member for Westmorland from 1677 until 1696 when he was raised to the peerage as Viscount Lonsdale.[17] Already a rich man, he expanded his estates by extensive purchases and was one of the most

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14. JG 1695 Oct 27

15. The Duke of Somerset who owned large estates in Cumberland was never resident, nor was the Earl of Sussex. The Earls of Carlisle visited Carlisle occasionally but their principal seat was in Yorkshire.

16. CSPDom. 1689 Feb.23, 1690 March 23, Nov.13, 1699 March 18. See "The Memoirs of the first Lord Lonsdale", ed. C.H. Firth E.H.R (cxvii) 1915 p. 90-97 for Lord Lonsdale's reluctance to accept office especially in the later 1690s when his health was failing.

17. CSPDom. 1696 Apr 30

influential men in the north-west until his death in 1700. His position alarmed many of the neighbouring gentry but the other branches of the Lowther family looked to him for his electoral interest and for their advancement. Shortly before Lord Lonsdale's death, Sir John Lowther wrote to him,

> "I cannot express my concern that you have no better Health, my want thereof I account a Wound to our Family, but yours is Death to our common Interest, having no new prospect of any to support it."[18]

With his death the Lowthers did lose an important source of patronage in London but Lowther continued to help the townspeople in matters such as the lifting of trade embargoes, convoys to Ireland and places in the Customs. The Lowther electoral interest continued too, managed by Lady Lonsdale with advice from Lowther of Whitehaven.

The family which regarded the growth of the Lowther fortunes with most alarm was that of the Musgraves of Edenhall. There was a traditional rivalry between the two families and this was reflected in the 1690s by their political differences. Sir Christopher Musgrave (?1632-1704) was one of the leaders of the 'Country party' in the House of Commons. He was a member of Parliament from 1661, sitting for the borough of Carlisle until 1690 and then for various seats until his death, including the county seat for Westmorland, for Appleby and for Oxford.[19] He represented the country gentry who supported the Church, were suspicious of continental wars and opposed to increased government expenditure and to 'placemen'. Although accused of being a Jacobite there is no evidence that Musgrave was connected with any of the Jacobite plots during this period. In 1695 matters between Musgrave and Lowther of Lowther came to a head in a quarrel about the voting of supply for the war effort, and Lowther stood with

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18. Sir J to Ld L 1700 Apr. -

19. D.N.B.

Sir Richard Sandford for the county leaving Musgrave to stand for the borough of Appelby.[20] Although Lord Lonsdale and Lord Carlisle combined to reduce the Musgrave interest politically, they did not succeed in destroying it and Musgrave remained popular among his fellow gentry. Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven, although concerned about the influence of the Musgrave interest on his son's electoral chances at Carlisle, does not appear to have had any personal animosity towards Sir Christopher. Indeed, in matters of purely northern concern the local members tended to regard Musgrave as their leader.[21] In 1700 Lowther wrote that he was very glad that, "we may have his [Musgrave's] great Experience to support the Interest of these Counties, now like to be represented by so many new Members.."[22] The differences between the Lowthers and the Musgraves placed their friends in an awkward position. Sir George Fletcher of Hutton-in-the-Forest was fellow member for the county of Cumberland with Lowther of Whitehaven and was on friendly terms with him and with Musgrave. Politically he seems to have stood with Musgrave against attempts by the nobility to gain control of county affairs but he could not afford to alienate Lord Lonsdale. In 1689 he was associated with Musgrave in the seizure of Carlisle Castle and he was angered by moves against the Musgraves in the 1690s.[23] In the 1680s Fletcher had been displaced as deputy-lieutenant of the county by the influence of Lord Morpeth, the eldest son of the Earl of Carlisle.[24] The reason for this is not clear and although the quarrel was patched up, ill feeling remained.

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20. See also the chapter on elections
21. See the chapter on wartime taxation for Lowther's comment about Musgrave and the purveys
22. Sir J to James Bird 1700 Dec.23
23. H.M.C. Lonsdale p.99, WG 1695 July 20
24. H.M.C. Fleming p.170, 181, 191

There were three Earls of Carlisle in the later years of the seventeenth century: Charles, the first Earl who died in 1685, his son Edward who succeeded him and died in 1692 (it was he who displaced Sir George Fletcher), and Edward's son, Charles, the third Earl who lived from 1669-1738.[25] The third Earl controlled the borough of Carlisle and his support was necessary to ensure the election of James Lowther in 1694, 1695 and 1698. He made occasional visits to the county and expected the local gentry to wait on him when he did. From 1693 he was Governor of Carlisle Castle, replacing Sir Christopher Musgrave, and in 1694 he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland.[26] His influence was resented and contested by both Fletcher and Musgrave so that friends to both sides such as Lowthers of Whitehaven and Sir Daniel Fleming had to tread carefully. Sir Daniel Fleming of Rydal was a brother-in-law to Sir George Fletcher. At the same time as Fletcher had been dismissed from his deputy-lieutenancy, he and Fleming had also been dismissed from the Commission of the Peace and had received the support of the Musgraves and the Grahmes for their reinstatement.[27] Fleming had a number of sons for whom he wished to find places and therefore could not afford to offend potential patrons. This was one of the reasons for his neutrality in the Lowther/Musgrave quarrel and his refusal to support either side at the 1695 election. He and Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven were on friendly terms and corresponded on matters of mutual interest. Fleming spent most of his time in the country and took a close interest in county affairs so that he was a source of information about local matters not only for his contemporaries but also for historians. In 1671 he wrote a description

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25. Burke's Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage, ed. L.G. Pine (London 1953 ed) D.N.B. is mistaken about his date of birth.

26. D.N.B.

27. Fleming Papers 2297, 2301, 2306 (August 1680)

of Cumberland and Westmorland, and throughout his life he kept up a voluminous correspondence, much of which has survived.[28]

Other gentry families played lesser roles in county affairs, some through lack of means, others for political reasons, such as the Grahmes of Levens Hall who had supported James II and only re-entered county politics at the end of the 1690s. Many of these families lived on and managed their own estates. Few of them were rich and they were wary of borrowing money from people like the Lowthers, whom they suspected of lending with an eye to foreclosure. Their lack of capital meant that few of them were in a position to follow the Lowthers in the development of mines and the expansion of their estates.[29] Indeed, some gentry families fell into difficulties and their estates passed to merchants. Robert Blaiklock, a Whitehaven merchant, bought the estates of John Senhouse of Seascale, Thomas Lamplugh of Lamplugh fell into debt over his expenditure at Parton, like the Fletchers before him, while other families died out for lack of heirs. The Whitehaven Lowthers died out when James died unmarried in 1755, but the estates remained within the family being inherited by Sir James Lowther of Mauds Meaburn who had also inherited the Lonsdale estates, and who was subsequently created first Earl of Lonsdale.

Thus few of the other gentry families resembled the Whitehaven Lowthers with their interests in collieries and overseas trade, so that while the Lowther correspondence can be used to examine aspects of life in Whitehaven and the county at this time, it would be misleading to see the Lowthers themselves as typical of the local gentry.

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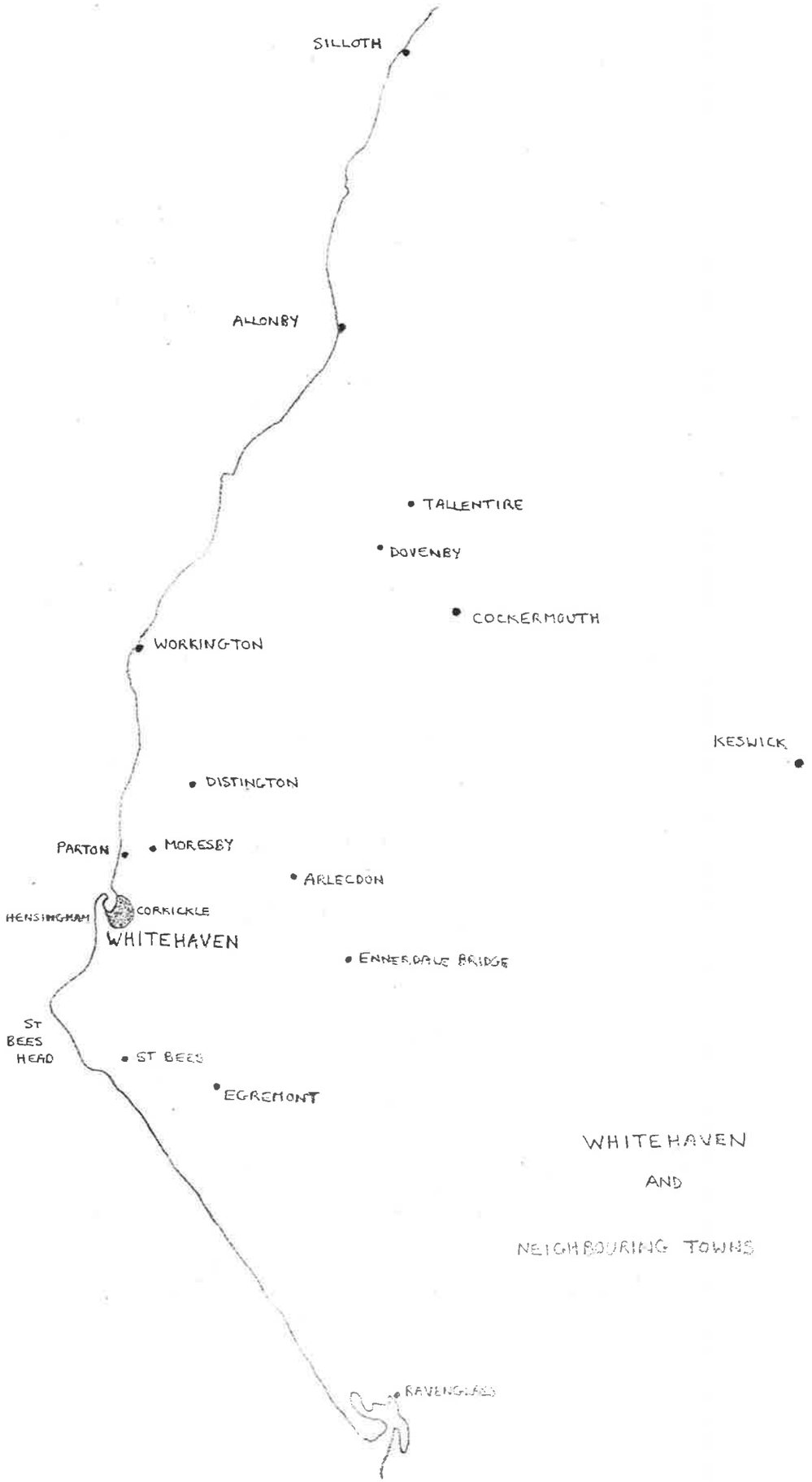
28. The descriptions were published separately, that of Cumberland ed. R.S. Ferguson (C.W.A.A.S. 1889), that of Westmorland ed. Sir George Duckett (C.W.A.A.S. 1882)

29. J.V. Beckett, "Landownership in Cumbria c.1680-c.1750 (unpublished Lancaster Ph.D. thesis 1975)



WHITEHAVEN

AND

NEIGHBOURING TOWNS

WHITEHAVEN

THE HARBOUR

In 1671 Sir Daniel Fleming described Whitehaven as,

> "a creek in the sea at the North end of a great Bergh or riseing hill there which is washed with the Flood on the West side where there is a great Rock of Quarry of hard white stone which gives name hereunto and which with the help of a great wall of stone secures the Harbour. A little River falls there into the sea which makes that Harbour where small Barkes may enter and be defended from the Tempest and windes as aforesaid and where they may be conveniently loaden with coals, salt and other comodities..."[1]

Sir John Lowther secured his hold on Whitehaven harbour in 1666 when Charles II granted him the salt pans, pier and "all our lands, tenements and hereditments whatsoever lying and being within the flux and reflux of the sea adjoining or appertaining to the Manor or Lordship of St Bees.."[2] Part of the land between high and low watermarks had been held or claimed by other inhabitants of Whitehaven who brought a law suit against Lowther claiming that he had no title to the land other than the grant from the King.[3] In 1680 Lowther had the grant confirmed and the foreshore area was more closely defined as,

> "One hundred and Fifty Acres of thereabouts lying betweene the High and Low water markes ... which said Ground or soyle extends from east to west two hundred yards or thereabouts, the Bounder thereof Southward being Bransty Beck...and the Bounder North being Moresby Beck.."[4]

In the 1680s and 1690s Lowther was able to use this grant in law suits to block the establishment of a rival port at Parton.

The Lowthers had taken an interest in the harbour from the 1630s when Sir John Lowther, Lowther's grandfather and his father Christopher, had

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1. Sir Daniel Fleming, A Description of the County of Cumberland, ed. R.S. Ferguson (C.W.A.A.S. 1889). Gilpin thought that the town's name was derived from white toft haven, a toft being a house. WG 1694 Nov.2
2. Foreshore Papers. 1666, 1680. The land was granted by fealty and later by a rent of £1 p.a.
3. D/Lons/W Legal Papers (hereafter cited as Legal Papers)
4. Foreshore Papers

begun building the pier. In 1679 William Stockdall recalled that sixty to seventy men had been employed in its construction and that some of the stones used had weighed up to eight tons.[5] However, by the late 1680s it must have been in a poor state of repair because William Fletcher was able to use this as a justification for his proposed rebuilding of the pier at Parton. Whitehaven harbour had the further disadvantage of being a 'dry harbour' which left the ships sitting on the sand at low tide. During the spring tides when the water was at its highest it was sixteen feet deep near the pier but at neap tide it was only seven and a half feet and Gale complained that overall there was a difference of thirty feet between high and low water mark.[6] Masters from southern ports, such as those hired for transporting troops in 1689, complained that the harbour was dangerous and that it would only hold twelve or fourteen ships at the most, but since Whitehaven had over forty ships at this time, they probably exaggerated. Nevertheless Lowther felt that the harbour needed to be improved and told Tickell to obtain some expert advice from Edmond Dummer, the naval surveyor, who was then at Whitehaven.[7] Lowther had also considered fortifying the harbour because of the danger of an attack by the French in the opening phase of the war, but he decided against it on account of the expense.

The exposed nature of the harbour made the bulwark and the pier subject to frequent damage by storms and Gilpin advised that a large quantity of timber should be kept on hand for repairs.[8] The harbour also required frequent cleaning, partly because of the currents and partly because the masters often dropped their ballast into it. The cost of both the cleaning

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5. W. Various
6. JG 1697 Feb. 21, March 14
7. Sir J 1689 June 22
8. WG 1693 March 29. For storm damage see TT 1688 Sept. 4; 1689 March 2, Sept. 11; 1690 Oct. 22, Nov.23

and the repairs was borne chiefly by Lowther and in 1693 he asked Gilpin to examine Dummer's suggestions. These included the lengthening of the ballast wall to prevent sand from being washed up to the pier which Gilpin thought "would make a stagnant water withing the harbour and keep it from being choaked with sullage."[9] However, he feared that the currents might then build a sandbed at the mouth of the harbour and to prevent this proposed that another wall be added at right angles to the pier.[10] The pier was three hundred and thirty-five yards long and the ballast wall, one hundred and twenty-three yards, with a further one hundred and ninety to be added to it.[11] Gilpin did not arrive at these conclusions single-handed but wrote that he had consulted "all the conciderable masters now at home, about the affairs of the harbour."[12] He persuaded them to assist in the removal of the sand bank from the harbour and hoped that in time they might contribute to the maintenance of the harbour, but he felt that the only way to ensure this would be by a private act of parliament. In September 1693 an experiment was made, altering the way in which the Po flowed into the harbour, and by employing mariners to dig out the sand, an extra five feet of water was gained so that ships could berth at any tide.[13]

Gilpin pursued his consultations with the masters and in October 1693 obtained the signature of some of the leading masters to a preliminary agreement about the harbour.[14] He had expected some opposition and so had spoken privately to some of the masters and had held the meeting when those from whom he expected most opposition were at sea. The

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9. WG 1693 Apr. 8
10. ibid, WG Apr. 12
11. WG 1693 May 10
12. WG 1693 June 28
13. JG 1693 Sept. 3, WG Sept. 16
14. WG 1693 Oct.18

agreement has been lost and Gilpin does not explain the details in his letter but it seems that the chief measures were the appointment of a Pier Master and a plan to fortify the harbour for the following year. The masters had agreed to pay a farthing per foot towards the Pier Master's salary and had chosen Robert Nicholson for the office. They had also agreed to raise further money for work on the harbour. Gilpin admitted that it was insufficient but that he was unwilling to risk the agreement by arguing about it. It was not only the masters whom Gilpin had to convince of the benefits of his agreement but Lowther also. It is clear from Gilpin's next letter on the subject that Lowther was annoyed that the Pier Master had been chosen without his prior approval and feared that Gilpin might have conceded too much. Gilpin sought to reassure him that,

> "there is not the least intention to subject the care of the peer to him, or vest him with any sort of authority that interfeers with your interest; his business being only to determine such sudden differences as may happen amongst the seamen concerning their moorings, and to inform against offenders in the harbour. But the directing and governing part as you wil observ by the tenor of the articles is intire in your honour."[15]

He also assured Lowther that he would have consulted him about the choice of candidate but since he was to be paid directly by the masters Gilpin had been unwilling to push his point, "the main being secured."[16] The masters cannot have been happy with the subordinate position of the Pier Master for in 1698 the system was abandoned and a ballot was held to elect nine townspeople to be responsible, with Lowther, for matters relating to the town and harbour. Those elected, all masters or owners, were Robert Biglands, Robert Blaiklock, Nathaniel Dixon, Ebenezer Gale, John Gale jnr, James Millam, Clement Nicholson, George Ribton and

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15. WG 1693 Nov.1
16. ibid.

Captain Richard Senhouse.[17] Eight other candidates stood for election which demonstrates the interest and importance placed on the matter by the townspeople. Thus while the work on the harbour was largely carried out by Lowther's orders, he was not alone in paying for it, and so the masters were able to demand and obtain a say in its management.

Lowther was anxious not to alienate the masters because of attempts to build a rival harbour at Parton, an inlet close to Whitehaven. In the 1680s legal action had successfully stopped William Fletcher of Moresby from developing the harbour, but in the 1690s a more determined effort was made to divert trade there by Thomas Lamplugh of Lamplugh. He obtained the support of several Whitehaven masters, principally Robert Biglands, an old opponent of Lowther and the Dissenter, William Atkinson, and hired workmen to begin the reconstruction of the pier and deepening of the harbour.[18] Lowther had been negotiating with Fletcher for the purchase of Moresby and Gale warned him that Fletcher would be less likely to sell if the pier and harbour at Parton were improved.[19] Both he and Gilpin urged Lowther to take legal action saying that the work was "directly within your grant, and upon the same foundation that you stoped Mr. Fletcher's peer, you may stop this."[20] Lamplugh, however, claimed that he was not building a new pier but merely repairing the old one and Robert Biglands had told workmen mending Whitehaven pier that they were wasting their time because soon all the ships would go to Parton. Lowther secured an injunction halting further work at the end of November 1695 but Gilpin informed him that it would only stop

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17. W. Various 19
18. JG 1695 Oct.27, Nov.10
19. JG 1695 Sept.8
20. WG 1695 Sept.12, JG Sept.25

some of the work and not all of it.[21] In January 1696 Parton pier was damaged by a storm and Gilpin hoped that if they could prevent its repair the sea would ruin it entirely. However, the pier was repaired and small ships frequented it.[22] By June 1696 Gilpin was pointing out that if Lowther could obtain way leave to Parton he could ship some of his coal from there and that it might be an advantage to retain Parton if he were to obtain Moresby.[23] Parton remained a small harbour used by Lamplugh and later by Lowther to ship coal to Dublin, but no town grew there to rival Whitehaven and by the early eighteenth century the pier was in a state of neglect.[24] Parton did not seriously affect Whitehaven's trade and Lamplugh lacked the financial resources and political influence to be able to compete successfully against Lowther.

Thus in the 1690s important improvements were made to Whitehaven harbour which enabled it to cope with an increased number of ships. This, together with other developments in the town made it more attractive to the masters and there is no evidence of any of them deciding to move to Parton instead. Although he wished to encourage the masters to settle at Whitehaven, Lowther would have preferred sole control of the harbour but he realized

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21. Legal Papers, WG 1695 Nov.27

22. WG 1696 Jan.29, May 18

23. WG 1696 June 6

24. Collieries. An undated sheet, probably from c. 1720, entitled, "The Miserable Case of the Poor Inhabitants of Parton and of the Parishes of Moresby, Distington and Harrington", states that although the people had paid for the upkeep of Parton pier it was in a state of decay and they were afraid that in a storm the head of the pier would fall into the harbour and block it. They suspected Lamplugh of wishing to sell it to an unnamed individual, probably James Lowther. In 1795 Parton pier was washed away and never re-built. Samuel Jefferson, Allerdale Ward Above Derwent (Carlisle 1842) p.70

that if he wished the masters to pay some of the expenses he would have to allow them a say in its management. Such co-operation was equally necessary in the planning of the town itself.

THE TOWN

Although Lowther's father, Sir Christopher, had admitted tenants at Whitehaven as early as 1637, it was not until after 1666 that the new town was laid out and began to grow rapidly. In 1685 it was calculated that there were 268 families and 1,089 people in the town. This had grown to 450 families and 2,272 people by 1695 and in 1702 to 567 families and 2,977 people.[25] This sudden growth in population led to an increase in building in the town, but under Lowther's direction it was an ordered expansion and not merely random growth. No other town is mentioned as serving as a model for Whitehaven nor were any books on the subject mentioned in the letters and the plan of the town was discussed in practical rather than abstract terms. In July 1688 Tickell sent a plan of the town to London and a year later mentions another, presumably more recent plan.[26] Lowther himself talks of the "designed model of the town" several times saying that he could permit any building which did not interfere with it.[27] He specified that he wished,

> "to have the streets laid out regularly and that the houses in East Street [sic, Strand] ... be made uniform so far as it could be and Carryed on in the Same Range and built Contiguous to each other. And for that end the builders were Comonly obliged that they should not build their fronts under such a Hight [sic] and that they should make their doors, windows and Ornaments Conformable to a rule that was Given them ..." 28

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25. D/Lons/W Various 1672-84, Register of facts, Collieries 29
26. TT 1688 July 17, 1689 July 2
27. Sir J 1690 Feb.15, June 2, 1691 Sept.29
28. Legal Papers

The town was laid out close to the harbour with the streets forming a grid, but it required constant vigilance on the part of the stewards to stop this regular plan from being spoilt.

Soon after his arrival in the town Gilpin asked Lowther for directions about the street alignments and indicated that several of the streets needed a "new projecture in one straight line."[29] This was particularly so on the East Strand which faced the sea and was a very popular site. It seems that many of the people wished to build their houses close to the sea and Gilpin suggested that they should encourage people to build "landward".[30] He thought that the offer of a generous amount of land to people who undertook to build well designed houses would raise the standard of building.[31] The stewards were always careful to consult Lowther about the site of new houses and his general attitude was,"provided any ground desired do not interfere with some design or model of the town it is indifferent to me and wher it does you wil let me know before you grant anything."[32] To keep himself informed of what was being built Lowther requested new plans of the town and in 1694 Gilpin sent him one drawn by Andrew Pelin which showed both actual and proposed buildings.[33]

Lowther preferred to let the townspeople do their own building. He did own several houses but had difficulty in finding tenants for them and told Tickell that they were built "only for such as cannot build for themselves and not for a rent."[34] He hoped that the townspeople would

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29. WG 1693 May 17
30. WG 1693 Dec.30
31. ibid.
32. Sir J 1691 Sept.29
33. WG 1694 Feb.10, 17. Pelin had come to Whitehaven as a weaver but became a surveyor and drew several plans of the town.

build houses of good quality and in 1696 Gilpin was able to report the success of a house built for Robert Greggs, one of the Customs officers. It had a "regular and ornamental front ... which had succeeded so well that (besides the town) some strangers have resolved to build according to the pattern ..."[35] Lowther was also pleased to learn that the masons and carpenters of the town built houses to sell when they were out of other work.[36]

The building regulations were enforced by the stewards through the manorial court. Tenants could be fined for encroachments on Lowther's land, for blocking passageways between blocks of houses, for failing to keep up the street drainage or for dumping rubbish in the streets. The dumping of rubbish appears to have been one of the most frequent offences. In 1691 John Benn was prosecuted for "Lyeing his Dunghill at the River Side before his doore being a nuisance and poysoning the water" and was ordered to be fined unless he removed it.[37] In 1695 a fine of 12d was listed as the penalty for each offence of dumping rubbish on the sea shore.[38] In order to prevent people from blocking the road to the bridge with dunghills, Jonathan Branthwait was given permission to set up a cooper's shop opposite to the bridge on the understanding that he would keep the area free of rubbish and would remove his shop if asked to do so by the stewards.[39]

Lowther was also engaged in some building on his own behalf in the 1690s, that of the renovation of his house, the Flatt in 1697-8. Both Tickell and Gilpin lived in the house during their stewardships and the rebuilding

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34. Sir J 1688 Dec.4
35. WG 1696 June 6
36. Sir J 1698 Feb.19
37. D/Lons/W Manorial Court Book 1689-
38. ibid.
39. ibid. JG 1694 Nov.11

being undertaken for Lowther's visit to Whitehaven in 1698. The house needed a new kitchen and a bakehouse on the south side and a proper entrance and a hall on the north side.[40] During the rebuilding it was discovered that the chimneys had been designed in such a way that the "timbers of the back stairs laid almost through the wall at the height of the fire", a discovery which was made when the stairs were almost set on fire.[41] Throughout the work Lowther showed more interest in the cost and practicability of the work than in architectural style. This is clear in his choice of local, rather than Italian marble, when he wrote, " 'tis not the ornament of the house I affect, but the produce of the country."[42] and in his suggestion that the best of the deals bought for the collieries could be used for the woodwork, "for to give imployment to any good workman I am willing to be at charge ..."[43]

Apart from this private building Lowther both considered and undertook the construction of a number of public buildings during this decade. Lowther Street was planned as the principal street in the town and Lowther had extensive plans for it, only some of which were fulfilled. Some of the most noteworthy buildings in the town were intended for this street,

> "the place proposed for the school would doe well if it take not up too much of that ground and if its neighbourhood to the dead [the burial ground] be not an objection. Besides I would not be confined, for though our beginnings be small, I would suppose greater things may follow, and that there may be more schools than one, with dwelling houses for the masters, perhaps a new house for the minister and a place solely for a courthouse or townhall ..." 44

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40. Sir J 1697 Apr.6
41. WG 1697 May 31
42. Sir J 1698 Feb.26
43. Sir J 1698 Feb.5
44. Sir J 1694 Jan.23

In fact there proved to be insufficient room left in Lowther Street for the school but the new church and the burial ground were there. The construction of the new church was begun in 1688 but not completed until 1693. The old chapel in which the townspeople had been worshipping was in a poor state of repair and was now too small for the congregation. The townspeople subscribed towards the cost of a new church, but the amount raised fell short of that required and caused interruptions in the building. In autumn 1688 the roofing was hindered by the weather and in February 1689 Tickell lamented, "Our Church sticks for want of moneys which will now growe worse to raise dureing this stopp of trade. The season nigh at hand for the carryeing on of that work does require slateing especially to save the timber."[45] Three hundred and forty-four pounds had already been spent on the building and the Customs officers had promised to contribute forty pounds towards the sealing of the roof. Either this was not forthcoming or was insufficient because in April Tickell was complaining that the townspeople would do nothing, and that if Lowther would lend or give enough money to roof the church it would prevent it from being ruined. Lowther felt that he had already given his share of the costs and refused to do any more. The roof must have been secured some time between April 1692 and February 1693 because by the time Gilpin arrived in Whitehaven they were finishing the interior of the church.

Two causes of dissention arose over the church, the first over the rate to be set on the pews and the second over the site of the burial Yard. The rate on the pews was designed to raise the sum of money still outstanding for the building but included nothing towards the minister's salary. Gilpin concluded that they were reluctant "to fix a certain maintenance upon the seats for the minister" because they wanted to

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45. TT 1688 Sept.25, 1689 Feb.14

keep the minister dependant upon them for his salary.[46] Also the members of the congregation who were seamen were reluctant to commit themselves to a set contribution because they had "no stomach to lose their seats when they lose their ships."[47] In the end the minister's salary was raised by subscription. The dispute over the site of the burial ground was more prolonged. Gilpin wrote to Lowther in April 1693, "The churchyard will be disordered by irregular burying. The soil being your honour's, you may please to fix the rules that you would have observed."[48] He felt that it would be better to appoint another place for burying the dead and therefore when the Bishop of Chester came to Whitehaven to consecrate the new church Gilpin asked him to consecrate a piece of ground between the end of the church yard and the next street.[49] He obtained the consent of both Gale and Thomas Addison to this, but also secretly had six yards of ground at the end of the church consecrated so that Lowther could use it for a family burial place.[50] In November 1694 Lowther proposed that the burial ground should be walled and Gilpin collected between twenty and thirty pounds in subscriptions towards the cost of the wall. The congregation also agreed to Lowther's suggestion that there ought to be a lane between the burial ground and the church yard.[51] Gilpin wrote, "They tell me that Roger Strickland and one or two more were buried in the church but non have pretended to that since it was finished within."[52]

The matter appeared to be settled and Gilpin ordered the sexton not to dig any more graves in the church yard. However, in April 1696 some of

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46. WG 1693 Apr.8
47. ibid.
48. WG Apr.12
49. WG 1693 July 19
50. ibid. Only Thomas Addison was told of this.
51. WG 1694 Dec.12, 29
52. WG 1695 Feb.24

the people asked that the smith, Richard Collin, be buried in the church yard. Gilpin went to see his widow and persuaded her to have her husband buried in the burial ground, whereupon Ebenezer Gale interfered and ordered a grave to be dug in the church yard. Gilpin had the grave filled in again and a riot at the funeral was only prevented by some one persuading Mrs. Collin to have her husband buried at St Bees instead.[53] Three days later another funeral provided Ebenezer Gale with a further opportunity to stir up discontent. Gilpin reported that Gale had provided "a rable for his purpose, and whetted them on to use the utmost violence."[54] To avoid confrontation Gilpin had pretended not to know of the funeral. Ebenezer Gale had also stopped a mason from carrying out Gilpin's orders to make a door from the church into the burial place and the latter suspected him of being the author of "some libels in the market place," against him.[55] John Gale refused to support Gilpin, but as the subject is not mentioned again after 1696 it is not clear who gave way. Nor is it clear why Ebenezer Gale waited for several years after the completion of the burial yard to raise the issue. He was involved at that time in a dispute with Gilpin about titles to land in Whitehaven and it may be that he saw it as a way of demonstrating to Gilpin that he commanded the support of the townspeople, or it may be that since he had not been reimbursed by the townspeople for his expenses regarding the church, Gale considered he had a right to do as he pleased in the church yard.

No such disputes arose over the two public buildings constructed at this time- the custom-house and the school. The townspeople did not have a say in either and Lowther deliberately built the school at his own expense so that he could order it as he chose. The custom-house at Whitehaven was

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53. WG 1696 Apr.1

54. WG 1696 Apr.4

55. ibid.

built and owned by Lowther and only leased to the Customs. This was a usual practice and the Customs in London hoped that it would not be too elaborate because they wished to pay as small a rent as possible for it. The Collector wished to live in the upstairs rooms and the Customs told him that if he did so, he would have to pay a separate rent for, "the King shal be at no more charge than for the publique roomes."[56] The Revolution of 1688 caused a stop in the work and it was not resumed until 1693 when a new plan was drawn up, the Customs officers insisting on the need for a storehouse and a watch house as well.[57] An agreement was drawn up with the Customs officers, and Lowther who was always concerned to guard against encroachments on his property, queried the use of the "neighbouring fronts" which appeared to be granted to the Customs as well as the land for the custom-house. Both stewards were quick to assure him that it only meant the use of the area,

> "for all sorts of carriages, rowling and tumbling of hogsheads etc, that they desire, and can noe where be denyed but much rather will be coveted by all neighbours as it was in King Street which is much narrower than the new intended place ; and I do assure you, the distillers and all the near adjoying fronts doe not a little vallew themselves, upon the prospect they have of their being soe near the center of bussiness ..." 58

Gale undertook to build the custom-house and the additional buildings for £300 and managed to complete it by March 1695 for a cost of £304-9-9.[59] He explained to Lowther that although no single person would undertake the whole building, with a good overseer the work could be done by various local craftsmen, "this method will be more oblieging to our mechanicks, to lett everyone have some part of the worke, than if the whole wear lett out to any person whatsoever; beside they are more apt to shew their skill,

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56. Sir J 1688 July 28
57. JG 1693 June 28
58. JG 1693 Aug.20, WG Sept.9
59. WG 1693 Sept.9

and vy with each other."[60] Gale had already used this method in the building of his own house.

The public building in which Lowther took most interest was the school. He had long been a benefactor of the St Bees school which had been established in 1585 by Archbishop Grindal. Tickell and Gilpin were among the governors of the school and Lowther kept up a regular correspondence with the master, Richard Jackson. He attempted to find suitable livings for Jackson to increase his salary and was always anxious to encourage patronage of the school.[61] In 1688 he wrote to the Bishop of Lincoln asking him to be a benefactor to the school and saying that Sir Joseph Williamson had promised to be one.[62] Lowther requested samples of the pupils' handwriting and sent down printed Greek passages as amples for them to copy out. This was particularly aimed at those pupils who wished to go on to university because the copying of Greek was "a great means of subsistence to many poor schollers in the university."[63] However, Lowther was also interested in their handwriting and in 1694 offered a prize of ten shillings as encouragement. He also hoped that Jackson would teach his pupils shorthand,and disapproved of "that country practice of granting play dayes to every one that requests it. 'Twill be his interest for parents reflect upon the great loss of time and 'tis much out of use in the south.[64]

In 1694 Lowther decided that a school should be built in Whitehaven. He had intended to place it opposite the new church but Gilpin wrote that

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60. JG 1693 June 28
61. For Lowther's efforts on behalf of Jackson, see the chapter on the church
62. Sir J to the Bishop of Lincoln 1688 June -
63. Sir J 1689 Apr.20
64. Sir J 1691 June 27, July 28. In 18thC. Penrith the pupils attended school between the hours of 6am. and 6pm. C.M.L. Bouch & G.P. Jones, A Short Economic and Social History of the Lake Counties 1500-1830 (Manchester 1961) p.201

there was insufficient space left and so it was built on the same side of Lowther Street as the church.[65] He ordered that the material from the old chapel, which was pulled down in March 1694, should be used in the building of the school, and gave £100 towards the cost. Although he may have hoped for contributions from other people later, Gilpin said that he would do his best to confine expenditure to Lowther's donation and so would "consult convenience rather than ornament."[66] This meant foregoing the planned balcony and putting a stone staircase at the back instead of a covered one, but Gilpin thought that it would be wise to allow room above the main door "for some suitable inscription to be a remembrancer of your beneficence (for I find some people here naturally troubled with bad memories.)"[67] Although bad weather slowed the building, by September it was almost complete. However, owing to the death of the Whitehaven schoolmaster, the school faced the possibility of losing its pupils unless a new master could be found quickly. Lowther thought that "a very good man would draw all the gentlemen's sons in the country, but that,the first master is not to trust to; succeeding ones may when the school is in possession of them."[68] Gilpin also suggested a well qualified master who would not only be "perfect in the classick learning, but ... also seasoned at an university."[69]

By January 1695 the new school was in use. The master was a young man, William Jackson, who had been a pupil of the former master.[70] Gilpin

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65. WG 1694 Feb.10. Sir J to WG 1694 Sept.18
66. WG 1694 March 10
67. ibid.
68. Sir J to WG 1694 Sept.18
69. WG 1694 Sept.9
70. JG 1695 Jan.13, WG Jan.19

enquired whether they should begin teaching writing, accounts and mathematics, or whether they should wait until the rooms designed for these subjects were built.[71] Jackson does not appear to have taught these subjects himself and various people are mentioned as teaching mathematics, among them Andrew Pelin who seems to have taught cartography as well. Another unnamed mathematics master agreed to teach the owners' sons and those of their servants for a set rate fixed on the ships.[72] Lowther wished to encourage the study of mathematics because of its application to navigation and even advocated it when writing to Lady Lonsdale about the education of her sons, suggesting that they be taught "a little Mathematicks and particularly be conversant in Maps, and to that end read of a French Gazette with the Maps before him ..."[73] Lowther took a keen interest in the school curriculum, which was supervised by Gilpin. In 1686 Lowther had drawn up a programme in which, over a period of five years, the pupils would become proficient in Latin and Greek. He had also mentioned the value of learning French at the same time as English.[74] The students of St Bees learned Greek, but at Whitehaven there is no mention of any other language than Latin being taught. Gilpin thought that the traditional method should be varied to stop the pupils from

> "losing their English whilst they endeavour to learn the Latin (the common fault of grammar schools) I am sometimes inculcating to our master here the usefulness of putting the boys upon translating their Latin authors into proper English and by all means to keep them from treading upon the heels of their Latin, for that both keeps them ignorant of the sense of their author, and teaches them to murder English ever after." 75

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71. WG 1695 Jan.19

72. WG 1697 Feb.24

73. Sir J to Lady L 1701 Dec -

74. D/Lons/W Commonplace Book 1671-89 ibid. for the more lofty ideals of Lord Lonsdale in establishing Lowther school for young gentlemen.

75. WG 1697 Nov.1

The school at Whitehaven was not endowed and the master did not receive sufficient money to support himself. There is no mention of how Jackson supplemented his income but Andrew Pelin did so by asking for a "mulet upon coales for his teaching a free school."[76] Some of the other masters were itinerant. Gilpin explained that the writing master "takes us about once a year in his circuit, and by your copy books and his help to form the beginners, most of the children have laid a tollerable foundation in writing."[77] Several of these masters were in competition with Jackson. John Gale wrote that although he had sent two of his sons to the Whitehaven school, his brother Elisha had sent his to a school conducted by one Ferries.[78] In September 1697 Jackson was forced to give up teaching on the grounds of ill health and the schoolmaster they hoped to obtain as his replacement would not come to an unendowed school. Ferries took over most of the pupils with the help of one Atkinson who taught writing from Lowther's copy books.[79] The school must have continued successfully for in 1701 Lowther wrote to the Provost of Queens College Oxford, "Our school here is in very good repute as schools goe in this country, most of the neighbouring gentry having their sons fitted either for the university or merchandize in this town."[80]

Besides his encouragement of building at Whitehaven, throughout his life Lowther tried to promote the growth of the town by helping local workmen and by establishing industries. After the Restoration he had Whitehaven confirmed as a market town and in 1681 made a port in its own right. He made enquiries about a number of industries, some of which were then

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76. JG 1697 Apr.11
77. WG 1697 Aug.4
78. JG 1697 Jan.31
79. WG 1697 Sept.23
80. Sir J 1701 June 27

established in the town. Two industries which were already at Whitehaven in the 1680s were the salt pans and the roperies. Neither appears to have been very profitable and they changed hands several times. In December 1689 Lowther suggested to Tickell that he could make salt at Bransty for sale in Ireland but Tickell replied that there was no market for salt at that time because of the war and that December was the worst time of the year for making it. He thought that it would be better to either sell or lease the salt pans.[81] In February 1690 Lancelot Branthwaite, Lowther's bailiff, was managing the salt pans and Captain Senhouse offered to lease them if he could be supplied with coal.[82] The offer was not taken up immediately because Lowther hoped that it would become more profitable now that the war had halted imports of salt from France. Tickell disagreed, describing it as "a troublesome and a looseing branch to manage, especially if a peace do happen", and it was leased to Senhouse.[83] He too, found it unprofitable and when his lease expired in 1696 Senhouse did not seek to renew it. There was competition from rock salt imported from Cheshire and if anyone else took up the lease it was probably on a limited basis.[84]

The price of salt and the duty imposed on it during the war affected the Whitehaven fishermen. Lowther had been trying to encourage fishermen from the 1680s and had written to Tickell about the possibility of building ramps for their boats at St Bees and nearby at Barrowmouth.[85] But in spite of this Whitehaven did not become a fishing port. Gilpin explained

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81. Sir J 1689 Dec.17, Dec.25
82. TT 1690 Feb.23
83. TT 1691 July 29
84. WG 1696 Oct.31
85. Sir J 1688 Aug.16, TT Sept.18

that it was unlikely that any more people would take up fishing while the price of salt remained high.[86] Also,

> "there being no plenty of Fish upon this Coast, there is not Encouragement for any of them to make Fishing their full employ. The much greater part of their Time is spent in Husbandry and they only apply themselves to Sea in small boats in the Herring Season, and when they have nothing to do on shore. There is another Sort of Fishermen ... who tho' they use Fishing in the sea yet it being only with stake nets etc. between the Water Marks." 87

Unlike the salt pans, Lowther did not own the roperies although he leased the land for them and had a one-seventh share in one of them. The other partners in this ropery were Thomas Addison, his widowed sister-in-law, Mary Addison, a Mrs. Tubman, Erasmus Lowes, Richard Kelsick and Ebenezer Gale, all with equal shares.[88] In 1693 the management of the ropery was placed into the hands of Ebenezer Gale because the previous manager had decided to give it up. At that time Lowther was owed £78-7-10¼.[89] Until Whitehaven sent its own ships to the Baltic for hemp, it had to be brought overland from Newcastle and the cost of transport must have reduced the profits. According to a couple of isolated accounts the ropery made a profit of £28-6-6½ in 1694 and £52-14-8½ in 1696 but since Ebenezer Gale's wages dating from 1693 still had to be deducted from this there could not have been much to share between the partners.[90] John Gale complained that the profits were eroded by the overseer, "a hyred person that has good wages by the hundred weight for all he makes", whereas the other roperies were worked by the owners and their servants.[91] There were still debts outstanding from the previous manager and in December 1697 Ebenezer Gale

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86. WG 1697 June 23
87. P.R.O. ADM 1/5114 WG to Ld C 1701 March 27
88. WG 1695 March 13
89. WG 1693 July 5
90. D/Lons/W Gilpin's notebook
91. JG 1697 Jan.3

and two of the other partners withdrew.[92] There were two other roperies in Whitehaven and Gale thought that Lowther should keep them all in his own hands so that the rope walks would be let on equal terms.[93] They needed long strips of ground to be set aside for their use and warehouses for storing the rope afterwards.[94] The problem seems to have been not that the rope trade itself was unprofitable, but that the town was unable to support three roperies.

Apart from these established industries attempts were made to attract new ones. Lowther was interested in the manufacture of linsey woolsey and had noted a scheme whereby six weavers could, in a fortnight, make a pack of linsey Woolsey consisting of twelve pieces, each thirty-five yards long, worth a total of between £18 and £20.[95] In 1688 Andrew Pelin was the only weaver in Whitehaven and he intended to set up in the serge trade. He was going to press, dye, comb and weave the fabric, but by 1690 he had been forced to turn to surveying to supplement his income and, as mentioned above, he later took up teaching as well.[96] Richard Stainton, the curate at St Bees, was involved in woollen manufacture but that did not prosper until after the war when the restrictions on the importations of Irish wool were eased.[97]

An attempt to begin a pottery in 1689 was unsuccessful also. The potter, Jeremiah Lyons, experimented with the Whitehaven clay and although that was found to be suitable he judged that the coal was unsatisfactory for

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92. WG 1697 Dec.25

93. JG 1695 Apr.21

94. ibid.

95. Various 1672-94 No mention is made of this scheme being tried at Whitehaven.

96. TT 1690 Nov.23

97. Sir J to WG 1698 June 14, Richard Stainton to Sir J June 26

firing pottery.[98] In 1697 Gilpin encouraged a pipemaker to experiment with Whitehaven clay and thought that a pottery could be established as well if someone could be found to undertake it.[99] They asked a Staffordshire potter, a Wedgewood, to come to Whitehaven and Lowther consulted John Dwight at Fulham who had experimented with various types of ware and who was willing to carry out a trial with some Whitehaven clay.[100] The tax placed on earthenware was lifted in 1698 and this may have encouraged them to persevere in their experiments.[101]

Among other industries proposed at Whitehaven were linen making, tanning leather, and the manufacture of glass and copperas. Lowther made extensive enquiries about most of these ventures before they were attempted. The idea of making linen came to nothing because it could be bought more cheaply from both Ireland and Scotland, but the tannery was successfully established and it was thought that it would be even more profitable in peacetime than it had been during the war.[102] Both the copperas and glass making remained experimental during this period but show that both Gilpin and Lowther were aware of progress being made in various types of manufacture, and were eager to use such industries to promote the growth of the town.

The shortage of money caused by the stoppage of the coal trade and the recoinage hindered both the growth of industry and building. In 1696 Gilpin wrote, "building goes not so much forward as it did ... the reason is the difficulty of the coyn, the dearness of timber and deals, etc."[103] This contributed to unemployment. Gilpin complained that

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98. TT 1689 July 28, Sept.15
99. WG 1697 Nov.1, Dec.25
100. WG 1698 March 2, Sir J March 12
101. Sir J 1698 July 5
102. WG 1697 Aug.25
103. WG 1696 June 22

there were "such shoals of idle people (able enough to work) which go about, and live upon the industry of the rest, that if some care be not speedily taken to employ them, they will level us all."[104] He felt that if the parishes raised contributions towards putting these people to work, or erected workhouses, it would "ease the parishes in a great measure of the burthen of their poor and might in a little time perhaps settle such a manufacture as would be a general improvement to the county."[105] The wet summers and poor harvests must have also increased the hardships of the ordinary people but without more detailed evidence it is impossible to say whether the population of Whitehaven was poorer during the war years than it had been in peacetime.

However, it is clear that the war years did not stifle growth at Whitehaven. The basic ground plan and some important public buildings were constructed in the 1690s, the population of the town doubled and a number of industries were begun. The fact that Whitehaven did not continue to expand into a large manufacturing city was in part due to the fact that James Lowther did not follow his father's ideas for the town, seeing it merely as a port for the export of coal, but also because the high cost of living at Whitehaven and the lack of good communications by land made manufacturing unprofitable.

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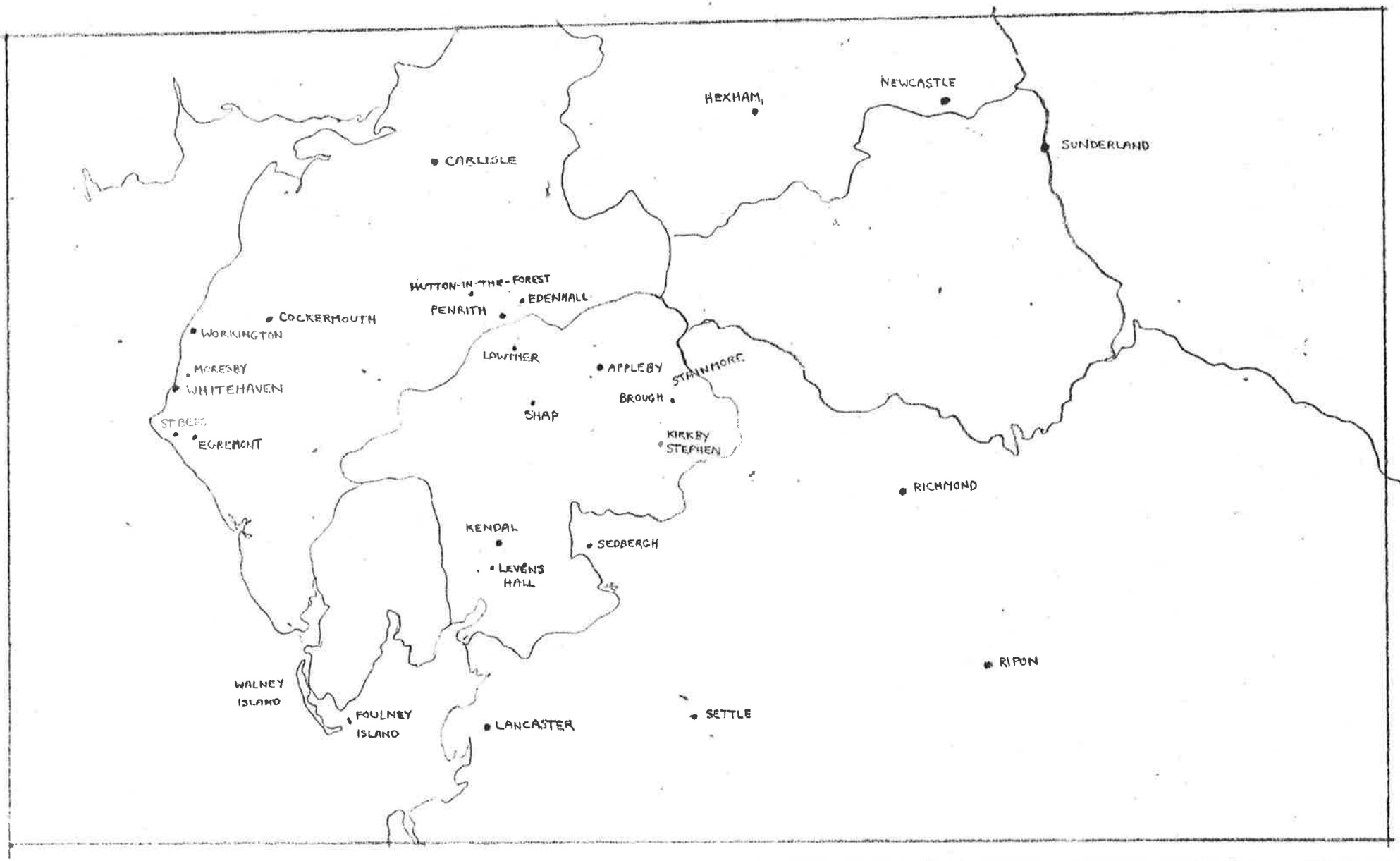
104. WG 1696 Sept.13 He expressed similar sentiments when writing of a proposal to turn Weary Croft into a bowling green. "I confess a thing which may prove an occasion of too much idleness to some, seems not very proper for a place which has nothing to depend upon but industry, yet they who are so disposed will always find occasions of misemploying their time and it may be worse, which this may in some measure prevent." 1697 June 6

105. WG 1696 Sept.13


HEXHAM
NEWCASTLE
SUNDERLAND
CARLISLE
HUTTON-IN-THE-FOREST
EDENHALL
PENRITH
COCKERMOUTH
WORKINGTON
LOWTHER
APPLEBY
STAINMORE
MORESBY
WHITEHAVEN
BROUGH
SHAP
ST BEES
EGREMONT
KIRKBY STEPHEN
RICHMOND
KENDAL
SEDBERGH
LEVENS HALL
RIPON
WALNEY ISLAND
FOULNEY ISLAND
LANCASTER
SETTLE

COMMUNICATIONS

Although Whitehaven was linked by sea to places as far away as the American colonies and the Baltic, and Whitehaven ships regularly visited nearby coastal towns and Dublin, voyages to and from London were rare, especially in wartime. Thus for the carriage of goods, returns of money, letters and visits to the capital and within the county, the people of Whitehaven were dependent on road transport. There was no improvement in the roads at this time but the frequency of the postal service was increased after representations to the authorities in London by both Lowther and the townspeople.

Most travel in the vicinity of Whitehaven appears to have been undertaken on horseback with wheeled vehicles being a rarity. In 1698 Lowther wrote to the Carlisle Corporation that he could not attend a meeting in Carlisle because he was too ill to ride and did not have a coach at Whitehaven.[1] Travel by coach was expensive. There is a record of a journey made in 1682 by Lowther from Stevenage via Grantham, Ripon, Appleby, Lowther and Sockbridge to Whitehaven and then back to London which was calculated to have taken sixty-one days and to have cost £29-12.0.[2] At election time the travelling by agents was done on horseback for which they received a riding allowance and even the leading from the mines to the harbour was done chiefly by pack-horse. John Spedding in an account of the coal workings at Whitehaven, claimed that John Gale had introduced carts into the countryside in the 1680s, "a cart being an uncommon thing here in those days."[3]

Undoubtedly the chief reason for the lack of vehicles was the roughness of the roads. This made travelling hazardous, especially in winter.

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1. Sir J 1698 Dec.20
2. D/Lons/W Commonplace Book 1672-94
3. Collieries 18, called John Spedding's Notebook c. 1705

Thus when Lady Lonsdale proposed to come over from Lowther to visit Sir John at Whitehaven in December 1701 he wrote,

> "so bad a season and such ill waies ... there is no coming through in one day at any time in the winter, neither can you come in a frost as you propose, for however a frost may make better travelling with you, we have seldom any here that will bear ..." [4]

Since Whitehaven was not a parish at this time, the upkeep of the roads lay with St Bees. In 1688 Tickell had persuaded William Fletcher to fine the parish at the quarter sessions for failing to repair the road between Whitehaven and St Bees, but the parishioners were anxious to avoid both the fine and the expense of repairs. Nor was the matter helped when one of the Addisons altered the route of the road near his quarry to suit himself and so wasted ten pounds of Lowther's money which Tickell had paid out for repairs.[5] Even in 1739 Sir John Clerk wrote of the road from Whitehaven to Workington that "the last three miles to Whitehaven are monstrously bad, rough and narrow."[6] There was probably little real improvement in the road surfaces until the establishment of turnpikes in the mid-eighteenth century.

The most regular link between Whitehaven and other county centres, and between Whitehaven and London, was provided by the carriers. Most of the services ran from Kendal. From there carriers travelled once a week to Kirkby Stephen, Dent, Richmond, Sedbergh, Newcastle, Leeds, Manchester, Wakefield, Norwich and King's Lynn, and twice a week to Penrith, Settle, Cockermouth, Liverpool, York and Hull.[7] Goods sent to London could travel via Lancaster, or follow the more direct route from Kendal to Settle, Carleton, Adderton, Rotheram, Mansfield, Mount Sorrel, Welford, Stony

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4. Sir J to Lady L 1701 Dec.12
5. TT 1688 July 10
6. Sir John Clerk, A Trip to Whitehaven to Visite The Coalworks There in 1739, ed. W.A.J. Prevost, (C.W.A.A.S. n.s. LXV 1965)
7. Commonplace Book 1672-94

Stratford and St Albans. The carriers on this route used sixty horses between them and the service took twelve days.[8] The carrier most frequently mentioned in the early correspondence was Sam Briggs who often carried bills of exchange for Lowther and his stewards. His regular London inn was The White Horse in Cripplegate.

There was no regular carrier service between Whitehaven and Kendal and so arrangements had to be made to collect goods from either Cockermouth or Penrith. In 1686 Lowther had discussed the possible establishment of a regular service between Whitehaven and Kendal with Sir Daniel Fleming. The London carriers arrived at Kendal on Tuesdays and set out again on the following Monday. Lowther thought that this would allow two days each way for the journey to Whitehaven and would be quicker than the way via Penrith, especially for people wishing to go to Ireland. Fleming doubted that the journey could be made in four days as the road over Hard Knot Pass was often impassable due to snow or rain and lacked good bridges.[9] Nothing came of this proposal, but in 1695 it was decided to set up a service between Whitehaven and Cockermouth.

Michael Tyson undertook to go from Cockermouth to Kendal every Saturday where he would collect goods delivered by the four London carriers who now arrived in Kendal on Wednesdays. He would return to Cockermouth on Thursday and proposed to run a twice weekly service to Whitehaven.[10] By 1697 the service was in the hands of two men, John Tyson of Ambleside who went from Kendal to Cockermouth every Wednesday and returned to Kendal on Saturday, and John Richardson who went from Cockermouth to Whitehaven on Thursdays. The charges for the carrier service varied. Some charged

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8. Commonplace Book 1672-94
9. H.M.C. Fleming p. 198-200, (February 1686)
10. WG 1695 July 10

by the pack, others by the stone. The cost from Kendal to Cockermouth was sixpence per stone with a charge of an additional twopence per stone for goods sent to Whitehaven.[11] In 1701 Lowther made an agreement with Arther Dixon, one of the Kendal carriers, to carry his goods between London and Kendal for twenty-two pence per stone and twopence per pound for parcels under a stone.[12]

Sixteen carriers are named as taking goods from Whitehaven, in a list of carriers in Lowther's commonplace book, but only the service to Penrith is noted as being regular, while those to Cockermouth, Kendal and Newcastle are noted as uncertain. The list probably dates from the late 1680s or early 1690s because apart from the service to Cockermouth set up in 1695, which is not mentioned, by 1699 there was a weekly service between Newcastle and Whitehaven.[13] Judging by the irregularity of the service most carriers must have had other occupations as well. Overall the services, especially those between Kendal and London, seem to have been well conducted and there are no complaints in the correspondence for this period of money or goods being lost or stolen.

Larger goods which could not be taken by pack-horse had to be sent by sea. When Lowther wished to send some of his household goods to Whitehaven in 1698 he asked his stewards whether there would be any Whitehaven ships travelling to London. During the war the risk of being taken by privateers had made such a voyage dangerous, but even with the return of peace Gale did not think that any Whitehaven ships would go to London that season. He suggested that Lowther put his goods on board

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11. WG 1697 Apr.28
12. Agreement signed by Arther Dixon 1701 June 25
13. Sir J to Christopher Teasdel 1699 Oct.9

a ship bound for Dublin;

> "direct Mr. Paynter what you will have don and then your goods need not be inspected by the Customs officers at Dublin but transhipped [sic] to another vessel bound hether, whereof there never fayles to be some or other in readiness." 14

This route had been used before and had been recommended by Tickell in 1691. However, Lowther was worried that in shipping them to Dublin his goods would become "a forreign export and consequently customs and search both in England and Ireland."[15] Other alternatives were suggested. Lowther thought that they could be sent either to Chester or Liverpool by cheesewaggons returning from London and then shipped from there to Whitehaven, but there was some doubt as to whether the cheesewaggons would continue to go to London now that the peace had made the sea route safe again. From Liverpool it would also have been possible to put the goods on board a ship going to Frodsham to take on iron ore and then on to Whitehaven, but there was no set sailing time for such vessels.[16]

The other alternative, and the route by which the goods were ultimately sent, was by sea to Newcastle and then overland to Whitehaven. Gale gave several examples of ships' anchors being brought from Newcastle to Whitehaven by cart, a service obviously unknown to Lowther for he commented that, had he known of it, he would have used that route during the war. It would have been safe to do so because, on account of London's dependence on coal from Newcastle, regular convoys of ships with naval escorts sailed between the two cities. Gale asked Lowther to specify the dimensions of his boxes so that the carrier could make his cart accordingly.[17] When it

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14. JG 1697 Oct.31
15. Sir J 1698 Apr.5
16. Sir J 1698 March 26, Apr.-, Apr.5
17. JG 1698 Apr.24, Sir J May 28

became clear in 1699 that Lowther would not be returning to London, he ordered the rest of his goods to be sent to Whitehaven, partly by carrier and partly by sea.

The other important link between Whitehaven and the rest of the country was the postal service. The frequency with which Lowther and his stewards corresponded is, in itself, proof that the postal service was regular and generally reliable. The stewards usually wrote to their master once a week adding an additional letter if something of importance occurred. At its best the post could deliver Lowther's letter to Whitehaven within five days and his stewards' within six, but in general letters took about a week in either direction. In 1689 Lowther told Tickell that letters reached him more promptly in London if they were addressed to him at the Admiralty Office rather than to his house.[18] This underlines Lowther's privileged position as a member of Parliament and an office holder for the postal service was in its infancy at this time and was operated for the convenience of the government rather than that of the general public. Both members of Parliament and peers had the privilege of franked mail which was carried free of charge provided that it was addressed in their own hand and weighed less than two ounces. Official correspondence and government proclamations, gazettes and pamphlets also shared the privilege of being carried free of charge.[19] For other letters the public paid at a rate of twopence for a single sheet for distances of less than eighty miles and threepence for distances greater than that, with a double charge for letters enclosed in a separate sheet of paper.[20] Within England and Scotland three posts a week were distributed from the stage towns. There,

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18. Sir J 1689 Oct.12

19. K. Ellis, The Post Office in the Eighteenth Century (London 1958), p.32

20. Flemings in Oxford, I p.213

a deputy postmaster sorted the letters which were delivered to him by postboy and later by mail coach. In the smaller towns where the Post Office had no officials of its own, it employed local inhabitants to act as part-time postmasters.[21] Frequently these were innkeepers and women as well as men were so employed.[22]

Until the 1680s there was no postal service directly to Whitehaven. It seems that letters were delivered to Carlisle and were sent on privately to Whitehaven. Lowther obviously needed an efficient service for the transaction of his business and made enquiries about the setting up of a route between Penrith and Whitehaven. This was established in May 1689 with John Gale as postmaster at Whitehaven and responsible for the service between there and Cockermouth, and Thomas Atkinson for that between Cockermouth and Penrith.[23] Later Gale grew tired of his position as postmaster and gave it to John Golding who owned an inn in the centre of the town.[24] The service must have been regarded as experimental by the Post Office because in December 1689 Lowther urged Gale to correspond with the Postmaster General so that it would not be thought unnecessary.[25]

Letters to Cumberland and Westmorland were sent either via Lancaster, or via York over Stainmoor to Appleby. Sir Daniel Fleming at Rydal received his letters via Lancaster if addressed to Kendal, but via York if addressed to Westmorland. In the latter instance they would be sent from Appleby to Penrith and then to Kendal which made them more expensive

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21. P.R.O. S.P. Wm & Mary 8/185
22. Sir J 1689 May 18 A Mrs. Willison is mentioned as being consulted about the service between Penrith and Whitehaven.
23. TT 1689 May 28
24. TT 1690 Dec.28
25. Sir J 1689 Dec.31

and increased the likelihood of loss.[26] Letters for Whitehaven were sent from York via Penrith and on one occasion during bad weather the post boy was drowned while crossing Stainmoor.[27] No matter which route was taken the postal service always deteriorated in the winter.[28]

Once the service to Whitehaven had been established there were two posts each week and in 1695 it was decided to ask for a third delivery.[29] It was requested because "(in winter especially) the Wednesday's post comes in so late at night and goes out so very early next morning that the Customhouse officers (as well as others) are often at a loss and business thereby hindred."[30] On further consideration Gilpin decided that three deliveries would be impossible unless all the stages southward were altered and so it seemed wiser to ask for an improvement in the existing service.

> "Our grievance is that whereas the post comes in at Penrith in the winter on Friday and Tuesday nights, it comes not here ordinarily till Saturday and Wednesday nights at eleven a'clock at night and very commonly not before Sunday and Thursday mornings. The stage betwixt Penrith and Whitehaven is but thirty miles so that if due care were taken wee might be served much more early."[31]

Gilpin gave several reasons for the poor service. He complained that the stage was too far for the inferior horses which were employed on it, and he suggested that it would be better if the Post Office employed someone to bring the mail from Cockermouth to Whitehaven, though to do so they would have to increase the salary. The post was also delayed at Cockermouth because the postmaster copied out the newsletter which came with it, before sending it on to Whitehaven.[32]

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26. Flemings in Oxford, III p.292, 296
27. JG 1696 Nov.15
28. TT 1692 Feb.21, JG 1693 Oct.8, WG 1696 Dec.23
29. WG 1695 Sept.7
30. WG 1695 Dec.4
31. WG 1696 Dec.23
32. ibid.

Both Gale and Gilpin complained about Atkinson, the postmaster at Cockermouth, who used the same horse to travel from Whitehaven to Penrith or "at other tymes hyring that duty by the great [sic, ?groat] to poor insolvent persons, at an under-rate, to the detriment of the publick and to the general prejudice of the Post office."[33] On other occasions he had entrusted it to women and children or people travelling by foot and so a number of letters had been lost.[34] When Lowther returned to Whitehaven to live he suggested several improvements to the postal service and pressed once more for a third delivery. In 1698 he wrote to Lord Carlisle suggesting that the stage from Richmond to Brough should by-pass Greta Bridge because the stages were unequal in length and the road from Greta Bridge to Brough was "the worst in England."[35] In the following year he wrote to Sir Thomas Frankland in London that the Whitehaven "merchants had better pay triple themselves than ride fruitlessly in the Night expecting their letters when the post outwards is often gon... before the other arrives, which gives their fellow Traders at Penrith and Carlisle an advantage over them."[36]

The Post Office, however, refused to pay Atkinson £25 a year for the increased delivery and in 1700 Lowther persuaded him to accept only £20 a year saying to the Post Office that it seemed "no unreasonable consideration for riding 70 Miles a Week the worst way in England."[37] By 1700 three posts a week were operating to Whitehaven.[38] However, the Whitehaven

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33. JG 1697 Jan.3
34. WG 1697 Dec.11
35. Sir J to Ld C 1698 Dec.18
36. Sir J to Sir Thomas Frankland 1699 Oct.-
37. Sir J 1700 Apr.29
38. The third delivery was granted from midsummer 1700. Sir Thomas Frankland & R. Cotton to Sir J 1700 June 13.

merchants were unable to send letters directly to places such as Bristol, Chester, Leeds or Manchester except via London. Lowther asked for a stage of sixteen miles to be made between Penrith and Kendal since posts from Kendal ran directly to these towns. The Post Office was unwilling to agree because of the loss of revenue which that would involve, for letters going via London paid sixpence while if they by-passed London they would only have to pay twopence or threepence at the most.[39]

Both the political upheaval in 1688 and the war had an effect on postal services. In December 1688 Lowther decided not to send any more electioneering letters to the county, "now when letters go safe."[40] From time to time postal officials were permitted to examine the mail for possible treasonable correspondence.[41] During the war in Ireland the link between Whitehaven and Ireland was important both for obtaining information about conditions in Ireland and for sending official correspondence from Ireland to Whitehaven and thence by special messenger to London. In April 1689 Admiral Herbert whose squadron was cruising off Ireland, stopped the Resolution which was homeward bound from Virginia, and wrote some letters which he gave to the captain. When the ship arrived at Whitehaven the letters were sent to London by an express.[42] Throughout the war the regular packet service between Dublin and Holyhead was threatened, and sometimes disrupted, by French privateers. All communications by sea became hazardous and people who could do so preferred to send their goods by land.

The war certainly hampered Whitehaven's communications by sea but made

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39. Sir J to Postmasters General 1703 Oct.10, Sir J to ? James 1703 Oct.26

40 Sir J 1688 Dec.8

41. CSPDom. 1689 May 25

42. TT 1689 Apr.21

little difference to those on land where the difficulties were a result of the weather and the bad condition of the roads. It seems unlikely that Whitehaven would have had such an efficient postal service without Lowther's influence and there was probably little change in the speed of the service until the introduction of mail coaches to the region in 1785. Indeed, it was not until the gradual improvement of road building techniques led to the greater use of wheeled transport that Whitehaven became more accessible by land.

PRACTICE AND PATRONAGE

The following chapters discuss three areas in which Whitehaven was linked to the county and the national community: the Customs service, the Church and the election of members of Parliament. The period after the Revolution of 1688 produced changes in all three, especially in the people involved in them, as the supporters of William III hastened to displace the supporters of James II. Both Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven and Sir John Lowther of Lowther were given offices in London and so their friends and dependants naturally turned to them for patronage. These chapters examine what can be learnt about the day to day workings of these organizations in Whitehaven in the 1690s and of the county network of patronage.

THE CUSTOMS SERVICE

A town only acquired its own customs establishment when it legally became a port. Whitehaven was a creek until 1681 at which time a Special Commission established its bounds, defined Workington and Milnthorpe as creeks under Whitehaven's jurisdiction and disallowed the creation of any further quays in the area.[1] Lowther secured Whitehaven's recognition as a port not only because of its growing trade but also to strengthen his legal position against attempts to improve the harbour at Parton. Under the terms of the commission Parton was not recognized as a creek but included within the bounds of Whitehaven which extended from "midstreame of the River Dudden south east to ten fathoms water seawards all allong the Coast to the North East side of the River Alan allias Elne."[2] Jarvis, in an article on the establishment of Cumbrian ports, notes that Whitehaven is unusual in having the hinterland assigned to it, rather than just the coastline. The only other ports to which this was also given were Berwick and Carlisle.[3] Although Whitehaven was now a port, it was only a member port of the head port of Carlisle, and so certain members of the Customs service were appointed to Carlisle and they in turn appointed deputies to Whitehaven.

Both the structure and the functioning of the Customs were complex. The Customs officers were not only expected to supervise the loading and unloading of ships and the collection of duty, but also to enforce trade embargoes, assist in the pressing of seamen, and in wartime to report on

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1. P.R.O. E 178 Special Commission 33 Charles II Oct.24
2. ibid.
3. R.C. Jarvis, "The Appointment of Ports in Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire-North-of-the-Sands", C.W.A.A.S. n.s. XLVII (1948) p.137

the movements of privateers and individuals who were suspected of treasonable activities.[4] In 1671 the Customs ceased to be farmed and a Commission was appointed to administer the service under the Lords of the Treasury.[5] The Customs officers were appointed by the Treasury, usually with the agreement of the Commissioners for Customs, either by patent or by Treasury warrant. Thus of the Customs officers, the collector, the most important officer in the port, was a Crown official, the customer, controller and searcher were patent officers appointed during pleasure and all the other minor officers were appointed by warrant.[6] The patent officers might be members of the gentry or even of the nobility and as such did not perform the actual duties of their office but appointed deputies in their place. Deputies were appointed from the head port to the member ports. When a deputy died he could only be replaced with the permission of the patent holder which could create problems when he was non-resident.[7] The system of deputies was open to abuse in the payment of wages because the deputy was dependent on the generosity of the patent holder for his payment. Each port had a customer who in turn appointed deputies to the creeks under that port, and when many of these patents were renewed in 1690 the Treasury insisted that all deputies must be paid at least £20 a year or else be allowed the profits of their creek.[8]

Most ports had a controller, a customer or a collector and a searcher. The controller was appointed to keep a check on the collector/customer by

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4. E.E. Hoon, The Organization of the English Customs System 1696-1786 (London 1968 ed.), p.40-4 for further duties.
5. ibid. p.7
6. ibid. p.195-6
7. ibid. p.15
8. S.B. Baxter, The Development of the Treasury 1660-1702 (London 1957) p.95

keeping his own accounts and overseeing the running of the port. The customer and collector were responsible for keeping the port books which recorded the inward and outward movement of ships, their cargo and the duty paid, for bonds entered by ships' masters and for coastal trade. They were required to send the port books to the Exchequer annually. Hoon, in her study of the English Customs service, says that the duties of the customer had become unimportant and that the return of the accounts was neglected. While this may be true of the eighteenth century, it does not appear to be true of the late seventeenth century and Tickell reported in 1689 that the Customs in London was threatening to prosecute some of the Whitehaven officers for their neglect of the accounts.[9] The searcher supervised exports and examined the cargo to ensure that the quality, weight and quantity agreed with that stated on the cocket[10] The other officers at a port would generally include a surveyor, landwaiters, tide-waiters and boatmen. These officials supervised the unloading of ships and compiled lists of the cargo. The number of officers employed in each port varied depending on the amount of trade passing through it.

At Whitehaven changes in the Customs officials were frequent and several officers either held office simultaneously at Whitehaven and Carlisle or transferred from one port to the other. In 1689 Matthew Miller appears to have been controller both at Whitehaven and Carlisle, while the collector at Whitehaven, Mark Wildbore, transferred to Carlisle in 1691. His place at Whitehaven was taken by Andrew Hudleston, a member of the gentry family

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9. Hoon op. cit. p.8, TT 1689 Sept.22

10. Hoon op. cit. p. 8-10 A cocket was a seal the two halves of which were in the possession of the collector and the controller who both had to seal any document, thus the certificate so sealed. ibid.p.xiv

from Hutton John.[11] The customer at Carlisle was William Christian who employed his nephew, Ewan, as his deputy at Whitehaven. Christian himself had acted as collector at Whitehaven in the early 1680s.[12]

During the reign of James II Catholics had been appointed to vacant offices in the Customs, or Protestant officers had been dismissed to make way for them. One of these was Thomas Tickell, who apart from being Lowther's steward, had been a surveyor at Whitehaven until his dismissal in May 1688 to make way for an Irish Catholic, John Booth.[13] The Calendar of Treasury Books states that Tickell relinquished his place, but Tickell's letters speak of dismissal by Sir Nicholas Butler.[14] Butler was a former nonconformist who had become a Catholic in order to hold his place and was employed by James II as an electoral agent. Tickell hoped that Lowther would be able to use his influence to have him restored to the surveyorship although he was sure that Booth would "goe off (or if he stay will be sued for not taking the oathes according to law or peradventure may be turned out by his religion as not rightly qualified.)"[15] James II's flight did not lead to an immediate upheaval in the customs and Booth was not dismissed until March 1689. However, his dismissal did not lead to Tickell's reinstatement because the high number of applicants for the vacancies caused by the dismissal of Catholics far exceeded the number of places.[16]

Although Lowther used his influence in London, Tickell had to wait for two years for his restoration. Tickell's position illustrates the truth of a

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11. TT 1689 March 19, CTB 1688 Feb.20
12. CTB 1689 Apr.20, WG 1696 Feb.5
13. CTB 1688 May 22. Joseph Curwen, another Catholic was appointed to Whitehaven as a waiter and searcher at the same time.
14. ibid. TT 1689 Apr.25
15. TT 1688 Dec.8
16. Baxter op. cit. p.93

statement made by Jarvis in his introduction to Hoon's book on the Customs: "patronage of itself did not assure appointment to office; it assured only nomination."[17] Tickell had the advantage of Lowther's patronage and of his previous Customs' service - fourteen years at Whitehaven prior to his dismissal and earlier service at Newcastle before the Civil War.[18] That he had difficulty in regaining his position in spite of these advantages illustrates the fierce competition for places. Tickell had hoped that Lowther might be able to have him restored as early as October 1688 when James II was hastily reversing some of his appointments, but Lowther had no special influence at that time.[19] Tickell pointed out the advantage to Lowther if he were in a position to prevent the masters from dumping ballast in the harbour, moreover if he had a salary which would enable him to employ a clerk he would be able to undertake Lowther's work for nothing.[20] However, in March 1689 the surveyorship was given to Fabian Steele and Tickell turned his hopes to the higher positions of collector or customer. His comments on these positions give some indication as to their advantages.

Tickell considered that he had most chance of obtaining the place of customer since William Christian's patent was held only during pleasure and Lowther put Tickell's name forward for the place if there should be a change in the patent. Christian's patron was Lord Danby and he held his place in spite of the fact that he had favoured the repeal of the penal laws and was in arrears to the Crown. The office of collector was "sedentary and tied to certain hours," however, Tickell confessed that he was not

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17. Hoon op. cit. p.xvi
18. TT 1689 Apr.25
19. TT 1688 Oct.19, Sir J Oct.23
20. TT Dec.11, 1689 Jan.13, March 21

"much in love to receive the King's moneys or returne it on myne owne charges because of the hazards in the returnes especially ..."[21] Failing either of these positions, when one of the landwaiters died in January 1690 Tickell suggested that rather than appoint a new one, the Commissioners ought to do away with some of the tidesmen and appoint a land surveyor and a tide surveyor, each with a salary of £40 a year. He favoured the position of land surveyor for himself since the other job was "laborious in boarding shipps not agreeable with my age."[22] Although he suffered further disappointments Tickell's hopes were raised when Sir John Lowther of Lowther was appointed one of the Lords of the Treasury in March 1690, and eventually in May of that year he was restored to the surveyorship.[23]

Tickell was not alone in asking Lowther to use his influence in this way, both Gilpin and John Gale jnr were persistent solicitors for customs' places. On taking up his duties at Whitehaven Gilpin wrote to Lowther, "I understand that Mr Tickell entertained an expectation of obtaining the Customer's place by your interest when it happened to fall, and I hope you will permit me now to have the same expectation."[24] Throughout the 1690s William Christian who was demanding a high price of Lowther for his collieries, hoped to tempt Gilpin to accept his offers by saying that he would sell him his customer's patent.[25] Nothing came of this although Lowther obviously worked on his behalf in London and in 1697 he thought that he had secured the customer's place for Gilpin but had to write "to my great disappointment and unexpected by those I had engaged, both their interest

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21. TT 1689 March 21, 24.
22. TT 1690 Jan.5
23. TT 1690 May 18
24. WG 1693 Feb.15
25. WG 1695 May 15, 1696 Feb.3

and mine was superceeded by a higher hand."[26] Gilpin's hopes were raised again in 1698 when the collector, Andrew Hudleston was dismissed but he was once more disappointed. This was due in part to the reluctance of the Commissioners to appoint officers who were resident in the port. Official policy forbade it, although exceptions were sometimes made. Tickell had pointed to the situation at Carlisle where both the surveyor and one of the landwaiters were residents, and although the policy was waived in Tickell's place, Gilpin was not so fortunate.[27] Lowther admitted that it was "every man's interest to doe for others in any manner depending or related to him, but sucsess in recommendations is strangely capricious."[28] He persisted in his efforts on Gilpin's behalf and in 1701 applied to Lord Carlisle telling how useful Gilpin had been to their interest during the election and asking for a patent office as a reward.[29] Although places in both the customs and excise were often used to reward political supporters, Gilpin had to resign himself to not obtaining one.

John Gale jnr hoped to enter the Customs service in Ireland, after failing to obtain a position at Carlisle. Gale accused William Christian of having influenced the Commissioners against his son because of Gale's unfavourable valuation of the collieries that he was hoping to sell to Lowther.[30] Gale pointed out the advantage to the town of having a correspondent in Ireland and asked Lowther to recommend his son to Lord Capell, one of the Lord

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26. Sir J 1697 Sept.18
27. TT 1689 March 3, for other comments on residence see Sir J 1689 Feb.27, March 2, WG 1698 March 14, Sir J March 22.
28. Sir J 1698 Apr.2
29. Sir J to Ld C 1701 Jan. -
30. JG 1693 June 11

Justices of Ireland. Failing assistance from Lowther Gale hoped that Sir George Fletcher might be able to do something.[31] John Gale jnr went to Ireland and it is unclear whether he received a minor position and hoped for preferment to a higher one or whether he had not been given any position at all.[32] Apparently it was the usual practice of the Commissioners in Ireland to transfer officers from Dublin to country ports and to employ new officers in Dublin at the end of the Christmas quarter.[33] John Gale jnr hoped that he might obtain the place of a landwaiter at that time but does not appear to have done so for during the course of the 1690s Gale asked Lowther for his patronage.[34] However, John Gale jnr does not appear to have obtained a place either.

One of the reasons for the eagerness of people to obtain places in the Customs was the prospect of receiving a regular salary. The amount actually received varied not only according to the position, but also to the whims of the Commissioners for Customs. In 1682 Tickell received an annual salary of which £25 was to enable him to keep a horse. His actual salary must have been higher because in 1683 William Kirkby who was Surveyor-General of the area had his district increased to extend from Lancaster to Carlisle, and his salary increased to £50 a year, of which £25 was to come out of Tickell's salary.[35] Later in 1683 the Treasury approved the payment of an additional £5 a year to Tickell to bring his salary to £20 a year.[36] Tickell himself wrote that he had been paid £40 a year prior to his

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31. JG 1693 July 2
32. JG 1693 Nov.5, Dec.20
33. JG 1693 Nov.12
34. JG 1694 Jan.28, July 18, 1697 Nov.14
35. CTB 1682 Apr.10, 1683 Feb.15
36. CTB 1683 July 26

dismissal but that Sir Nicholas Butler had reduced his salary to only £20 a year and given the rest to Kirkby.[37]

Customs officers were paid incidental allowances as well as their salaries and might receive them for specific purposes. William Christian received an additional £10 a year in 1682 when he returned money from Whitehaven as well as carrying out duties at Carlisle, and a further £10 a year for the employment of a clerk.[38] In 1692 Christian received an extra £18 a year above his salary for the return of the Carlisle port books.[39] In 1695 when Christian wished to sell his patent to Gilpin, he claimed that his place was worth £300 a year, but Gilpin rated it at £158. He arrived at this figure after calculating both Christian's income and his expenses. According to this Christian's salary was only £30 a year but he earned £122 in fees from Whitehaven and £34 in fees from Carlisle per annum. From this had to be deducted the salaries of deputies at both Whitehaven -£20 a year, and at Carlisle - £12 a year and fees of £5.[40] In October 1696 the annual salaries of the Customs officers at Whitehaven were increased and the incidents abolished. Thus, the salary of the surveyor rose from £30 to £40, his incident of £10 being part of his salary. The salaries of the tidesmen were now set at £25 a year, those of the porters and boat-men at £20 and of the landwaiters at £30 a year.[41]

Customs officers were forbidden to carry on additional employment, especially any connected with trade. Thomas Addison who had been searcher at Whitehaven in the 1680s had given up his place rather than abandon his trading interests but some officers were less scrupulous. In 1698 Lowther wondered how

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37. TT 1690 May 21
38. CTB 1682 July 22
39. CTB 1692 July 21
40. Enclosure to WG 1695 May 15
41. P.R.O. T 11/13 p.298

Richard Eaglesfield would act once it were known that he had both a Customs' place and kept a malt house.[42] Officers could be dismissed for misconduct and there were a number of examples of this both at Carlisle and Whitehaven. Richard Bere, the collector at Carlisle was dismissed for fraud in 1691 and the surveyor at Workington was arrested for debt in 1694.[43] There were extreme examples such as that of Nehemiah Williamson, the patent searcher at Whitehaven and then at Carlisle, whose

> "extortion and oppression in his imployment is abominable, also exacting moneys frequently upon merchants, seamen and passengers, sometimes threatening to stay the ship ready to sayle one tide at least, by virtue of his office under suspicion of uncustomed or prohibited goods aboard; otherwise telling the passengers that without moneys given him he will not permitt them to be exported." 44

Williamson used his authority against Scottish pedlars in a similar way and was dismissed in 1691.[45] In 1694 Gale complained that Robert Eden, one of the landwaiters, was "such a person as a man would admire to see him applyed to any other business than that of sotting, drinking, and swearing." Eden made no attempt to apply himself to business and in 1695 Gilpin reported that he was under suspicion and that William Kirkby was going to have him dismissed.[46] Other officers appeared incapable of carrying out their duties like the tidesman, "one Mr Daniell, a weake aged person scarse able to gett on board a shipp and so much otherwise incumbred that for these 5 months last past he has not appeared in towne."[47] Mark Wildbore, the collector at Whitehaven in the early 1690s had a chequered career. He was questioned as to whether he had taken the oaths and the

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42. Sir J 1698 Apr.2
43. CTB 1691 Apr.16, JG 1694 Jan.28
44. TT 1690 June 1
45. CTB 1691 Jan.2
46. JG 1694 Dec.30, WG 1695 June 1
47. JG 1694 Dec.30

Test Act, presumably at the instigation of Andrew Hudleston who wanted his place, just after the Revolution. Wildbore considered going to Ireland where he thought he could obtain a post through General Ginkel, but does not appear to have considered taking the oaths because he was dismissed for not doing so in July 1690. However, in spite of his dismissal, he was re-employed in the Customs in 1691 as collector at Carlisle.[48] In 1693 he was arrested over the "French Act about brandy etc."[49] Either he was found to be not guilty of any offence or it was ignored because he continued in Customs employment, being transferred to Harwich in 1694 from where he was again dismissed in 1700.[50] Andrew Hudleston who replaced him as collector at Whitehaven in 1690 was himself dismissed in 1698 on a charge of the misuse of exchequer bills.[51] Thus both at Whitehaven and Carlisle there were frequent changes in the men employed by the Customs, but it appears that unless an offence were judged to be of major importance, even dismissal from the service did not necessarily finish a man's career in the Customs.

The number of people employed in the Customs at Whitehaven provides further evidence of Whitehaven's growth in the 1690s for in 1696 the Commissioners for Customs appointed additional officers "in regard of the great encrease of Trade in that port the service having been hitherto performed by extraordinary men."[52] A third landwaiter was appointed and the existing six tidesmen and boatmen had a further six added to their number, while the number of porters and tidesmen was doubled from two to four.[53] Even these

48. CTB 1690 July 16, 1691 Apr.26
49. JG 1693 June 7
50. CTB 1694 July 6, 1700 July 23
51. WG 1698 March 14. See below the chapter on Wartime Taxation
52. P.R.O. T 11/13 p.298
53. ibid.

additional men cannot have been adequate to cope with the increase in Whitehaven's trade because in 1698 Gale observed:

> "... it frequently happens that all the officers they have are not sufficient to gaurd [sic] the plantations shipps, but they are necessitated to call in all those at Workington, and over and beside frequently to hyre 10 or a dozen supernumeraryes, not will there yett be at such times one man left to gaurd the coale shipps, or soe much as to surveigh a new unknown shipp or stranger, that the master will then enter his whole lading at the Customs House, where they are glad to take such report as that master's discretion is willing to make of such unknowen bottome." [54]

This practice obviously encouraged fraud and even the normal procedure with the coal ships was lax.

Since "the Customs officers are not oblieged to attend any longer than between sun and sun in winter and 6 and 6 a clock in the summer halfe year", and a lot of the loading was done at night when the officers were not at hand, they were compelled to rely on the honesty of the masters for determining the duty payable on the coal.[55] Loading was carried out at night in order to take full advantage of the tides. Gale explained that the Customs officers supervised a ship's loading for as many times as it took to make an estimate of the ship's capacity and,

> "ever after they keep the master up to that entry, which if he submitt and pay his duty accordingly, they never give him farther trouble; and thus at all such times of admeasurement the master forbears to fill his shipp so full as at other times he would. Whereby he saves ordnarily 10 or 15 chalder in 100 and for this reason it is, that our masters are extream nice in the discovery of what chalders their shipps take in ... " [56]

If a ship were detected in such a deception it would then be checked on each subsequent occasion, but as the Customs could not check every ship there must have been a considerable discrepancy between the amount of

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54. JG 1698 May 1

55. JG 1698 Apr.27

56. ibid.

coal recorded in the port books and the actual amount shipped. Indeed in 1696 Gilpin wrote to Lowther that the Customs figures were very uncertain and that for the last quarter they had "only 21,635 tuns 4 C. entred, whereas you will observ by the bills that there was more exported of your coals only."[57] It is not clear whether similar practices applied to the colonial trade also, but it underlines the danger of uncritical acceptance of Customs records in the formulation of a port's trading patterns.

The other chief deception practised on the Customs by ships trading from Whitehaven, was that of Scottish ships which evaded the restrictions on trade with the Colonies by pretending to be English ships. There were some Scots living at Whitehaven and involved in trade but other ships were freighted by Scots from Scotland. In 1697 Gale noted that of the ships being fitted out for the plantation trade, eight were done so by Scottish merchants and it was feared that some of them would return directly to Scotland instead of to Whitehaven.[58] One ship, the Mayflower, was seized by the Customs for its involvement in this illegal trade. She was owned by Scots but for many years two Whitehaven merchants, Rowland Jackson and Robert Biglands had sworn that she was an English ship. Jackson and Biglands had subsequently quarrelled and when Jackson also fell out with one of the Customs officers, Biglands had told the officer the truth about the Mayflower's ownership. "Jackson does now own more remorse for having so often sworn that the ship was owned by Englishmen, than for the loss that is like to befall him and accuses Mr. B[iglands] for having drawn him into that snare by telling him that it was but a Custom House oath!"[59] Gilpin's comment gives an indication of the attitude of the masters towards the

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57. WG 1696 Apr.26
58. JG 1697 Nov.14, WG Nov.1, 14
59. WG 1697 Nov.22

Customs and it is possible that there were other Scottish ships operating in the same manner.

The Commissioners in London suspected another illegal practice at Whitehaven, namely the importation of Irish wool into Scotland. It was forbidden to export raw wool to Scotland and Gilpin denied that Whitehaven was engaged in doing so, saying the accusation was but "meer suspicion grounded upon our neighbourhood to Scotland. Or perhaps mistaken for what was said to have been done some years ago by a gentleman that lives upon the border."[60] He declared that the Commissioners would find from the port books that scarcely any wool at all had been recently imported into Whitehaven.

The proximity of Scotland also made the Customs vigilant fearing that French goods might be smuggled into England, for the Scots continued to trade with France throughout the war in spite of the restrictions against doing so. William Kirkby, writing from Whitehaven in 1695 said that although he had proof of direct trade between Scotland and the Colonies, and between Scotland and France, he had not discovered any smuggling of French goods.[61] Some smuggling probably did take place as in 1693 when both the collector and the surveyor at Carlisle were arrested on suspicion about "the French Act about brandy etc."[62]

The other source of conflict between the Whitehaven masters and the Customs in this period was about the coal chaldron. This complicated dispute centred on the size and weight of the chalder, with the masters upholding the local measure and the Commissioners in London trying to

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60. WG 1697 Dec.18

61. CSPDom. 1695 June 8 - letter from William Kirkby to the Commissioners of Customs.

62. JG 1693 June 7

impose the London measure.[63] The laxity of the Customs officers in ascertaining the colliers' loadings also played a part in the matter, for Gilpin commented that the Customs officers in Wales gave "such liberal allowances ... to the exporter ... that a ship which enters 90 tun, enters there only 70 or 75. An equal chalder, and equal care in other ports may prevent an overballance at home."[64] Another source of friction between the masters and the Customs was the employment of Customs officers to press seamen for the navy. Apart from acting as conductors and receivers of pressed men, the Customs officers would delay clearing the ships in harbour while the required number of seamen were removed from them.[65] To assist the press the local Customs officers were asked to send lists of seamen in their ports to the Commissioners in London.[66] This system was in operation even before 1696 when an attempt was made to draw up a national register of seamen. Those seamen who registered would be entitled to increased prize money, be eligible for admission to Greenwich Hospital and have provision made for their wives and children if they were killed while serving in the navy. However,many seamen feared that the lists would be used by the press and so refused to register causing the eventual abandonment of the scheme.[67] Other duties undertaken by Whitehaven Customs officers during the war included acting as agents for the transport service and arresting persons suspected of being Jacobites. The chief burden of organization in the hiring of Whitehaven ships as transports for troops fell to the collector, Mark Wildbore. He also had to advance money to various officers going to

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63. See Appendix B. The masters presented a petition to the Customs in 1689. Commonplace Book 1671-1689

64. WG 1695 Jan.9

65. For the operation of the press at Whitehaven, see chapter on Trade.

66. TT 1690 Oct.22

67. Ehrman op. cit. p.600-2

Ireland and was still petitioning for reimbursement in 1700 for expenses incurred ten years earlier.[68] Whitehaven's proximity to Ireland made it a likely embarkation port for Irish Jacobites. Both during the war in Ireland and at time of emergency, for example after the discovery of a plot against William III's life in 1696, the Customs were ordered to be especially watchful. People travelling to Ireland were required to have passes and in 1696 a dispute arose between Gilpin as Deputy Vice-Admiral of the county and the collector at Whitehaven as to whom the final authority was in such matters. Gilpin reported; "There happen to be here, Lord Gormanston and others, papists, waiting a fair wind for Ireland, some of which having refused the oaths are disarmed and paid their fines."[69] An embargo was laid on shipping to Ireland but Gilpin complained that the collector had signed passes for twenty-six of these people to cross to Ireland although some of them were said "to have talked very unhandsomly of the government ..."[70] Gilpin had told the ships' masters not to take them on board, and the other customs officers had said that they should be required to take the oaths, but the Collector had ignored them and allowed the people to sail.

The collector, Andrew Hudleston, was also involved in more serious misconduct during the coinage crisis. Three farmers who were going to the Isle of Man to buy cattle had asked Hudleston if they could take coin there. Hudleston had not told them that it would be illegal but when they were about to sail he had seized their money. The farmers had complained to the Commissioners for Customs who had ordered the return

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68. CTB 1700 June 3. See also chapter on the War.

69. WG 1696 March 2

70. WG 1696 Apr.-, also CSPDom 1696 March 7

of the money.[71] The Commissioners had been more alarmed by Hudleston's implication in his father's misuse of exchequer bills and he was dismissed in 1698.[72] Thus a number of Whitehaven officials took advantage of the opportunities for corruption offered by the service, but it should be pointed out that most of them were dismissed when the Commissioners were informed of their misconduct.

Nothing can be definitely stated about the amount of revenue raised by the Customs at Whitehaven during the 1690s. The port books for the 1690s are missing, and it has already been noted that the figures that were recorded for coal exports were inaccurate. The figures for isolated commodities which appear in the Calendar of Treasury Books show considerable fluctuations. Thus in the year Sept. 1695 - Sept. 1696 the combined duty for tobacco and sugar, paid at Whitehaven, was £4,316-18-1¼, but for the year Sept. 1696 - Sept. 1697 Whitehaven paid only £600.[73] Thus no specific conclusions may be drawn about the effects of losses to privateers, the increased duties of the war years and the coinage crisis upon the customs revenue. However, the fact that the number of Customs officers was increased during the war, and that even this increased number was felt to be insufficient, suggests that the volume of trade passing through Whitehaven and the duty paid on it must have increased markedly during the 1690s.

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71. P.R.O. T 4/7. T 11/13. Also JG 1697 Jan.10. Gale said that the men had claimed to have bills and letters of credit but no cash.

72. See chapter on Wartime Taxation.

73. CTB Introduction to Vol. XI-XVII p. ccccxxix-xxxvi. In 1695-96 Whitehaven ranked second to Bristol which paid over £60,000 in duty on tobacco and sugar, but in 1696-97 Whitehaven trailed behind Bristol with a payment of over £13,000 and Liverpool with over £9,000. There is insufficient evidence to state the cause of the drop in revenue but the activities of privateers may account for part of it.

Lowther had no control over the activities of the Customs officers in Whitehaven although he was largely responsible for Whitehaven gaining its own Customs establishment and status as a port. Nor did he have a monopoly on patronage in spite of Gilpin's comment that " 'tis most proper that the places here be disposed by your interest."[74] Both the Commissioners for Customs and the Lords of the Treasury were anxious to maintain their patronage and often overruled nominations made to them. Thus while working in the local community the Customs officers were paid by, and were responsible to, the authorities in London, and were probably the only group of people in Whitehaven at that time who could be said to be government officials.

74. WG 1694 Apr.9

THE CHURCH

The clergy, like the Customs officers, were members of a national organization and the close relationship between the Crown and the Church in the seventeenth century meant that each political upheaval led to a corresponding change within the Church. However, by the late seventeenth century hopes of a reconciliation with Rome, on the one hand, and a comprehension of the Dissenters on the other, had given way to a grudging toleration. Some of the tensions in the religious life of the nation are reflected in the relations between the Anglicans and Dissenters in Whitehaven, of which a vivid example may be seen within the Gale family. A study of the clergy mentioned in the Lowther correspondence for this period reveals not only the working of patronage but also the intense competition for vacant livings. This is particularly demonstrated by the number of clergy who sought to obtain the office of minister at Whitehaven when it fell vacant in the early 1690s.

The seventeenth century was a time of religious conflict. The Restoration settlement reaffirmed the Anglicanism of the upper clergy, many of whom had either gone into exile or been dispossessed during the Civil War. Many of the lower clergy, however, retained their presbyterian sympathies.[1] The position of the Church in the late seventeenth century was further complicated by the fact that none of the Kings was wholly in sympathy with Anglicanism: Charles II had Catholic leanings, James II was openly Catholic and William III was Calvinist. James II had tried to persuade the Church to accept toleration for both Catholics and Dissenters. This provoked the famous protest by the seven bishops and much disquiet among the laity who feared that this was merely a prelude to the introduction of a policy of militant Catholicism similar to that being practised by Louis XIV in

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1. N. Sykes, Church and State in England in the XVIII Century (Cambridge 1934) p.8-12

France. Ironically, James's departure, instead of unifying the Church about its Protestant defender, William of Orange, led to a further split, when many of the clergy declared that having taken an oath of allegiance to James, which could only be cancelled by his death, they could not take one to William. These clergy who refused to do so and who were dispossessed were known as non-jurors. William was not particularly interested in ecclestical affairs which, beyond securing a measure of toleration for the Dissenters, he was content to leave to Mary, and after her death, to an ecclesiastical commission.[2] Conflicting purpose at the highest levels must have led to confusion at the parish level not only in the relationship between the established Church and the Catholic and Dissenting minorities, but also in matters of form and doctrine, thus preparing the way for the Anglican decline in the eighteenth century.

In the seventeenth century Whitehaven and St Bees were within the diocese of Chester and not that of Carlisle, in which they are today. Thus tithes were paid to the Bishop of Chester and he visited the parish for confirmations and in 1693 consecrated the new church at Whitehaven. There were two bishops during this period, Thomas Cartwright and Nicholas Stratford. Thomas Cartwright was a supporter of James II and was presented by him to the see of Chester in October 1686, appointed to the Commission for Ecclesiastical Affairs in October 1687 and followed James into exile, both in France and in Ireland, where he died in April 1689. Nicholas Stratford succeeded him in September 1689 and remained at Chester until his death in 1707. Both men appear to have visited their diocese regularly and neither seems to have been actively hostile to either Catholics or

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2. For William's attitude to the Church see, G.V. Bennett, King William III and the Episcopate", in G.V. Bennett & J.D. Walsh (eds.) Essays in Modern English Church History in Memory of Norman Sykes (London 1966)

Dissenters. Cartwright had been brought up as a Presbyterian and was accused of being too favourable to Catholics under James while Stratford was regarded as a latitudinarian and voted for the Occasional Conformity Bill in 1703.

None of the livings in the immediate vicinity of Whitehaven were in the Bishop's gift. Most were in lay hands, with the exception of St Bees school which was in the gift of the Provost of Queen's College Oxford. Many of the local gentry had livings in their gift, including William Fletcher of Moresby whose Catholicism does not appear to have excluded him from being patron of Moresby. Sir John Lowther was patron of the livings of St Bees, Distington and Barton in Westmorland. He was on friendly terms with Cartwright and his interest in clerical patronage made a number of clergy turn to him for assistance in finding a living. These included George Fleming, one of Sir Daniel Fleming's sons, Richard Tickell, son of his steward and Tickell's sons-in-law, Dr Thomas Wilson and Richard Jackson.[4] However, the appointment which caused Lowther the most anxiety was that of the minister at Whitehaven. The difficulty arose because as Whitehaven was not a living Lowther could not present someone himself, but was obliged to consult the wishes of the congregation.

The office of minister at Whitehaven fell vacant in March 1689 when the then incumbent, Philip Bennet, resigned, possibly as a non-juror.[5] Tickell and Gale agreed that until a new minister could be chosen, one Parkinson, a Protestant clergyman from Ireland, should conduct services at Whitehaven. Parkinson was one of the many refugees who had fled from

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3. The Diary of Thomas Cartwright, Bishop of Chester (Camden Society 1843), Sykes op. cit. p.35

4. see below for details.

5. TT 1689 March 14

Ireland at the beginning of the war. The stewards decided it would be better to take advantage of his presence rather than allow a continuation of the unseemly quarrelling between the reader and the schoolmaster, neither of whom was considered suitable to fill the place.[6] Although the stewards were in agreement as to the choice of minister, one of the Addisons put forward another candidate, one Cole, of whom neither Tickell nor Gale could say a kind word. Gale wrote,

> "(he) seemes to be of a haughty mind and carriage, altho' hee is not in want. He dwell [sic] in Antigua and kept a sugar house there, that he bought and since sould as he saith and married his servant woman as I am told by whom he has 2 children and she now ready to ly inn here of another Birth which shapes to be a standing charge here." 7

Cole left Whitehaven after Parkinson was chosen as minister. There was obviously a certain reluctance to fill Bennet's place while he was still alive and it was not until his death, in August of that year, that Tickell wrote to Lowther that he now had "a cleare opportunity to nominate a new minister for this towne."[8] No mention is made of an election at this time and nothing was done until July 1690 when Parkinson and most of the other Irish Protestants decided to return home. Tickell wrote.

> "I do not heare of any that desyres this place nor is there any hopes that I yet know on to get a needful support for a good preacher. A nonconformist that came from Dublin viz. Mr Smith, is yet here and serves those dissenters who while they have him are not likely to contribute with us for a conformist." 9

Whitehaven would not have seemed an attractive prospect for an ambitious clergyman. The salary was not set at a fixed rate and there were no tithes because it was not a living. Furthermore the only church was a

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6. TT 1689 Apr.15, May 7, JG 1689 May 28 in Commonplace Book 1672-84.
7. JG ibid.
8 TT 1689 Aug.7
9. TT 1690 July 27

small chapel in a poor state of repair. In general, clergy in the north of England were poorly paid and there were instances of curates being paid as little as £3 - £4 a year.[10] When he dedicated the new church in 1693 the Bishop of Chester stipulated that the priest or curate appointed must be paid "the yearly stipend of Forty Pounds at the least."[11] The minister's salary was not settled until after most of the candidates had presented themselves at Whitehaven. Then it was decided to raise the sum of eighty pounds a year and this was later raised to one hundred pounds.[12] There must have been a large number of contributors because Lowther paid only £7-4-0 a year.[13] Lowther also paid a salary of £12 a year to Richard Stainton, the curate at St Bees. Stainton does not however, seem to have been as poor as this income would suggest. He rented both the small tithes of St Bees and the tithe corn of St Bees from Lowther. He also rented the quarry closes and in the late 1690s was paid by Lowther for his efforts in promoting woollen manufacture. All of the rents involved sums considerably higher than his salary.[14]

By the time that a minister was to be chosen for Whitehaven several changes had taken place. The new church had been built, the Dissenters had acquired their own minister and Tickell had died and been replaced by Gilpin. This latter change is very important. In the absence of Lowther it was essential that his stewards should be in agreement on such a question. Instead they quarrelled openly and the actual choosing

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10. Sykes op. cit. p.206
11. W. Jackson, "Whitehaven and its Old Church" in Papers and Pedigrees mainly relating to Cumberland and Westmorland (London 1892) II p.104
12. JG 1694 Jan.7, 1695 Jan.13
13. D/Lons/W WG Estate Accounts 1693-9 (hereafter cited as Accounts)
14. ibid. The rent for the tithe corn was £35 p.a. and for the quarry closes, £19 in six months in 1697.

of the minister was allowed to drag on for over a year and caused ill feeling among the different factions in the congregation.

Gilpin's father, Richard Gilpin, was one of the best known Dissenting preachers in the north. He was the founder of the Cumberland and Westmorland Association and responsible in part for the principles of agreement drawn up by the Dissenters. Gilpin's brother, John, was a Dissenter, one of his sisters, Dorothy, was married to a Dissenting clergyman, Dr Jabez Cay of Newcastle, and Gilpin's own wife had Dissenting relations and may have been a Dissenter.[15] Gilpin himself was an Anglican but such family connections made him suspect in the eyes of Gale who was a fervent Anglican.[16] Gale and Gilpin might have come to an agreement on the subject more readily if it had not been for the religious differences within the Gale family. The strength of John and Ebenezer's attachment to the Anglican church was matched by that of their mother and brother Elisha's attachment to the Dissenters and no tolerance was shown on either side.

Once the new church had been built the choice of minister was no longer solely in Lowther's hands. Lowther could have retained the choice if he had been willing to pay the minister's salary himself but as it was to be raised by contribution, it was agreed that the contributors to the church building would be allowed to vote for two candidates and the one who received the most votes would be appointed minister by Lowther. It appears

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15. B. Nightingale. The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmorland (Manchester 1911) I p.90-7 for articles of agreement, p.459-73 for Richard Gilpin, p.471 Jabez Cay.

16. The preamble to Gale's will reads in part: "In the Name of the Holly Blessed and undivided Trinity, Three Persons and One God according to the Faith of the Church of England (of which I dye a true Member) as Expressed in that Summary of Faith commonly called the Apostles Creed, more fully explained in that of St Athanasius ... " His first bequest is that of his church pews and he left money for the maintenance of the minister. Preston Record Office. Probate Records 1716

that those people who contributed to the upkeep of the church were also allowed to vote and by the early eighteenth century "all proprietors of pews paying 12d in the £ according to the value of their pews being inhabitants and all other inhabitants who contribute 12d per annum or more to the maintenance of the Minister ..." had the right to vote.[17] At the time of the building of the new church in 1693 sixty-four people were listed as contributors and one hundred and forty-two as having pews.[18] Several women were included amongst the contributors, thus making the parish franchise wider than the political one.

Lowther himself does not appear to have had a particular candidate in mind but was anxious to prevent disputes which would split the congregation. He left the overseeing of the candidates and their election to his stewards but on account of their disagreements and the uncertain temper of some of the contenders, the choice of a minister aroused much feeling in the town. Part of this was attributable to James Marr, one of the earliest and most persistent claimants. A displaced Scottish Episcopalian, he had been licensed as a curate at Crosthwaite in January 1690 and after Parkinson's departure was paid by Lowther as curate at Whitehaven at the old chapel.[19] At first he was welcomed as a popular preacher who seemed likely to appeal both to the Anglicans and to the Dissenters, but it was not long before both Gale and Gilpin were complaining of his pretensions. His right to preach in the old chapel did not extend to the new church but Marr judged that it did and wished to be appointed to the new church without an election.[20] Marr disputed the right of anyone else to preach at Whitehaven,

17. D/Lons/W Churches and Chapels. Report on a law suit in 1724

18. Jackson op. cit. p.98 diagram of the pews

19. TT 1690 Aug.31 Episcopalians were expelled from Scotland when the Revolution settlement made Presbyterianism the official religion.

20. WG 1693 July 1, 29

Gale thought that the Bishop might be more ready to listen to the Bishop of Carlisle who had once revoked Marr's licence for maladministration than to their complaints.[25] He also thought that they would be unlikely to obtain a settled maintenance for a minister while the town remained divided between the supporters and opponents of Marr.[26] Marr still had a considerable number of supporters for in September a joint letter was written to Lowther in favour of Marr signed by forty-seven townspeople. They defended him against "those libels and aspersions put upon him" and complained that they were not being consulted about the choice of minister.[27] They said that when they were summoned, " 'tis then only to be imposed on, and there to pay or signe what is thought fit by those who will be the head, without rendring any the least reason but only that, upon our denyall, we must part with our intrest and money laid out."[28]

However, further doubts were cast on Marr's suitability in December 1693 when his maid,

> "came to make an information against him for attempting to force her. But upon examination it amounted to no more than sollicitations, and some amorous struglings. Yet I perceiv the girl, when she comes away, suspected herself with child, and has been dabling with potions." 29

Lancelot Teasdale, one of the other clergymen in Whitehaven, who had suffered at Marr's hands seized the opportunity to preach a sermon on the text, "Wee comman you brethren in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ that you withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly."[30]

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25. JG 1693 Aug.13
26. JG 1693 Sept.3
27. Some inhabitants of Whitehaven to Sir J 1693 Sept.6. The writers included both Anglicans and Dissenters.
28. ibid.
29. WG 1693 Dec.2

Marr thought it wise to withdraw, especially as his maid proved to be with child and in late December Gale was able to report that Marr's supporters had "dwindled to a very small number, either fooles or foolish concieted weomen without either name, or shame."[31] Nevertheless, Marr's withdrawal was not permanent and when the position of minister remained vacant into 1694 he took advantage of a funeral to reassert his right to preach in the old chapel.[32] The pulling down of the old chapel forced Marr to transfer his preaching to smaller country towns about Whitehaven, and at one time he said he would renounce his orders and become a Presbyterian.[33] Whether he did so or not is uncertain but after the settlement of the new minister he withdrew from Whitehaven and is not mentioned again.

Marr's preaching had popular appeal and several of the other clergymen who came to Whitehaven to seek the position of minister were put at a disadvantage by his flamboyance. One of these was Lancelot Teasdale, a relation of Lowther, whom he had presented to the living of Distington in 1692 upon the death of Richard Tickell.[34] In June 1693 Gilpin suggested that the two candidates for the ministry ought to be Teasdale and Marr. Teasdale hoped that the Bishop of Chester would make some provision for Marr, but he declined to have Marr as his curate at Distington.[35] By July Gilpin was beginning to doubt whether Teasdale would have sufficient support amongst the townspeople to be a candidate. His preaching was not as animated as Marr's and "wee have few here who know how to distinguish

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31. JG 1693 Dec.24

32. JG 1694 March 4

33. JG 1694 March 11. Marr attracted a crowd estimated at six score to hear him preach at Arlecdon, a village about six miles from Whitehaven

34. Commonplace Book 1672-1694

35. WG 1693 July 19

betwixt a strong discourse, and a strong delivery."[36] Teasdale was reluctant to stand for election if it seemed that he would lose and Gilpin suggested that Lowther could write to the Bishop and ask him to recommend Teasdale to the town.

At the same time some of the townspeople had been impressed by Peter Haddon, the Bishop of Chester's chaplain who had visited Whitehaven at the time of the consecration of the new church. Gilpin described him as "a person of great learning, piety and prudence, and would be acceptable to all, even to Marr's admirers."[37] A letter had been sent to Haddon inviting him to Whitehaven and Gilpin thought that the people would be willing to settle the maintenace for him. He suggested that if Lowther did not wish to present Teasdale, he could "so order it with the bishop as to make Mr Haddon's preferment come through your own hands."[38] Thus it is clear that, from the beginning, the dispute about the choice of minister was not only about the merits of the candidates, but about who should choose them, and who should be seen to be choosing them.

In August 1693 Gale mentions another candidate, Alexander Farington, the schoolmaster at Kendal.[39] It was over him that the stewards disagreed, although initially Gale does not seem to have been opposed to him. He mentioned the indistinctness of his voice and the lameness of his hands, but added that he was still able to write and to handle books.[40] However,

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36. WG 1693 July 29. In 1698 Gale wrote of Teasdale, "He is an ingenious man but soe covetous, and close fisted, that he is the scoff of every company." JG 1698 May22

37. WG 1693 July 29

38. ibid.

39. Alexander Farington 1660-1699, schoolmaster at Kendal 1681-95, vicar of Penrith 1695-9 C.R. Hudleston & R.S. Boumphrey, Cumberland Families and Heraldry (C.W.A.A.S. 1978) p.107

40. JG 1693 Sept.17

going so far as to have the church bell rung early and then hurrying into church before he could be stopped.[21] In July 1693 he alienated a number of the leading townspeople whom he judged to be in favour of one of the other candidates. The town had just lost two ships to privateers and on the following Sunday Marr,

> "in his prayers touching notice of the loss above mentioned (wherein many of these persons who have incurred his displeasure are concerned) he did directly ascribe it (as the whole congregation understood him) to the last judgment of God upon them for opposing their minister and warned others by their example to comply with him;" 22

Following this sermon the leading townspeople sent a letter of complaint to the Bishop of Chester and asked Marr to sign a letter admitting that he had no "title" to the new church.[23] Marr was confident of his popularity, especially among the poorer members of the congregation, and so far from being conciliatory he made his next service an attack on his opponents, using the lessons, sermon and even the benediction to that effect. He tried to alarm the members of the congregation by telling them that they would lose their seats if they did not pay the rest of their subscriptions immediately and told his supporters that if they "would but stick by him, he would never abandon them, but would stay with them in spite of all opposition, etc."[24] Marr's position was still too strong for the stewards to be able to ignore him and he had been trying to persuade the Bishop of Chester not to have the old chapel pulled down.

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21. WG 1693 July 1
22. WG 1693 July 22. For losses to privateers see the chapter on Trade.
23. WG 1693 July 29
24. ibid. Gilpin's underlining. Marr used as his benediction: "Blessed are they who hear meekly the word of God etc, but not the proud and insolent, whose imperious wills will not comply with it, who come not hither to learn it, but to oppose it, and to carp and catch, etc."

by March 1694 Gale's opinion was more critical. He claimed that Farington's voice could not be heard in parts of the church so that "a great part of the seats would be of little value, rendring a settlement upon them (or otherwise) impracticable."[41] Nor was his diction distinct enough to be easily understandable even at the front of the church. "As for his lameness in both hands, though it be noe legall objection, yett it is offensive to many as being very indecent, not only at the administration of sacraments, but in the pulpitt allso."[42] Gilpin who supported Farington called him "as proper as any that have yet been proposed" and did not agree with Gale's objections. He claimed that Gale and his brother Ebenezer had originally invited Farington to Whitehaven and assured him of being elected, but then had suddenly turned against him and stirred up the townspeople to object to him. He attributed the turnabout in the Gale's attitude to "a commendation which was accidentally given of Mr F(arington) by a dissenter, which made Mr G(ale) conceipt he was a friend of theirs."[43] Gilpin accused Ebenezer Gale of having acted in a similar fashion towards Teasdale and some of the other candidates.[44]

At the same time as the quarrels about Marr and Farington were taking place several other candidates were also present at Whitehaven. Although Haddon declined the position himself, he recommended "one Mr Taylor whom many of us desire to see and hear."[45] Zachariah Taylor was one of the King's preachers in Lancashire and following Haddon's recommendation a

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41. JG 1694 March 4
42. ibid.
43. WG 1694 Apr.15
44. WG 1694 Apr.23. Gilpin quotes part of a letter from Ebenezer Gale to Farington written in September 1693.
45. JG 1693 Sept.17

letter was sent to him inviting him to come and preach at Whitehaven.[46] Taylor, however, had gone to London and Gale suggested that Lowther could speak to him there and discover whether he was suitable.[47] In December Taylor preached in Whitehaven and met with the approval of many of the townspeople who wrote a joint letter to Lowther asking him to appoint either Taylor or Farington as minister and promising him a stipend of at least £80 a year.[48] In the eletion held in January 1694 the townspeople voted for Taylor and Farington, and Taylor declared his willingness to serve in Whitehaven if he were permitted to remain a King's preacher as well. Gilpin hoped that this might be possible since King's preachers were only required to preach and not to reside in Lancashire and he would easily be able to travel between the two.[49] The only person who objected to Taylor was William Atkinson, one of the Dissenters, who wished to nominate Farington for the new church and Roger Anderton, the presbyterian minister for the old chapel. Gale thought that his reason for objecting to Taylor was that "the presbitery stand in fear of his abillityes, and rather wish us some dull sott that thereby their numbers may be increased."[50] Unfortunately the Bishop would not allow Taylor to have both places and Taylor unwilling to give up his fixed maintenance and "the hopes of that preferment that is consistent with it in Lancashire."[51]

Once it became apparent that Taylor would not accept the position at Whitehaven the two stewards differed on what course should be taken. Gilpin believed that since Farington had been the other nominee he should now be

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46. JG 1693 Oct.15
47. JG 1693 Oct.22
48. Richard Senhouse and 21 others to Sir J 1693 Dec.23
49. WG 1694 Jan.27
50. JG 1694 Jan.28
51. WG 1694 Feb.3

appointed minister, Gale on the other hand, wished to hear one Bolton whom Taylor had recommended and then proceed to a new election.[52] Gilpin was annoyed by this delay and thought that if the position remained unsettled for much longer, "I am afraid wee shall at last grow indifferent whether wee have any or no."[53] Ebenezer Gale wanted them to wait a little longer so as to be sure that the best possible person were chosen, for otherwise he feared that many of the seats would remain unsold and "consequently be a great prejudice to me."[54]

The Gales persuaded the majority of the contributors to agree that another election should be held and Gilpin had to acquiesce.[55] Several new candidates presented themselves besides Farington, whom Gilpin continued to support. Teasdale recommended one Garnett from Kendal and one Harrison preached several times. Gale approved of him but would have preferred that his voice "(which is high enough) wear nott something fine, soe as to cause an echo and make it less articulate."[56] Gilpin also thought that Harrison being "a man of very good learning, and life and a good preacher." and someone who was likely to conciliate the Dissenters.[57] He was less favourable to the Gales' other new candidate, Francis Yates, "an ingenious person, but is young and (when here) discovered both in his discourse, and in the pulpit more heat than is consistent with the peace and welfare of this place, being indeed too much of Mr G[ale]'s temper."[58]

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53. WG 1694 Feb.17

54. Ebenezer Gale to ?WG 1694 March 4

55. The only people to support Gilpin in not wanting a new election were Captain Senhouse, Thomas Addison, Anthony Benn and Mr [?William] Atkinson. The Gales and 30 others wanted a new election.

56. JG 1694 March 18

57. WG 1694 Apr.15

58. ibid.

The time for the new election was left undecided until assurances could be received from the candidates of their willingness to accept the position if chosen. However, it seems that Ebenezer Gale wished to ensure the election of his favoured candidate and exclude Farington for he took advantage of Gilpin's temporary absence from Whitehaven to call the new election. Unfortunately John Gale's letters covering the time of the election are missing so that it is impossible to say how he justified, what appears from Gilpin's letters as, the irregular conduct of the election. According to Gilpin, Ebenezer Gale falsely assured those people who attended the meeting that Farington had decided not to stand and that Yates and Harrison were the candidates.[59] Ebenezer Gale also claimed the authority to vote for a certain number of absentees, although Gilpin assured Lowther that this authority had only been to vote against Marr on an earlier occasion. Gilpin thought that after such treatment Farington would withdraw and that it would be best if they could secure the presentation of Harrison rather than Yates.

Lowther's letter to Gilpin, one of the few surviving for the mid 1690s, makes plain his annoyance and his helplessness in the face of the Gales' proceedings. He thought that Gilpin should have been the person to have called the election but urged him to be conciliatory for "I cannot govern at this distance. Many things must both be borne with and overlooked."[60] He appeared sorry that the townspeople had rejected Farington and wrote to the Bishop enquiring about the merits of Yates and Harrison.[61] To Gale Lowther suggested that it would have been better if Gilpin had been consulted about the election and that since a considerable number of people

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59. ibid.

60. Sir J to WG 1694 Apr.21

61. Sir J to Bishop of Chester Apr.21

had been absent they should be given the opportunity to state their opinions or else they would be reluctant to contribute to the minister's salary.[62] The whole matter of the election clearly demonstrates the limitations of Lowther's authority in Whitehaven. In his absence he had to depend on the co-operation of his stewards and far from sharply reprimanding Gale had to tread softly so as not to worsen the situation. His letter to Gale concluded that the stewards should "keep a good correspondence, otherwise my affaires wil be as a house divided against it self."[63]

Gilpin had difficulty in obtaining votes of those who had not previously voted since the Gales declined to say who had already done so. Others who had either been swayed by the Gales at the time or had been afraid to protest about the irregularities now did so and since so many ships were abroad Gilpin thought they would have to wait until more of them returned. Gilpin had not abandoned his support for Farington, claiming that he would have been elected if it had not been for the Gales' "tricks against him" and he still thought that Farington had a chance of election.[64] At the end of June Lowther wrote to the contributors and proposed that a new election be held with adequate notice given so that all could attend and "the voters be given in in paper for the greater freedom of the election and to prevent all influence or resentments of any sort whatsoever, and upon return of the two names which shall have most voices I wil instantly send down a presentation for one of them."[65] The quarrel between the stewards continued. Gilpin complained that Gale had accused him of manipulating some of the estate business to ensure voters for Farington,

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62. Sir J to JG 1694 Apr.21

63. ibid.

64. WG 1694 June 18

65. Sir J to the Contributors of Whitehaven church 1694 June 26

whereas Gilpin asserted that those people whom he was accused of having favoured had voted against Farington at the previous election.[66]

The new election was held at the beginning of August and Richard Lamplugh and Lancelot Teasdale were present to ensure that it was fair. In spite of this Gilpin complained of the Gales' behaviour to Lowther, though he had said nothing publicly in order not to prolong the affair any further. He claimed that the Gales had created extra voters by splitting their contributions among the members of their family and by paying for a "parcel of ragged fellows" who in reality were "but halfpenny contributors to the maintenance."[67] Gilpin was by now heartily sick of the election and describing it as one of his reasons for disliking Presbyterianism, wrote to Lowther:

> "I hope these things will be no particular reflexion upon the town, since they are natural to all popular elections. These (and worse) were the consequences of such elections in the primitive times, for (I think) they sometimes proceeded to blood, and murder in the very churches; and the unavoidable attendant mischiefs that made it necessary to divest the people of that power in those days perswade me that it is not very convenient that they should be entrusted with the like now." 68

Farington did stand for election but only secured forty-six votes. One of the Gales had proposed Nicholas Thomlinson "a person of a good character and well known to all people in town" and he and Francis Yates were chosen.[69] A letter was sent to Thomlinson asking if he would accept the position, assuring him of their support in spite of the fact that the

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66. WG 1694 July 23

67. WG 1694 Aug.1

68. ibid

69. WG 1694 Aug.8 R. Hopkinson, "The Appointment of the First Minister of St Nicholas' Church Whitehaven", C.W.A.A.S n.s. LXXII (1972) is mistaken in identifying him as Robert Thomlinson who was at Oxford at this time, whereas Nicholas Thomlinson was Rector of Hutton-in-the-Forest (1689-95) and so would have been known at Whitehaven. Jackson op. cit. p.106 also mentions Garnett and Ogle as candidates although Gilpin does not mention their presence.

stipend had not yet been settled.[70] Thomlinson declined and so Francis Yates became the minister at Whitehaven. Despite Gilpin's earlier fears he does not seem to have been hostile to the Dissenters and in his letter of acceptance wrote;

> "I hope to carry myself soe that those gentlemen that voted against me shall have noe reason to be sorry they were disappoynted. The Dissenters shall recieve nothing from me but charity, respect and all the kindness my duty will allow."[71]

Yates did not arrive in Whitehaven until late September 1694 by which time Whitehaven had been without a settled minister for five years. However, Yates stayed at Whitehaven until his death in 1720 and from 1711 appears to have held the parish of Moresby concurrently. Early in his ministry Gale reported that Yates was a minister,

> "without objection, his care and paines is beyund all about us. We have two sermons every Sunday. We have prayers every Weddensday and Fryday and every holly day through out the year. We have prayers in the morning with either a sermon or homily and prayers in the afternoon."[72]

Little more is mentioned about him but in 1697 when talking about non-residency Gale wrote, "Mr Yates has the reputation of the most regular clergyman in a great many miles distance." thus suggesting that there were others who were not so conscientious.[73] Although the settlement of the minister did not heal the quarrel between the two stewards, no other matter arose on which they disagreed so violently or so openly. Disappointingly little appears in the correspondence about the regular duties of either Yates or any of the other clergy mentioned. However, there is no suggestion that they conformed to the famous picture of the poor

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70. Contributors to Thomlinson 1694 Aug.8
71. JG 1694 Sept.16
72. JG 1695 Jan.13
73. JG 1697 Feb.14

semi-literate and downtrodden country parson described by Macaulay.[74] In 1695 an attempt was made to have Whitehaven declared a parish in its own right but this failed and the new church remained within the parish of St Bees. The congregation at St Bees did not wish to lose either members or contributions as it feared it would if Whitehaven became a parish, although Gilpin claimed, "The time was (even within memory) when Whitehaven was so inconsiderable that it contributed a small matter to the parochial charges of St Bees and the help they have now from this town is accidental and they cannot much complain if they are deprived of that assistance that was not theirs from the beginning."[75] Nor was the government of the new church settled at this time, for in 1697 Gale complained:

> "Wee have noe such thing as a vestry here nor any legall establishments for such an order of them. Wee have a clerke to the new church and a curate. These be all our church officers, nor may wee ever hope for more or to make a better figure in the world while wee are sory dependents of poor St Bees." 76

The vestry was the body of all rate payers which chose the churchwardens and set the church rate which paid for the upkeep of the church. During the 1690s the church accounts were kept by Ebenezer Gale. The congregation was indebted to him for the building of the church but Ebenezer Gale was reluctant to show the accounts to the congregation, and both the debt and the state of the accounts remained unresolved.

Lowther's interest and influence in clerical affairs extended beyond Whitehaven and St Bees. He had presented Richard Tickell, son of Thomas Tickell to the rectory of Distington and when it fell vacant on Tickell's

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74. Lord Macaulay, The History of England, ed. C.H. Firth (London 1913)I chapter three

75. WG 1696 Jan.8

76. JG 1697 Jan.3

death in 1692 several clergymen applied to Lowther for the living. Sir Daniel Fleming wrote to him on behalf of one of his sons, and Lancelot Teasdale must have applied to him for he was given the living although Lowther had originally intended to present Richard Jackson, the schoolmaster at St Bees or else someone who could combine his clerical duties with the teaching of mathematics at the school.[77] In 1700 when Egremont fell vacant, Lowther recommended Jackson to the patron, the Duke of Somerset, and asked the Bishop of Chester for his support.[78] Nothing seems to have come of this but in 1702 Jackson was presented to Haile by Lady Lonsdale. This was in exchange for St John and St Bridget's which was given to one Benn of Cleator who had not wished to accept Haile because he was on bad terms with one of the other clergymen in the neighbourhood.[79] Lowther recommended Jackson as "a learned Man, a good Preacher" which contrasts with Gale's opinion of him in 1697 when he compared him with William Jackson of Whitehaven who was "moddest, civill, sober, peacible and dilligent in his office. Mr Jackson of St Bees is the exact reverse ..."[80] Gale may have been influenced in his opinion by the fact that he and Richard Jackson had been in dispute over some matters relating to their father-in-law, Thomas Tickell's will. Lowther, however, must have thought well of him for in 1705 he appointed him perpetual curate at St Bees. In 1735 Jackson was appointed vicar of Barton by Archdeacon Nicholson of Carlisle and he

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77. Flemings in Oxford III p.74 ff.

78. Sir J to the Bishop of Chester 1700 May 17 Lowther also wrote to Dr. Lancaster and Jeffrey Wybergh on behalf of Jackson. Egremont had become vacant following the resignation of Henry Ogle who had been threatened with dismissal by the Bishop.

79. Sir J to Lady L 1702 Apr.31/May 1 [sic]

80. JG 1697 Jan.3

died in 1738 at the age of eighty, having served as minister at St Bees for 33 years and schoolmaster for 52 years.[81]

The best example of Lowther's clerical patronage and the difficulty of finding a living is that of Dr Thomas Wilson, son-in-law to Thomas Tickell. He probably served as a curate to Richard Tickell at Distington and in 1688 he held the living of St Brides and St Johns from one of the Patricksons. Sir Daniel Fleming also claimed the gift of this living and in July 1688 sent one of his relatives there, thus precipitating a quarrel between the two patrons.[82] Wilson was advised to submit his case to the Bishop of Chester. The Bishop raised some questions about the Doctor's qualifications and asked to have his orders confirmed, but as the Bishop himself went into exile with James II shortly afterwards it is unclear what happened.[83] In 1690 the rectory of Harrington fell vacant and Tickell asked Lowther to try to obtain it for Wilson. The gift of the living belonged to Henry Curwen of Workington who had gone into exile with James II and in his absence seems to have been disputed by Sir Michael Wharton and Darcy Curwen, who belonged to the Protestant branch of the family.[84] Wilson did not receive Harrington and since he had a wife and seven children to support he found himself in straitened circumstances. Tickell wrote, "The Dr is ill-pincht (with his small maintenance) to cloath his dependencyes, I helpe him all I can tho' he lives as frugally as may be; your kindnes to them is a great comfort and a good support by your coal allowance."[85]

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81. Nightingale op. cit. p.784, W. Jackson, "Archbishop Grindal and his Grammar School of St Bees" in Papers and Pedigrees mainly relating to Cumberland and Westmorland (London 1892) II p.212

82. TT 1688 July 8 Richard Tickell was rector at Egremont 1673-1692, and at Distington 1685-92.

83. Sykes op. cit. p.221 for the problem of unlicensed or 'strolling' curates.

84. TT 1690 Apr.20

85. TT 1690 Nov.16

Lowther advised the Doctor to go to York with Richard Lamplugh who could introduce him to the Archbishop of York, Dr Thomas Lamplugh.[86] The visit could not have taken place because Lowther was still recommending it in the following year, saying that although he had written to the Archbishop on Wilson's behalf, "not being known is a great impediment, when others who are there own solicitors tho' but backed by an ordinary interest do easily prevail."[87] The Archbishop does not seem to have made any definite reply but later asked Lowther to prefer one of his own proteges as minister to the dockyards at Plymouth. However, Richard Lamplugh did promise to introduce Wilson to the Archbishop's son and being his father's favourite, Tickell hoped that he might be able to obtain a curacy of £50-£60 a year for Wilson "tho' church livings in that diocese are very few, especially in his gift."[88]

Failing that Wilson pinned his hopes on Lowther's influence. However, as in the matter of Customs' places Lowther could not ensure that his nominees would actually be appointed and Wilson had a number of disappointments. When George Troutbeck, the rector of Bowness-on-Solway died, Tickell urged Lowther to speak to Sir John Lowther of Lowther for Wilson. Wilson had been hoping that Asby which was in Tickell's gift would fall vacant but in the meantime he was prepared to take Bowness. Tickell obviously did not think much of either the parish or Troutbeck, "a drinking man and a mean preacher yet good enough in the parish wherein is not a gentleman that I can think on."[89] However, Bowness was given to Henry Aglionby, and it was not until August 1691 that a more concrete proposal was put forward, that

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86. I have been unable to ascertain the relationship between the Archbishop and the Lamplughs of Ribton

87 Sir J 1691 March 10

88. TT 1691 Apr.1

89. TT 1691 May 31

of the living of Binbrook, near Louth in Lincolnshire. Lowther had known the late incumbent and had spoken to the Commissioners of the Great Seal in London on Wilson's behalf. Sir William Rawlinson, one of the Commissioners came from Westmorland and may have had connections with the Lowthers. As the person recommending Wilson, Lowther was obliged to answer for his qualifications and a petition had to be presented to the Lord Commissioners to obtain their consent.[90] Wilson thought that the journey to London would be too expensive and told Tickell that "Binbrooke's church liveing is not separable as the clerks for their fees have made it into a rectory and vicaridge but only by them to increase fees ..."[91] After a visit to Binbrook Wilson had further complaints, maintaining that unless the rectory and the vicarage could be united, he would be unable to support his family on the income of the rectory alone with its "ill houses, bad fireing, barren lands, few inhabitants etc."[92]

Lowther was by now tired of the business and wished it to be settled as soon as possible. He blamed Wilson for the delay, complaining that by not

> "taking institutions and induction to the vicaridge which if he had done ther had been no more trouble and now if he send but up the presentation to the vicaridge to be put under seal again so soon as the six months is out, ther is no doubt of a lapse and then he may have it as al others have had. Besides it is said even that it is not necessary but that the seal from the many lapses already stand now possessed pleno-jure. The annexing the 2 livings ... (is) not worth the charge." [93]

In spite of this Wilson does not appear to have taken up residence at Binbrook because in July 1692 when Distington fell vacant he was among those seeking preferment. Gale commented, "I doe indeed take him to be

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90. Sir J 1691 Aug.29, Sept.1

91. TT 1691 Nov.8

92. TT 1691 Nov.29

93. Sir J 1691 Dec.8

a good honest man of life and conversation, yett I think a more worthy and learned would bring more reputation to yourselfe as Donor."[94] Opponents of Wilson sought to make trouble for him by again raising the question of his qualifications with the Bishop and in 1694 he was called to account for his non-residence. He left Whitehaven in July 1694 and as there is no further mention of him it seems likely that he went to Binbrook.[95]

From the difficulty which both Wilson and Jackson experienced in trying to find a suitable living and from the number of clergymen who applied not only for the position at Whitehaven but for any other living in Lowther's gift which became vacant, it seems that there was a shortage of livings. Lowther was a useful patron because he owned several livings and through his connections in London, especially his friendship with Bishop Cartwright, was able to learn of existing vacancies. Both he and Sir John Lowther of Lowther were firm Anglicans and so were likely to be sympathetic to applications for livings. Lowther had less control over the outcome of proceedings at Whitehaven because he was unwilling to endow the minister himself and because of the disagreements between his stewards. The townspeople too showed their determination to be consulted and to play an active part in the choice made. Fortunately the different factions in the town appear to have found the choice of Francis Yates acceptable.

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94. JG 1692 July 3

95. WG 1694 March 10, JG July 18

DISSENTERS AND RECUSANTS

Both Catholics and Dissenters suffered in an age when religious unity was considered essential and disunion a threat to the state, for apart from their lapse from the via media of Anglicanism, they suffered from their associations with political causes hostile to the established order of society. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in France and the war in Ireland, both of which sent Protestant refugees flocking to England, revived the anti-Catholic feeling which had already been stirred by James II's attempts to introduce Catholics into the army and local government. The Dissenters, on the other hand, were associated with the republicans and regicides of the Civil War and the rigidity of the Covenanters in Scotland.

Although the High Church Tories regarded the Dissenters as the heirs of the smashers of altar rails, enough Presbyterian influence lingered within the established Church to make the Toleration Bill possible. William III was a Calvinist and as such felt more akin to the Dissenters than to the Anglicans. He therefore determined to secure toleration at least for the Dissenters and in May 1689 the Toleration Bill gave freedom of public worship to Protestant Dissenters, provided that their meeting houses were licensed by the archdeacon's court.[96] The bill did not go as far as its supporters had hoped and the Dissenters were still restricted from holding municipal or crown office, but it did recognize their right to exist and to worship as an organized body.

At Whitehaven the Presbyterians were by far the largest group of those who did not conform to the established Church. In 1694 Gilpin estimated the

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96. Sykes op. cit. p.32-3

number of Dissenters at about "50 heads of families in town, besides several from the country," which on the basis of his estimate of 450 families at Whitehaven made them about one-ninth of the population.[97] However, there was not always a clear distinction between the Anglicans and the Dissenters. During the mid-1690s a total of sixty-three Dissenters appear as signatories to joint letters about the meeting house and of these, five were subscribers to the new church and a further fourteen rented pews.[98] Gilpin also thought that some of them would be likely to contribute towards the minister's salary.[99] A few of the Dissenters supported James Marr and some of them probably voted at the elections held to choose the new minister. William Atkinson, who was both a subscriber to the new church and a leading Dissenter hoped to use the election to secure the settlement of both an Anglican and a Dissenting minister ar Whitehaven.[100]

The Dissenters appear to have been organized in a body as early as 1690 when a report on Dissenting congregations noted that "att Whitehaven they are laying out themselues to gett a minister."[101] The congregation was given a grant of £10 a year from a Common Fund established by the Dissenters to assist congregations throughout the country.[102] Roger Anderton, the Dissenting minister, was ordained in 1693 and according to Gilpin was only officially chosen as minister in 1696 although he had been working in Whitehaven prior to this and was noted as being "established"

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97. WG 1694 March 26 According to Nightingale op. cit. II p.1280 there is a tradition that an influx of Dissenters from northern Ireland led to the growth of the congregation. Tickell's letters do not give the impression that Irish Protestants settled permanently in the town.
98. A further six people may also have been occasional conformists.
99. WG 1694 March 26
100. See above in this chapter
101. Alexander Gordon, ed. Freedom After Ejection (Manchester 1917) p.24
102. ibid. p.381

in his meeting house in January 1694.[103] There is no mention of his salary but between 1696 and 1703 Anderton received a grant of £4 a year from the Common Fund and his salary was likely to have been much lower than that of the Anglican minister.[104]

At the same time as the Anglican congregation was building the new church, the Dissenters hoped to establish a meeting house. William Atkinson thought that the old chapel, which had previously served the Anglicans, could now be given to the Dissenters and licensed as a meeting house. This move was opposed at the quarter sessions when a joint letter signed by seventy-five townspeople was given to the justices, explaining that "because many of the inhabitants gave him a civil answer when he went from house to house, he (Atkinson) writ down their names as if they gave their positive consent, without any reserve ..."[105] They added that Lowther had promised the fabric of the old chapel would be used to build a school. Therefore the justices at the sessions, who included Gilpin, had refused the Dissenters' request.[106] The Dissenters had been meeting at Elizabeth Gale's house, The Hall, which she rented from Lowther. She had influenced her son, Elisha, to take a stronger stand on the matter than he would otherwise have done and Gilpin thought that the best solution would be the speedy demolition of the old chapel. Failing that, Gilpin believed that Atkinson would continue to endanger "that fair correspondence between those of the Church of England and the Dissenters, which (in my opinion) is absolutely

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103. JG 1694 Jan.7

104. Gordon op. cit. p.200 The lowest paid Dissenting minister in the country at this time was Anthony Sleigh at Threlkeld, Cumb. who was supposed to receive £5-£6 p.a. but sometimes received only 40s p.a. p.178

105. Richard Senhouse and others to WG 1694 Jan.9

106. JG 1694 Jan.11

necessary for the good of trade, and the growth of the town."[107]

In March 1694 the Dissenters wrote a joint letter to Lowther to explain their position.

> "Wee pretend not therby to contest with the established church or to raise heats and animositys with our neighbours, mutch less to oppose ourselves to your honour. Wee presume wee have not hitherto so behaved our selves as that ther is any cause to accuse us for want of moderation towards those who differ from us in oppinion ... Sir, wee pretended no more than an innocent use theof so long ass suffered, and we are fare from flying in the face of one whose countenance is soe nescessary in securing to uss that liberty which the Law indulges, and whose favour and kindnes hass been so perticuler to some of uss, that wee must always own it with the highest sence of obligation and gratitude."[108]

They asked Lowther to grant them a piece of land on which to build a meeting house since the old chapel had now been demolished. The attention of both Lowther and his stewards was occupied by the quarrels over the choice of a new minister and nothing was done for the Dissenters until May when Gilpin suggested to Lowther that he considered a site in James Street to be most suitable because it was "out of view of the church."[109] He further suggested that Lowther could convey the land to Elisha Gale without formally acknowledging the purpose of the grant. This was not done immediately for in July the Dissenters again wrote to Lowther asking for a piece of land in Hodgson's Croft where they could start work before the building season for that year was over. They concluded that they would rather "receive this favour from your hands then from anie other from whom wee have had some offers and encouragements ..."[110] This is probably a

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107. WG 1694 Jan.27
108. Dissenters to Sir J 1694 March 10
109. WG 1694 May 9
110. Dissenters to Sir J 1694 July 6

reference to overtures made to the Dissenters by Thomas Lamplugh. He hoped to win over the Dissenter merchants so that they would use his pier at Parton in preference to that at Whitehaven. Later Gale warned Lowther that both Lamplugh and his wife were "constant observers of the meeting house and are to be pillers. He will give them his purse and they their prayers, and this is the most remarkable sort of bartering now in vogue among us."[111]

Lowther was not unsympathetic to the Dissenters but was anxious to avoid disputes between them and the members of the established church. He therefore decided to take no action until the new minister, Francis Yates, was settled in Whitehaven so that if anything should prevent his coming it could not be attributed to the Dissenters.[112] He adopted Gilpin's suggestion that the grant of land could be made to Elisha Gale as a private person and agreed to the site in Hodgson's Croft.[113] The Meeting House was built and the Dissenters wished to register it but Gilpin tried to dissuade them from doing so because of the opposition which it would arouse. Indeed the appearance of the Meeting House had already aroused some resentment. Gale wrote that it was in the style of the new church "but finer architect and seems to eclipse all other fabrics."[114] He considered that such ostentation would cause ill feeling and presumably other Anglicans shared his opinion.

The ill feeling between Gale and Gilpin had surfaced again over the drawing up of Elizabeth Gale's will. Although no one except Elizabeth Gale and Gilpin knew what was in the will, John and Ebenezer Gale suspected

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111. JG 1695 Oct.27
112. Sir J 1694 Sept.18
113. Sir J 1694 Sept.29
114. JG 1695 Nov.10

that Gilpin had influenced their mother in favour of Elisha. Gilpin denied this charge and said that the family quarrel had begun long before this and had little to do with either religion or Elisha.[115] Gilpin also drew up a settlement concerning the Meeting House for Elisha to ensure that in time it would pass to the Dissenter trustees and not to his brother, John.[116] This agreement had been misrepresented at the borough election in Carlisle in an attempt to influence the voters against the Lowthers. The Gales had distributed some libels about Gilpin and also his wife and his father, not only in Whitehaven but also in the surrounding countryside.[117] Although Gale never makes any direct accusations against Gilpin in his surviving letters to Lowther, from time to time he drops some oblique hints such as one occasion where he was discussing Thomas Lamplugh. He maintained that while he scarcely knew Lamplugh, Lamplugh and Gilpin were "intimate acquaintants." [118] As most of Gilpin's relations were Dissenters it is not surprising that he had acquaintances among the local Dissenters and when Ralph Thoresby, an antiquary and a Dissenter, visited Whitehaven in 1694 Gilpin entertained him and a number of prominent Dissenters at the Flatt.[119] Actions such as these only served to reinforce the Gales' suspicions of his partiality for Dissenters. Gilpin summarized his own attitude in a letter to Lowther saying that because of his close connections with the Dissenters,

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115. WG 1695 June 15
116. WG 1695 Oct.9
117. WG 1695 June 15
118. JG 1695 Nov.10
119. The Diary of Ralph Thoresby F.R.S., ed. Joseph Hunter (London 1830) I p.270

> "it is not decent for me to treat them with those invectives and that bigottry that other people may allow themselves in. I confess I have always thought moderation (on all hands) to be the interest of the nation, and of all parties, but in the Dissenters to be indispensibly necessary. And I have always acted according to the thought, and this appears since (according to the common fate of those who will needs interpose in frayes) I get nothing but blows from both sides."[120]

He attributed much of the ill feeling to the hot tempers of both sides of the Gale family.[121]

Apart from Lamplugh's attempts to use the Dissenters as a group, the other time in which similar attempts were made was at the elections at Cockermouth, by Lamplugh but more particularly by the Whartons. The Whartons had strong parliamentary and puritan connections dating from the Civil War. Philip, the fourth Baron Wharton, had established a fund for the distribution of Bibles and Puritan Catechisms in 1692 and so could expect the Dissenters to vote for his candidate at election time.[122] In 1695 Gale commented sourly, "Mr Wharton prevayls much at Cockermouth by the assistance of the Presbiterians, whose creature he appears and is therefore vigorously opposed."[123] The High Church party was equally active in Carlisle and in 1698 they tried to use religion as a weapon against the Lowthers by claiming that James Lowther, the candidate for Carlisle, frequented conventicles.[124]

Doctrinal differences between the Anglican and Dissenting congregations at Whitehaven are not discussed in the correspondence, but it seems

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120. WG 1696 Feb.5

121. WG 1696 Jan.26 "some of them [Dissenters] are too near of kin to their zealous opposers not to be let loose to the same passions."

122. Gordon op. cit. p.380

123. JG 1695 Oct.27

124. See the following chapter on Elections

that most of the people referred to as 'dissenters' were Presbyterians, although the Meeting House was for use by Congregationalists also.[125] There is mention of an occasional Quaker but they do not appear to have been established as a body in Whitehaven at this time.[126]

There appear to have been few Catholics in or around Whitehaven and those that there were belonged to gentry families who wished to live quietly on their estates. The most prominent Catholic was William Fletcher of Moresby. His wife came from the strongly Catholic and Jacobite Tyldesley family in Lancashire and in 1693 Gale accused her of distributing proclamations issued by James II.[127] Fletcher himself is mentioned as being suspected of associating with a "Romish priest" at the time of the war in Ireland but there is no evidence that he harboured either priests or Jacobites.[128] He took an interest in trade and there is little sign that he suffered as a Catholic. Once there is mention of a pass needed for a trip to London, probably on account of the Five Mile Act, but in 1694 he was not assessed as a recusant for the 4s Aid, nor was Henry Curwen, another local Catholic.[129] It is not clear whether this oversight was accidental or deliberate because of their Protestant relations' influence with the Commissioners for the tax. Although Fletcher fell into debt in the 1690s this appears to have been the result of his ambitious schemes at Parton and his wife's extravagance rather than recusancy fines.[130]

The other prominent local Catholic was Henry Curwen of Workington. He

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125. Gordon op. cit. p.153 The difference between Presbyterians and Congregationalists appears to have been organizational rather than doctrinal

126. WG 1693 March 17, JG 1693 Aug.13

127. JG 1693 June 18

128. TT 1689 Apr.16

129. TT 1689 May 21, WG 1694 March 26

130. JG 1695 Sept.11

was sheriff of Cumberland in 1688 and it is likely that the cargo of arms seized at Carlisle during the Revolution had been ordered by him.[131] Curwen followed James II into exile and the Protestant Sella Park branch of the family brought a court action to have him declared dead so that the estates would pass to them. However, Henry Curwen reappeared in 1696 one month after he had been officially declared dead and he remained in possession of his estates until his death in 1724.[132]

At times of crisis Catholics fell under suspicion, such as during the trial of the Catholic Sir John Fenwick for treason in 1696. Fenwick's wife, Mary was the daughter of the first Earl of Carlisle and so the third Earl who was a Protestant was anxious to prove his loyalty by having the local Catholics arrested. In March 1696 he wrote to Sir Daniel Fleming, "I find that you have not arrested any persons except those named in my letter. I think that this is not a sufficient execution of the Council's order."[133] He continued to write to Fleming in this vein despite Fleming's assurances that the Catholics in the districts were mostly elderly and "so few and inconsiderable ... that they are not dangerous."[134] In general it appears that the Catholics were allowed to live in peace except when an event such as the war in Ireland or a particular plot brought them to the attention of the authorities.

The 1690s are an important period in the religious life of Whitehaven because they saw the settlement of both the Anglican and the Dissenting

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131. W. Jackson, "The Curwens of Workington Hall and Kindred Families", C.W.A.A.S. V (1880-1)

132. ibid.

133. H.M.C. Fleming p.341-2 Lord C to Sir D.F. 1696 March 17

134. ibid. Fleming lists a number of the local Catholic families

congregations into places of worship with their own minister, just as on a national level it was realized that recognition would have to be granted to Dissenters from the Anglican Church. However, the common ground between the two groups at Whitehaven is shown by the influence of the Presbyterian system on the election for the Anglican minister and by the willingness of a number of the Dissenters to contribute money towards the building of the new church and to rent pews in it. Thus trends within the religious life of the nation can be seen at Whitehaven. The Gale family echoed both sides of the religious feeling of the Civil War period, while Lowther and Gilpin showed the more tolerant spirit which was beginning to prevail but exhibited none of the lethargy which overtook most of the established Church in the eighteenth century.

ELECTIONS

Although Whitehaven was not a borough, both Sir John Lowther and his son James were members of Parliament in the 1690s and the correspondence contains much of interest about the organization of elections, especially in its description of the 1695 campaign for the borough of Carlisle. It shows how families used their connections and their influence to try to secure the election of their candidate. Lowther was particularly dependent on the assistance of his county friends and relations, as well as his stewards, because ill health prevented him from coming down from London for any of the elections in the 1690s. He also needed the influence of both his cousin, Sir John Lowther of Lowther and Lord Carlisle to secure the election of his son James at Carlisle.

Not only were there four elections between 1688 and 1700: in 1689, 1690, 1695 and 1698, but the period is one of transition between the upheavals of the seventeenth century and the management of eighteenth century elections. Two specific measures were introduced to regulate political activity. In 1694 a Triennial Bill was proclaimed which ensured that the King could neither prolong Parliament indefinitely (as Charles II had done) nor do away with it (as James II had). In 1696 legislation was brought into force to reduce bribery in elections and had a temporary success at least. Much debate has centred on the political consequences of the Revolution Settlement of 1689, and as to whether the political divisions of the following years should be ascribed to party conflicts, court/county alignments or to some combination of the two.[1] The Lowther

1. The participants in this debate include J.H. Plumb, The Growth of Political Stability in England 1675-1715 (London 1967), J.R. Jones, Country and Court: England 1658-1714 (London 1978) who argue that elections were fought on a Whig/Tory basis, and R. Walcott, "English Party Politics 1688-1714" in Essays in Modern English History in honour of Wilbur Cortez Abbott (Cambridge Mass. 1941) and English Politics in the early XVIII Century (Oxford 1956), D. Rubini,

correspondence sheds some light on this matter for the Cumberland elections in the 1690s.[2]

The management of elections to secure a favourable, or at least a manageable parliament was not new but had rarely been carried out as systematically as it was under James II. Corporations were presented with new charters which gave the King the right to choose major officials to sit on them, but as only a small number of boroughs had a franchise restricted to the Corporation, this in itself was not sufficient to obtain a parliamentary majority. James II therefore sent out agents to discover whether local officials such as the Lord-Lieutenants, magistrates, mayors and sheriffs were favourable to him or not, with a view to replacing those who were found unsatisfactory. At Carlisle Sir Christopher Musgrave, Sir George Fletcher and James and William Nicholson, cousins to the archdeacon of Carlisle were replaced as aldermen of Carlisle by Catholics and Francis Howard, also a Catholic, was made governor of Carlisle Castle.[3]

To ascertain their opinions these officials were asked whether they were in favour of a repeal of the penal laws against Catholics and of the Test Act and what was their opinion of the principle of toleration. The uniformity of the replies to these questions given by the Justices of the Peace in Cumberland and Westmorland was largely due to the activity

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1 (con.)Court and Country (London 1967) who argue that family connections and rivalries were more important than party in the election and allegiance of candidates. Much of their evidence relates to the period 1700-14.

2. Elections in both Cumberland and Westmorland have been studied in R. Hopkinson, "Elections in Cumberland and Westmorland 1695-1723" unpublished Newcastle Ph.D. thesis 1973)

3. H.M.C. Fleming p.209 Bishop of Carlisle to Sir D.F. 1688 March 16, F.G. James, North Country Bishop . A Biography of William Nicholson (Yale 1956) p.46

of Sir John Lowther of Lowther. In his memoirs he states that Sir Daniel Fleming wrote to him to enquire what answer should be given to the questions and that in reply he had drawn up some answers which, upon being circulated, met with general approval. Lowther's replies were:

> "1. If I be chosen a Member of Parliament for this countie or any burrough thereof, I think myself obliged to refer my opinion concerning the taking away the penall laws and tests to the reasons that shall arise from the debate of the Hous.
>
> 2. If I give my vote to anie to serv in Parliament, It shall be to such honest and loyall gentlemen as I think wil ffaithfullie serv the King and the established Government.
>
> 3. I will live peaceable with men of all perswasions, as a good Christian ought to doe."[4]

Among those who accepted the answers proposed by Lowther, apart from Sir Daniel Fleming, were Sir George Fletcher, Richard Patrickson of Calder, John Senhouse of Seascale and Edward Stanley of Dalegarth. Richard Lamplugh of Ribton was one of the few who committed themselves to a definite refusal of repeal. Only six men agreed to repeal without qualifying their answer and at least three of them were Catholics. They included William Fletcher of Moresby, but also the Protestants Sir Wilfred Lawson of Isell and John Aglionby of Drawdykes. William Christian agreed to the repeal orally but did not commit himself in writing.[5]

James II wished to secure the return of candidates who would support, or at least not actively oppose his policies. In September 1688 the Earl of Sunderland wrote to Lord Preston who was then one of the members for the county of Cumberland, urging him to secure his own re-election

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4. Viscount Lonsdale, Memoir of the Reign of James II (York 1808) p.16-7

5. Sir George Duckett, "Penal Laws and Test Act in 1688", C.W.A.A.S. IV (1878-9) Sir Wilfred Lawson came from a Puritan family. Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven was noted as being absent in London.

for the county and that of either his brother, James Grahme or his son, and John Aglionby for the borough of Carlisle, and Sir Orlando Gee and Sir William Pennington for the borough of Cockermouth.[6] There is no mention of the second county member, Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven, and so presumably there was no plan to displace him. The election for which James had ordered so much preparation was not held because when it became clear that William of Orange meant to invade England, the writs were recalled.[7] Several of the proposed candidates mentioned above did not stand for any election during the 1690s: the Grahmes because of their close association with James II, Sir William Pennington on account of the expense and John Aglionby because he could not find a patron to support him. James's failure to manage the election did not mean that the succeeding government abandoned the attempt to do so, but they were more discreet about it until the eighteenth century, when the management of elections was raised to a fine art.[8]

The outcome of county elections was more predictable than that of borough elections, and after 1689 the two county seats for Cumberland were held, uncontested, by Sir John Lowther and Sir George Fletcher. Lowther had held the county seat since 1664/5 and Sir George Fletcher, who had first

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6. CSPDom 1688 Sept.13

7. The results of the proposed election have been the subject for speculation. J.R. Jones, The Revolution of 1688 (London 1972) p.166 says that there was some form of government intervention in 200 constituencies. J.H. Plumb, "The Elections to the Convention Parliament of 1689", Cambridge Hist. Journal V (1935) calculated that even had all of the hoped for candidates succeeded, James could only have relied on 143, leaving an independent majority of 372.

8. Under William the list of Lord-Lieutenants and magistrates was purged again on the advice of Danby. K. Feiling, A History of the Tory Party 1640-1714 (Oxford 1950 ed.) p.279

entered Parliament in 1661, had been his partner for much of that time.[9] Representation in the boroughs was less consistent. Although a borough usually had a noble patron who could expect to nominate one of the candidates, the local gentry frequently managed to combine to elect the second candidate. The borough of Carlisle was controlled by the Earl of Carlisle and Sir John Lowther of Lowther was building an interest there in the 1690s. However, they had a strong rival in the Musgrave family which had held Carlisle since 1661. There were also two noble patrons at Cockermouth, the Duke of Somerset and Lord Wharton.[10] Sir George Fletcher also took an interest in Cockermouth and a gentry candidate held the second seat for much of the 1690s.

Throughout the seventeenth century the size of the electorate grew, both for the county and for the boroughs. For the county there was a property qualification of 40s freehold but, as Plumb points out, inflation during the course of the century had made this figure more easily attainable, and he estimates the size of the national electorate at 200,000 men, which was about one-thirteenth of the population.[11] Hopkinson estimates the size of the Cumberland county electorate in 1702 at just over 2,000 men.[12] The electorates for the boroughs were much smaller. At Carlisle all the freemen of the city, which included the local garrison, were entitled to vote and

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9. V.C.H. II p.327 From 1661-64/5 the county seats were held by Sir George Fletcher and Patrick Curwen. From then on, Lowther held the county seat with Richard Lamplugh 1678/9-1679, Lord Morpeth 1679-80/1, Sir George Fletcher 1680/1-85, Lord Preston 1685-8

10. Philip, the fourth Baron Wharton died in 1696 and was succeeded by his son, Thomas, the first Marquis 1648-1715. D.N.B.

11. J.H. Plumb, "The Growth of the Electorate in England 1600-1715", Past & Present 45 (1969), The Growth of Political Stability in England 1675-1725 (London 1967) p.29

12. Hopkinson op. cit. p.228

and at the 1695 election Gilpin expected about 300 voters to attend.[13] Since not everyone who was entitled to vote would attend, the actual electorate must have been larger. At Cockermouth all of the burghers were permitted to vote, but owing to the splitting of burgage tenure and the difficulty of who decided who exactly was a burgher, more people voted than were entitled to do so. Hopkinson estimates the actual size of the electorate at about 150.[14] The smallness of the borough electorates made them more liable to manipulation than the larger county electorate.

In 1701 Lowther looking back on his partnership with Sir George Fletcher wrote, "We never gave the county more trouble than was just necessary to make an election ..."[15] Indeed the procedure for the county elections remained virtually the same throughout the 1690s. Lowther's health did not permit him to travel down from London and so he relied upon his stewards to co-operate with Fletcher who was usually present in the county prior to polling day. The county was divided into five wards, three of which were left to Sir John Lowther of Lowther to canvass, but in the other two, Allerdale-above-Derwent and Allerdale-below-Derwent, Lowther did his own canvassing.[16] This was done by sending letters to many of the leading electors. The important members of the gentry received a personal letter from Lowther but the others were sent a circular letter. Lowther would send down a number of copies of the circular letter and his stewards would

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13. WG 1695 Sept.17

14. Hopkinson op. cit. p.223, also "The Electorate of Cumberland and Westmorland in the late Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Centuries", Northern History XV (1979) p.99-100

15. Sir J to Mr Reed 1701 Apr -

16. Sir J 1688 Sept.1 Allerdale above and below Derwent were in the north and south west of Cumberland

make further copies if necessary and add the Christian names to the addresses where Lowther was uncertain of them.[17] Thus because the steward was more familiar with the local gentry than Lowther was, he decided to whom these letters should be sent. In this and other ways the stewards not merely obeyed orders but also exerted an influence of their own on their master's affairs. In 1688 Tickell drew up a list of thirty-one people to whom such letters were sent. A list of freeholders in the two wards gives a total of eighty-six people and so it may be that the others were not of sufficient standing to rate a letter or were left to Fletcher. Sir Daniel Fleming could also be called upon to write to members of the local gentry and to his Cumberland tenants at Crosthwaite and Beckermet.

The treat for the electors was agreed upon between Fletcher and Lowther's steward. The cost seems to have depended on who was undertaking it, rather than on the number of electors, since in 1688 Tickell and Fletcher's agent agreed to a sum of £60 whereas in 1690 they found someone willing to undertake it for £50.[18] There is no indication of the nature of the treat for the county, which in some places included an elaborate meal as well as drinks, nor do there appear to have been any promises of money to the voters.[19]

Lowther had been a sitting member for so long that he regarded the election as a confirmation of his rights, and he wrote in a proprietorial tone to Tickell in 1688, "I suppose that none but he [Sir George Fletcher]

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17. Sir J 1688 Sept.4

18. TT 1688 Oct.2, 1690 Feb.11

19. For examples of corruption see G.L. Cherry, "Influence of Irregularities in Contested Elections upon Election Policy during the Reign of William III", J.M.H. XXVII (1955)

and I stand for the county, which I hope wil make it less troublesome to our friends."[20] James II had issued writs in August 1688 for a Parliament to meet in November, but when it became clear that William would invade England the writs were recalled. Lowther had already sent out his circular letters and arrangements had gone as far as an agreement on the treat. In December 1688 Lowther told Tickell that new writs were to be issued and that he and Fletcher would stand as before. He expected a delay before the writs could be issued to the new sheriffs who still had to take out their patents. The importance of the sheriff at election time was that he was the returning officer, and as such was able to decide not only where the poll should be held, but also who was eligible to vote. Thus it was in the interest of the candidates to have a sheriff who favoured them. The Catholic Henry Curwen was sheriff in 1688 but following James II's flight, he was replaced by Edward Stanley of Dalegarth with William Benson as undersheriff.[21] Benson was a cousin to Tickell and later acted as an agent for the Lowthers. In 1691 Lowther secured the election of his brother-in-law, Richard Lamplugh, as sheriff. As a reward for his services Lowther provided him with three liveried men and offered to have him made sheriff again in 1692 but Lamplugh wished to retire from public life and declined.[22]

The place chosen for the county election varied from time to time, although whether this was from a deliberate policy or merely to suit the sheriff of the time is not clear. The county election was held at Broughton in 1689, Derwentbridge in 1690 and Salkeld Yate near Penrith in 1695

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20. Sir J 1688 Sept.4
21. TT 1688 Dec.11
22. Sir J 1691 July 28, TT Aug.5

and 1698. Little detail is mentioned about the actual elections. In 1689 at Broughton William Benson conducted the election and Lowther and Fletcher were returned unopposed though some comment was made on the fact that Fletcher was not present in person nor was Lowther even represented by a proxy. Some of the gentlemen had lunched with Fletcher beforehand and Benson was given a "good favour" for his services.[23] The poor attendance at the poll was probably the result of bad weather which had made many roads impassable.[24]

Lowther suggested another reason for the low attendances when he wrote to Tickell the following year, "when ther is no opposition, not many of the country wil appear ..."[25] That year he arranged for Richard Lamplugh to be his proxy and William Benson agreed to undertake the treat again on the understanding that Lowther would use his influence in London to help him to obtain a place in the Excise.[26] Benson's position illustrates the way in which kinship and patronage were connected in the use of electoral agents. Relations were expected to help the family interest but they, in turn, expected to be rewarded for their loyalty. The date of the election was chosen to coincide with the county court day, presumably to ensure that the maximum number of voters attended. Fletcher was not present on this occasion either but was represented by his son, George. The sheriff's clerk appeared to expect a gratuity for his services but Tickell queried this since he had not paid him anything in the past.[27] While it

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23. TT 1689 Jan.8
24. Fleming Papers 3419a Sir D.F. to Sir J 1689 Jan.12
25. Sir J 1690 Feb.11
26. TT 1690 Feb.16
27. TT 1690 March 9

is clear that the officials at elections expected to be paid, the fact that there was no contest kept expenses to a minimum.

In 1695 Fletcher and Lowther were again returned unopposed and the county election was overshadowed by the contest to have James Lowther elected at Carlisle. Fletcher and Lowther stood together for the last time in 1698. Lowther asked Gilpin to excuse him for not having written to some of the electors in his own hand on account of his gout. His failing health made him unable to travel up to London to take his seat in the House that session and he had to rely on James and other friends to make excuses for him. He did not stand for re-election in 1701, nor did Fletcher who had died the previous year.

If the county elections were straightforward, those for the boroughs were not. In 1689 Sir Daniel Fleming wrote to Lowther:

> "It were an happy thing for us in the country, that you Great Men would so concert future elections, as that we might have no more contests, and have Gentlemen of estates amongst us, and not be obliged ... to have persons not of our Country to be our Representatives."[28]

In spite of these hopes the borough elections were contested throughout this period and not always by local candidates.

At Cockermouth in 1688 the patron of the borough, the Duke of Somerset, had initially put forward Sir Henry Capell, a leading Whig, as his candidate, but by January 1689 he had changed his mind and put forward Sir Orlando Gee instead, saying that Capell would stand elsewhere.[29] Lord Wharton usually

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28. Fleming Papers 3419a Sir D.F. to Sir J 1689 Jan.12

29. TT 1689 Jan.6 Sir Henry Capell was a Commissioner for the Treasury and appointed one of the three Lord Justices for Ireland in 1693. Created Baron Capell of Tewkesbury in 1692, he died in 1696. D.N.B. Sir Orlando Gee sat for Cockermouth 1671-89, 1690-5. He was a former steward of the tenth Earl of Northumberland, whose lands Somerset had inherited by his marriage to the daughter of the eleventh Earl. Flemings in Oxford II p.355 n.7

took an interest in the second seat and in December 1688 Tickell informed Lowther that he had received a letter from Sir John Lowther of Lowther saying that Wharton and the Duke of Somerset were willing to promote the election of Lowther's son, Christopher, at Cockermouth. Lowther himself had obviously not been consulted for he wrote:

> "Your mention of my son at Cockermouth was without my knowledge or approbation and I thought Sir John Lowther would have set that right himself, for I wil have no difference with Sir George or his son, nor doe I desire my son should stand but in case of a vacancy, such as we have had formerly."[30]

Fletcher had been alarmed by this report, taking it as an attempt to exclude his son, Henry, who was standing for Cockermouth and as Lowther relied on Fletcher to do most of his campaigning for the county he was unwilling to do anything to offend him. He was also unwilling to let Christopher stand for Parliament, considering him to be of too unstable a character to be entrusted with such responsibilities or to resist the temptations of London society. In the end the Duke of Somerset must have decided to retain Capell as his candidate and Capell and Henry Fletcher were elected. In 1690 the contest was between the Duke's candidate, Sir Orlando Gee; Lord Wharton's candidate, his son Goodwin; and Sir Wilfred Lawson, member of one of the local gentry families. Lawson was sheriff for that year but this was apparently no disqualification for being a borough candidate. Sir Orlando Gee and Lawson were elected. This represented a victory for one of the borough patrons and for the local gentry who preferred to support one of their number rather than a candidate who was both a Whig and a Dissenter.

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30. Sir J 1688 Dec.25

The position was more complex in 1695. Gale reported to Lowther that Thomas Lamplugh of Lamplugh hoped to further his project at Parton by being elected to Parliament. He hoped to gain Sir George Fletcher's assistance but had "not mett with any incouragement."[31] (It is not clear why Fletcher's own son was not standing.) There had also been much argument over who was to be made town bailiff, an appointment in the gift of the Duke of Somerset, and the eventual choice made by the Duke's agent suggested that he was supporting the candidature of Goodwin Wharton as well. The practice of recommending two candidates together seems to have been common and was also done at Carlisle by Lord Carlisle. Gale wrote, "... his grace has lett them know at Cockermouth that he will not thank them for choosing Mr. Gee without they joyne Mr. Wharton with him. How farr Sir George will oppose this proceeding I cannot yett acquaint you."[32] In fact Fletcher seems to have taken no part in the campaign and in October the Duke, deciding that at the age of seventy-six Sir Orlando Gee was too old, withdrew him in favour of an as yet unnamed candidate. Goodwin Wharton conducted his campaign with the aid of the Presbyterians "whose creature he appears and is therefore vigorously opposed."[33] Gale attended the actual election where the successful candidates were the Duke's nominee and Goodwin Wharton. Thus the peers succeeded in defeating Sir Wilfred Lawson, the representative of the local gentry, though Gale attributed his defeat to "the decietfulness of Will Benson and the votes of the Presbiters and Quakers."[34] Lord Wharton's interest had also been helped

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31. JG 1695 Oct.20
32. ibid. Sir Orlando Gee had been a knight since 1682. D.N.B.
33. JG 1695 Oct.27
34. JG 1695 Nov.17

by the Lamplughs. Richard Lamplugh had represented Goodwin Wharton on polling day and Thomas Lamplugh had abandoned his own candidature to campaign for the Whartons among the Dissenters. In return for his support he expected the Whartons to help him to further the building of Parton pier by counteracting Lowther's attempt to halt it.[35]

In the 1698 election Sir George Fletcher's younger son, George, stood against Goodwin Wharton. Fletcher complained to Lowther that Richard Lamplugh was supporting Wharton and he seemed to suspect that Gilpin might be supporting the Whartons also on account of his Dissenting connections. There is no evidence in the correspondence to suggest this.[36] Lowther wrote to his brother-in-law hinting that he should not oppose Fletcher, and to the Fletchers that it seemed likely that Wharton would stand for Buckinghamshire.[37] By the end of July 1698 Lowther thought that Lamplugh had "abated in his zeal."[38] Lord Wharton failed to obtain the election of his candidates at either Aylesbury or Winslow but his brother Goodwin, although ill, stood successfully for Buckinghamshire. The Duke of Somerset's previous candidate, Sir Charles Gerard, did not wish to stand for re-election and so the Duke nominated one of his kinsmen, William Seymour, who was elected with George Fletcher.[39] Thus throughout the 1690s the Duke of Somerset was able to nominate one candidate but did not try to cut out other interests for the second candidate. It is not clear whether in supporting the Wharton interest, as he did in 1695, he was supporting a

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35. ibid.
36. Sir J to WG 1698 July 21
37. Sir J to Sir G.F. 1698 July 21, to Richard Lamplugh July 21
38. Sir J to Sir G.F. 1698 July 28
39. V.C.H. II p.328

fellow peer or whether he preferred Wharton's politics to those of the local gentry.

At Carlisle there were three people with an interest in the borough: Lord Carlisle, Sir Christopher Musgrave and Sir John Lowther of Lowther. The Musgrave and Howard interests were well established whereas Sir John Lowther of Lowther only became involved at Carlisle from 1692. Thus during the 1690s the Lowther interest was growing while the Musgrave interest, which had been dominant since the Restoration, was in decline. This was brought about by a union between the Howards and the Lowthers to exclude the Musgraves, partly from differences of opinion along court/country lines and partly from rivalry for local influence. Sir Christopher Musgrave was a member for Carlisle from 1661-89 during which time the second seat was mostly held by a Howard. Although the Musgraves were not Jacobites, they were not wholehearted supporters of William III as Lord Carlisle and Sir John Lowther were. They did, however, have much support from the local gentry. There was a split on court/country lines between the Lowthers and the Musgraves which came to a head in 1695, but on purely local issues all of the northern members were glad to make use of Sir Christopher Musgrave's long parliamentary experience.[40]

In 1688 Sir Christopher Musgrave and Captain Jeremiah Bubb, acting in concert with Sir George Fletcher and Basil Feilding, persuaded the Catholic governor of Carlisle Castle, Francis Howard, to surrender it to them.[41] Captain Bubb and Musgrave were elected for Carlisle in 1689. Lord Wharton

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40. For example, in the matter of taxation, see chapter below

41. H.M.C. Lonsdale p.99-100. Basil Feilding was a Customs officer at Carlisle and collected the Queen Dowager's rents for Ennerdale. He had apparently spread rumours casting doubts on Sir John Lowther of Lowther's loyalty.

had considered putting up his son Henry for the borough but then put him up for Weatmorland, while Lord Carlisle who was very ill had taken no part in the campaign.[42] In 1690 Carlisle was held by Captain Bubb and Christopher Musgrave, Sir Christopher's son. The Lowther influence did not come to the fore until 1692 when a by-election was held on the death of Bubb. The successful candidate was William Lowther, half-brother to Sir John Lowther of Lowther.[43] However, Carlisle again fell vacant when William Lowther died in August 1694. Even before hearing of his death, Lowther had written to Lord Carlisle, Sir George Fletcher and Sir John Lowther of Lowther asking for their support for his son James if a vacancy should occur.[44] Gilpin had warned him that John Aglionby, Recorder of Carlisle, intended to stand and he asked Sir John Lowther of Lowther to dissuade him. Gilpin urged him to act as quickly as possible to forestall other candidates. When he went to Carlisle for the assizes he found that Sir John Lowther of Lowther had already been proposing Lowther's son. However, he had been recommending Christopher rather than James and Lowther was determined not to let his elder son stand, writing that Christopher "affects a private life as more proper for him."[45] In fact Lowther feared that Christopher would follow the example of another young man in similar circumstances who had died in "so much unknown and unexpected debt that his whole estate will not pay for it."[46] Having convinced his kinsman that James must stand rather than Christopher, Lowther wrote again to his

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42. Sir J to Sir J.L. 1688 Dec.29
43. V.H.C. II p.327
44. Sir J to Ld C, Sir G.F., Sir J.L. 1694 July 14
45. Sir J to Ld C. 1694 July 14
46. Sir J to Sir J.L. 1694 Sept.22

friends on James's behalf and to the Mayor and Corporation of Carlisle, hoping that the confusion over the candidature would not prejudice James's chances.[47]

Since Lowther himself could not come down for the campaigning or for the by-election, the direction of the Lowther campaign was in the hands of Sir John Lowther of Lowther, Gilpin and John Aglionby, who had abandoned his own candidature. Gilpin's immediate concern was the effect of the Carlisle tolls case on the temper of the electorate. Indeed one of the aldermen had written to him saying that the Corporation was likely to want the matter settled before the election. Gilpin hoped that the case could be drawn out until after the election.[48] Sir John Lowther of Lowther felt that their interest on Carlisle would be strong enough to overcome any resentment about the case and that the "best answer to their proposal about the toll suit will be a bottle of wine, and 30s or 40s to each trade to drink your health and Mr Lowther's."[49] The trades referred to were the eight guilds at Carlisle - the Tanners, Skinners, Butchers, Tailors, Weavers, Shoemakers, Smiths and Merchants. Gilpin took his advice and at the beginning of October he went to Carlisle where he met the Mayor, William Barwick, and the Common Council and made an address to the guilds. He gave them 20s a piece and a treat to the Common Council. Gilpin reported that the electorate was generally favourable but that he did not trust them to remain so and he urged Lowther to have the writ sent down as soon as possible.[50] By consulting all of the local people who had an interest

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47. Sir J 1694 Sept.27 cf. Sir Christopher Musgrave's comment in 1690, "No time ought to be lost in acquainting the Freeholders with it [the prerogation of Parliament] for Feare of being surprised by a promise." Fleming Papers 3724 Sir C.M. to Sir D.F. 1690 Feb.6

48. WG 1694 Sept.26 A new trial was ordered in 1694. See Appendix A

49. WG 1694 Oct.1

50. ibid.

in the borough the Lowthers were able to ensure that the by-election was not contested. The Musgraves already held the other seat and Gilpin thought that they would not try to put up a candidate, claiming that Sir Christopher's interest was "long past the meridian and his prudence will never suffer him to engage where there is nothing to be expected by him but to be baffled."[51] The Carlisle Corporation was unlikely to have looked favourably upon any Musgrave candidate at that time since they had been severely reprimanded by the House of Commons for breach of privilege, at Sir Christopher Musgrave's request, over the disfranchisement of his son Christopher in 1692.[52] However, an attempt was made to upset the Lowther campaign (it is not clear by whom) by trying to set Lord Carlisle against them. The Lowther's opponents claimed that the town was offering the seat to the Lowthers and so insulting Lord Carlisle, but the matter was smoothed over and James's election secured.[53]

A contest could not be avoided in 1695. Lord Carlisle wished to secure the second seat for his own candidate and as he had given his support to the Lowthers that meant that he would have to wrest it from the Musgraves. Needless to say they were not prepared to give up the seat and they began their preparations well before the election. In July Christopher Musgrave visited Carlisle and asked for Lord Carlisle's support. When that was refused he declared that he would stand on his own interest.[54] There was obviously no assumption that because he was a Whig Lord Carlisle would

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51. ibid.

52. J.A. Downie, "The Disfranchisement of Christopher Musgrave M.P. by the Carlisle Corporation in 1692", C.W.A.A.S. n.s. LXXV (1975)

53. WG 1694 Oct.4

54. WG 1695 July 20

automatically refuse to support a Tory Musgrave - the two families had often stood together in the past - the important factor appears to have been that the Lowthers had secured a promise of support first.

It was equally important to secure the support of the aldermen. As well as leading citizens of Carlisle, the aldermen included Sir Christopher Musgrave and Sir George Fletcher. Fletcher must have been placed in an awkward position by the joint Howard-Lowther campaign. He had supported the Musgraves in the past and had no love for Lord Carlisle but he had also promised to support James Lowther. Fletcher was less susceptible to political pressure than some of the other Musgrave supporters among the aldermen. Gilpin judged that Fletcher would not turn against the Lowthers although he was angered by the action of Lord Carlisle and Sir John Lowther of Lowther in turning Basil Feilding out of the Corporation because of his support for the Musgraves.[55] Pressure was brought to bear on Thomas Simpson, a prominent alderman whose supporters could be expected to vote as he did. Simpson was reluctant to promise to vote for both the Lowther and the Howard candidate. He had supported the Musgraves in the past and clearly wished to split his vote by voting for Musgrave and Lowther. He reluctantly agreed to vote for both Lowther and Howard but said that under certain circumstances he would still split his vote. James Nicholson, another alderman, proved less tractable, even when he was promised a place in the commission of the peace if he would abandon the Musgraves. The most that he was prepared to offer was that he would vote for James Lowther as well as for Christopher Musgrave, but Gilpin was afraid to accept this offer for fear of causing a rupture with Lord Carlisle.[56] However, it is

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55. WG 1695 July 20

56. ibid.

clear that Lord Carlisle and Sir John Lowther of Lowther were able to a large extent to manipulate the Corporation, and although the country interest was angered by this, they were powerless to stop it.

Gilpin was not expecting the election to occur for several months but he thought it would be unwise to let the Musgraves "enlarge their foundations undisturbed."[57] He believed that the Bishop and most of the clergy and all of the Jacobite interest, by which he probably meant the Grahmes, would favour the Musgraves and work against the Lowthers.[58] In an age when newspapers were in their infancy prominent people such as the clergy and gentry were sources of information about national events and had ample opportunity to make their views known. The divisions caused by religious differences at Whitehaven have already been noted and the political manipulation of religion played an important part in elections, especially in the 1698 campaign at Carlisle. To try to counteract the clerical support for the Musgraves, Lowther wrote to Sir Daniel Fleming asking him to use his interest in Carlisle to try to win over the Bishop.[59]

Christopher Musgrave had already begun his campaign and Gilpin feared that the heads of the common people would be turned by the firing of guns and the flying of flags which had heralded Musgrave's entry to Carlisle. Musgrave hoped to influence the more important citizens by a large dinner which he gave and by his supporters" "great boasts of his preferments" at Court.[60] A candidate who was prominent at Court would be able to offer places to his supporters and although the country party was opposed to

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57. WG 1695 July 22

58. ibid. Both James Grahme of Levens Hall and his brother, Lord Preston had supported James II

59. Sir J to Sir D.F. 1695 Sept.15

60. WG 1695 July 25

'place men' they meant people who had been given places by the Court, rather than their own supporters who had been suitably rewarded for their loyalty. All three of the candidates at Carlisle had powerful connections who could offer either places in London or locally as in the Customs service or the commission of the peace. While these offers of preferment were not always a deciding factor, they played an important part in any contested election and when legislation against electoral corruption made them illegal in 1696 the candidates were deprived of one of their chief appeals to the voters.

Musgrave's reception at Carlisle had angered Lord Carlisle who decided that no single votes would be allowed on either side. Some of the electors had already demonstrated their support by refusing to go to Musgrave's dinner but so that no one was in any doubt about where their duty lay, Lord Carlisle and Sir John Lowther of Lowther informed the Mayor and the aldermen "that they will not take it as a kindness from any who separate Mr. Howard and Mr. Lowther."[61] They asked the Mayor to summon the guilds so that John Aglionby and Gilpin could make the position plain to them also. Gilpin reported that some people, whom he does not name, were harming their cause, some by trying "to aw the freemen into your interests by entertaining them continually with the discourses of revenge against those who comply not ..." while others thought that "the eminency of the recommendors is enough to secure success, and that no other methods are necessary than to make the proposal."[62] It was not merely the local aldermen on whom pressure was exerted but even on people like Sir Daniel Fleming who wished to stay friendly with both sides. The Musgrave/Lowther quarrel

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61. WG 1695 Aug.3

62. ibid.

was taking place simultaneously in Westmorland and Sir John Lowther of Lowther wrote to Sir Daniel Fleming "... Sir Chr(istopher) hath openlie and zealousie applied himself to the non-juring partie and they with equal heat have espoused his interest ... I am convinced, that you will maintain and continue in a just neutralitie" and should Sir Daniel be wavering he urged him to consider "howe it will recommend your children to the favours off this Goverment [sic] to which some off them have verie good pretensions."[63]

Despite such pressure there was a real fear that Christopher Musgrave would win over the electors with his vigorous personal campaigning and so the Lowther interest resorted to drawing up a list of all the freemen of Carlisle and assigning "every individual man to the particular care of one or other of our managers, who are to use their interest with them and to guard them from contrary impressions."[64] Since many of the electors did not live in Carlisle but scattered about the county this must have meant much hard work for the managers. In mid-September the managers were called to account for the electors in their charge and they declared that 158 could be relied upon for certain from an expected turnout of 300. Although their majority had been eroded Lord Carlisle hoped to maintain or increase it by suspending all amerciaments until after the elections with instructions that "such shall be favoured as have favoured the interest."[65] To win over Timothy Haddock, the plaintiff in the Carlisle tolls case, who had earlier tried to cause a split between the Howards and the Lowthers,

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63. Fleming Papers 4844 Sir J.L. to Sir D.F. 1695 Sept.15. See also H.M.C. Bagot p.331 for dispute between Sir John Lowther of Lowther and Sir Christopher Musgrave over supply for the war

64. WG 1695 Sept.7

65. WG 1695 Sept.17

Lord Carlisle gave him the authority to levy the amerciaments. Thus considerable pressure was being brought to bear on the electors to discourage them from voting for the Musgraves, and as Sir Christopher Musgrave did not have equivalent powers at Carlisle he was unable to offer similar inducements. Gilpin even thought that Sir Christopher might be reduced to putting himself up for Carlisle in place of his son because of Sir John Lowther of Lowther's efforts to exclude him in Westmorland. However, Sir Christopher was returned for the borough of Appleby with the support of the Tory Earl of Thanet.[66]

By the end of September Gilpin was confident that they had the support of the Mayor and of all of the aldermen, except James Nicholson. Even one William Railton who had always shown "a particular devotion to the house of Edenhall [the Musgraves] yet is ours because he thinks the interest of the government requires it."[67] The Lowthers' agents at Carlisle included Richard Eaglesfield, a local gentleman, two merchants and an attorney. Owing to vigorous campaigning by the Musgraves they could not afford to slacken their efforts or to cut expenses. Gilpin wrote, "The humour of the inferior people (who are at this time our masters) will permit little of that, and I find that in spite of all that can be done, if the writ come not soon wee shall be profoundly diped."[68]

The clergy and especially Archdeacon Nicholson were among the chief supporters of the Musgraves. A rumour was circulated that the Dissenters'

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66. Hopkinson op. cit. p.121 See also H.M.C. Portland III p.567 Sir C.M. to Robert Harley 1695 Sept.14 "I believe he [Lord Lonsdale] would court anyone to accomplish his designe, and spares no praiers and refflections to mislead the people. It is said he hath promised above to keep mee out." Also H.M.C. Downshire I pt.2 p.578

67 WG 1695 Sept.23

68. WG 1695 Sept.28

Meeting House at Whitehaven was to be incorporated thereby suggesting that the Lowthers supported the Dissenters rather than the established Church.[69] The rumour was probably a wilful misinterpretation of the legal settlements drawn up for the Meeting House by Gilpin and there is no sign of the Dissenters offering support for James Lowther. To counteract these rumours, Lowther's kinsman, Lancelot Teasdale, was sent to Carlisle to present a clerical view favourable to the Lowthers. The religious issue must have caused wavering in the ranks for this to be thought necessary. Gilpin was happy to report the dismissal of the collector of Customs at Carlisle, Robert Farish, a supporter of the Musgraves, who was thereby "disabled from dispensing the Customhouse favours to your disadvantage."[70] No reasons are given in the Customs' records for Farish's dismissal but as he was replaced after the election by Richard Eaglesfield, a Lowther agent, it seems likely that politics played a part in it.[71] During the campaign unspecified attempts were made to blacken Eaglesfield's reputation, and Gale reported "some clashing at Carlisle" in which one of the Musgraves' agents lost an eye.[72]

The actual time of the election was to be decided by the Corporation and as they supported the Lowther-Howard interest it was felt that they would choose the most favourable moment for it. Gale wrote that the election had been postponed for the benefit of the ale drapers who had a definite interest in prolonging the campaign because of the high expenditure on both sides.[73] The Musgraves were still confident of

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69 WG 1695 Sept.28, Oct.9

70. WG 1695 Sept.23

71. P.R.O. T 11/13

72. JG 1695 Oct.27, WG Oct.14

73. JG 1695 Oct.27

success and just before the election Christopher Musgrave wrote, "if I meet with fair play I doubt not of success. If I may judge by my expense, my party is great."[74] However, he was to be disappointed for when the election was at last held on November 4, James Lowther and William Howard were elected by "a great plurality of votes."[75] Although this must have been a welcome relief after months of campaigning, there was still the question of expenses to be settled and that almost caused a rift between the two successful parties.

It has been estimated that the cost of the average borough election in Cumberland and Westmorland for this period was about £300-£400 but the expenses of the joint Howard-Lowther campaign amounted to over £1,000.[76] Gilpin lists six reasons for the high expenses:

> "Wee begun 1) later than Mr M[usgrave] and had no way but that of expense left to overtake him with the meaner sort; 2) his applications were most vigorous which obliged us to the same; 3) the contest had been extraordinary long, and the sheriff made it yet longer by an £100; 4) the great concourse that came in with Sir J[ohn] L[owther] the night before the election which yet was not to be avoided; 5) the multitudes of people (unconcerned) whose expectations were raised to see the election, and who all of them found some freeman or other to entertain them, vastly encreased the expense; 6) one of the managers, who had the vanity to outdo all others, was resolved to make himself popular and to creat an obligation at your and Mr Howard's expense. And his profuseness, which was at first only with some few and which neither Mr A[glionby] nor I could stop made it necessary to take the same methods with the rest, for presently the cry was, so much was spent at such an house and you slight me."[77]

In spite of the measures taken to cut out the Musgraves' supporters the

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74. H.M.C. Downshire I pt.2 p.578 Christopher Musgrave to Sir William Trumbull 1695 Nov.2

75. WG 1695 Nov.11

76. Hopkinson op. cit. p.274 for estimate of expenses, WG 1695 Nov.21

77. WG 1695 Nov.21

level of expenditure indicates how seriously the threat was regarded, but it also demonstrates how the voters were determined to make the most of the limited power that they held prior to the poll. Aglionby suggested that some of the bills should be queried, but Gilpin was reluctant to do so because it might endanger Lowther's future interest. However, he did suggest Lowther should endeavour to find some preferment for their most prominent supporters, especially as their opponents proclaimed that the Musgraves always did so for their friends. The passing of the Triennial Bill in 1694 had ensured that there would be another election in three years' time, and so it was essential to maintain both the Lowther interest at Carlisle and the partnership with Lord Carlisle.

In December 1695 Gilpin took £200 to Carlisle towards their share of the expenses and in January there was much complaining in Carlisle because James Maxwell, Lord Carlisle's steward, would not pay more than half of the bill, though the total was now acknowledged to be short, and what he had paid was in inferior coinage.[78] The dispute about additional expenses to those on the original bill dragged on. Gilpin claimed that he had paid the Lowther share "to a farthing" but neither Aglionby nor Maxwell were willing to demand the remainder of Lord Carlisle's share from him.[79] Indeed Maxwell was reluctant to send a second account of the arrears to Lord Carlisle and descended to insinuations that it had been necessary to spend more money to have James Lowther elected than to secure the return of William Howard. This, Gilpin denied indignantly, writing to Lowther,

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78. WG 1696 Jan.8
79. WG 1696 May 27

"My Lord L[onsdale] knows how difficult he found it to engage several of his dependents to vote for Mr H[oward] and as to the part I had, I am sure it had been easier by much if I had contented myself with advancing your interest only."[80] It is clear that many supporters on both sides would have preferred to have given their second vote for Musgrave rather than being bound for both votes. Gilpin asked Lowther if he could alert Lord Carlisle to the behaviour of his agents and queried the motives of John Aglionby, wondering if he was hoping to contest the next election on his own behalf and so was unwilling to offend Lord Carlisle as a possible patron.[81]

The cost of the election came to £1,050-5-8, with additional arrears bringing it to £1,096-18-8, of which £71-5-10 was still outstanding in August 1696. Gilpin was not sure how much of the Howard expenses had been paid, but suspected that they had not been satisfactorily settled.[82] By November Gilpin was out of patience with Lord Carlisle's agents and wrote bluntly to Lowther, "They had either paid less than £500-10s or applied part of it to bills that are not comprehended in the £1,001 account."[83] The coinage problem was at its height and it may be that Lord Carlisle's agents were short of ready money, but on the other hand they showed little willingness to ensure a fair settlement, and it is possible that given the extraordinary sum spent they were merely anxious to pass the greater burden of expenses to the Lowthers.

It was not until February 1697 that the accounts were at last settled,

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80. WG 1696 Aug.12
81. WG 1696 Aug.29
82. ibid.
83. WG 1696 Nov.14

though even then Gilpin thought that they had had to give way for the sake of harmony and some of the minor expenses may never have been paid.[84] According to Gilpin's accounts the final cost of the Lowther half of the expenses was £556-5-0 which makes the cost of Lowther's election to the county, £21-10-0, seem very slight.[85] Gilpin's extra journeys to Carlisle to attend to the accounts, and any further rewards given to faithful supporters, would have added to the expense, and with the accounts so recently settled none of the parties could have viewed the coming 1698 election with enthusiasm.

It had been hoped that the Triennial Bill would limit expenses by making large scale corruption unprofitable, but the certainty of another election in three years' time tended to lead candidates to maintain a constant 'interest'. Since contested elections were always very expensive, the country gentlemen tried to arrange matters so as to limit or cut out contests altogether. They were successful in doing so for the county elections for Cumberland throughout the 1690s, but not in the boroughs. Although Gilpin hoped that sufficient expenditure at the first election might mean that future ones would not be contested, they must have expected a renewed challenge from the Musgraves.

In 1698 they also had to consider a piece of legislation which had come into force since the last election, a bill against treating, which specified that any member of Parliament who either directly or indirectly offered or accepted money, promised meat, drink, provisions, presents or rewards, or made offers of office or preferment in return for votes, would be disqualified. These restrictions applied after the Test of the Writ of

84. WG 1697 Feb.24

85. Accounts Sept. - Dec. 1695

Summons to Parliament and after the issuing of the writs for an election.[86] This meant that any treating would have to be done before the issue of the writs, thus severely limiting the traditional methods of winning votes, and although by the early eighteenth century candidates had become blasé about these restrictions, in 1689 they were taken seriously. Lowther wrote warningly, "The least charge upon any voter after the teste of the writ makes void the election. Some dar hardly appear at their bouroughes, nor the knights scarce bid a friend welcom at his house."[87] To Lord Lonsdale he added that the Act was,

> "iniversally construed to extend to treats after the election as well as before, and which has made all here so cautious that we do not yet hear of anyone who has ventured theron after the election was over. How this interpretation will be received wher we understand some people's expectations are otherwise, we know not, but my Lord Carlisle and I have made it our business to be informed of all that has past here."[88]

These restrictions were particularly worrying in a contested election when the votes of electors could not be secured as they had been in 1695. John Aglionby again decided not to stand on his own behalf and had offered his services once more to Lord Carlisle, in return for which Lord Carlisle and Lowther promised to assist him in a case in which he and the Cathedral Chapter were opposed to the King's Council.[89] There had also been a dispute between Lord Carlisle and the Corporation which Lowther hoped had been satisfactorily settled since the support of the Corporation was vital.[90]

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86. H.M.C. House of Lords 1696 p.200
87. Sir J to WG 1698 July 5
88. Sir J to Ld L 1698 July 26
89. Sir J 1698 Apr.30
90. Sir J 1698 May 14

The 1698 campaign was not of as long duration as that of 1695. In July Lowther wrote to the Corporation at Carlisle and also to Aglionby and to Richard Eaglesfield on behalf of his son who was going to stand again in conjunction with William Howard. Sir Christopher Musgrave had said that he did not intend to stand and Lowther thought it probable that Christopher Musgrave would stand in his father's place at Appleby.[91] As it seemed that there would be no opposition from the Musgraves, Lowther wrote to the Archdeacon of Carlisle, William Nicholson, who had supported them in 1695, to ask for his support and that of the clergy for the Lowthers.[92] The archdeacon did not prove amenable. He had already been spreading rumours in Carlisle that James Lowther favoured the Presbyterians and attended conventicles. Lord Lonsdale wrote to Lowther informing him that Nicholson claimed to have written to Dr. William Lancaster, James's former tutor, who had quoted James as saying that the Presbyterians were the "partie [which] supported him in C[arlisle] and, therefore, he was obliged to support and favour them and would doe so."[93] Lord Lonsdale hoped that there was no truth in the report but seems to have been swayed by Nicholson's claim that he could produce a letter from Lancaster as evidence of the truth of his claims. Lonsdale also seemed offended by the suggestion that James could know "of anie interest but mine" in Carlisle and said that the Presbyterians were too few in number to affect the result of the election.[94] There seemed to be no motive for the archdeacon's actions since the Musgraves had given no indication that they meant to contest the seat. It may be that by discrediting the

91. Sir J 1698 July 5
92. Sir J to William Nicholson 1698 July 9
93. Ld L to Sir J 1698 July 9
94. ibid.

Lowthers the archdeacon hoped to persuade the Musgraves to stand. Lowther was angered by the accusations against his son and told Lord Lonsdale that the letter which the archdeacon claimed to have must be a forgery and that he would send him an assurance from Dr Lancaster as to the falsity of the charge. As for the accusations, Lowther declared that they might as well have accused James of attending "a popish meeting or the synagogue."[95] He judged that the aim of the rumours was to make Lord Lonsdale, a firm Anglican, withdraw his support from James but hoped that it would not succeed. Lonsdale's support was essential and all the more important because not only was Lowther unable to come down as he had intended to do, but it seemed that Gilpin would be unable to go to Carlisle either on account of his wife's serious illness.

Dr Lancaster wrote to Lowther refuting the rumours and said that he had had no correspondence with the archdeacon. He only had time to refute the story because the writs took longer to arrive than expected and Nicholson had obviously thought that the rumour would not be contradicted before the election.[96] Lowther sent Lancaster's letter to Lord Lonsdale, who, in Gilpin's absence, was carrying the major part of the campaign.

Lowther kept a strict, if distant eye on the campaigning to avoid contraventions of the new act. The Governor of Carlisle Castle had intended to give a treat but Richard Eaglesfield had prevented him from doing so. Lowther thought that it might be safe to do something after Parliament had been sitting for fourteen days but that nothing should be promised lest it prove dangerous. He also thought that if any of the freemen

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95. Sir J to Ld L 1698 July 14

96. William Lancaster to Sir J 1698 July 16

had been employed as electoral agents it would be better if they did not vote so that no misconstruction could be placed upon the payment of their expenses.[97] One of the Lowther's difficulties was the contrast between the lavish expenditure in 1695 and the lack of it in this campaign, much to the disappointment of the voters who were calling it the "dry" election.[98] The position of the Musgraves remained a matter for concern. Christopher Musgrave was reported to have sent down a letter in mid-July saying that he intended to stand but had taken no further steps. In fact, Musgrave did not come down to Carlisle in person, nor did he conduct an active campaign as he had done in 1695. Lowther attributed his behaviour to "the common practice of many who dispaire of sucsess at the day of election, but designed in order to question election afterwards in case of treats, promises or other entertainments contrary to the late act..."[99] Even more serious was the fact that Lord Carlisle's agents were only asking for support for the Howard candidate and not for James Lowther as well and Lord Carlisle was not there to remedy the matter. Lowther must have feared that this action combined with the rumours spread by the archdeacon would prove favourable to the Musgraves for he wrote to Lord Lonsdale asking that if James should fail to be elected at Carlisle, another place should be found for him.[100]

Gilpin's wife recovered sufficiently for him to be able to go to Carlisle where his presence was needed to sort out the problems with Lord Carlisle's agents. James Lowther wrote to the Mayor and in spite of the new act, offered his services in the matter of payment for soldiers. This probably

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97. Sir J 1698 July 26
98. Sir J 1698 July 28
99. Sir J to Ld L 1698 July 26
100. Sir J to Ld L July 28

related not to the garrison at Carlisle but to the disbanding of various regiments which took place following the signing of the peace of Ryswick. The question of whether or not a standing army should be maintained was much debated at this time but this is the only hint of it being raised during the election at Carlisle.[101] The opponents of the Lowthers, principally the archdeacon and Joseph Read, a prominent townsman, maintained their efforts up to the time of the election, but in spite of them, James Lowther and William Howard were elected. Several weeks after the election Lowther informed Lord Lonsdale that Sir George Fletcher had given an "entertainment" at Cockermouth and so the Carlisle Corporation would be bound to expect something. He suggested that the Mayor and the aldermen be entertained and sufficient money be given to the guilds to entertain themselves.[102] There is no discussion in the correspondence of the 1698 accounts but according to Gilpin's accounts only £30-18-6 was paid out and this included a fee to the town clerk and Gilpin's expenses for the county election as well.[103] The dramatic difference between the expenses for 1695 and 1698 shows the immediate effectiveness of the new act, although in time it came to be ignored.

The elections held in the early eighteenth century were markedly different for the Lowthers. Ill health made Lowther decide not to stand at the next election in January 1701 and although James Lowther stood again with a Howard candidate at Carlisle the political atmosphere was changing.

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101. Sir J 1698 Aug.2 In H.M.C. Portland III p.593 there is an unsigned letter of 1697 Nov.6 - "The heads of the Jacobites - the Musgraveites - intend to move for a standing army, thinking thereby to ingratiate themselves into the King's favour; but we hope he will perceive their designs and consider that that must render him unacceptable, and be burdensome to his subjects."

102. Sir J 1698 Sept.18

103. Accounts 1698

In 1702 the Lowthers decided that it would be better for James to concentrate on holding his office in the ordnance and so he did not stand again for re-election until 1708 when he stood and was elected for the county.[104] The Lowthers suffered in the reaction of favour of the Tories upon the accession of Queen Anne, but the most important factor in their decline in influence was the death of Lord Lonsdale in 1700. Although Lady Lonsdale continued the Lowther interest it was now reduced from national to local importance which meant a reduction in the scope of the patronage which the Lowthers could offer. Other changes occurred at this time. Sir George Fletcher died in 1700 and so not only was the continuity of representation for the county broken but two experienced members of Parliament were replaced by two inexperienced members. Also for the first time in many years county elections were contested, and the gentry resented efforts by the peers to control these as well as the borough elections. James Grahme on hearing that Lord Carlisle meant to take an interest in the Westmorland as well as the Cumberland elections wrote:

> "It is a new thing for any man who has no lands in a county to concern himself in elections there. The Earl's grandfather and father enjoyed the post he has in these northern parts, yet never meddled with elections in Westmorland."[105]

He was similarly unimpressed by Lord Lonsdale's attempt to influence the choice of candidates for the next election in his will.[106] Anne's accession to the throne and the vigour of party politics throughout her

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104. Philip Howard stood for Carlisle in 1702 but was defeated, being replaced by a soldier Thomas Stanwix and Christopher Musgrave. John Aglionby went over to the Musgraves

105. H.M.C. Bagot p.335 James Grahme to a freeholder 1700 Sept.9

106. ibid. "It is said that the late Lord Lonsdale at his death recommended his uncle, in my opinion a very improper legacy to his country, for I never heard that Knights of the Shire were disposed of by will."

reign show a marked change in spirit from the 1690s so that the changes which occurred in Cumberland and Westmorland were a reflection of changes taking place in the nation as a whole.

It is difficult to tell how much matters of national concern were discussed at election time, and if they were, what effect they had on the voters. At first glance policy appears to have played a very small part in the elections but there are hints that matters of national importance were considered by the country gentlemen and that some of them did vote according to whom they thought would be the best upholders of the state as well as for someone who could offer them patronage. In 1689 Sir Daniel Fleming queried why the Convention Parliament was not to include members of James II's Parliaments as well as those of Charles II's. He concluded, "It is hoped that you conventionists will have a care to defend the Church and Lawes of England from all their enemies."[107] In 1690 Sir Christopher Musgrave supposed that the voters would "think it of the greatest Importance to them to chuse such persons as will endeavour to preserve the Government of the Church and State ..."[108] Sir George Fletcher echoed his sentiments saying that matters of Church and state were likely to be important in the next Parliament and that a "great party" had arisen which was not favourable to either.[109]

It was, however, in 1695 that a clear split occurred between the Lowthers and the Musgraves over such issues. Both sides made it plain in their letters that the quarrel was political rather than personal although

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107. Fleming Papers 3419a Sir D.F. to Sir J 1689 Jan.12
108. ibid. 3724 Sir C.M. to Sir D.F. 1690 Feb.6
109. H.M.C. Fleming p.267 Sir G.F. to Sir D.F. 1690 Feb.13

it inevitably caused strained feelings on both sides.[110] Sir John Lowther of Lowther wanted Sir Christopher Musgrave to commit himself to voting supply for the war until a just peace should be established. The increased taxation which had resulted from wartime expenditure was unpopular among the country gentry upon whose support Musgrave depended. He therefore declined to commit himself to such "an infringement of the Liberty of a Commoner of England as noe man ought to Agree to that takes upon him the service of his countrey in parliament."[111] Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven took no part in this public quarrel nor did some of the other country gentry like Sir Daniel Fleming who did his best to remain neutral in such situations.

Whether the candidates meant all that they said or whether this was merely seventeenth century political rhetoric cannot be absolutely determined. Certainly, there was a concern about the state of the Church and it did affect the way in which people voted. Indeed, one of the most obvious divisions between the candidates during this period was that of the support of the Dissenters on the one hand for the Whartons and that of the majority of the clergy on the other for the Musgraves, but this in itself was insufficient to secure election. Although the Whartons can be classified as Whigs and the Musgraves as Tories, the rest of the families cannot be so neatly labelled. The Howards, Lowthers, Fletchers, Flemings and most of the country gentry supported William III as a protector of the Anglican Church (though some of them complained about the effects of his foreign policy on their incomes), so that the differences which arose

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110. Fleming Papers 4844 Sir J.L. to Sir D.F. 1695 Sept.15 "There is no servise in my Power that would not hurt the Publick that I would not doe him [Sir Christopher Musgrave] and his Family."

111. ibid. 4867a Sir Christopher Musgrave's Reply October 1695

between them were principally attributable to rivalry for local influence rather than divisions of principle.

In choosing which candidate to support the voters were swayed by the opposing "Court' and 'Country' sides, but also by their family connections and what they thought that a particular candidate could do for them. In Cumberland during the 1690s most of the candidates came from local families and made full use of their relations at election time. The 'Court' candidates could offer to use their influence in London to obtain preferment, to secure local benefits such as an improved postal service and to assist in law suits, while the 'Country' candidates could promise to uphold local interests, especially the maintenance of the favourable tax differential between the north and the south of the country, to support the Anglican Church and to vote against increased government expenditure. Thus members of Parliament could wield much local influence and it was essential that it should be to the advantage of one's own family and friends, rather than those of rival interests which provided a strong motive for families to find a suitable candidate among their members.

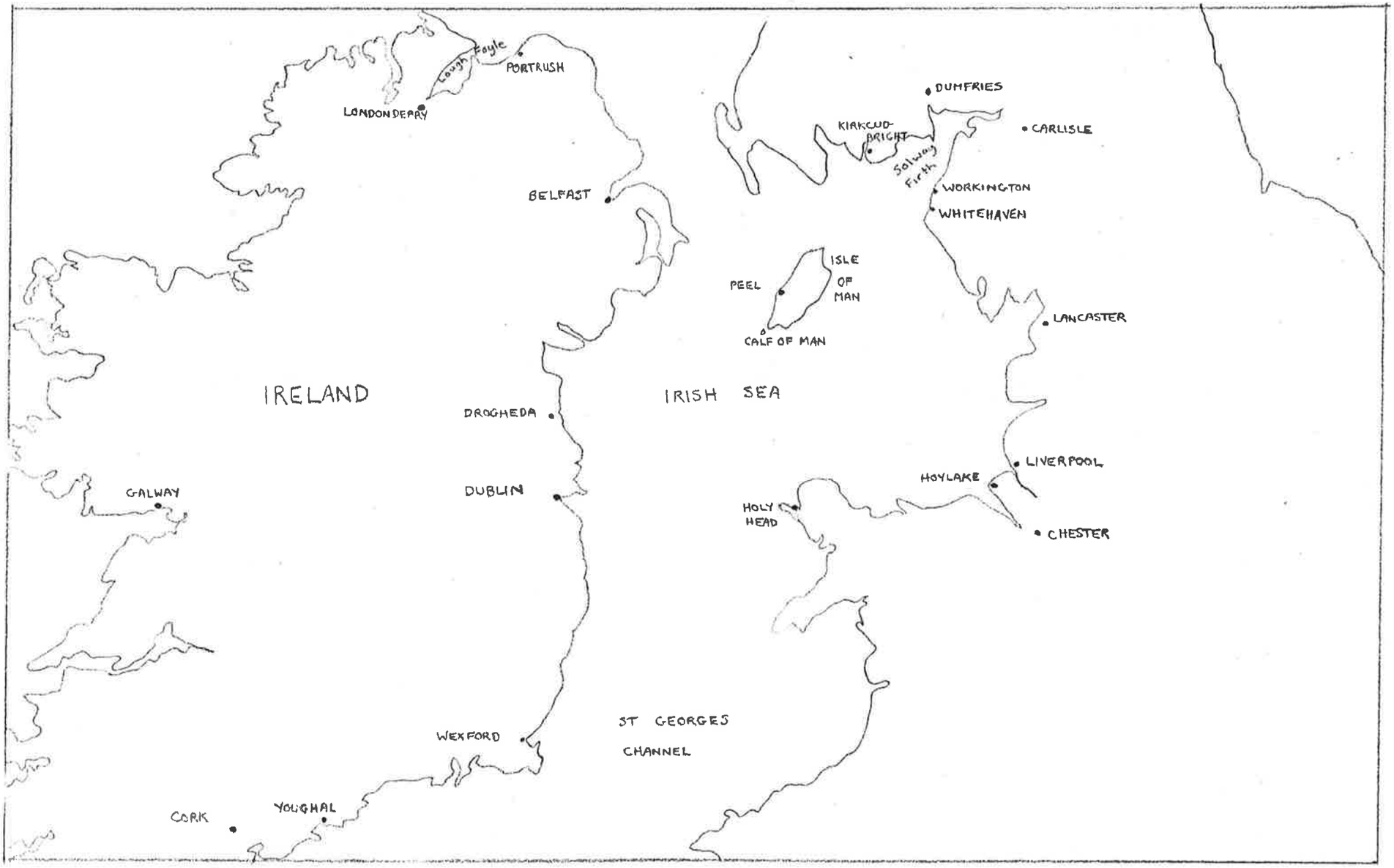
Politically the decade from 1688-1698 was very successful for the Lowther family. Although both Sir John Lowther of Lowther and Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven had been in Parliament for many years they only reaped the full rewards of royal favour in this period. Both of them held offices which enabled them to distribute patronage and to be of assistance to the local community. It was particularly valuable for Whitehaven as a port to have a 'representative' in the Admiralty. Lowther was able to secure permission for Whitehaven ships to sail in spite of embargoes, to speed up the exchange of captured Whitehaven seamen and to solicit for the payment of

the ships hired by the transport service.[112] Sir John Lowther of Lowther's scope for patronage was wider and he was looked to by all the branches of the family. Without his encouragement and support it is unlikely that James Lowther would have stood successfully at Carlisle. Lord Lonsdale's death in 1700 and Sir John Lowther's retirement severely curtailed the scope of the Lowther interest and it was not until later in the eighteenth century that it again obtained the national influence which it had enjoyed in the 1690s.

112. See chapter on Trade for examples.

THE WAR AND ITS EFFECTS

From 1689 to 1697 England was at war with France and the effects of the war extended to all parts of the country. Whitehaven played a small but important part in the war itself by providing a source of intelligence about the state of Ireland and by providing ships to transport English troops to Ireland in 1689. For the rest of the war Whitehaven was less directly concerned in the actual fighting. However, as a port Whitehaven's merchant shipping became a target for French and Irish privateers and her seamen a target for the press gang. The non-seafaring population was also affected by these losses and by the increased taxation which was necessary to maintain the war effort. The following chapters discuss the war itself, taxation and the coinage crisis and the effects of these upon Whitehaven's trade.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ISLE OF MAN
PEEL
CALF OF MAN
LANCASTER
IRELAND
IRISH SEA
DROGHEDA
LIVERPOOL
HOYLAKE
GALWAY
DUBLIN
HOLY HEAD
CHESTER
ST GEORGES CHANNEL
WEXFORD
CORK
YOUGHAL

THE WAR

In November 1688 Louis XIV declared war on the Dutch thus officially beginning a conflict which was to last until 1697. Louis was opposed by a coalition of Catholic and Protestant princes held together by William III. The main partners in the coalition were the Dutch and the English (from May 1689) supported by the Austrians and minor German princes and the Spaniards. Their diversity of aims and lack of co-operation prolonged the war as much as Louis XIV's obstinate refusal to recognize William as King of England. William's invasion of England made her entry into a continental war against Louis inevitable, and Louis was not slow to seize the initiative by taking advantage of Irish discontent. He decided to send James II and some troops to Ireland in an attempt to restore James to his former possessions and to divert William's attention from the coming campaign in Europe. In fact the war in Ireland achieved neither the restoration of James nor the elimination of William from the war. However, it caused widespread alarm in England and brought the war close to Whitehaven, which, like other ports in the north-west of England, became involved in the shipment of troops and supplies to Ireland.[1]

The stability of government in Ireland had been threatened before William's arrival in England. The Irish Catholics had seen James's accession as a sign that they would soon be able to play a more active role in government and that the land settlement would be revised in their favour. The appointment of the Earl of Tyrconnell, a leading Catholic, as Deputy-Lieutenant of Ireland in January 1687 seemed a confirmation of Catholic

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1. The general narrative in this chapter is based on: David Ogg, England in the Reigns of James II and William III (Oxford 1966 ed.), J.G. Simms, Jacobite Ireland 1685-91 (London 1969), R. Hatton & J.S. Bromley (eds.), William III and Louis XIV: Essays 1680-1720 (Liverpool 1968)

hopes and Protestant fears. James, although sympathetic towards the Irish as Catholics had no wish to alter the political settlement, but once Tryconnell was established in power, confrontation between the Catholics and Protestants became likely. Tyrconnell dismissed Protestant officers from the army to make way for Catholics, Catholics were appointed to the Corporation of the city of Dublin and Church of Ireland parishes were left unfilled, while the Jesuits were encouraged to work in government controlled schools.

In autumn 1688 James ordered that Irish troops were to be sent to England to form new regiments and that fresh troops should be raised in Ireland to replace them. This aroused memories of the prelude to the Civil War amongst Protestants in both Ireland and England. These troops did not fight against William after he landed in England and before fleeing to France at the end of December 1688, James ordered his troops to disband. Some of the Irish were interned on the Isle of Wight, and were sent to Hamburg to join the armies of the Catholic Emperor of Austria to fight against the Turks, but the rest, disbanded but not disarmed, made for the coast to follow James to France or to return to Ireland.[2]

Fears of undisciplined Irish troops rampaging through the countryside were widespread in England at the end of 1688. Whitehaven was an obvious port for crossing to Ireland and at the end of December Tickell wrote thankfully, "Our feares of burneing, etc, by the disbanded Irish in this realme are now over, I pray God to preserve us in this quietnes."[3] Lowther replied from London, "I wonder to find you have been so alarmed in the North with apprehensions of the Irish, if any body of armed men

2. Simms op. cit. p.48

3. TT 1688 Dec.29

had marched that way you could not imagine but we should know it here and consequently give you notice."[4] Nor did any Irish troops come to Whitehaven, but at Chester about a hundred Irish officers had seized a ship, and many of them drowned when it was wrecked.[5] However, several individuals were seized at Whitehaven following orders to the Customs to "use your utmost endeavours to discoer and apprehend all such Irish Papists as shall be found making their escape into Ireland from that place or any of the parts adjoyning ..."[6] A Colonel John Butler, probably one of the Catholic relations of the Duke of Ormonde, was arrested at Whitehaven and later sent to Carlisle complaining vigorously of ill-usage.[7] Also arrested was a 'Mr John Kingsmill' presumably a government agent travelling under an assumed name. He complained to Lord Shrewsbury, the Principal Secretary for State, that he had already been imprisoned once before by "one John Gale an over busie fellow ... This Gale who before any suspicion of the name hath declared that he no way values your Passes and that only such as he pleaseth shall passe."[8] According to Tickell the man had been arrested under suspicion of being a Catholic priest because there were witnesses to the falsity of the name on the passport.[9] The people at Whitehaven were obviously suspicious of anyone wanting to go to Ireland at a time when hundreds of Protestants were fleeing from the country with reports of the danger to their lives and property.

These Protestants provided a first hand source of information about what was happening in Ireland, as did the masters of the colliers who were still

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4. Sir J 1689 Jan.5
5. TT 1689 Jan.10
6. P.R.O. S.P. 44/97 p.45
7. Sir J 1689 Feb.16, TT March 5
8. P.R.O. S.P. 32/1 no.16
9. TT 1689 Apr.16

travelling to and from Dublin. Thus Tickell at Whitehaven knew more about actual conditions in Ireland than Lowther did in London and was able to send much information to his master. As early as November 1688 Lowther had written that he thought that the war would centre on Ireland and this was soon confirmed. In December Tickell wrote that the Protestants in Dublin were "up with such armes as they have and very fearfill of a massacre."[10] Later that month a ship coming from Ireland reported that Tyrconnell was increasing his forces, and was thought to have about forty thousand men, and that only Londonderry and Bandon had refused to allow the entry of Tyrconnell's troops.[11] Neither Tyrconnell nor William was eager to take up arms. Tyrconnell's army was only partly trained, some of the best Irish troops were still in England, and he was short of money, while William's was barely established in England and was threatened by a rising in Scotland. William did not wish to be distracted from the French threat on the Rhine, and hoped to postpone trouble in Ireland by calling on the Irish Jacobites to lay down their arms in February 1689. However, by this time they had received offers of help from Louis XIV and were in no mood to throw away the advantages they had already won.

At the beginning of January 1689 Lowther had written optimistically, " ...we expect dailie to hear of the Lord Deputies absolute submission", and asked Tickell to ensure that ships continued to go to the northern ports so that he could be informed of what was happening.[12] Tickell did not share Lowther's optimism. He reported that in Dublin:

> "the rable who have allready plundered the passive Quakers houses and some poore Protestants not able to keep them out. Such like

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10. Sir J 1688 Nov.20, TT Dec.11
11. TT 1688 Dec.29
12. Sir J 1689 Jan.5

> persons on the night time go also aboard the coale gabarts and take out coales without measure or price, which has constrained them to set watches there ..."[13]

Such reports suggested that law and order had broken down and that it would not be long before trade was threatened by the outbreak of hostilities. To assist the Dublin Protestants some of the people around Whitehaven had planned to seize a ship in Dublin harbour, presumably one of those which had brought supplies from France. It is not clear who was the author of the plan or whether it was actually attempted, but Lowther disapproved of it, fearing that it would lead to the cessation of trade with Dublin on which the town depended.[14] The coal trade had already been interrupted by the dispute over the coal chaldron, and the outbreak of war was certain to interrupt it further.

In February Elisha Gale, who had been in Wexford, reported that two French vessels had come to Waterford and landed ammunition "and a person of honour supposed to be Mr FitzJames who was gone towards Dublin with 6 or 7 led horses which makes us despaire of a speedy peace in that kingdom, to the infinite losse of our trade in this port and deplorable condition of the Protestants there."[15] In fact, the person of honour was probably M de Pointis, a French Officer sent to Ireland to make a report on the situation for Louis XIV.[16] His report made Louis decide to send assistance to the Irish Jacobites, and in March 1689 a French fleet landed James and a number of English Jacobites, including the Bishop of Chester, at Kinsale. The tragedy of the Irish campaign was that none of the major participants,

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13 TT 1689 Jan.10

14. Sir J 1689 Jan.19, TT Jan.24

15. TT 1689 Feb.7 Mr FitzJames, the brother of the Duke of Berwick, was James's illegitimate son, and arrived in Ireland with his father in March.

16. Simms op. cit. p.53

except of course for the Irish, was really interested in Ireland. Louis XIV saw it as a second front against William, and far from wanting to commit French troops to such a war, in the end transported the best Irish troops to Europe for use in his own armies. James, on whose behalf the campaign was ostensibly fought, had no sympathy for Irish aspirations and saw Ireland merely as a stepping stone for a crossing to Scotland or England and the regaining of his throne. William, for his part, tried to avoid committing a proper army to Ireland because it would mean the loss of a campaigning season on the Continent.

In early 1689 the French fleet was able to cross to Ireland unchallenged, leaving the Protestants who remained in Ireland cut off from England. The passage of the colliers between Dublin and Whitehaven and some of the other northern ports must have been the only regular link which remained. The packet service between Dublin and Holyhead was disrupted and on one occasion at least, the packet was sent by way of Whitehaven.[17] Thus the government in London must have had difficulty in learning what was happening in Ireland and Lowther was insistent that his stewards send him all the information that they could. "Every particular from Ireland or sea is of moment as also Scotch affairs, therefore fail me not every post."[18] Even when the coal trade was disrupted in early 1689, thus stopping one of the stewards' sources of information, some Whitehaven ships continued to cross to Ireland to collect Protestants who were wishing to flee to England. This was very lucrative since the masters charged their

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17. TT 1689 Jan.10

18. Sir J 1689 March 12, also 1688 Dec.25, 1689 Feb.2 Tickell explained that he only included information about the war additional to the full accounts in Gale's letters. Unfortunately Gale's letters for this period are missing. TT 1689 March 19

passengers "10s a head and the like for a trunk" and many ships brought up to eighty passengers.[19] Ships from Liverpool, Chester and probably other ports, also took part in this business. The refugees are mentioned as coming from Dublin, Donaghadee, Strangford, Belfast and Londonderry and such was the panic as Tyrconnell's forces began to march northwards that "all that could get any shipping went to[o] not leaving a ship either at Donadie or Belfast to carry off any more."[20] Some of the refugees had even risked putting to sea in a gabart which was a type of barge normally used for unloading coal in Dublin harbour.[21] It is impossible to say how many Protestants fled to England because they landed at various ports and scattered once they had landed. There is no record of how many landed at Whitehaven, but between December 1688 and April 1689 when there was a constant flow of refugees Tickell's estimates for some of the ships which arrived at Whitehaven total 780 people.[22] After mid-1689 there is no mention of further arrivals and by September some of the men were returning to see if it was safe for their wives and children to do so. However, the majority of the refugees waited until July 1690 and went home after the victory at the Boyne.[23]

At a time when parishes were often unwilling or unable to support their own poor, the sudden influx of several hundred refugees must have placed a severe strain on the parish of St Bees. A Commission was established in London to distribute funds to the Irish Protestants and Lowther's stewards

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19. TT 1689 Apr.9 In December the James brought 80 people, the Harriet, 60, the Pilgrim 40. In February the gabart brought 80.

20. TT 1689 March 26

21. TT 1689 Feb.14

22. There were probably more refugees because Tickell does not give an estimate for each ship.

23. TT 1690 July 27

corresponded with a Mr Yapp in this connection. In June 1689 Lowther sent down £10 from the fund to be divided amongst those at Whitehaven "not exceeding twenty shillings to any one family."[24] Tickell and Gale were to decide who should receive the money and then send the receipts to Yapp in London so that the Commission could see how the money was being distributed. Notices about the relief were put in the market place but Tickell reported that the money did not go very far and Lowther ordered him to draw up a list of those requiring further assistance. Between June 1689 and May 1690 Tickell mentions the payment of £290 to Irish Protestants but gives no details of how many people received the money or whether any other local assistance was given them.[25] Some of the refugees occupied houses built by Lowther, and on their departure in July 1690 Tickell complained about the difficulty of finding new tenants. There is no evidence that any of the Protestants decided to settle permanently in Whitehaven.

In February 1689 the English government decided to send a cargo of arms to the Protestants at Londonderry and to find out whether or not the governor of the city was loyal. This task was entrusted to Captain James Hamilton who was to collect £1,000 and a ship at Chester and then go on to Whitehaven to collect further arms.[26] However, when he arrived at Chester he found that the Customs had insufficient money on hand to meet his needs and that the master of his frigate was reluctant to go on to Whitehaven because of the dangers of the coast. Since he needed to hire another ship at Whitehaven for the extra arms Captain Hamilton arranged to meet the frigate

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24 Sir J 1689 June 25 CSPDom 1689 March 14 for the order for relief.

25. H.M.C. House of Lords 1692-3 p.171 records the grant of £500 for relief to Irish Protestants.

26. CSPDom 1689 Feb.21

and ship from Chester off the Isle of Man and to go on to Whitehaven by land. He sent orders ahead to Whitehaven to have the ammunition ready and asked that orders be given to the Customs at Whitehaven to supply him with further money. He obviously did not relish the thought of a journey to Whitehaven writing that it was "115 scurvye miles from this place and not in the post roade."[27]

Lowther instructed his stewards to receive Sir Robert Reading, an old friend, who was accompanying his son-in-law, Captain Hamilton to Whitehaven. The two men arrived on 3 March, but the arms had not yet arrived from Carlisle from where they had been sent to Workington in 105 carts.[28] Tickell reported that some of the arms were defective but, "Those that your namesake sent hither were well fitted by the care of Mr Gale and putt on board the same ship viz. the Deliverance of this towne among the others who sayled hence yesterday [8 March]."[29] William Christian also claimed to have played a part in hastening the arms by issuing warrants for their dispatch to the Lieutenant-Governor of Carlisle.[30] It was not until the end of March that Tickell was able to report the safe arrival of Captain Hamilton and his two ships and the frigate at Londonderry.[31] Once again the importance of intelligence from Whitehaven was emphasized. Lowther wrote, "We had no news of the Jersey frigate, the convoy to Capt. Hamilton, but what yours and Mr Gale's mention ..."[32] He added that the Council was willing to let the coal trade continue "to bring away money, intelligence,

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27 P.R.O. S.P. 32/1 no.6

28. TT 1689 March 5

29. TT 1689 March 9

30. P.R.O. S.P. 32/2 no.77 presumably the same arms. Christian claims to have had them on a ship at Whitehaven in three days.

31. TT 1689 March 31

32. Sir J 1689 Apr.2

etc, and provided always that there be not above 2 or 3 ships at a time at Dublin least numbers should be a temptation to seize them."[33] The government in Dublin, however, wished to prohibit the coal trade to prevent the outflow of money, but coal imports seem to have continued, if in a limited way, for much of the Irish war.[34]

The news which Tickell reported from Ireland was unfavourable to Protestant hopes. In early March he wrote that the Protestants in Dublin had been disarmed and most of them had troops billeted on them.[35] By late March Tyrconnell's troops were beginning to march northwards and in April James's entry into Dublin was reported.[36] Then followed news of the fall of Coleraine which was said to be due to "the sad condition of the English there who are governed by ill officers such as either yeild thro' corruption or seduced by private dissentions amongst themselves."[37] When the Deliverance returned from Londonderry, the passengers reported that they did not expect the city to hold out because of the quarrels between the commanders and the doubtful loyalty of the Governor. Tickell thought that if "Derry be taken, all Ireland is lost or soone will be, never to be regained so long as King James is alive and at liberty ..."[38] At the end of April the master of the Pearl reported that the English in Dublin "are a little more cheerful and the Irish less than usuall, that the French ambassador is much dissatisfied, that there are not needful provision stores in severall parts of that kingdome for the food of men and horses..."[39]

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33. ibid.
34. Tickell mentions a complete stop to the Whitehaven coal trade from September 1689 until about July 1690.
35. TT 1689 March 5
36. TT 1689 Apr.7
37. TT 1689 Apr.15
38 ibid.
39. TT 1689 Apr.23

It was thought that James would return to Dublin now that it was clear that Londonderry meant to resist him and Tickell discounted a rumour that the Duke of Berwick had been captured. A report which would have been of more personal interest to Lowther was the death of Thomas Cartwright, the Bishop of Chester, who had been "buried in Christ Church Dublin on the 15 instant and dyed a Protestant according to the Church of England which made the Romish clergie and others slight him and hasten his death, as was strongly suggested there."[40]

At the end of April the French sent another fleet to Ireland to land supplies and some troops for James. Once again the English fleet was too late to prevent their disembarkation, but the two fleets fought in Bantry Bay on 1 May 1689. The battle was inconclusive and neither side followed it up. James hoped that the French fleet would stay and transport siege guns to Londonderry and prevent the English from aiding the besieged city. He also hoped to send troops to Scotland to aid the Jacobites there, but the French Admiral, Chateaurenault, returned to France straightaway.[41] In May a predominantly Catholic Parliament began sitting in Dublin. Their most pressing military problem was the reduction of Londonderry before the English tried to reinforce the city, and to raise sufficient money to continue the war they decided to introduce brass and copper coinage. Further troops were sent north and a boom was built across the River Foyle to prevent the entry of English ships.

In England there was uncertainty as to whether Londonderry was still in

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40. ibid. Tickell also records an epitaph on the Bishop: "Heere lyes that wandring haughty mitred head who never religion owned until half dead. His name was Chester - there needs no more be said." Apr.30

41. See Ehrman op. cit. p.262-5 for the poor condition of the English navy, E.B. Powley, The Naval Side of King William's War November 1688 - June 1690 (London 1972) ch. VII for French instructions.

Protestant hands and even at Whitehaven the flow of news was restricted by an embargo on shipping to Ireland.[42] William declared war on Louis on 7 May and decided to send some troops to relieve Londonderry. On 14 May Lowther wrote to Tickell that the King was planning to ship 400 horse to Londonderry and asked him whether Whitehaven could provide shipping and provisions for both men and horses. A Commissary was going to be sent down from London to inspect the coast between Chester and Workington for suitable ports.[43] The Commissary, Henry Shales, sent a servant to Whitehaven to ask Gale about supplies, and it was expected that he would come to the town but he appears merely to have sent an agent.[44] The agent bought hay, oats and 10 tuns of beer, and a ship was sent to Chester to collect provisions of cheese and biscuit. Later Shales was charged with more than ordinary corruption in supplying the army at exorbitant prices with either bad stores or none at all.[45] However, there is no evidence of any corruption in the obtaining of stores at Whitehaven. At the end of May Lowther warned Tickell to expect some Horse and Dragoons which were to be quartered at Cockermouth, Workington, Egremont and Whitehaven, though he thought that the high cost of supplies around Whitehaven would cause the army to delay their arrival until close to the time of their embarkation.[46] These preparations must have been for the expedition sent in the autumn under General Schomberg, for Tickell mentions on 4 June that the troops under Colonel Kirk were already on their way to Londonderry. Kirk showed no eagerness to assist Londonderry,

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42. TT 1689 May 7
43. Sir J 1689 May 14
44. TT 1689 May 21, P.R.O. T 48/48
45. Ogg op. cit. p.251-3
46. Sir J 1689 May 25

spending several weeks anchored in Lough Foyle before making any attempt to break the boom across the river. The city was starving by the time that it was rescued in July, and had the Jacobites possessed proper siege equipment they would probably have taken the city before the English acted.

Although Londonderry was saved for the Protestant cause the Jacobites controlled most of the other major cities. William had not wanted to divert troops from the Low Countries and so he waited until autumn before sending Schomberg to Ireland. This was a bad time of the year for campaigning, and as the number of men sent was inadequate for the reconquest of Ireland and they were poorly equipped, they suffered heavy losses, chiefly from disease, throughout the winter. The bulk of these men were shipped from Hoylake near Chester in ships hired along the coast, but some men were also shipped from Whitehaven itself. Lowther and Thomas Addison thought that the town would be able to provide both the beer and casks required by the army and told Tickell that seven victualling ships were going to be sent down.[47]

Lowther wrote that he had tried to have Whitehaven excluded from the quarters for troops but he had been told that "the town made it their desire to have them quartered there for fear of some attempt of the Irish," and he complained to Tickell, "You give me no account of these things that I may obviate any inconvenience foreseeing what scarcesity of hay you may have the next winter."[48] Obviously some of the townspeople had feared that the Irish would attack the harbour and to reassure them Lowther had

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47. Sir J 1689 June 15

48. ibid.

six guns sent down for its protection and a man of war ordered to cruise off the coast. The Quarter-Master General visited Whitehaven in June, and Tickell was concerned that if 5,000 horse and 8,000 foot were indeed sent to the region, as was proposed, there would be no hay left for his own horses. He thought that the army might have chosen "those populous and rich counties of Cheshire and Lancashire ... whitherto all our towne's ships may resort rather than lye heere too frequently hindred by the neep tides."[49] This was not merely an excuse to be rid of the troops because when the naval surveyor came down to hire ships he found that masters from other ports were reluctant to go to Whitehaven, and in the end many of the Whitehaven ships went to Hoylake to be loaded. The Navy Board, whose duty it was to hire the transport ships obviously knew little about conditions at Whitehaven and complained that Chester, Whitehaven and Liverpool were so remote from London that they had no agents there. Furthermore the members of the Navy Board itself were so busy that the only people who could be spared were some of the "Purveyors or Officers from some of the Yards to attend the same (who also can be very ill-spared from their Duty at this juncture.)"[50] Nevertheless three or four of them were given authority to press into service as many ships and seamen as were necessary. Edmond Dummer, the naval surveyor sent down to Whitehaven, was a friend of Lowther and was described by him as "one of the most knowing men in the Navy."[51] It seems likely that Lowther had a hand in having Dummer sent to Whitehaven

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49. TT 1689 June 25

50. P.R.O. ADM 1/3558 Navy Board to the Admiralty 1689 June 20

51. Sir J 1689 June 22 Dummer was involved in the planning of the naval dockyards at Plymouth in the mid-1690s. Ehrman op. cit. p.417 ff.

for he instructed Tickell to ask Dummer about the best means of improving the harbour, and his suggestions were later implemented by Gilpin.

Dummer arrived in Whitehaven in early July and freighted the Whitehaven ships for "14s the tun to be ready against the 15 instant and then enter into pay with a condition to pay 4d a tun demurrage if any be on his side and he to fitt the shipps etc."[52] The rate of 14s per ton was 2s per ton more than the masters at other ports were paid and Tickell reported that despite this some of the masters, led by Robert Biglands, had broken off the agreement. From Liverpool Dummer complained to the Navy Board about the Whitehaven masters.

> "I hope to doe better at this place than I was able to doe with those combin'd people there. I could not bring them by any meanes to lay out Money (directly from their own pocketts) they would not consider it at all; I have oblieged them to an able Pilott and an Express No. of Men ... I am sensible had I not mett with Mr Wildbore [the collector of Customs] I could never have made any dispatch at that Port."[53]

However, he was more satisfied with the fitting up of the ships, estimating the cost at £9 per ship. "Workmen are cheap and ready at hand and they fitt 5 ships in two days, all of them are very well accoutred and in good order."[54] Dummer supervised the fitting of one ship as a model and then left Wildbore to oversee the rest. Eventually twenty-nine Whitehaven ships were fitted out as horse transports and the cost was only about £7 per ship.[55] This provided work for the town's carpenters and Wildbore told Tickell that they had received £204 between them.[56] Dummer recorded the

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52. TT 1689 July 2
53. P.R.O. ADM 1/3558 Edmond Dummer to Navy Board 1689 July 6
54. ibid.
55. ibid. Mark Wildbore to Navy Board 1689 July 7
56. TT 1689 July 16

names of forty-seven ships hired from Whitehaven and some of them made a number of voyages to Ireland over the next two years.[57]

Further ships were also hired at Liverpool and were supposed to sail to Whitehaven to collect troops, but although Dummer was able to hire these ships for only 12s a ton, he experienced difficulty in trying to make them sail to Whitehaven. The Liverpool masters claimed that Whitehaven was not a proper harbour and was dangerous because it was dry at low tide. They claimed that only twelve or fourteen ships could anchor there at once and that they would only be able to get in or out on the spring tides, "the Spring will be over before one halfe of the horses can be ship'd and farther that if the wind and weather be not suitable and moderate when the Spring serves it will be found difficult if not impossible to get in or come out of the said Place."[58] Later some of the ships which had returned from Whitehaven complained of the "loss of their anchors, cables, heads, Bowspritts, many of them haveing beaten so on the ground that are become so leaky, but that is easily remedied here, but for the loss of their cables, anchors etc."[59] This damage may have been due to bad weather, although Tickell does not mention any storms, but it could also be that the masters complained volubly so as to extract the maximum compensation from the Government.

By mid-July most of the Whitehaven ships had sailed to Chester but some

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57. P.R.O. ADM 1/3558 lists of ships hired at Whitehaven. See Appendix C The Navy Board gives a figure of 30 ships, whereas Dummer lists 47.

58. ibid. Edmond Dummer to Navy Board 1689 July 10. Spring tides occur when the tide is highest, with a peak at full moon.

59. ibid. Captain Greenhill to Navy Board 1689 Aug.7

remained to transport troops directly from Whitehaven. Tickell mentions that over 900 soldiers had left from Whitehaven.[60] Dummer had asked for advice on which ports in Ireland would be best for the landing of troops and Tickell recommended Dublin because of the swift passage, and no doubt because of the advantage it would be to Whitehaven if the coal trade were open again.[61] During July there were a number of regiments passing through Whitehaven including Princess Anne's and a regiment of Horse. However, at the beginning of August Tickell reported that they had all departed, the Horse and Dragoons by land for Chester and the Foot by sea.[62] Lowther confirmed that the major part of the fleet was at Chester and that five weeks' provisions had been got into Londonderry thus raising the siege.[63] The fleet left Chester on 12 August and Tickell was able to send news of their safe landing at Bangor on 4 September.

In September 1689 the Navy Board required some ships to transport 1,020 horses from Kirkcudbright to Ireland. They chose Whitehaven and Liverpool ships because they were familiar with the harbour, "only fit to ly aground to take in the Horses which Wee are satisfied the other Ships cannot do without apparent danger of losing their vessels."[64] Although certain ships had been clearly ordered for that purpose the Navy Board agents at Hoylake complained that Commissary Shales had "given directions for the deteyning great parts of the said Whitehaven vessels to transport 400 Teame horses for which we have others ready..."[65] Commissary Shales seems to have had

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60. TT 1689 July 16
61. ibid.
62. TT 1689 Aug.9
63. Sir J 1689 Aug.6
64. O.R.O. ADM 1/3559 Samuel Atkinson & others to Navy Board 1689 Sept.15
65. ibid.

his way because at the end of September the Navy Board agents complained that none of the ships had yet set sail for Scotland. In October a number of Whitehaven ships were sent to Scotland on their return from Ireland and were used in the transporting of 1,450 Danish horse from Scotland to Ireland. Later the transport agents in Scotland complained that they feared the masters would abandon their service if money could not be found to provision the ships, and most of them were ordered to return to Hoylake.[66] It was not only lack of co-operation and money which hindered the transport service but also the activities of the press gang, which, in spite of protections granted to the seamen in transport service, took so many men from the ships that some of them were in danger of being wrecked while other masters had "run away with their ships to Whitehaven for feare of the like Usuage" or deserted their ships.[67]

It seems that the Whitehaven ships were employed in the transport service during the winter months. Normally this was the most profitable time for the coal trade because the cold and scarcity of coal kept the price high. In November Tickell complained that there was no trade due to the absence of the ships and because of the war. He commented also on the absence of cattle from Ireland for slaughtering and said that the local farmers were having to slaughter their own cattle instead.[68] From his complaints about the scarcity of money it seems unlikely that any coal was shipped from Whitehaven between November and January.[69] In February Lowther enquired

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66. ibid. Captain Atkinson to Navy Board 1689 Dec.16
67. ibid. Captain Atkinson & others to Navy Board 1689 Sept.15
68. TT 1689 Nov.13
69. TT 1689 Dec.29 comments on coal accounts

which ships he should try to have released from the transport service so that the coal trade could be resumed.[70] Tickell thought that both the coal trade and carrying provisions to Ireland would be unprofitable, and he doubted whether the masters would give up the transport service because they considered that it would be more profitable than the coal trade.[71] In this belief they were mistaken. Although Dummer had initially paid them for one month's service, they had not received any payment since then and their attempts to obtain their money revealed that the art of bureaucracy was already well developed in 1690. Their requests to the Commissioners for the Navy were referred to the Commissioners of the Transport Office who in turn refused to deal with the matter until their service had been confirmed by the Committee for the Affairs of Ireland. The masters petitioned this Committee in April 1690 asking payment for their service between 13 July 1689 to 28 February 1690. Since that time they had been re-employed by the transport service and feared that they would be unable to fulfil their new contracts unless they were paid for the old.[72] The committee sent their petition to the Admiralty, but despite Lowther's position as a Commissioner he was unable to obtain immediate settlement. This was due to the chronic shortage of money available for naval affairs rather than any lack of goodwill on Lowther's part, despite Robert Bigland's accusation that he was keeping them "out of their moneys."[73] However, when Lowther heard that the masters were sending representatives

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70. Sir J 1690 Feb.15

71. TT 1690 Feb.23

72. P.R.O. ADM 1/5141 The petition is in the names of eighteen Whitehaven masters.

73. TT 1690 Aug.31

to London to press their petition in person he could not resist writing, "They now wish they had taken my advice imploying some of their ships in trade but because it looked like advice that might have been useful to me they were against it."[74] This remark coupled with Dummer's report on his reception from the Whitehaven masters demonstrates again the independent spirit of the masters and their resistance to any attempt by Lowther to direct their activities.

In spite of their representations most of the masters remained unpaid which meant that they had difficulty in paying the wages of their seamen. Matters came to a head in 1694 when some of the seamen decided to bring an action against the masters at the assizes. Gilpin thought that the effects of such action could be disastrous:

> "for if they recover, all the rest will fall on, though they agreed to respite till the debts contracted on the government for that service were paid. The common seamen have made great advantage by the warr, having much enhanced their wages, so that they might well forbear what the masters and owners (many of them) are not at present in a capacity to pay."[75]

This is borne out by a petition sent to Lowther and Sir George Fletcher, signed by forty-five Whitehaven masters in which they requested payment for their transport service and complained that some of their number had been obliged to sell or mortgage their estates in order to pay their seamen.[76] It was not until March 1698 that Lowther mentioned that the owners had been paid for their transport money. Thus the service which had seemed a boon at a time when trade was disrupted by the war ultimately proved a financial burden for some of the masters and owners.

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74. Sir J 1690 June 10

75. WG 1694 July 30

76. Commonplace Book 1672-1694 The petition dates from January 1694 .

The problems of the transport service, and the lack of trade, outweighs comment on the actual course of the war in Tickell's letters after 1689. Following the desultory winter campaign of 1689-90 William decided to go to Ireland in person. He landed in Ireland in June 1690 and advanced to the Boyne where he defeated James in battle on 1 July. This victory helped to stem the panic caused by the defeat of a combined Anglo-Dutch fleet by the French at Beachy Head on the previous day. Lowther mentioned the battle of Beachy Head while it was still in progress but makes no reference to the upheavals which it caused in the navy. Nor are Tickell's letters much more informative about the battle of the Boyne. He referred Lowther to an express sent to London for the full details. He mentioned the surrender of Drogheda and of Dublin, but little about the continuation of the war, writing only, "the King as was reported at Kilkenny very industrious to reduce the whole kingdome of Ireland with all imaginable speed. Whether the late King be gone or not gone out of it."[77] James fled to France following the battle but the war in Ireland dragged on for another year until the surrender at Limerick in October 1691. Among the surrender terms it was agreed that those Irish troops who wished to go to France would be transported there in English ships and between October and December 1691 thousands of Irishmen sailed to France where many of them joined the French army.

Throughout 1691 Whitehaven ships were used to transport provisions to Ireland. Robert Greggs, one of the Customs officials at Whitehaven was employed as an agent for the Commissioners of Transportation and in March 1691 shipped 8,000 bushells of oats to Ballyshannon.[78] The Whitehaven

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77. TT 1690 July 20

78. TT 1691 March 22

ships, or some of them, must have been kept in service that year because in October Lowther reported that it was unlikely that they could be discharged because the transport service was still short of ships. At the end of 1691 some ships were employed to bring back troops from Ireland, but there does not appear to have been much enthusiasm for this, perhaps because of the lack of pay. Lowther gave specific orders that none of the returning troops who might be billeted at the Flatt were to be permitted to sleep in "the wrought bed" and Tickell did not want their horses in the stables because many of them were infected with the scab.[79] The correspondence gives no indication that any Whitehaven men served in Ireland, except as volunteers such as Mark Wildbore who only stayed for some months. The townspeople's chief interest in the Irish campaign was when they would be able to carry on the coal trade as usual and Tickell probably expressed the general opinion when he wrote that the embargo imposed on shipping to force the owners to carry troops to England was a "mistaken consideration of the government ... whereas a freedom of coale ships from hence to that Kingdome would not only have supplyed Dublin more plentifully with coales and better cheape and by that means of frequent sayleing have brought many more men over ere this time."[80]

Some Whitehaven ships were also employed to take Irish troops to France. In November 1692 several ships, including the Crowne which belonged to Elisha Gale, went to Brest. While the ship was in France the crew bought a quantity of French goods and on her way home she was seized by a naval ship, forced into Kinsale where the naval officers rifled the ship and then appealed to the Admiralty Court to have the ship declared a prize.[81] Elisha Gale probably appealed to Lowther for his assistance to recover his ship,

79. Sir J 1691 Dec.18, TT Dec.25

80. TT 1691 Dec.13

81. P.R.O. ADM 2/2 Admiralty to Captain Kerr of the Deptford 1693 Feb.4

and in 1693 the Admiralty reprimanded the naval captain and ordered him to return the goods he had taken, because the Crowne had been acting under orders "in complyance with an agreement made at the surrender of Limerick."[82] Whitehaven ships were used for transporting troops to and from Ireland during the rest of the war, but not as consistently, or in as great a number, as between 1689-91.[83]

After the surrender in Ireland the war was concentrated in Flanders and Italy and so did not involve Whitehaven as directly as before. William spent much of his time in Flanders where he was frustrated in his attempts to force a decisive battle by the skilful manoeuvring of the French general Marshal Luxembourg. Nor could William rely on his allies. Both the Catholic King of Spain and the Catholic Emperor of Austria had scruples in allying themselves to the Protestant English and Dutch and were dilatory in their support. Leopold I of Austria had begun secret negotiations with Louis as early as 1692 and continued them on and off throughout the war. In 1696 the Duke of Savoy made a separate peace with France, influenced in part by the financial crisis in England. Thus the chief burden of the war fell onto the English and Dutch forces. The French, not content with their attempt at internal subversion in Ireland, supported an abortive Jacobite plot in 1696, but were even less successful because by this time the majority of Englishmen had decided to accept William for better or worse. At sea the French fleet devoted its activities to privateering after its defeat at La Hougue in 1692. Its greatest haul came in 1693 when it attacked the Smyrna Convoy and about 100 Dutch and English merchant ships were

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82. ibid.

83. WG 1694 Apr.23, 1698 March 7

destroyed. However, French and Jacobite privateers operating on a smaller scale severely disrupted both the Colonial and coastal trade of ports like Whitehaven.

Eventually fear of financial exhaustion rather than military defeat forced both sides to negotiate. At the peace of Ryswick signed in September 1697 Louis ceded most of the territory which he had conquered during the war and grudgingly recognized William as King of England. In France the peace was unpopular because of the concessions which had been made, but Louis, with his eyes once more on the Spanish inheritance, regarded the settlements made at Ryswick as temporary. In 1700 the long-expected death of the Spanish King, Carlos II, once more plunged Europe into war. In England the peace could be viewed with more satisfaction since most of William's aims had been achieved: recognition of his own position, security of the Dutch frontier and the stemming of Louis's encroachments on the Rhine. At Whitehaven the people celebrated the thanksgiving day for peace and drew up a congratulatory address to the King, which among other things, reminded him that the Whitehaven masters were still owed payment for their transport service.[84] They must also have hoped that the peace would bring an end to the heavy wartime taxation, and to the depredations of privateers and the press on the merchant fleet, the effects of which are discussed in the following chapters.

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84. WG 1697 Dec.6

WARTIME TAXATION AND THE RECOINAGE

During the reign of William III the English financial system underwent major changes as a result of the need to raise a greatly increased revenue to support the war effort, and the decision to remedy the state of the currency by a recoinage. The creation of both the Bank of England and the National Debt laid the economic foundations for later British expansion. For the people of Whitehaven, however, the most obvious results of the war were increased taxation, and during the coinage crisis, a lack of money with which to transact everyday business.

As the leading member of the coalition against Louis XIV England not only had to raise sufficient money to pay for her armed forces but enough to enable her to finance part of the allied war effort as well. Whereas the annual expenditure had been under £2m. in 1688, with the outbreak of war it increased to between £5m. and £6m. and the ordinary sources of revenue proved insufficient.[1] Following James II's attempts at financial independence Parliament was reluctant to vote adequate revenue, but the war forced the government to resort to long-term borrowing and increased taxation, neither of them popular measures. The old distinction between ordinary and extraordinary or short-term taxation broke down and Parliament, rather than the King alone, became responsible for not only military and naval expenditure but also for the guarantee of loans. This strengthened credit and made the corruption of members of Parliament by Louis XIV less effective than during Charles II's reign.[2]

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1. P.G.M. Dickson, The Financial Revolution in England 1688-1756 (London 1967) p.46 S.B. Baxter, The Development of the Treasury 1660-1702 (London 1957) p.82-3

2. Dickson op. cit. p.50 CTB Introduction to Vol. XI-XVII p.ccxxi

On coming to the throne William had abolished the unpopular hearth tax, but as it had yielded £200,000 in 1688 other sources of revenue had to be found. These included two direct taxes, the Aid and the Poll tax, the first being assessed on income from salaries, land, tithes and mines, etc. and the latter levied according to rank and class. The Aid was levied each year and rose from one shilling in the pound in 1689 to four shillings in the pound in 1692. It served as the basis for the eighteenth century land tax, indeed contemporaries already referred to it as such.[3] The chief difficulty with the Aid was in setting the assessment and two methods were tried during the 1690s: a pound rate, set on each pound of a taxpayer's income and a county rate, set for the entire county. The pound rate was in use between 1693 and 1697.[4] The Poll tax was levied in 1689, twice in 1690 and then in 1692, 1693, 1694, 1697 and 1698. It was very unpopular and was abolished after the 1698 collection.[5]

The yield of these taxes was dependent upon the assessments. The new rates set for the Aid in 1693 increased the amounts paid by the southern counties but decreased those paid in the north which already paid less. Indeed it is estimated that in the north taxpayers probably paid less than one shilling in the pound.[6] The difference between the assessment for the northern and southern counties is striking. In 1693 the quota for Cumberland and Westmorland was £6,759-2-0½d, Lancashire's was £20,973-11-5 and

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3. S. Dowell, A History of Taxation and Taxes in England (London 1888) II p.45 WG 1696 June 3, The Autiobiography of William Stout of Lancaster 1665-1752 (Manchester 1967) p.115.

4. W.R. Ward, The English Land Tax in the Eighteenth Century (Oxford 1953) p.3

5. For rates see Dowell op. cit. II Appendix IX, for the tax's unpopularity see H.M.C. Fleming p.345.

6. Ward op. cit. p.10

some of the southern counties paid over £40,000.[7] The assessors were usually members of the local gentry. The government hoped that by employing them they would thus ensure their co-operation. However, in practice the assessors were unwilling to alienate their neighbours and usually underassessed their areas.[8] By 1697 some assessors had decreased their assessments by up to one-quarter and so although the main source of taxation was the Aid, between 1693 and 1697 returns fell by 13½%.[9]

With the fluctuations in both tax and its assessment it is difficult to say how much Lowther would have paid during the war years. Tickell wrote in 1689 that William Christian who was one of the Commissioners for the Aid had attempted to increase the valuation of the area and in particular, of the collieries, a move which Tickell regarded as directed against Lowther.[10] However, as Lowther was also one of the Commissioners, as such he could assess himself. Much interest was therefore taken in the appointment of assessors and patrons were careful to see that only persons favourable to themselves and to the government were appointed. Sir Daniel Fleming was indignant to learn that he had been rejected as a commissioner in 1697 on the grounds of his support for the Musgraves.[11] Recusants hoped that the assessors would turn a blind eye to their Catholicism for if they did not, the poll tax had to be paid at double rates. It seems that in Cumberland the assessors may have pretended to be ignorant of their

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7. ibid. p.8 Table I for tax differentials
8. ibid. p.30-4 Prior to 1688 Aids were temporary taxes with no permanent officials to collect them. It was therefore more important to the collectors to remain on good terms with their neighbours than with their temporary employers. Baxter op. cit. p.85
9. Ward op. cit. p.20
10. TT 1689 Oct.20
11. H.M.C. Fleming p.347 William Fleming to Sir D.F. 1697 Feb.13

neighbour's recusancy for in 1694 Gilpin reported with some surprise that the Anglican Lowther had been mistakenly assessed as a recusant, although two known Catholics, William Fletcher of Moresby and Henry Curwen of Workington, had not.[12]

The actual amounts paid by Lowther varied because of variations in the rate and the area of assessment. In 1693 he paid a total of £5-13-4$^{3}/_{4}$ d for the 4s Aid for Preston Quarter, St Bees, Hensingham, Coulderton and Ribton but in 1698 the 3s Aid assessed over a slightly different area amounted to £4-19-0.[13] Although this was in addition to the county tax and to the Poor rates, it was insignificant in comparison to the yearly payments made to the Bishop of Chester of £86-11-10 and to the Queen Dowager of £64-8-4½d.[14] Even though the amounts paid were not large there was much resentment among the country gentry that they should be called upon to pay them regularly instead of infrequently as in the past. Thus whatever their differences on other matters the majority of the northern gentry stood firmly behind Sir Christopher Musgrave on the issue of taxation. In 1700 Lowther wrote:

> "... late attempts have been made to alter the Purvey in this Quarter, which I am told wil be again presented this next Quarter Sessions; it is a thing of great danger, for if a War be coming on and Taxes ensue, all Divisions amongst ourselves wil give ... an advantage [to those] who have long laboured the raising the proportions of the North. ... [Sir Christopher Musgrave] must be our Bulward in this case."[15]

Although increases in customs and excise were feared to be detrimental to prosperity and were unpopular, the government levied indirect taxes on various commodities throughout the war. At various times taxes were

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12. WG 1694 March 26
13. Accounts 1693, 1698
14. Commonplace Book 1672-94, Accounts
15. Sir J to Mr Hutton 1700 Dec.23

placed on beer and malt, salt, the manufacture of glass, earthenware and tobacco pipes and on coal. All of these must have affected the community at Whitehaven and Lowther's attempts to encourage the establishment of industry. The tax on malt affected the poor and was especially felt at Whitehaven because there was a scarcity of corn to act as a substitute. When there was talk of reimposing this tax during the war of Spanish Succession Lowther commented that the last time that it had been in force "the poorer sort drank nothing but water which with their mean food begat as it was thought a Distemper which has continued ever since."[16] Another tax which would have affected almost every family at Whitehaven was that placed on births, deaths and marriages, which was introduced in 1695. It was levied until 1706 and produced about £50,000 a year, and an increase in illegal marriages.[17] However, it did lead to the parish registers being more carefully kept, as prior to this a register had been kept at St Bees and a copy made from time to time for Whitehaven which was often inaccurate.[18] Some of the other taxes imposed during this time were not lifted when the war ended but continued to be raised throughout the eighteenth century such as window tax. This was payable on all houses, except cottages which did not pay the poor rate, and was set at the rate of 2s per house. Those houses with between 10-20 windows had to pay 6s and those with over 20 windows had to pay 10s. The tax was payable by the occupier rather than the owner of the house and so would have been paid by many of the townspeople.[19]

However, the tax which aroused the most hostility at Whitehaven was the

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16. Sir J to Thomas Addison 1702 -, JG 1697 March 14
17. Dowell op. cit. II p.46, p.543 for rates
18. WG 1697 Aug.4 The Whitehaven registers date from 1694.
19. Dowell op. cit. II p.168 Ming-Hsun Li, The Great Recoinage of 1696 to 1699 (London 1963) p.119

coal tax. A tax had been levied in 1695 but had proved so unpopular that it had been withdrawn in 1696 but was raised again in 1698. In April 1698 Lowther warned Gilpin that it was proposed to levy 5s per chaldron on water borne coal to be payable at the place of importation, 3s per chaldron on inland coal, payable by the owners at the pit and 2s per ton on coal sold by weight rather than measure. Lowther was worried that it would be difficult to distinguish between coal being exported coastwise and that being used at Whitehaven, and that the tax would give Ireland an advantage in the manufacture of glass and earthenware, two industries which he was trying to establish at Whitehaven.[20] He asked Gale for his comments on the proposed tax and presumably used the lengthy objections provided by his steward when the tax was debated in Parliament. Gale thought that the tax would ruin the copper and iron works and the pottery and increase the hardships of those engaged in the salt and malt industries which were already suffering from higher duties.[21]

The way in which the mines operated at Whitehaven would have increased the difficulty in calculating the tax accurately. The greatest difficulty would arise in the tax on land consumption. Gale was afraid that this might lead to tax being placed on the coal as it came out of the pit and was put onto the bank, which would mean that the owner would have to pay for the waste as well as for the coal. It would therefore be necessary to have an officer at each pit to see that the coal was measured accurately and to prevent people from stealing coal from the banks. However, not all of the pits were sufficiently profitable to be able to support an officer.[22]

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20. Sir J 1698 Apr.5
21. JG 1698 Apr.10
22. JG 1698 Apr.17

At Whitehaven the coal was taken from the pits by packhorse through the town and down to the harbour. Since most of the leading was done at night, especially in the winter, Gale thought that "the inhabitants will serve themselves in towne at the sea price, rather than send in the daytime, to pay a much deerer price at the pitt."[23] This would be difficult to detect because the leaders were responsible to the bankmen for a certain number of bags at the sea-price but unless they were followed down to the harbour there would be no means of telling whether the coal had been sold to a townsman until it was too late. Also there was no arrangement by which coal from a certain pit was put on board one ship. On account of the tides the masters took coal from any leader until they had sufficient for their cargo. Thus it was not until the leaders accounted to their bankman that it would be discovered where the coal had gone. Gale does not say how often such reckoning days were held.[24]

The use of the chaldron as a measure for the new tax was bound to revive the long standing argument between Whitehaven masters and the Commissioners for Customs about the chaldron's dimensions and add to the resentment felt by the advantage given to the inland collieries under the proposed legislation. Gale pointed out that the sea ports were already "the best support of His Majesty's revenue by customs, have their full share of the burthen by taxes and are the greatest sufferers by the warr."[25] He claimed that they would rather pay hearth tax again than the proposed coal tax because the former was more equitable.

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23. JG 1698 Apr.10
24. JG 1698 Apr.17
25. ibid.

The coal tax was hotly debated in Parliament since all of the areas to be affected by it protested. After much argument it was decided to drop the charge at the pit and to retain the charge of 5s per chaldron on coal transported by sea, the charge to be paid at the place of importation. However, Lowther was able to inform his stewards that foreign coal sales, which included those to Ireland, would be exempt from the tax.[26] Gale predicted gloomily that there would be a fall in customs revenue, especially in winter, if the ships were only allowed to load during Customs house hours. He hoped that more Customs officers would be employed because when the tax came into force the practice of not checking a ship's load each time could not be continued and the shortage of Customs officers would cause further delays.[27] In spite of the objections, the bill was passed and remained a source of revenue during the eighteenth century even though it handicapped the development of both the coal industry and manufacturing industry.[28]

As Gale complained Whitehaven was already suffering from increased customs duties brought about by the war. In fact the war had a doublesided effect on the customs revenue. The loss of duty from imported French goods, owing to the prohibition of trade with France, led to a fall of one-third in port duties. To counteract this, additional duties were placed on imports from elsewhere, including spices, European timber, East Indies goods, tea, cocoa and also on coastwise shipping.[29] The duty on Colonial tobacco rose from 1d per pound in 1660 to 6d per pound by 1713, and in general the duty

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26. Sir J 1698 Apr.23, 30. H.M.C. Fleming p.350 Some members also wanted a tax imposed on wood.

27. JG 1698 May 1. See also the chapter on Customs

28. J.U. Nef, The Rise of the British Coal Industry (London 1932) II p.314 The Bill was passed on 18 May 1698.

29. Dowell op. cit. I p.58-9

payable on goods rose from 5% in 1660 to 15% by the end of the century.[30] Since Whitehaven imported large quantities of both tobacco and Baltic timber the increased duty would have had a marked effect on Whitehaven merchants.

The amount yielded by these taxes depended on the efficiency and accuracy with which they were collected. In 1690 the Treasury complained that the receipts of the 2s Aid from Cumberland and Westmorland had fallen short of what was expected because they had not been properly collected, and in 1700 the Treasury again complained about arrears in the duties for Births, Marriages and Burials from the two counties which were owing for two years to 1696 and about similar arrears in the Land Tax.[31] Proceedings were threatened against Thomas Brougham, the collector of the Aids, and in 1701 the Lords of the Treasury demanded to see his accounts for the previous five years.[32] The collection of window tax in the two counties was also the subject of complaint. In 1701 it was claimed that a pound rate had been fixed on houses without any regard to the number of windows in them and that the surveyor took bribes from the parish constables not to survey their windows.[33]

The worst abuse in the collection of taxes during this period occurred with the misuse of exchequer bills. These bills were issued on the land tax to be accepted at par in the payment of tax and could be redeemed on sight. They could also be purchased below par and used by the receivers as a substitute for cash payments of their returns. The bills accumulated interest at the rate of 3d per day per £100 and most of the abuses occurred

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30. W. Kennedy, English Taxation 1640-1799 (London 1913) p.32-3

31. H.M.C. Fleming p.266, CTB 1700 Oct.3

32. CTB 1701 Dec.24

33. P.R.O. T 4/7 p.430

when the bills were falsely dated so that the receiver made a profit when he cashed them at the Treasury. Senior Treasury officials were involved in this fraud and so were land tax receivers for the counties. In 1698 Andrew Hudleston, the receiver for Cumberland and Westmorland, was arrested and summoned before the House of Commons for fraudulently dating exchequer bills which had been paid to the Treasury for the window tax. The amount involved was said to have been between £2,000 and £4,000.[34] This Andrew Hudleston was the father of the Andrew Hudleston who was in the Customs service at Whitehaven. Andrew Hudleston junior also became involved in the scandal because some of the customs' returns had been converted into exchequer bills. To further complicate matters some of the money which had been collected had been put into the hands of a London merchant who had subsequently been declared bankrupt.[35] It seems that the father rather than the son was to blame but both of them lost their positions and the estate of Hutton John had to be mortgaged, presumably to pay back the money owed to the exchequer.[36]

On the conclusion of peace in 1697 the National Debt was found to be over fourteen million pounds and so Parliament decided to retain some of the taxes which had begun as temporary measures.[37] Although most of the taxes appeared to be small amounts, when considered as a whole and coupled with the other effects of the war they must have had a noticeable effect on the inhabitants of Whitehaven.

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34. Dickson op. cit. p.369, Li op. cit. ch. 9 for the use of exchequer bills, Ward op. cit. p.45. For the Hudlestons see C.C.R.O. Hudleston Papers, H.M.C. Fleming p.266, H.M.C. Portland III p.596

35. Hudleston Papers

36. ibid. CTB 1698 July 7

The other major financial concern of the government during the 1690s was the poor state of the coinage. Few silver coins had been minted since 1689 and those in circulation had lost much of their silver content to the depredations of clippers. In Autumn 1695 when officers of the Exchequer weighed several lots of coin making up £300 they found that instead of weighing 1,200 ounces as it should, the average weight was 642 ounces.[38] One of the chief problems was the unfavourable foreign exchange rate with Europe. This led people to import gold from Europe and to make it into guineas which they then exchanged for silver which was exported as bullion at a profit. It was estimated that by 1695 about one-eighth of the legal tender in silver had been taken out of the country in this way.[39] The government feared that if this were allowed to continue they would be unable to maintain payments for the army. Although the problem of a recoinage had been debated in 1690, it was not until 1695 that the government decided that any further delay would be disastrous. This decision was taken in the face of strong opposition from the 'Country' party which argued that it would cause a stop in trade and lead to increased taxation.[40] Once a recoinage had been decided upon, debate centred on the question of whether the coinage should be restored to its old rate or devalued but in the end Parliament voted to maintain the old weight.[41] The period of transition, though less chaotic than England's enemies had hoped, caused great distress to wage earners and small tradesmen.

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38. Macaulay op. cit. V p.2566 Sir Charles Oman, The Coinage of England (Oxford 1931) p.339 A hoard of coin dating from the 1690s found at Bristol contained only 181 milled coins and 5,086 hammered ones, 52% of which were badly clipped.

39. Li op. cit. p.53-4, CTB Introduction to Vol XI-XVII p.cxi

40. Li op. cit. p.65

41. J.K. Horsefield, British Monetary Experiments 1650-1710 (London 1960) p.24, Macaulay op. cit. VI p.2634 for Locke v. Lowndes debate

The government had found that the harsh penalties against clippers had had no discernible effect on their activities and that the continuing deterioration in the silver coins was forcing up the price of gold. The guinea which at its issue in 1663 had been worth 20s, reached 21s 6d in 1690 and by 1695 rose to a peak of 30s.[42] As a Lancaster merchant wrote in his autiobiography, to the ordinary people the situation resulted in,

> "great confusion in trade, people being cautious in setting a price on their goods without knowing in what money they would be payed. And although taxes were multiplied upon account of the war, yet it was feared the distraction about the coyne would be more fatall than the war with France. And the King of France fully expected the same would bring us into confusion."[43]

Regional mints were established to hasten the recoinage and dates were set after which the various denominations of clipped coin would cease to be legal tender in ordinary transactions and could only be used as payment for taxation.[44] However, as Horsefield points out, only £3,380,000 was due in taxes between Michaelmas 1696-7 and there was about £11m. worth of clipped coin in circulation.[45] Thus as each deadline drew nearer people panicked and refused to accept the clipped coin in question for fear of being left with it in hand.

The Lowther correspondence shows the impact of the recoinage on everyday

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42. Horsefield op. cit. p.73

43. The Autiobiography of William Stout of Lancaster 1665-1752, ed J.D. Marshall, (Manchester 1967) p.109-110. He also wrote that silver coins were more "diminished and counterfeated" in London than in the country and that guineas were dearer. p.114

44. Li op. cit. p.115 The absolute deadline for crowns was February 1696, for shillings, March,and April for all else. This had to be extended to May 4 for all coin and to be paid into the Exchequer by June 24. After December 1696 it was only acceptable by weight until February 1 1697. Coin was taken at 5s 4d per oz. at the Mint between Nov.4 1696 - July 1 1697, at 5s 8d per oz by taxation collectors from Nov.15 1696 - Feb.1 1697, at 5s 2d per oz for ordinary transactions. p.117

45. Horsefield op. cit. p.240

life, and that the crisis persisted for longer than had originally been anticipated. Well before the recoinage there is evidence that cash was often in short supply in Whitehaven. In 1689 Tickell complained that it was difficult to collect the rents and that many of the seamen were in arrears, no doubt because of the stoppage of the coal trade.[46] Although rental arrears were not peculiar to the war years, the lack of trade and the resulting scarcity of money, meant that even usually reliable tenants found difficulty in meeting their rents, not only for land but also for houses. In 1693 Gilpin suggested that the simplest way of dealing with the miners' arrears would be to deduct the rent from their wages, but it is not clear whether this scheme was adopted. The coinage crisis made these problems worse and in September 1696 Gilpin reported that all of the rents were in arrears, and that Lowther's farmers were reduced to offering their plate as pawn. Other landlords were suffering from the same problem and even the Excise was in arrears.[47] All of these arrears were complicated during the coinage crisis by the refusal of each landlord to accept hammered money if there was a possibility of being paid in milled coin.

The first indication of a rise in the value of the guinea at Whitehaven occurred in June 1695 when Gilpin mentioned in passing that they were worth 29s, when he could obtain any.[48] In February 1696 Sir Daniel Fleming noted that guineas were still worth 30s although officially they were supposed to be taken at a rate of 28s which the government hoped to lower still further.[49] During the early part of 1696 Gilpin accepted guineas

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46. TT 1689 May 28, Sept.15, Dec.29
47. WG 1696 Sept.6
48. WG 1695 June 15
49. Flemings in Oxford III p.261

at a rate varying from 30s to 24s which reflects the gradual lowering of the guinea which was fixed at 22s in March.[50] Guineas were still worth 26s in Ireland and Gilpin was worried about the effect on the coal trade, "for if the returns be brought over in cash it will be to manifest loss, and it will be difficult to find other."[51] A similar disparity existed with Scotland so that any good money which was in circulation disappeared into Scotland or Ireland, so much so that Gilpin lamented that coins had "become a commodity and wee shall trade in them, not with them."[52] The 4 May deadline after which clipped coins were no longer legal tender passed, but there was no milled money at Whitehaven and people waited to see whether the shilling would be devalued. As a consequence of the lack of money the markets at Whitehaven had been deserted and Gilpin thought that they would be forced to use the clipped money by weight. He had thought that they could continue to use it amongst themselves at its face value, but people were reluctant to do so when it was no longer acceptable either to the revenue collectors or in the south of the country.[53] The continuing high price of the guinea in Ireland encouraged the masters to export them and Gilpin thought that the situation would not change unless the value of the guinea in Ireland was lowered. However, even if they were reduced in Ireland it would not help the situation at Whitehaven, "if the Customhouse Officers or any else happen to take notice of that clause in the Act ... whereby the importation is made a forfeiture."[54] This prohibition had been imposed to force the lowering of the price of the guinea but was lifted

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50. Li op. cit. p.124
51. WG 1696 Apr.1
52. WG 1696 May 18
53. ibid.
54. WG 1696 May 30

in October 1696.[55]

The regulation concerning the use of clipped coin had not been adequately explained and many people were unaware that they could still use their clipped coin to pay their taxes. As a result most people at Whitehaven had not paid their land tax. Gilpin complained of the difficulties in sending returns to Lowther, who did not want clipped money, but anything else was virtually unobtainable at Whitehaven.[56] Others were equally reluctant to receive it. The Bishop of Chester's Treasurer announced that he would only accept rents in guineas or milled coins though he was eventually persuaded to accept some hammered money as well.[57] The clipped coin still in circulation had lost up to 30% of its value and when, in June 1696, Sir Daniel Fleming sent £20 to one of his sons at Oxford the coins were so bad that only £5 of it was usable.[58] Both of Lowther's stewards had difficulty in obtaining good money and in disposing of the old coins. In September 1696 Gale complained that he had paid Gilpin 200 ducats for £60 which represented a loss of 16s 8d to himself and enquired how he ought to dispose of almost £40 of "light impassable money."[59] He stated that scarcely any of the hammered money approached the rate of 5s 2d an ounce at which it was supposed to be taken and so he could neither give nor receive money. This meant that he could not pay the workmen and he expected the markets to stop for want of coin.

> "If from my master I should take 64 ounces of hammered money for 124 tun of coales, what better am I if I cannot pay it to our workmen? These must be paid in parcells such as they can sub-

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55. Li op. cit. p.124
56. WG 1696 June 3
57. WG 1696 July 2
58. Flemings in Oxford III p.293

> divide at pleasure. I might otherwise as well offer them Napier's Bones to buy butter and eggs with."[60]

The Customs and Excise were required to accept coin at 5s 8d per ounce after November 15 1696 but Gale said that they would not do so until they had received confirmation of the rate and even when they did, it would be of no benefit to the poorer people.[61]

The poor undoubtedly suffered during this period. They found the fractions of weight in the various coins confusing and all trading became the subject of argument.

> "... one cannot now buy a loafe of bread in the markitt, but a jury of inquiry must pass upon the peece of money to be payd for it ... If one produce the broadest old Elizabeth shilling with both rings and every letter visible if it will not pass the scale 'tis nonsense to offer it though never deminished in any other way by its age."[62]

Nor was ignorance the only reason for such concern, for as Gale pointed out, apart from the fear of being defrauded, "a poor man that swetts for a hal(f)penny (cannot) well endure the loss of a farthing" and the general opinion was that the coinage crisis was a worse burden than "the whole charge of the warr."[63]

The closest regional mints to Whitehaven were at York and at Chester but it does not appear that any milled money was finding its way northwards. Because of the higher value of coin in Ireland, the new

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60. JG 1696 Nov.8 Napier's bones were small pieces of bone used in calculations. O.E.D.

61. ibid.

62. JG 1696 Nov.15 H.M.C. Bagot p.333 "There is not a farthing to be had. About three weeks ago sixpence with the ring on and shillings with some letters on, would have gone, but if ever shears have been on either they will not. Men cannot sell their beasts for ready money." Timothy Banks to James Grahme 1696 Sept.3

63. JG 1696 Nov.15

money from Chester tended to go straight to Dublin. Gale was paying the workmen in clipped money by weight which meant that each workman had his,

> "3s 6d, 4s or 5s as his wages is, weighed apart and, which is yett more perplexing, his country coales or other by-debt must be deducted, rending the neat sums very different and by the mulltiplicity of small draughts wasting the summ totall beyound the abillity of the bankmen to bear the loss; or suppose this difficulty conquered, the subdevisions that every poor workman must make of his mony in the markitt for pottatoes, meal and butter, doe unavoydable make such loss to him that one canot in pure pitty force that sort of mony upon them."[64]

Therefore as an alternative Gale bought Scottish coins which the workmen were willing to accept because they were milled and passed for a set value.[65] This use of Scottish coins did not entirely solve the problem. Gilpin refused to accept them in payment of rent, and some people alleged that they were counterfeited or just not as good as English money. However, whatever doubts about their use persisted, Scottish coins were the only current money available for small expenses, not only at Whitehaven but also in Newcastle and all of Northumberland. (Guineas represented too large an amount to be practical for use by the ordinary people.) Some other people preferred to use clipped money rather than Scottish money because it gave them the opportunity to calculate the fractions of weight to their own advantage. They then used the clipped money which they had obtained to pay their rents.[66]

Even after February 1 1697 when hammered money was no longer acceptable for the payment of taxes there was still no other money available at Whitehaven. Gale thought that some of the hammered money had been

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64. JG 1696 Dec.27

65. ibid.

66. JG 1697 Jan.17

further debased by coiners because of the high levels of base metals in it. People continued to take the milled money out of the country with them and the masters brought back ducats from Dublin. The ducats were worth 6s 8d in Dublin and were taken by weight at Whitehaven at a rate of 5s 4d. They were legal tender in Scotland where they were worth 6s 2d, and could be used at both Newcastle and Carlisle at the rate of 6s.[67] The trade in currency and in silver continued. Gilpin stated that twenty pounds weight troy of silver was worth £62 in English coin but £74-8-0 in Ireland. This amount of silver would purchase 223¾ ducats which weighed nineteen pounds troy exactly. The merchant then brought the ducats back to England where they were worth £66-19-6. Thus he had made a profit of £4-19-6, whereas England had lost one pound troy of silver. Gilpin argued that this was worse than the loss to the clippers since then at least the silver remained within England whereas now it was going to Scotland and Ireland.[68] Whitehaven continued to carry on its daily business in a variety of coins, so much so that Gilpin commented ironically to Lowther, "If you have the curiosity for a collection I believ I could in a very short time get you one of almost all the severall coyns of Europe, wee have such a variety which are current amongst us at this time."[69]

Writing about the effects of the recoinage, Macaulay states:

> "The distress which began on the fourth of May 1696, which was almost insupportable during the five succeeding months, and which became lighter from the day on which the Commons declared their immutable resolution to maintain the old standard (20 October 1696) ceased to be painfully felt in March 1697."[70]

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67. JG 1697 March 6
68. WG 1697 March 22
69. WG 1697 Apr.3
70. Macaulay op. cit. VI p.2656

While this may have been true in the south, neither of these dates marked any significant improvement in the situation at Whitehaven. Indeed in April 1697 Gale was still lamenting the complete absence of milled money both at Whitehaven and at Newcastle. The remaining hammered money was so debased as to be almost worthless and so, by a general agreement extending to Egremont, Carlisle and Newcastle, it was decided to accept ducats as being worth 6s and half ducats at 3s. However, Gilpin refused to accept ducats or hammered money. This placed Gale in a delicate position. He had no other money and he feared that if he refused to accept ducats the masters would go to Scotland where they were acceptable. Gale wrote to Lowther "with what face I give it (ducats) poor men who cannot pay their rents therewith, unless I uphold the exchange thereof, who have no other coynes to exchange it with."[71] Nor had the situation as far as trade with Ireland improved. The government in Ireland had decided to raise the value of milled money by twenty percent thus ensuring that any available in English ports ended up in Ireland. As a result of differing exchanges the masters were making little profit on coal even though the price had risen sharply since the beginning of the war.[72] Gale was afraid that this would lead to a stop in trade which would increase distress among the coal leaders and miners.

In May 1697 Gale complained that since the coinage crisis had begun he had "lost above £25 by the corrections that they (Parliament) were pleased to make thereof while it lay in my hands, and which was impossible for me to prevent or foresee ..."[73] He also had 800 ducats and a collection of

71. JG 1697 May 9

72. JG 1697 Apr.4, May 9

73. JG 1697 May 9

dollars and groats which he did not know how to dispose of because Gilpin would not accept it back if he used it to pay the workmen. Gilpin suggested that he might dispose of some of his ducats to the carrier who could use them in Scotland, but the carrier said that he would only accept payments in milled money or gold. Neither was available at Whitehaven but Gilpin added that when guineas were available they were still worth 23s or 23s 6d.[74] Nor was it only the poor who were reduced to such straits. At Newcastle, Sir William Blackett, a major mine-owner, had converted £1,200 in English money into groats with which to pay his workmen and even Lord Lonsdale, one of the richest men in the north, had been reduced to paying Gale in groats.[75] The rich were more fortunate in being able to live on credit for a time but all classes needed coin in which to transact minor business.

Both Gale and the ship owners instructed the masters to only bring back milled coins or guineas from Dublin, "of which two sorts the latter is less loss, that only being 4s upon 26 and the other 4s upon 24. By which meanes and the charge of convoyes etc, the smaller shipps will most certainly be out of purse."[76] The only solution seemed to be to raise the price of coal but Gale was sure that the government in Ireland would take measures to prevent any proposed rise. He thought that either the value of milled money in England must be increased or that in Ireland reduced before the situation would improve.[77]

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74. WG 1697 May 19 Guineas were supposed to have been reduced to 22s since October 1696

75. JG 1697 May 28

76. JG 1697 June 6

77. ibid.

There was no rapid improvement in the situation and hammered money continued to be taken at Whitehaven. Even Gilpin who disliked dealing in it could obtain little else from Lowther's debtors and so was forced to accept it rather than to leave the debts outstanding.[78] It seems that the situation must have eased a little towards the end of 1697 because there is less mention of it in the correspondence. Nevertheless Gale wrote in October:

> "it were a great happiness that a man did once know where the things will end, that one might see the conclusion of their sufferings, for so much instability and uncertainty in the vallue of our coynes as has of late years been manifest must needs be noe small damage to trade."[79]

Moreover, as late as March 1698, on learning of petitions in the south against the great numbers of half-pennies and farthings in circulation, Gale wondered if a method could not be found of distributing them in the north where they were still scarce.[80]

Despite the hardship which the coinage crisis imposed on most people there were no uprisings against the government as the Jacobites had hoped. At Kendal in 1696 there were riots when the Commissioner for Excise refused to take clipped money and the people threatened to march on the houses of the local gentry.[81] At Whitehaven the people confined themselves to verbal complaints. Gale commented:

> "There is nothing in the world that to me is a greater indication of the affections of the people to the government than their peacible temper under the present distraction about mony: for my owne part I am sattisfyed that if halfe the like disturbance had happened in the preceding raigne it would have put the Kingdome into a flame..."[82]

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78. WG 1697 Aug.7

79. JG 1697 Oct.31

80. JG 1698 March 27

81. H.M.C. Fleming p.344, H.M.C. Bagot p.332 At Levens Hall the rioters were given money and food

82. JG 1696 Nov.8 cf. H.M.C. Fleming p.339 "the people complain less than we do and beare our delay to a wonder, which is the best proof

There was a Jacobite plot against William III in 1696 but although it caused alarm in government circles it won no popular support.[83]

Nor did the coinage crisis have the effect on the war in Europe which Louis XIV had hoped. Britain was the chief source of finance for the allied war effort and during the height of the crisis subsidies to the Allies had to be cut off. France did succeed in detaching Savoy from the Allies at this time, but Savoy was a doubtful acquisition for either side, and apart from their usual bickering the coalition stood firm and the war continued. However, although the coinage crisis did not have the disastrous effects which the French had hopes, it substantially added to the financial burden of the war.

The evidence of the Lowther correspondence demonstrates the suffering which the coinage crisis caused, particularly to the poor, because of the absence of coin in which to transact their daily business and the confusion caused by the regulations about it. It also shows that the north appears to have felt the effects of the crisis for a longer period than the south, and the way in which the variations in the exchange rate with Ireland worsened the situation. The war increased the costs and added

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82. of the people's affection to the government, though the poor suffer most by the stop to mony." Sir G.F. to Sir D.F. 1696 Jan.11

The Duke of Portland expressed similar sentiments to the King CSPDom 1696 July 31

83. For details of the plot see CSPDom 1696 passim. Government ministers feared revelations about their correspondence with James II. Sir John Fenwick, brother-in-law to Lord Carlisle, was executed for his part in it.

to the hazards of trade, it brought about the introduction of regular taxation, and it coincided with years of bad weather and poor harvests. Thus it may be concluded that the mid 1690s in particular were years of severe financial hardship for the people of Whitehaven.

TRADE AND THE WAR

For an expanding port Whitehaven seemed to possess few geographical advantages. The harbour was neither deep nor large, the town was both remote from London and from the European ports, nor does it appear well sited for the Colonial trade. Furthermore Whitehaven was neither an agricultural nor a manufacturing centre and its land communications were poor. Yet in spite of these disadvantages Whitehaven grew from insignificance to become one of the most important ports in England and in the eighteenth century rivalled Liverpool.[1] Far from being confined to coastal trade and occasional crossings to the Isle of Man, Whitehaven was the major coal supplier for Dublin and by the 1680s Whitehaven ships were making regular voyages to Virginia and Norway and later to the West Indies and to other Baltic countries. This extensive trade was made possible by the development of the coal deposits at Whitehaven, the encouragement of the Lowther family and the enterprise of the inhabitants. It was maintained and expanded in spite of the hazards brought about by the war in the 1690s.

Although there is some information about Whitehaven's trade in the 1680s, the only port book to survive from this time dates from late 1687 to mid 1688 and so it is impossible to give a detailed account of the effects of the war on imports and exports.[2] However, from the surviving port book and the correspondence it is possible to outline the type of trade carried on before the war. Whitehaven's coastal trade was chiefly with Lancaster

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1. R. Davis, The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the 17th and 18th C. (London 1962) p.35 P.R.O. ADM 1/3863 In a list dating from 1703 Whitehaven had 90 ships (as opposed to 50-60 in the 1690s), Liverpool - 102, Chester - 25, and Carlisle - 1.

2. C.C.R.O. Hudleston port book 1677-85, P.R.O. E 190/1448/8 Whitehaven port book. The next surviving port book dates from 1706.

and Piel and Foulney, the port for the Furness region which was referred to in the seventeenth century as Peel of Foudry, and with Carlisle. However, ships also came and went from other smaller ports including Silloth, Allonby, Workington, Penny Bridge, Milnthorpe and Grange-Over-Sands. From time to time ships voyaged to ports in the south west of England and very occasionally to London. More trade was conducted across the Solway with Scottish ports such as Dumfries and Kirkcudbright. This trade seems to have consisted principally of local commodities like coal and grain and the re-export of colonial goods - tobacco and sugar and Norway deals. The proximity of the Isle of Man made it an obvious trading partner. Whitehaven exported coal to the island and imported a diversity of goods, including flock and feathers for bedding, sheep skins and fish. It seems that some colliers may have called in to the Isle of Man on their way home from Ireland rather than return empty.

Throughout this period Whitehaven's chief overseas trade was with Ireland but it appears to have been very one-sided with Whitehaven ships carrying coal or re-exported tobacco but bringing back very little. The chief imports mentioned were linen in the form of cloth or yarn, household goods and horses. The balance of trade in favour of England was maintained by law: one of the chief Irish exports to England had been cattle until this had been forbidden to protect the English market, and the direct importation of colonial goods into Ireland was forbidden by the Navigation Act of 1671. Ireland, therefore turned to the Continent for her export trade during the war, but supplies from France never adequately replaced those from England.[3] During the war it is unlikely that horses continued to be exported since they were required by both armies, and Irish industries

3. L.M. Cullen, Anglo-Irish Trade (Manchester 1968) p.37-40

were disrupted not only by the fighting but by the flight of many Protestant merchants to England.

Whitehaven's Colonial trade was chiefly with Virginia and Maryland and the main import was tobacco which was sold not only to the home market but was also re-exported to Ireland and to Europe. Ford states that Whitehaven imported over one million pounds of tobacco in 1712 in comparison with twenty million pounds imported into London for the period 1689-1709.[4] This figure is more striking when it is remembered that it was war time and that the merchants were subject not only to the usual vagaries of the tobacco crop and the weather but also to attacks by privateers, both in the Carribean and close to home. It is not certain when Whitehaven's Colonial trade began but regular voyages were being made in the early 1680s and the Resolution, a ship in which Lowther had an interest, made her first voyage in 1683.[5] Regular trade with Norway also took place. Whitehaven re-exported tobacco and imported hemp, tar and deals.

Trading patterns at this time were flexible. In general the smaller ships confined their activities to coastal and the coal trade while the larger ships made longer voyages. A collier could expect to make about two return voyages a month to Dublin, a ship going to Virginia would leave Whitehaven in late summer to early autumn and return the following spring or summer and a ship going to Norway could make several voyages in one year.[6] Whereas the master and freighter of a collier would generally be the same person, on coastal or longer voyages more than one merchant was often involved.

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4. Percy Ford, "Tobacco and Coal: A Note on the Economic History of Whitehaven", Economica IX (1929)

5. Commonplace Book 1671-1689, Hudleston port book

6. P.R.O. E 190/1448/8, Annie Eaglesham, "The Growth and Influence of the West Cumberland Shipping Industry 1660-1800" (unpublished Lancaster Ph.D. thesis 1977) p.95 says that up to four voyages a year were possible to the Baltic.

Richard Hodgson, the master of the Society, made regular voyages to Ireland with either coal or iron ore, and at the same time had a share in the Virginia trade by buying a percentage of the cargo of a returning ship. Peter Langaran, the master of the Lawrell, took his own ship both to Dublin with coal and to Norway with deals. The actual ownership of vessels was multiple. In 1688, the Resolution, probably the largest ship in Whitehaven at this time, had nine partners as owners. One eighth shares in her were held by Lowther, Thomas Tickell, Thomas Addison and his brother Henry, Richard Kelsick, the master of the vessel, Henry Tubman, a tobacco merchant, and William Croft's widow. Two other townspeople, William Nicholson and Joseph Younger held one sixteenth shares.[7] However, by 1693 the shares had largely changed hands. Lowther retained his eighth and Thomas Addison had increased his holdings to one quarter. The new partners who held one eighth shares in the ship were Ebenezer Gale, Robert Langton and Robert Blaiklock, a prominent merchant. One sixteenth shares were held by Clement Nicholson, George Fletcher, George Ribton, and Mary Addison, probably the widow of Henry Addison.[8] Similar multiple ownership existed for a ship built for the Baltic trade in 1698 and for other ships involved in overseas trade. Eaglesham says that such multiple ownership was peculiar to West Cumberland at this time and that during the eighteenth century it tended to disappear or become nominal with one partner acting for the others.[9] However, in the 1690s the partners paid for their share of the cost of freighting the ship and received a proportion of the cargo afterwards. Undoubtedly this type of ownership helped to lessen the effects of losses by spreading them over the community rather than concentrating them on

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7. Commonplace Book 1672-94

8. D/Lons/W Whitehaven Miscellaneous Papers no.14 cf. the ownership of the Hopewell recorded in Lowther's Memoranda Book

9. Eaglesham op. cit. p.302-7

a few individuals.

The pre-war trading pattern was disrupted by the war in three principal ways: the imposition of embargoes on all or certain trades, the pressing of seamen for the navy and the activities of privateers. The coastal trade was the least affected by the war. It did not venture out into the main shipping channels where the privateers operated and the embargoes placed on trade only applied to coastal shipping at exceptional times, such as when troops were to be transported to Ireland. The colliers were more vulnerable because they had to pass through seas where the privateers operated throughout the spring and summer, and although the privateers' interest lay chiefly in ships returning either from the Baltic or the Plantations which had large readily saleable cargoes, they would take colliers if there was nothing better to be had.

Whitehaven's principal trade, and that on which its expansion was based, was the coal trade with Dublin. During the 1690s it suffered from disruptions caused by the war in Ireland from 1689-91 and then from attacks by privateers and the depredations of the press gang, but also from the long running dispute over the size and weight of the coal chaldron, and from the dissention between the ships' masters and the gabermen in Dublin. The gabermen held a monopoly of the gaberts in Dublin harbour and so were able to charge inflated prices for their services. As a result of these disputes and the war, the Dublin coal market came to a standstill several times between 1688-92 and remained unstable throughout the war.

Although war was not officially declared until May 1689 the situation in Ireland had been unstable since late 1688. The authorities in Dublin were unable to prevent stealing from the gaberts or lighters in Dublin harbour

and the masters were alarmed by the worsening situation. They were reluctant to resume trade while the coal chaldron remained unsettled but Tickell thought that they would be tempted to go to Dublin once it became apparent that the price of coal was rising.[10] In October 1688 the price of coal in Dublin was 16s a ton.[11] By January 1689 it had risen to 17s a ton and by February to 20s, a price which appears to have been maintained throughout March, but on the outbreak of war in April the price rose sharply to 30s a ton. The government in London did not order the supply of coal to be cut off, preferring that it should be maintained so that money could be drained out of Ireland and the ships' masters could provide information of what was happening there. However, they did warn against attempts by the Irish to seize ships if there were too many there at once. Outlining this policy to the Whitehaven masters Lowther suggested that they should send two or three ships at one time "which may be done with security enough if you negotiate the matter beforehand, for coals are welcome to them as money is to us and the Dutch method is even to sell ammunition to enemies."[12] There is no indication that the French fleet made any attempt to disrupt the coal trade but by May it had come to a halt and did not resume again until September. This halt was caused by the imposition of an embargo by the Admiralty on all merchant shipping so that they would be able to hire most of the available ships to transport troops to Ireland.[13] During the time in which the majority of Whitehaven masters were in the transport service, the only mention of merchant shipping is of ships returning from Virginia, and even after the lifting of the

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10. TT 1689 Jan.31
11. TT 1688 Oct.19
12. Sir J 1689 Apr.9
13. TT 1689 May 7, Sir J Sept.24 for the embargo

embargo the masters were slow to resume trading.

It is not clear whether any of the masters took coal to Dublin during the winter of 1689-90, but if they did not it would have put the coal leaders out of work since there was no provision for large scale storage of coal at the harbour. Lowther was naturally anxious to see the coal trade re-opened but had difficulty in persuading the masters to leave the transport service.[14] He also suggested that they could transport provisions to Ireland because they were familiar with the ports there, and some masters may have done so. Most of the ships were not discharged from the transport service until late in June 1690 and there seemed little prospect of a resumption of normal trade until Dublin was once more in Protestant hands. Some of the masters decided to try to raise money for a voyage to Norway but the majority remained idle until after the battle of the Boyne on 1 July 1690.[15] Lowther then used his influence as an Admiralty Commissioner to have the embargo on shipping to Ireland lifted and trade was cautiously resumed. The masters were nervous about seizure by the Irish or by the press gang. The Navy had asked the Customs officers at Whitehaven to send them seamen as volunteers to Hoylake, but in the meantime they took advantage of the fact that most of the Whitehaven ships returned to Hoylake before being discharged and impressed part of their crews.[16] The press was also active in Ireland. However, for those masters who were prepared to take the risk there was a reward in the greatly increased price of coal, which had reached a peak of 40s a ton.[17] This high price must have limited the market since wood could be bought more cheaply and there was a shortage

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14. See above the chapter on the War for details.
15. TT 1690 June 25
16. Sir J 1690 July 15, TT July 13
17. TT 1690 Aug.3

of money in Ireland, amongst the troops because they had not been paid, and amongst the people because of James II's devaluation of the coinage.

Bad weather added to these problems and trade with Ireland continued in an "extreme dullness."[18] As trade resumed the price of coal fell but remained above 20s a ton. The autumn of 1690 was stormy. The pier at Whitehaven was damaged, ships were prevented from returning from Dublin and several were lost including the Society with Richard and Thomas Hodgson on board. Tickell felt that their loss was particularly grave for the Virginia trade since two other leading merchants in that field, John Fletcher and Henry Addison, had also died recently.[19] Since Whitehaven harbour offered little protection from bad weather the storms had also hindered the loading of coal, much to the disappointment of the masters because the price of coal was 24s a ton in Dublin and the government had offered immunity from the press as an encouragement.[20]

A new embargo was placed on trade between January and early May 1691 and there is no mention of the coal trade until mid-May 1691. Although this embargo did not forbid trade with Ireland, except with those parts which were still in the hands of the Jacobites, the coal trade had still not returned to normal. Tickell wrote, "the dull markets at Dublin will afflict us also the most part of this summer unless Ireland be reduced speedily."[21] Whether the coal trade showed any signs of improvement during the summer is not clear, but in November 1691 an embargo was

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18. ibid.
19. TT 1690 Oct.22, Nov.9
20. TT 1690 Nov.9
21. TT 1691 May 20

ordered on coastal shipping until the troops had been brought back from Ireland. This caused another shortage of coal in Dublin and an incoming ship reported to the Whitehaven masters that by the end of November the price of coal had reached 38s a ton.[22] Lowther could not have the embargo lifted immediately, but urged Tickell to enquire at the customs house about an order which he had obtained in similar circumstances during the reign of Charles II.[23]

Unfortunately there is a break of almost a year in the correspondence in 1692, so that it is impossible to say when the coal trade returned to normal or at what price per ton coal stabilized. By 1693 the coal trade was beginning to be affected by privateers. Their presence in the Irish Sea made the masters unwilling to leave port without protection although, since most of the privateers did not operate during the winter months, the coal trade suffered least during its most profitable season of the year. The activities of both the privateers and the press disrupted rather than stopped the coal trade, but without accurate figures it is impossible to quantify the extent of this disruption.

Although Gilpin estimated that Whitehaven supplied half of the coal consumed in Dublin, and that Lowther's share alone was over 21,000 tons the Whitehaven masters and coal owners faced competition from other places.[24] In 1695 the price of Whitehaven coal in Dublin stood at 18s a ton and inferior quality coal from Scotland, Mostyn and Swansea sold more cheaply. Only Workington coal at 19s a ton and that brought overland from Kilkenny was more expensive.[25] From the size of Lowther's share of the market it can

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22. TT 1691 Nov.29
23. Sir J 1691 Dec.8
24. WG 1695 Jan.9, 13
25. WG 1695 Jan.9

be seen that he had much to lose from any disruption to trade.

The price of coal continued to fluctuate. In December 1696 it was between 27 and 28s a ton in Dublin and it was thought that it might rise to 30s.[26] There was always a difference between the winter and summer prices of coal, the price being higher in winter because of higher demand. Although the masters obtained a higher price for their coal than they had done before the war, their costs had also risen sharply. Gale considered that the price of 15 or 16s a ton in April 1697 was the same as 11 or 12s a ton before the war.[27] The masters' wages had increased and so had those of their crew, for a foremast man who, before the war, had been paid between 16-18s a voyage now received between 27-30s. The cost of provisions had risen and so had the price of the ships' fittings, rigging which had cost 26 or 28s now cost 38s. Gale adds that on top of these costs was the expense of bribing the convoy ships.[28] However, as he does not mention that any of the masters gave up the coal trade they must have made sufficient money to survive or have had other more profitable cargoes as well.

Even before the peace treaty was signed in 1697 the price of coal began to fall. In April it fell to 18s a ton, then to 15 or 16s although it later regained the 18s mark and rose to 21s in 1698.[29] Although conditions must have improved in the interval of peace between the peace of Ryswick in 1697 and the outbreak of the War of Spanish Succession in 1702 with the absence of privateers and a relaxation in the press, the price of coal

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26. WG 1696 Dec.23

27. JG 1697 Apr.11 The cost of coal was 6s a ton, freight 6s, Customs and fees at Whitehaven, 1s 1d, Customs and fees at Dublin 9d, gabartage 1s, Purser's charge and wages 5d - a total of 15s 3d per ton. These costs are undated but probably from the late 1690s.

28. See below for naval convoy ships.

29. JG 1697 March 21, Apr.4, 11, June 6

was down to 14s 6d or 15s a ton and the increased wages and expenses must have reduced the profit.[30] Indeed in her study of trade in the north-west Eaglesham concludes that the coal trade was unprofitable in the eighteenth century.[31] She makes a distinction between the mining of coal which was very profitable, especially for the Lowthers, and the shipping of coal which had become unprofitable and was continued by the masters using their profits from their Virginia voyages to cover their losses. Without detailed accounts it is difficult to make an assessment for the war years. Apart from the increased costs, masters lost money both if their ship was captured or if they had to wait in harbour for lengthy periods for the protection of a naval convoy. The higher price of coal may have enabled the masters to balance their expenses, because the numbers of ships at Whitehaven increased rather than declined during the 1690s and Gale does not mention that any of the masters were bankrupted.

All shipping was affected by embargoes during the war. Their purpose was threefold: to cut off trade with the enemy, to try to persuade overseas merchants to sail with convoys and to keep ships in harbour so that the press could recruit or seize seamen. Trade with France was forbidden, initially for three years from August 1689, but then for the duration of the war.[32] Throughout the war ships were required to place bonds of £1,000 as a pledge that they would not go to France or to any of the French dominions or other places under embargo.[33] Although there is mention in

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30. Sir J to Mr Carleton 1699 May -

31. Eaglesham op. cit. p.125-6

32. H.M.C. House of Lords 1690-1 p.200, P.R.O. ADM 2/1045 Proclamation 1689 June 26

33. P.R.O. T 11/12, CTB 1691 May 1, TT 1689 Feb.14

the pre-war port book of a cargo of wine from Bordeaux, Whitehaven does not appear to have had a regular trade with France, and had the inhabitants wished for French goods they could have obtained them from either Scotland or Ireland which both maintained an illicit trade with France throughout the war.[34] Indeed, Gilpin complained that the Scots "contribute so little to the charges of the warr and make such gains by an (almost) open trade with France ..."[35]

The embargoes were generally of limited duration and were often lifted to allow trade with Ireland, the Plantations, and Northern Europe which meant from Holland to Norway. Such permission was usually given on the understanding that the ships would sail with a convoy. As a Commissioner for the Admiralty, Lowther could sometimes obtain permission for Whitehaven ships to sail in spite of an embargo but even so embargoes could play havoc with sailing times. Ships sailing to Virginia made only one voyage a year and so an embargo at their sailing time could lead them to miss the tobacco crop. Then they would either have to wait in Virginia for the next season, or else stay at home and find another cargo.

London was the largest port engaged in the tobacco trade, and the London merchants were given annual orders by the Admiralty to assemble by a certain date, ranging from November to January, so that they could travel to Virginia with a convoy. A number of naval vessesls were provided to escort them through the channel and beyond the Scillies and several of these would escort them all the way to Virginia, wait while they loaded their cargoes and return with them. Ships from the western ports were supposed to assemble at Bristol and then join the convoy, but it is clear from the

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34. CSPDom. 1695 June 8 William Kirkby to Commissioners of Customs

35. WG 1695 March 13

complaints of the London merchants that they frequently did not do so and there is no mention of Whitehaven ships sailing out with the convoy although they sometimes returned with it.[36] Even when a ship intended to sail with the convoy it did not always do so. In 1697 the Europe of Whitehaven set sail from Virginia one day after the London fleet but did not meet up with it. She crossed the Atlantic safely and only avoided capture near Ireland because she fell in with a naval vessel which escorted her and some liverpool ships from the Skerries of Portrush.[37] A surviving convoy list for 1700 reveals that four Whitehaven ships sailed with the convoy from Virginia: the Nightingale, the Thomas, the Cumberland, and the Amity.[38] Neither the Thomas nor the Nightingale are mentioned in a list of Whitehaven ships freighted for Virginia in 1699 but the list includes four other ships which did not return with the convoy.[39]

The ships from the Western ports which did sail outwards with the convoy petitioned to be allowed to sail home early because,

> "their long stay in the country will not only endanger the loss of the said ships by the Extream eating of the worme, but also the mariners will be in great hazard of being taken with the sickness of the Country, and your petitioners will be put to extraordinary charges in their seamen's wages and provisions."[40]

There was also the danger that the tobacco itself would be spoiled by a long delay. Ships were also delayed if the tobacco crop was late and

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36. P.R.O. T 11/12 p.461 for complaints by London merchants.

37. WG 1697 June 16, JG June 20. The London fleet of 130 ships escorted by three naval vessels and a fire ship took over a month to return.

38. A.P. Middleston, "The Chesapeake Convoy System 1662-1763", The William and Mary Quarterly third series III (1946) Of the Whitehaven ships only the Cumberland, George Gale, master was armed.

39. Lowther's Memoranda Book

40. P.R.O. ADM 1/5143, Davis op. cit. p.136 for rise in wages.

the uncertainty over the time of arrival of the convoy created difficulties for the planters.[41]

Nor was naval protection entirely disinterested as is attested by a tart note from the Admiralty in 1694 ordering that naval officers were to realize that "upon no pretence whatsoever they or any of their officers or Company shall demand or receive any moneys, Gratuity, Reward or other consideration from any of the Masters or others of the ships or Vessels of their Majesties' subjects which shall be at any time under their convoy."[42] However, as will be seen below, even the cruisers in the Irish Sea ignored this regulation. The convoy system was unpopular with the merchants because it meant that all of the ships arrived home at once causing a glut on the market and the naval ships convoying them were permitted to bring home some tobacco themselves.[43] Despite the convoy system there was such a shortage of shipping that the price of freight from Virginia rose to unprecedented height of £17 a ton, thus increasing the cost and risks of the trade.[44]

Whitehaven's Baltic trade also missed out on adequate protection from the convoy. In 1702 Lowther wrote "the war now cuts us off that Trade lying as we doe out of the way of convoy ..."[45] During the seventeenth century English imports from the East Country, the ports on the eastern side of the Baltic and in particular, Danzig and Riga, doubled in spite of strong competition from the French and Dutch. One quarter of the English trade

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41. P.R.O. S.P. 32/7 no.79, Middleton op. cit.

42. P.R.O. ADM 2/174 May 1694

43. Middleton op. cit. There were also complaints that the convoy was too fast or too slow etc.

44. ibid. The price of freight did not reach this height again before 1776.

45. Sir J to Mr Lyddal 1702 Feb -

was with Riga which provided the best hemp for rope-making and wood suitable for masts. Trade with Norway was chiefly for deals for ship building and much of the English trade there and to other Baltic ports was by merchants under contract to the navy. Exports on the other hand remained slight, many ships travelling there with ballast rather than cargo, but one of the major exports was re-exported tobacco.[46] Whitehaven ships generally took tobacco to Norway and at one time there was a scheme to make alternating voyages to Virginia and the Baltic but nothing appears to have come of it.[47] During the war the Danes and the Swedes called a truce to their own hostilities and were officially on the Allied side, but they acted as neutrals and traded with both sides. Action against foreign residents by the Swedes in particular made it difficult for the merchants to maintain agents there, yet Swedish co-operation was necessary to travel through the Sound.[48] The northern winter and the diversity of places to which ships sailed added to the difficulties of arranging convoys. However, those convoys which were provided were for the benefit of naval contractors. The naval convoy generally went to Hamburg, then up the Sound where it divided into two: ships sailing to Norway and Sweden and those for Denmark and Riga. On the return voyage ships were ordered to wait at Elsinore and then return in convoy to England via Hamburgh.[49] Since these ships were bound for the east coast of England or Portsmouth, and the Whitehaven ships sailed around the north of Scotland, the Whitehaven ships had to

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46. R.W.K. Hinton, The Eastland Trade and the Commonweal in the 17thC (Cambridge 1959) p.114 Tobacco made up 12% of exports, and re-exports made up 18% of exports.

47. WG 1693 Aug.2

48. Ehrman op. cit. p.55-8 In the late 1690s the Whitehaven merchants made extensive enquiries about trade with Riga.

49. ibid. p.53-4

travel without the protection of the convoy. Sailing without a convoy made them more vulnerable to attacks by privateers, especially as they could not even rely on finding naval protection in the Irish Sea.

Restrictions were also placed on the crews of ships going overseas. Only a certain number of English seamen were permitted and the rest of the crew had to be made up with foreigners, landsmen and boys. This restriction was enforced to enable the maximum number of English seamen to be available for service in the navy. Those seamen allowed to go overseas were given protections which made them immune from the press, in theory at least. In 1690 the Whitehaven ships were only allowed to leave for Virginia in October after they had completed their transport service. The four ships which made the voyage were not allowed to take more than thirty English seamen between them. The Resolution which normally had a crew of nineteen was given protection for a crew of fifteen and it seems likely that the extra crewmen were landsmen and boys.[50] If they had not sailed then they probably would have missed that season altogether because in December 1690 the Admiralty gave orders that no merchant ships were to be permitted to sail for America, and that those waiting for the convoy should return to their home ports.[51]

The merchant fleet provided the chief source of seamen for the navy and throughout the war systematic depredations were carried out upon it by the press. Pressing operated in two principal ways: through the vice-admiral of the county and through the captains of naval vessels, the

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50. TT 1690 Oct.8, P.R.O. ADM 2/6 Protection dated Sept. 1690.

51. P.R.O. ADM 2/7

first method being the most regularly employed, while pressing by naval officers was usually short-term, and depended on the enthusiasm or desperation of the captain concerned. The Admiralty decided on the number of men to be pressed that season and each seaboard county was allotted a quota presumably based on the number of ports in it and an estimate of the number of seamen in them. The Admiralty then sent a letter to the vice-admiral concerned who was expected to use his influence to fill the quota. The vice-admiral was also given a sum of money to pay the expenses of taking the seamen to an assigned port.

The manner in which the system worked is detailed in a letter written in 1693 to Lowther as Vice-Admiral of Cumberland and Westmorland. That year 200 seamen were required from the two counties. They were to be "of able bodies and betweene the ages of Eighteene and Fifty years."[52] Although the navy preferred seamen it would also accept boatmen, bargemen and water men. The pressed men were to be sent to Newcastle, and severe punishment was threatened to any official who was found to have accepted bribes in return for the discharge of any of the pressed men. To facilitate the task Lowther was ordered to have "exact lists to be made of the names of all seamen ... as inhabit the respective parishes and precincts of the said county ..."[53] These lists were to be drawn up by the Justices of the Peace and Lord-Lieutenants and forwarded to the Admiralty by Lowther, together with information about which men had been pressed and where they had been sent. Since Lowther was in London this task was delegated to Gilpin who was made Deputy Vice-Admiral.[54] A list of seamen dating from

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52. P.R.O. ADM 2/1046 1693 Feb.17

53. ibid.

54. WG 1694 March 26

1678 divides them into married and unmarried seamen, boatmen and fishermen, between the ages of eighteen and fifty and gives a total of one hundred and seventy-seven for the county. A second undated list which includes all seafaring men - boys, men over fifty and those already in the navy - gives a total of six hundred and seventy-three men for the county.[55] Westmorland, almost entirely an inland county, cannot have provided many seamen for the press and so the majority of the two hundred men required must have been taken from Cumberland. This obviously had a considerable impact on the number of seamen available for the merchant ships and is shown in their small crews. This undermanning increased the risk of loss either to privateers or in bad weather.

Most of the seamen pressed in Cumberland were to be sent to Newcastle where Lowther was ordered to appoint an agent to look after them until they were put aboard ship, and to see that none of them absconded or were changed for inferior men.[56] Men were to be appointed to conduct the seamen to Newcastle and these conductors were to draw up a certificate of the names, ages and number of men in their charge. This certificate would be given to the man appointed as Lowther's agent in Newcastle and he in turn would give it to the Press Master and the captain of the naval vessel to whom the men were delivered. The money for their expenses was to be forwarded by the Customs officers at Newcastle. Each pressed man received an advance payment of 12d and the conductors were paid 6d per day for each man while they were collecting them and 8d per day on the journey to

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55. Commonplace Book 1672-94 Eaglesham op. cit. p.331 dates the second list c.1690.

56. P.R.O. ADM 2/1046

Newcastle. To try to avoid the press some seamen stayed away from home while the press was active but to circumvent this the Press Masters were ordered to go to their houses and leave the 12d advance payment, together with a notice that they were to present themselves to the navy or else a warrant for their arrest would be issued to the local constable.[57]

The agents of the press were warned against pressing "landmen which will not be serviceable in the Fleete when they come thither, whereby the charge in procuring them will be lost."[58] The navy had neither the time nor the facilities to train landmen and the Admiralty issued orders, particularly to naval captains, against the pressing of housekeepers, servants, apprentices and other unsuitable men. The press was also to abstain from pressing seamen on outward bound ships, on light colliers or from crews which had been issued with a protection by the Admiralty.[59] Abuses such as the pressing of seamen from ships on cruiser duty, undoubtedly occurred and the offenders were reprimanded when they were brought to the attention of the Admiralty, but it is clear that such practices continued for as long as the navy was desperately short of men, and had no adequate recruiting system.[60]

At various times during the war William III issued proclamations

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57. ibid.

58. P.R.O. ADM 2/172

59. P.R.O. ADM 2/5

60. Throughout the war the Admiralty received numerous complaints about the pressing of foreigners and landmen. Danes and Swedes were often pressed, sometimes because it was alleged that they had been trading with France. In most cases they were released. An extreme example of abuse occurred when impressed landmen were sent to serve in the army in Flanders. P.R.O. ADM 2/11

encouraging seamen to volunteer for the navy. All seamen serving with foreign fleets were ordered to return to England and volunteers were promised extra pay. In 1693 all volunteer seamen who enlisted on a naval vessel, and could produce a certificate to prove it, were promised one month's pay in advance, and in January 1697 all seamen who volunteered for the navy were to receive three month's pay and all landmen one month's pay.[61] Even such offers failed to tempt sufficient seamen to join the navy and the press remained the chief supplier of men.

At Whitehaven, both the seamen themselves and their employers were anxious to avoid the press. Those ships in transport service found that the press was active at Hoylake, and when they resumed normal trading it was equally severe at Dublin.[62] In 1691 an order from the Privy Council was sent to Whitehaven requesting assistance in the pressing of seamen and at the same time a partial embargo was placed on shipping other than coastwise and to Ireland.[63] To save their seamen the principal ships' masters planned to enlist sufficient fishermen to satisfy the navy but Tickell does not say whether they were successful.[64] The business of collecting the seamen was estimated to have cost between £50-£60 and the pressed men were to be sent to Milford. Lowther had sent Gale a list of the available seamen in the county and Matthias Miller, the controller of Customs at Whitehaven, sailed for Milford or Bristol with seventy-three men.[65] At Milford the navy ordered the men to be examined to ensure that they were fit to serve in the fleet and any who were not seamen were ordered to be discharged. The

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61. CSPDom 1690 Feb.9, 1692 July 28, 1693 Feb.3, 1695 Dec.26, 1697 Jan.21
62. TT 1690 July 13, 27, Sept.29
63. TT 1691 Feb.15
64. TT 1691 March 15
65. Sir J 1691 March 28, TT Apr.8

rest were sent to Plymouth to be put on board naval vessels.[66] In 1692 forty-one pressed men were sent from Whitehaven to Newcastle to be put aboard either a naval ship, the Play Prize or the New Africa, a ship hired to act as a convoy for colliers which would take them to a naval ship at the Buoy of Nore.[67] The navy had requested two hundred men from Cumberland and Westmorland and did so again in 1694 and 1695. The need for seamen was so acute that the press masters were to be paid twenty shillings for each able bodied seaman enlisted.[68]

Captains of naval vessels were also ordered periodically to press seamen and many of the complaints about wrongful impressment were directed against them. They were given instructions not to press protected crews and were particularly warned "when you shall happen to take any Men from Ships at Sea homebound you are carefully to see that a sufficient Number be left aboard the same for bringing them safe into Harbour."[69] These regulations were often ignored, especially by captains in Dublin and in July 1693 Gale complained that the men of war which had escorted Lord Sidney from Ireland, had, before their departure taken "2/3 of every shipps' company soe that from about nine sayle they took 46 men."[70] These had been from Whitehaven ships in Dublin harbour and as the weather had been fine they had managed to sail home "though 2 or 3 men with the master and perhaps a boy or 2 was the best stock that any could produce but how they will all gett loaden and sea againe is a question that few can solve."[71] According to a list of Whitehaven ships and their crews even the smallest vessels

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66. P.R.O. ADM 2/7
67. P.R.O. ADM 2/9, 172
68. P.R.O. ADM 2/1046
69. P.R.O. ADM 2/5
70. JG 1693 July 9
71. ibid.

usually had a crew of six and some of the larger ones had twelve or more.[72] Following this incident the captain of the St Albans who was particularly eager to press men had seized a further eleven to make the number up to sixty and having taken the names of the Whitehaven ships continued to take men "either at sea or shore without the least reguard to their returning home in safety."[73] As a result, the Whitehaven ships, even those already laden with coal, refused to put to sea. Gale suggested that if a suitable Whitehaven naval officer could be appointed to cruiser duty in the Irish Sea, they would obtain some protection from the press, but although Gale put forward some names nothing came of it in the 1690s.[74] In 1694 there were complaints of such constant pressing of seamen at Dublin that some ships found themselves unable to return.[75] Lowther instructed Gale to complain to the Lord Justices of Ireland since the men-of-war were not supposed to press seamen without their permission, but the Lord Justices themselves frequently complained to the Admiralty that the captains of cruisers ignored their instructions.[76]

Lowther and his stewards had divided loyalties on the matter of the press. As a Commissioner for the Admiralty Lowther was well aware of the shortage of men for the fleet and he felt that the local seamen could gain experience

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72. Commonplace Book 1671-1689

73. JG 1693 July 12

74. JG 1693 July 23, Sept.10

75. WG 1694 June 27, JG Sept.2

76. Sir J 1694 Sept.18. The Lord Justices complained that the men-of-war pressed seamen without their knowledge ..."The trading ships have been so frightened by this, that we are informed there is not a ship left in harbour, and it is feared none will come so long as any man of war is here." CSPDom 1694 March 19

in the navy which would be useful in the merchant service in peacetime. However, as Whitehaven's prosperity depended on the masters being able to continue trading, it was in his interest that sufficient seamen were left for the merchant fleet.[77] Both Tickell and Gilpin were employed to assist the press, so that at the same time as they complained of the press in Dublin they were, themselves, pressing seamen at Whitehaven. The numbers of seamen at Whitehaven and the frequency with which they visited Dublin made them particularly susceptible to the activities of the press, but apart from temporary halts, there does not appear to have been any prolonged stoppage in trade due to lack of seamen. But the press undoubtedly added to the hazards of the war years and ships which lost up to half their crews to the press must have found difficulty in obtaining experienced replacements.

In March 1694 Gilpin received a warrant to press an unspecified number of seamen.[78] He intended to send them to Newcastle in small groups to lessen the chance of trouble and he hoped that there would be a suitable ship for them to be put aboard when they arrived, or else there was a possibility that some of them would escape. There would be a particular temptation for them to join the Newcastle collier service which ran back and forth to London throughout the war, and which was considered so important that the men serving in it were virtually immune from the press. The wages in the merchant service were also good whereas naval pay was usually in arrears.[79] Gilpin had found forty unmarried men, but doubted that any more could be had because many seamen were abroad either in Virginia or Norway, and those who were left could not be spared from

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77. Sir J 1694 Sept.18
78. WG 1694 March 29
79. WG 1694 Apr.1

the Irish trade. There were also some still employed in the transport service.[80]

In February 1695 Gilpin was able to send thirty-two volunteers to Newcastle at considerable expense. They had been given an advance of 40s each and were to receive bounty money at Newcastle. Gilpin had persuaded them all to agree to go aboard the Neptune, and he hoped that if they were well treated it would encourage others to volunteer also.[81] Gale, writing to Lowther on behalf of several young men who wished to go on board the Centurion where they had friends, said that the volunteers had been threatened that if they did not go on board the Neptune they would be treated as though they were pressed men.[82] The matter was further complicated by the fact that upon their arrival at Newcastle some of them either decided or were persuaded to go on board the Yarmouth. Gilpin was not sure on which ship they had finished up and thought that owing to irregularities in the proceedings they might not be entitled to bounty money.[83] Presumably the Neptune was not at Newcastle and some of the men went up to London by collier rather than naval ship. This was after harsh words had passed between the volunteers and the Lieutenant of the Katherine, and they had considered either returning to Whitehaven or "going up by land."[84] The navy preferred to transport men by ship since it was responsible for their upkeep during this time. A journey by sea was shorter than one by land and there was less opportunity for the men to abscond. Some of the unfortunate volunteers contracted smallpox at

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80. WG 1694 Apr.23
81. WG 1695 Feb.9
82. JG 1695 Feb.10
83. WG 1695 Feb.20
84. WG 1695 March 3

Newcastle and twenty-two of them were drowned on the voyage to London. One was saved and so were eight others, presumably those who had gone up by collier.[85] No bounty money was paid and Gilpin had to try to recover the advance money from the volunteers' sureties in Whitehaven. Following this disaster Gilpin did not expect any more volunteers from Whitehaven and there is no hint of any more in the correspondence.

Nor was the experience of earlier volunteers any more cheerful. In 1693 the Admiralty wrote to no less a person than the Rear Admiral of the Blue Squadron to reprimand him for having pressed three Whitehaven seamen from the naval ship on which they were serving and taken them aboard his own ship. He was ordered to return them to their own ship.[86] There was also the case of two married seamen from Whitehaven who had been in navel service for thirty months and immediately upon their return to Whitehaven they were again seized by the press, and when they protested, were imprisoned.[87]

The example of what had happened to the 1695 volunteers obviously soured the other seamen at Whitehaven and when Gilpin received orders for a press in March 1696 he was reluctant to take any of them, for thanks to an embargo they were scattered about the countryside and "taking any one would so alarm the rest that it would be difficult to find any more."[88] Therefore Gilpin kept the notice of the press a secret until all the ships in harbour were ready to sail and then he had a guard posted at the west end of the pier while men were removed from the ships. Gilpin selected two men from each ship, making sure that they were either unmarried or had no family.

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85. WG 1695 March 13, June 29, JG March -
86. P.R.O. ADM 2/11
87. C.C.R.O. CQ11 1692
88. WG 1696 March 9

In this way the business had been dealt with in about an hour and there had been no disturbance since the ships had then set out on their voyages.[89] Nevertheless such a role cannot have made Gilpin popular in Whitehaven especially when coupled with the quarrels promoted by Ebenezer Gale over the burial ground and freehold tenures. Gilpin himself was not altogether happy about the operation of the press. He had lost £50 over the debacle in 1695 and in 1697 he wrote, "I wish the Admiralty would take it into consideration that the men who are impressed here (being to be sent above 80 miles by land) are hardly worth the expense."[90] In 1701 Gilpin lost even more money. He was obliged to outlay £247-1-0 for the conducting of sixty-one men to Shields and when they arrived at Newcastle there was no clerk of the Cheque to pay the money to the conductors, nor any ship or officer to receive the men. In spite of representations made to them in London by James Lowther the Admiralty showed no sign of reimbursing the money.[91]

The largest of the naval ships were laid up between September and April on account of their inability to cope with the winter gales, and with the coming of peace in September 1697 it was decided to lay up some ships altogether. This meant that there would be a number of disbanded seamen, but unlike the disbanded soldiers who constituted a social problem, it is likely that most of the seamen were absorbed into the merchant fleet. Whitehaven had been well stripped of its seamen and it was hoped that with peace some of them would be able to return. One of those who did so was Lieutenant Richard Scott, son of Lowther's mine overseer. He decided to

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89. WG 1696 March 25

90. WG 1697 Jan.25

91. P.R.O. ADM 1/5114 WG to Ld Carlisle 1701 June 16

go in to the Baltic trade and in 1698 a ship was especially built for him.[92] If the war had not resumed again so shortly afterwards it would have been possible to see if the influx of seamen led to an expansion of the merchant fleet, but as it was most of them were probably reabsorbed into the navy when war broke out in 1702.

The major hazard of the war years, and one over which the Whitehaven masters and merchants had no control, was that of privateers. Historians have tended to believe that ports on the north-west coast of England were relatively free of privateers because they seem remote from the French privateering ports, and returning Whitehaven ships sailed home from the American colonies north about Ireland, and from the Baltic around the top of Scotland, rather than taking the more hazardous routes through the English Channel and the North Sea.[93] This overlooks the fact that French privateers not only operated in force from Dunkirk and Ostend but also from many ports in the west of France, especially from St Malo, and that the crews of many of these privateers consisted not only of Frenchmen but of Irish and Scottish Jacobites. These exiled Scots and Irish who had fled to France desperately needed a source of income and not only were they well acquainted with the seas around the north of Ireland but they could expect co-operation from sympathisers at home. Thus far from rarely venturing into the Irish Sea the privateers were there in force throughout the summer, and the letters of the Lord Justices of Ireland to the Admiralty are full of complaints about the seizure of merchant shipping and the inadequacy of naval protection.[94] This lack of naval protection, combined with the fact that Whitehaven ships rarely travelled with convoys increased their risk

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92. Accounts 1698-9 Lowther had an eighth share in this ship.

93. P. Crowhurst, The Defence of British Trade 1689-1815 (London 1977) p.10, Davis op. cit. p.38, G.N. Clerk, The Dutch Alliance and the War against French Trade 1688-1697 (Manchester 1923)

94. P.R.O. ADM 1/3988 Irish Correspondence

of capture.

The privateers who were most active around Ireland came from the western ports of France, extending from St Malo to La Rochelle and including Morlaix, Brest and Vannes. In 1687 St Malo had 117 ships and was the largest French port. In peacetime her seamen worked as fishermen off the Newfoundland coast, but the war forced them to look for alternative sources of income.[95] Rich merchants at St Malo invested in privateering and in return for outfitting the ship received a share of the takings. The French government was also involved. After the defeat of the French fleet at Barfleur/La Hougue in May 1692, Louis XIV decided to devote his naval efforts to privateering and the privateers were able to hire French naval vessels. These warships could be used to attack the convoy vessels while the privateers took the merchant ships, but in general they preyed on smaller groups or single ships.[96] The crews of the privateers often consisted of a mixture of French, Irish and Scots, and sometimes some Dutch, and they operated under commissions and letters of marque, issued by either Louis XIV or James II, which authorized them to attack English merchant shipping in return for a percentage of the takings.

The English government made a distinction between French and Jacobite privateers and so naval ships which captured privateers were ordered to make a strict enquiry into "the place of nativity or usuall habitation" of the crew and to seize any papers, especially commissions.[97] If captured the Jacobites were liable to be tried for treason whereas the French were treated as prisoners of war and were kept until they could be exchanged for captured English seamen. Thomas Addison was one of the

95. Crowhurst op. cit. p.16

96. ibid. p.24, 27

97. P.R.O. ADM 2/17, H.M.C. House of Lords 1693-5 p.384-9

Commissioners for the Sick and Wounded and the Exchange of Prisoners during the war, and so the families of captured Whitehaven seaman were able to apply to both him and to Lowther for the exchange of their relations.[98]

The privateering vessels were large, well armed and heavily manned which gave them a clear superiority over both the merchant vessels and many of the navel cruisers in the Irish Sea. In 1694 the Lord Justices of Ireland wrote, "We hear of those French privateers that so much infest this northern coast, carries 50 guns and about 300 men, a force much greater than any appointed for the guard of this coast, the biggest of which carries but 32 guns."[99] The largest privateers were thus equivalent to a third or fourth rate naval ship whereas the cruisers in the Irish Seas were only fifth or sixth rates.[100] Other smaller privateers had about twenty guns but most merchant men were unarmed and carried a minimum crew because of the activities of the press. Thus a merchant ship had no chance of fighting off a privateer and the best it could hope for was to elude capture while the privateer was occupied elsewhere. However, because of their local connections the privateers could often obtain precise information about the ships which were expected home and sometimes lay in wait for a particular vessel.[101] The odds were therefore weighted against the merchant ships and many were either captured or ransomed during the course of the war.

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98. P.R.O. ADM 2/6, 169 for rules of exchange. The ports of exchange were Plymouth, Dover, St Malo and Dieppe.

99. CSPDom. Lord Justices to the Admiralty 1694 July 7

100. Ehrman op. cit. p.626, P.R.O. ADM 1/3988, ADM 2/173

101. JG 1694 July 29 "the fishing boates of Ireland, being full of papists doe give the privateers exact accounts of all our motions."

In the Admiralty correspondence mention is made as early as 1691 of French ships lying in wait for English merchant men returning home around the north of Scotland but these were men of war rather than privateers.[102] Owing to the gap in the correspondence for 1692 it is not possible to say when privateers began to affect Whitehaven's trade but by 1693 they were an established hazard.[103] The first recorded loss of a Whitehaven ship to privateers occurred in May 1693 when the Ann was captured on her way to Bergen. In June the authorities in Ireland wrote to the Mayor of Chester warning him that there were at least eleven privateers in St George's Channel and the letter was sent on up the coast. At Whitehaven the ships decided to stay in harbour and a watch was set at night to report the sighting of any ships.[104] Gale thought that the privateers had been sent to convoy provisions to Scotland, and French privateers both gave and obtained assistance from Scottish merchants throughout the war.[105]

One of the largest single hauls taken by a privateer occurred in July 1693. All of the ships taken were homeward bound, and except for one from Dublin, would have been unaware of the warning issued in the previous month. Gilpin's account of the misfortune was given to him by Henry Crofts the master of the Freeman, a Whitehaven ship on her way home from Virginia. The Freeman and another Whitehaven ship the Martin were taken off Londonderry Bay by Phillip Welsh, an Irish privateer, whose ship had ten guns.[106]

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102. P.R.O. ADM 2/171

103. It is unlikely that there were no captures in 1692 because this was the best year for the St Malo privateers which took 200 ships. Crowhurst op. cit. p.16

104. JG 1693 June 18, WG June 19

105. WG 1694 Dec.29, JG Dec.30, WG 1697 Apr.3 The privateers also obtained supplies and landed arms in Ireland. P.R.O. ADM 1/3988

106. WG 1693 July 22

The same privateer then went on to take the Fortune of Bideford which was on her way home from Norway; a fly-boat from Cork also from Norway; three more tobacco ships - one from Bideford, and the Vine and the Grape from Liverpool; a Dutch ketch going from Dublin to Rotterdam; a Barnstaple ship and a ship bound from Cork to Norway. These ships were presumably travelling separately but obeying Admiralty orders that ships without a convoy were to sail 'north about', meaning that they were to sail around the north of Ireland and put in at a northern port.[107] The loss to the merchants of these ships was severe. It was estimated that the tobacco alone would amount to 1,000 - 1,200 hogsheads and could be easily sold in Europe by the privateers. Welsh had agreed to ransom the Fortune, the Grape and the ship bound for Norway for £650 but refused a ransom of £2,000 offered by the master of the Dutch ship. This ship was carrying a cargo of hides, tallow and butter which the privateers estimated that they could sell for £4,000. The rest of the ships were carried off by the privateers, but most of their crews were released. The privateers admitted that they had been waiting for the Resolution but thought that she had slipped by when they returned to port to revictual.[108] Gale estimated the loss in customs revenue for the five Virginia ships at £10,000 and his son had lost his sixteenth share in the Freeman.[109] The fate of the ships captured by the privateers is unknown except for that of the Freeman. In September they learned from a Workington ship which had been captured by privateers

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107. WG 1693 June 21, 1694 March 5, JG 1694 Feb.25 said that all the Whitehaven ships went north about. P.R.O. ADM 1/3863 ships returning alone from Norway also went north about. William Kirkby to the Admiralty 1694 June 12. The privateers discovered that the Virginia ships were 'north about' by reading the log of the captured Freeman. WG 1693 June 21

108. WG 1693 July 22 There is no indication whether they revictualled in France or in Ireland.

109. JG 1693 July 23

and ransomed on her way to Bergen that the Freeman was at Bergen. It had arrived there because the Freeman's mate and two other Whitehaven lads, who had been kept on board the ship, had somehow persuaded the Irish privateers to run the ship into Bergen. Since Bergen was a neutral port the Whitehaven owners hoped to be able to recover the ship but there is no indication in the correspondence as to their success.[110] Phillip Welsh, the Irish privateer was still active in 1695 when a seaman gave evidence that he sailed under a commission from James II and had a crew of 64 consisting of French and Irish seamen, but also several English, Scots and Dutch men.[111]

The privateers were inconsistent in their treatment of captured ships. Sometimes they took the ship, sometimes the cargo and sometimes both, sometimes they stripped the crew of their possessions and released them and at another time they took them prisoner. The Jacobite privateers had a particular motive for capturing English seamen to hold as hostages in case of their own crews being tried for treason by the English. A seaman who had been imprisoned in France and later escaped gave evidence that the Jacobites had,

> "great flyboates called Floating Prisons, on whom they putt on board Prisoners taken by the late King James his commission and keeps them to be Exchanged for any Such as shall be taken in his Privateers and not to be exchanged for any taken in French privateers by the English."[112]

Sometimes when the crew were unable to pay the ransom demanded one or two of their number were taken to France as hostages to ensure payment. This happened when the collier the Deliverance was taken on her way home to

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110. JG 1693 Sept.10

111. P.R.O. ADM 1/3988 The prisoner also gave the names of four other Irish privateer captains and one Scot, all operating from St Malo July 1695.

112. ibid.

Whitehaven from Cork. The privateers took £60 which was on the ship and demanded a further £140 ransom. The crew, except for one man taken to France as a hostage, were sent home "little better than naked."[113] Sometimes a pledge for ransom would also be accepted. Gale reported in 1697 that a ship coming from Wexford had been captured near the Isle of Man but was allowed to put into Whitehaven after leaving a pledge for ransom with the privateer.[114]

During the autumn and early winter of 1693-4 there is no mention of activity by privateers until February 1694 when it was reported that the privateers were waiting for the Virginia ships "off of Derry and in the chopps of that channell."[115] Such was the concern of the town at the lack of protection for their ships that in March they sent a petition to the Lords of the Admiralty. In May they sent a second petition to the Lord Justices of Ireland, which was in turn sent to London. The petition asked for more cruisers particularly in the area between Tory Island and the Narrows of the Channel between Ireland and Scotland where a number of recent losses had occurred. The petitioners said that ten Whitehaven ships were expected home from Virginia at any time from May to July, and that at least sixteen other ships would be returning north about from the Baltic during the summer. Since some of these ships had been freighted in part by Dublin merchants the Whitehaven masters hoped to stir the Irish authorities to take some action, and to demonstrate their losses they appended the names of fourteen Whitehaven ships captured by privateers since January 1693.[116]

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113. JG 1693 Aug.6

114. JG 1697 Aug.15

115. JG 1694 Feb.25

116. P.R.O. S.P. 63/356 The petition in the name of the masters and owners of Whitehaven was signed by John and Ebenezer Gale and James Millom. There may have been 15 captures ships if the Freeman mentioned twice is two different ships.

The Whitehaven merchants were not alone in their request for cruisers; indeed, their petition echoed the complaints of the Lord Justices themselves.[117] Although two yachts were sent out from Dublin in June to look for privateers, the protection was inadequate and the privateers surprised a homeward bound fleet of sixteen ships, including seven from Whitehaven. The French frigates were armed with 60 and 26 guns but they encountered some opposition because two of the London ships and the Laurel of Liverpool were armed with 20, 18 and 14 guns respectively. They fought with the privateers for about three-quarters of an hour during which time the rest of the ships stayed nearby to provide them with as many of their crew as they could spare, but in the end they were forced to give way. The fleet was scattered and owing to poor visibility some of the merchant men were able to slip away. The Rainbow of Whitehaven had the misfortune to encounter another privateer and was taken after a chase. Two other ships were captured and between them the loss was estimated at £20,000. Five of the Whitehaven ships managed to slip past the privateers and arrived safely in Whitehaven but with the loss of at least thirty of their crew. The Resolution had been last seen with a French frigate in pursuit and was assumed to have been captured.[118] The Rainbow was later ransomed and Gilpin reported that he was short in his accounts because Robert Biglands, her owner, had been obliged to use all of his available money to pay the ransom.[119]

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117. P.R.O. ADM 1/3863 William Kirkby made a similar request for cruisers from Liverpool 1694 June 12.

118. WG 1694 June 27 The Resolution was taken and in November Gale said that the French still had her master Richard Kelsick jnr, and Peter Langaran on the Friendship. JG 1694 Nov.4

119. WG 1694 July 23

Privateers continued to be active in capturing Whitehaven ships and even took the packet boat which carried the mail to Ireland.[120] Gale complained that the privateers were too well armed for the men of war assigned to the Irish Sea and in a fight between the naval ship the Scarborough and two French ships, the naval vessel had been captured following the death of her captain and about thirty of her crew. Richard Scott jnr was the chief gunner on board and it was not known for some time whether he had been killed or was among the survivors who had either been landed in Ireland or carried off to France.[121] Other seamen who had escaped from a ship belonging to Richard Senhouse which had been burnt off the coast of Ireland by privateers, reported that there were numerous privateers to the north and that it was rumoured that they had a flagship and a fireship with them.[122] This news coupled with the recent disasters made the Whitehaven masters reluctant to venture out of port. The navy sent four men of war to sweep St George's Channel but Gale thought that they would serve little purpose unless they sailed around the northern coast of Ireland, and that if they did not, the returning Virginia ships would still be at risk.[123]

When several ships were attacked together there was a better chance of some escaping than when they were attacked singly. In February 1695 a French privateer of four guns which had grown tired of waiting for the outward bound Virginia ships, surprised three colliers off Holy Head at night. When attacked the three ships scattered and the Loyalty managed

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120. JG 1694 July 29

121. ibid. Richard Scott had already been captured in 1691 (TT Aug.29). He was later released and rose to the rank of lieutenant before leaving the navy after the war.

122. JG 1694 Aug.19

123. ibid.

to slip past the privateer and arrived safely in Dublin. Meanwhile the privateer took the Success and put eight Frenchmen and Irishmen on board her and appointed a rendezvous before setting off in pursuit of the Charles. It seems that the master of the Charles was taken as a hostage until the ransom of £110 was paid. Gale said that it took two days for the ransom to be paid but does not state how it was done. The crew put on board the Success must have been inexperienced seamen because when they missed the rendezvous and the weather turned bad, they asked those members of the original crew still on board to run the ship into a safe harbour. The crew took her into Youghal and the privateers were made prisoner. Gilpin reported that the Southdyke Yacht, probably a naval vessel, had been in sight when the Charles had been captured but instead of attempting to help had sailed away to save itself.[124] The privateers had intended to take the Success to St Malo, and there were other occasions on which captured ships failed to end up in France. Gale reported that a Liverpool ship which had been captured on her outward voyage to Virginia had been recaptured by an English man of war and run into Jersey. He asked Lowther to enquire whether the William and Mary, in which he, his son John and Captain Senhouse held shares, could have been similarly recaptured. They had received a letter from her crew who had been taken to La Rochelle but, as far as they knew, the ship had not arrived in France. However, there is no mention of its recovery in the correspondence.[125]

In June 1695 the privateers made another large haul when they captured five Whitehaven ships and one from Workington in two days between the

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124. WG 1695 Feb.2, JG Feb.3 P.R.O. ADM 1/3988

125. JG 1695 Jan.27

Isle of Man and Dublin. The Betty of Workington was the largest of the ships and there is no recorded ransom for her but four of the Whitehaven ships were ransomed: the Orange carrying iron ore for £119, the Loyalty for £85, and the Diligence and the Happy Entrance for £200 each. As the ships were coming from Dublin they were probably colliers and so would be unlikely to have a cargo which would interest the privateers. Nevertheless, the ships were plundered and the Elizabeth, whose master refused to comply with the ransom terms, was burnt. Apart from the £604 paid in ransoming their ships Gilpin said that they also had to pay further sums to redeem the hostages, but he does not list the amount. There were fears for other ships due home at the same time but they were saved by bad weather.[126]

Following this loss the masters petitioned the Lord Deputy of Ireland for a convoy for the colliers and until one was sent they refused to leave the safety of the harbour.[127] The masters were informed that the Shorham Galley would be sent to Whitehaven but only after she had gone to Belfast to convoy a West Indies ship to either Chester or Liverpool.[128] The ship arrived in August but the coal fleet was delayed by contrary winds and tides. The Captain agreed to wait for them at the Isle of Man and at length a convoy of twenty-five colliers set out.[129] If no colliers sailed in the interval between the loss of the five ships and the arrival of the convoy, it would mean that the coal trade was halted for about a month and a half. No regular convoy system was established but there must have been some respite

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126. WG 1695 June 23, 29. JG June 23, July 7. The Orange narrowly escaped recapture off the Isle of Man on her way home.

127. WG 1695 July 7

128. JG 1695 July 28

129. JG 1695 Aug.11, WG Aug.19

from privateers in the winter because Gilpin wrote in September, "Wee have made no adjustment with my Lord Deputy (nor are sollicitous now the winter season is approaching) for a convoy. Our care is how to secure the return of 13 or 14 ships that are already frighted [sic] out to Virginia."[130]

Whitehaven appears to have suffered few losses in 1696. As this was unlikely to be due to any reduction in the activities of the privateers, either the Whitehaven ships were fortunate that year or else, discouraged by reports of privateers, they preferred to remain in the safety of the harbour.[131] Gilpin only reports the loss of one ship, the Leopard, on her way home from Norway and which was ransomed for £200, and the probable loss of the Welcome.[132] In May he expressed fears for the returning Virginia ships because there was no sign of naval protection, or of a convoy for the colliers.[133] When the convoy did arrive the Captain told the masters that there were two privateers of 50 guns about twelve or fourteen smaller privateers cruising off Londonderry and the Narrows. Gilpin suspected from other reports that there were also privateers lying "about 40 leagues to the westward of Ireland in the latitude of Galway, which is the land that our ships generally endeavour to make."[134] Although the privateers generally operated close to the Irish coast there is one instance of them taking a ship 300 leagues from Ireland, which gives an idea of their range. The Dover Prize convoyed seventeen colliers safely to Dublin and it seems that the Virginia fleet also arrived home safely,

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130. WG 1695 Sept.12

131. Crowhurst op. cit. p.18 In 1696 the St Malo privateers captured or ransomed 167 ships. Whitehaven may have suffered some unrecorded losses.

132. WG 1696 May 30

133. ibid.

134. WG 1696 June 10. A league was 3.7 statute miles or 4 Roman miles

perhaps because it returned later in the season than usual.[135] In spite of the hazards of overseas trade and the shortage of money the Whitehaven masters do not seem to have become disheartened. Gilpin reported that a large number of ships were being outfitted for Virginia and if the war ended they hoped to send ships to the Leeward Island and Barbadoes.[136] The prospects for the coal trade were less cheerful. In 1697 the price of coal fell in Dublin and the convoy was slow in coming. When the Lyon was taken on her way home from Wexford and her master taken hostage to France, Gale feared that the masters would lay up their ships and refuse to venture out at all.[137] Thomas Addison suggested that the masters should send a petition to Dublin asking for a convoy and in the meantime the ships remained ready laden in harbour.[138] The cruiser Penzance, came to Whitehaven to convoy the colliers, but Gale pointed the inadequacy of sending only one ship to convoy a fleet of twenty-three estimated to be worth £30,000 when there were reported to be five privateers in the Lough of Carrickfergus alone.[139] The other ships remained at Whitehaven waiting until they received news of the safe arrival of the fleet in Dublin. No naval vessel was assigned to convoy the colliers home and so the masters were forced to hire one. Although it was illegal for naval ships to ask for payment for convoy duty they demanded £3-£5 a ship from the Whitehaven masters and would only accept the money in guineas. The masters were reluctant to speak out against this practice since a convoy was necessary and this appeared to be the only certain way of securing one.[140]

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135. ibid. The fleet returned in September

136. WG 1696 Oct.14, 31

137. JG 1697 Apr.11

138. WG 1697 May 12

139. JG 1697 May 28 There is no mention made of more than one ship being sent as a convoy.

140. JG 1697 June 6 The masters denied the bribery when questioned by the Irish Government about it.

In June the Whitehaven colliers were again waiting for a cruiser. Some of the ships lacked sufficient men to sail them, presumably because of the press, and they hoped to borrow some from the naval ship sent to escort them.[141] Gale wrote to Lowther that one of the cruisers claimed to be under orders from the Mayor of Liverpool and wondered if Whitehaven could not obtain a similar ship, pointing out the

> "great incouragement to the trafficque of that place [Liverpool] especially the collyers thence, who are att little or noe charge considerd with what is expended at Whitehaven in the pracerious and corrupt manner wee gett our convoyes to come hether."[142]

By this time Lowther had retired from the Admiralty and Whitehaven did not get either her own cruiser or a regular naval service.

The privateers played havoc with the coastal trade throughout the summer of 1697. In July they took a Virginia ship from Liverpool which had been coming home alone. In August it was reported that there were four privateers off the coast of Wicklow, one with 36 guns and the other three of 10 guns. On hearing of this the Whitehaven masters flatly refused to sail without a convoy.[143] Further bad news came in a letter from France written by John Millam, the master of the Phoenix. He had been returning from Virginia in company with the Welcome when they had been captured by a privateer off the coast of Ireland. The privateer had refused offers of ransom and had sent the ships off towards Nantes. The Phoenix had ended up at Port Louis and Millam did not know what had become of the Welcome. Gale and his son, John had a share in the Welcome and Gale estimated that the two ships would have paid £5,000 in customs duties.[144] As it appears that the Welcome had also been captured in 1696 this would have meant a

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141. JG 1697 June 20, WG June 26. 40 ships sailed with the convoy.
142. JG 1697 June 20
143. JG 1697 Aug.15
144. ibid.

substantial loss for her owners.[145] As the rest of the Virginia ships returned later and peace was made with France in September, it can be assumed that they arrived safely.

The coming of peace encouraged the Whitehaven merchants to fit out ten ships for Virginia and one for the West Indies and in 1698 seven sailed for Virginia and two for Barbadoes, not including ships which sailed from Whitehaven but were freighted by Scottish merchants.[146] The years of peace up to 1702 provided a respite for the masters and owners but no long term solution to their problems which resumed when war broke out again. Whitehaven ships were again hired as troop transports, though this time from Ireland to Holland, the threat from privateers reappeared and the absence of adequate naval protection persisted.[147] The press too would have resumed its activities with vigour. The energy and enterprise of the Whitehaven traders is demonstrated by the fact that in spite of these difficulties Whitehaven's trade continued to expand during the first part of the eighteenth century.

It is difficult to assess the losses suffered by Whitehaven merchants during the war years in the absence of their accounts, and without knowing exactly how many ships were lost. The losses to owners of Virginia ships were probably higher than those of colliers because of the high cost of freighting the ship and the fact that its loss would mean the loss of that year's income. In the period 1680-92 Lowther paid out £832-0-1 for out-fitting and provisioning his share of the Resolution and received £978-8-11 3/4d for his share of the cargo which gave him a profit of

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145. WG 1696 May 30 If the Welcome was captured it must have been ransomed.

146. JG 1697 Nov.14 Lowther's Memoranda Book

147. P.R.O. ADM 1/3863 includes letters from the Customs at Whitehaven reporting the loss of ships to privateers, lack of naval protection etc. in 1703.

£126-8-10 3/4d.[148] The system of sharing the expenses and profits of these ships must have made the losses easier to bear than if they had been suffered by individuals but they remained the only type of 'insurance' available to the Whitehaven masters and owners at this time. The crews of such ships risked the loss of their possessions, being taken hostage to France and, on rare occasions, being killed. In the event of the loss of either the ship or her cargo they also faced the loss of their wages.[149] Although the masters of ships which were seized could have new vessels built in Ireland, it is not clear how many could afford to do so during the war. Ransom too was expensive, the amount demanded was rarely under £100 and could be as high as £500. This must have been especially difficult to raise during the coinage crisis of 1696-7. There is some evidence that masters were given instructions as to how they were to act if they were captured. In 1698 Gale discussed the Industry, a Whitehaven ship captured on her way home from Norway, telling Lowther:

> "The merchants assure me that the master had instructions, in writing under their hands, how to treat in such a case, and how farr they would stand by him. What inducements the master and Thomas Lister, his part owner, the prissner, [in France] had to exceed the instructions is best known to themselves, but they agreed to randsome the shipp and cargo for £490. That is in very truth a full £100, at least, more than the whole was worth."[150]

The colliers were worth less than the Virginia ships but their loss was not negligible to their owners, but they do, however, seem to have had some respite in the winter months when their profit was highest. The

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148 Commonplace Book 1672-1694

149. Eaglesham op. cit. p.258

150. JG Apr.10 When the master arrived at Whitehaven the other partners in the ship had disowned him, and as the master was unable to raise the money for the ransom Lister remained a prisoner in France. The English ambassador in France had been enquiring why the man had not been ransomed. Sir J to WG 1698 Apr.2.

names of thirty-one Whitehaven ships are recorded as having been captured by privateers. The fate of some of these ships remains uncertain but the majority appear to have been ransomed. At least five ships appear to have been taken twice but there may have been other unrecorded instances. As it was estimated that Whitehaven had about sixty ships in 1694 this means that about half of the masters and owners were directly affected in some way by privateers, apart from the occasions when they remained in port because they feared to venture out. The community must have possessed the resources to repair these losses because there was no halt in trade, although it may be assumed that there was a reduction in the volume of trade.

The Customs also suffered from the activities of the privateers. From several estimates given by Gale it seems that at least £1,000 worth of revenue was lost each time that a tobacco ship was captured. The loss on Norway ships would also have been large, and that on colliers, while smaller, was more frequent. It was obviously not in the interest of the government to continue to sustain such loss of revenue and convoys were provided on the major trading routes but not for those followed by the Whitehaven ships. Officially there were supposed to be about four cruisers in the Irish Sea at all times to protect coastal shipping and the link with Ireland. In practice it is plain from the constant complaints of both merchants and the government in Ireland that this protection was rarely provided. Providing ships for other purposes generally took precedence over providing cruisers for the Irish Seas and the navy was chronically short of money during this time. Thus even when cruisers were provided they were often in a poor state of repair, and reflected the level of naval morale as a whole.

The English fleet had been defeated at Beachy Head in 1690, a defeat which had left the French in command of the channel and with William III and the army in Ireland, in a position to invade England. The situation had only been saved by William's victory in Ireland and illness and lack of supplies on the French ships which had forced them to return home. The Dutch who had suffered heavily in the battle blamed the English Admiral for the defeat, and as a result of the public outcry against him,Torrington was courtmartialled. Although he was acquitted, there was a further upheaval over the appointment of his successor, and on the administrative side over the authority of the Commissioners of the Admiralty vis à vis the King's Council.[151] In the service itself discipline was bad and discontent among the lower ranks led to fears of mutiny. The Commissioners at Chatham complained that most of the seamen were absent "either by leave or otherwise" and that "the supiness of their Majesties' ships is growne so generall that ... unless some speedy and effective care be taken to suppress it and to revive and restore the lost discipline of the Navy wee shall save our enemies a Labour and ruine ourselves."[152]
The results of this neglect can be seen in the service, or lack thereof, provided by the cruisers in the Irish Sea. The officers of these ships were supposed to be under the command of the Irish government but it is clear that they frequently refused to recognize this authority.[153] Some of the captains of cruisers made detours on their own personal business,

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151. Ehrman op. cit. p.350 ff.

152. P.R.O. ADM 1/3562

153. P.R.O. ADM 1/3988 Lord Justices to the Admiralty 1691 March 7. "Some of them [captains of cruisers] have lately been so farr from doing what Wee believed for the advantage of their Majestys Affairs that they Scarcely afforded us a Civil Answer to what we proposed."

like Captain Ashton of the Penzance who was supposed to be on escort duty between Dublin and Liverpool in 1697 but had taken passengers to Whitehaven and been absent for two months. Others behaved even more reprehensively like Captain Townsend of the James who not only refused to obey orders but had seized ships as prizes on his own account.[154] In 1695 Gale complained that the effectiveness of the cruiser service was hindered by the captains "who generally gett into harbours and there ly drinking etc, without any regaurd to our concerns ..."[155]

Even when the captains were carrying out their orders the Lord Justices complained that four cruisers were insufficient protection against the number of privateers around Ireland, and that the cruisers were not employed in the most useful manner. In 1694 the Dolphin was cruising between Beerhaven and the River Kilmare to look for a particular privateer, the St Martin's Prize had been ordered away to Plymouth, and the Sapphire and Virgin Prizes were convoying troops to England, thus leaving little help for merchant shipping.[156] The navy also had the habit of borrowing the cruisers assigned to the Irish Sea at short notice and not replacing them.[157] Apart from cruising to the north of Ireland, one cruiser was needed almost constantly to protect the packet carrying the mail between Dublin and Holyhead and others were needed to act as escorts for the

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154. ibid. More than one complaint about Captain Townsend is recorded.

155. JG 1695 Feb.17

156. CSPDom 1694 March 29, P.R.O. ADM 1/3988 In May Lord Sidney had complained that although the Dolphin was cruising between Scotland and France, the St Martin's Prize between Dublin and the Isle of Man and the Sapphire off Kinsale, this was insufficient protection for ships returning from the West Indies. His fourth cruiser, the Virgin Prize, had been waiting at Minehead for two months and was still waiting for Lord Inchiquin.

157. P.R.O. ADM 1/3988

London Virginia fleet which put into Kinsale to wait for a convoy.[158]

Nor were the ships assigned to cruiser duty always suitable for the purpose. In 1694 the Lord Justices complained that the Talbot Pink which had been sent on cruiser duty had been a "slow saile and therefore unfitt for this service" and had since been wrecked off Wexford. They asked instead for "any of the new built small sixth rate Frigate of 20 to 24 Gunnes that were a good Sailer and that only drew 10 or 11 Foot Water whose Captain were acquainted with this coaste."[159] Following the loss of the Scarborough in a fight with privateers, they requested ships of greater force because the privateers had taken to cruising in pairs.[160]

The Lord Justices used every argument and appeal to try to stir the Admiralty to provide adequate protection for shipping in the Irish Sea. They sent frequent reports on the number of privateers reported in the vicinity, on the number of ships expected home from the Colonies and the few cruisers available for their protection. They pointed out that protection for merchant shipping was of equal importance to England and to Ireland but their pleas met with little success. In 1696 they told the Admiralty that fifteen ships had been recently captured, and that twenty-five Virginia ships bound for Liverpool and Whitehaven, would have to pass through an area infested by fifteen privateers and two French men of war. Only two of their cruisers were in service and one was badly in need of repair. The Admiralty replied to their request for five frigates that no ships could be spared.[161] In the following year the Admiralty offered

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158. ibid.

159. ibid. Lord Justices to the Admiralty 1695 Jan.24

160. For the loss of the Scarborough see above

161. P.R.O. ADM 1/3988 extract from letter from surveyor at Carrickfergus sent by Lord Justices to Admiralty 1696 May 27.

them an extra cruiser if they could provide a crew but the Lord Justices regretted that it would be impossible "to man her time enough for this summers service and it is during this month [July] and the next two that an additional strength is most wanted for that service..."[162]

The cruisers' state of repair was another bone of contention. According to naval regulations a cruiser was supposed to be repainted and varnished, have her bottom scraped and be tarred once a year, be washed and tallowed every four months, and have any damage repaired.[163] The cruisers in the Irish Sea were rarely new vessels and were often in need of repair because of the heavy seas in which they sailed. Captains complained of leaking vessels, of a lack of provisions, and on one occasion even a lack of masts.[164] The ships had to be sent to either Liverpool or Kinsale to be cleaned and were often absent from duty for a long time. Ships going to Liverpool often had to wait at Hoylake for "8 or 10 dayes before they can get a wind to carry them about to Leverpoole and when cleaned and Ready to putt Sea sometymes are 15 or 20 dayes before they can gett out again ..."[165] The Lord Justices therefore asked for the port facilities at Dublin to be improved so that the cruisers could be cleaned there.

The condition of the cruisers, as indeed the condition of all the naval vessels, was largely governed by the shortage of money for the service throughout this period. The waging of a continental war and the financing of the European coalition placed great burdens on the British economy and as early as 1693 the Commissioners for the Admiralty sent a memorial

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162. ibid. Lord Justices to Admiralty 1697 July 12
163. Ehrman op. cit. p.79
164. P.R.O. ADM 1/3988 1697
165. ibid. Lord Justices to Admiralty 1697 Sept.4

to the Queen stating that not only were they unable to provide more ships for cruiser and convoy duty but,

> "the number of men already in Pay, exceeding the Estimate provided for by the Parliament by 11,003 We think it our Duty to acquaint your Majesty that unless some speedy care be taken for paying the Arrears of the Navy and Money be timely supplyed for the Current Service 'twill be impossible to carry on the same, and several of the ships which are already in Pay must of necessity be discharged ... " [165]

Ships were not always discharged but their crews could remain unpaid for months, or in some cases years. In 1699 the officers and crew of the Soesdyke Yacht which had been on duty off Ireland drew up a petition stating that it was then "upwards of five years since Your Petitioners received any Pay on Account of their Service in the said Yacht the want of which hath Obliged them to contract considerable Debts for the Support of Themselves and Families ... that they cannot prevaile on their creditors to trust them more."[167] The service was also hindered by instances of corruption such as when the storekeeper at Kinsale was discovered to have supplied an English privateer with naval stores so that the ships on cruiser duty received inferior gunpowder.[168] Some cruisers too were lost at sea. In 1697 the Hastings was lost in a storm off Waterford and of the one hundred and fifty men on board her only five were saved.[169] Thus a combination of the effects of the lack of money available for the navy, and the lesser importance placed on the Irish Sea as compared with such places as the Mediterranean meant that merchant shipping going north about or trading with Ireland could not rely on naval protection.

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166. P.R.O. ADM 2/12

167. P.R.O. ADM 1/3988 Petition dated 1699 Oct.30

168. ibid. The storekeeper was tried in August 1697

169. ibid. Lord Justices to Admiralty 1697 Dec.16. For the Talbot Pink see above.

During the war England, France and Holland suffered heavy losses to their merchant shipping which G.N. Clark attributes "not so much to the actual captures of ships as to the delays and interruptions of sailings which arose from the fear of capture, from embargoes, from bad management of convoying and from all the other abnormal conditions of the time."[170] The effects of the war at Whitehaven serve as an example of what must have been repeated in the ports of all three countries. Whitehaven had a well established trading community and sufficient diversity of trade to enable comparisons to be drawn with larger ports. All branches of Whitehaven's trade - Colonial, Baltic, Irish and coastwise suffered not only from the factors mentioned by Clark but also from the systematic pressing of her seamen.

The most important fact revealed by this study of Whitehaven's experience during the war is that the west coast of England suffered more severely from the attacks of privateers than has been previously thought. Nor can it be upheld, in the west at least, that captures of French ships by English privateers balanced the losses.[171] Although some Whitehaven merchants fitted out the Crown as a privateer with six guns in 1695 there is no mention of her ever capturing any privateers or of any further ships being fitted out.[172] Nor does the correspondence of the Lord Justices of Ireland mention more than two or three privateers being captured. In fact due to their knowledge of the coastline, the co-operation

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170. Clark op. cit. p.62, Davis op. cit. p.316 records the Admiralty estimate of ships captured for the entire war, including those later ransomed as 4,000 vessels.

171. Clark op. cit. p.124, Davis op. cit. p.25

172. WG 1695 July 3

of sympathisers in Ireland and the inadequacy of naval protection, the privateers were able to operate virtually unchecked each season.

Whitehaven's losses show that the convoy system provided almost no protection for ships which were not on the most heavily used trade routes, and even on a regular route, such as the coal run to Dublin, no regular convoy was arranged, and the masters were forced either to wait in harbour or to resort to the costly practice of hiring their own convoy. The major factors in Whitehaven's ability to survive these difficulties seems to have been in the diversity of her trade and the multiple ownership of her ships. The merchants must have made sufficient profits on the Colonial and Baltic cargoes and on the winter coal trade to balance their losses. Lowther's encouragement of trade and his position as a Commissioner for the Admiralty which enabled the Whitehaven masters to obtain some privileges, such as the lifting of embargoes and protections for crews of ships going overseas, also played their part. It should not however, be forgotten that Lowther was never more than a minority shareholder in certain ships, and that the major impetus for Whitehaven's expansion must have come from the masters and owners.

In summary it must be concluded that while Whitehaven suffered losses during the war, neither the privateers, the press, nor the effects of increased taxation or the coinage crisis of 1696-7 ruined Whitehaven's trade. These factors caused undoubted hardships, but it was in the 1690s that the foundations were laid for the steady growth of the town during the eighteenth century. The tobacco trade suffered a serious blow when the Act of Union in 1707 opened the Colonial trade to Scottish ports but

Whitehaven remained a thriving port. Thus the effects of the war on Whitehaven's trade were serious but short term, and are unrelated to the decline in Whitehaven's trade in the late eighteenth century.

CONCLUSION

Although it was not until the eighteenth century that Whitehaven rose to national importance as a port, the foundations for this expansion were laid in the late seventeenth century. It was during the 1680s and 1690s particularly that Lowther expanded his colliery and landownership around Whitehaven and carried out plans for the expansion of the town itself. It is likely that Whitehaven would have grown without the encouragement it received from Lowther because its coal deposits were sufficient for a steady trade, but it is almost certain that without Lowther's guiding influence development would have been haphazard and on a smaller scale.

Whitehaven is unique in late seventeenth century Cumberland and Westmorland as an example of a planned town, and it has often been claimed that it was the first planned town in England since the Middle Ages. No other major landowner in this region, not even Lord Lonsdale, turned his energies to townplanning or promoted the expansion of a particular town as Lowther did. Admittedly a number of the major landowners had extensive holdings in other counties and were absentees for most of the time but their interests seem to have been agricultural rather than commercial. Lowther was also an absentee during this crucial time in Whitehaven's development, but he never ignored his estates and was fortunate in the devoted service of his stewards Tickell and Gilpin. Although it was clearly to Lowther's advantage that Whitehaven should prosper, he was not prompted merely by self interest. He could have concentrated on mining and the harbour to the exclusion of all else but he did not. He wished the town to grow and was always seeking ways of encouraging masters and artisans to settle in the town and inquiring about industries which might be established there. While the public buildings sponsored by Lowther

were practical and he showed no interest in elaborate architecture he was obviously concerned that they, and the houses built in Whitehaven should be well constructed and follow some uniformity of style.

However, although Lowther was the person who was responsible for the form of Whitehaven's development, he cannot be solely credited with its actual development. Both his stewards and the townspeople played important parts in the town's growth. The Lowther correspondence clearly reveals that the steward was not merely the passive instrument of his master. He was also expected to make decisions, and sometimes, like Gale, showed a marked spirit of independence. They were present at Whitehaven and Lowther relied on them to carry out his plans and to provide him with the information on which they were based. In so doing they made their contribution to Whitehaven. Nor can the role of the townspeople be overlooked. They invested their money in the development of the town and its trade. They provided the miners, coal leaders, farmers, masters, seamen and artisans. They donated money towards the building of the new church, built their own houses and petitioned for Whitehaven to be made a corporation. As Lowther did not own a fleet of colliers he was dependent on the masters for the shipment of his coal. He could not afford to act in a manner which would alienate the townspeople and lead them to move away to other towns. Thus what was achieved at Whitehaven during these years was a joint achievement, involving compromise and co-operation on both sides.

Towns did not exist in isolation, and as this thesis has shown, Whitehaven was a part of the county and of the national community. Whitehaven was the largest town in Cumberland at this time with a sufficiently diverse population to illustrate differing aspects of life. Apart from shedding

light on the interconnections of the gentry, the Lowther correspondence mentions some of the problems faced by merchants and seamen, and the ordinary townspeople during a time of war. It shows in detail how such broad matters as the coinage crisis or privateering affected a community and corrects some of the more general statements made by historians discussing these subjects from a purely monetarist or military point of view. Economic historians in discussing the coinage crisis deal chiefly with monetary policy and tend to overlook the hardships which it caused to the people of the time. Similarly in assessing the activities of privateers it has been assumed that because the north-western coast of England was further away from the French privateering ports than either the south or the east coast, it therefore suffered less. This is, in part, indicative of a tendency to overlook the connections between this part of the country and Ireland.

Whitehaven's trade with Ireland was essential to the development of the town. Dublin depended on Whitehaven for most of its coal supply and it was natural for commercial links to lead to personal links between the two cities. Not only the Lowthers but other Whitehaven families had relations in Ireland and Whitehaven men sought employment in the Customs and other services in Ireland. Colonial goods could not be legally landed in Ireland without having been first landed at an English port and so Irish merchants obtained such goods from Whitehaven. When the war disrupted other official links between England and Ireland, the government in London looked to Whitehaven merchants for military intelligence concerning the activities of the Jacobites. The government was also happy to use their local knowledge in the transporting of troops, for it is clear that to officials in London, Whitehaven and northern Ireland were

equally remote and unfamiliar. Similarly the Whitehaven merchants petitioned the Lord Justices of Ireland about their transport money and the need for cruisers in the Irish Sea because they hoped that the Irish authorities being familiar with their problems would be more sympathetic than the government in London with whom their links were few.

It is important to try to view a region through its own eyes as well as through the eyes of outsiders. From this study of Whitehaven it is clear that London was not of prime importance to either the town or the county community. Certainly decisions made in London affected the community, but too often by using official documents in which individual places or even counties are only of peripheral concern an incomplete and a sometimes misleading picture is obtained. One of the valuable aspects of the Lowther papers is that they reflect the concerns and interests of the local community. Since they were neither written for publication nor intended as justificatory tributes to their authors, they present a less distorted picture than some other types of documents. Above all they demonstrate the diversity which can exist within collections of family papers, which in the past have been seen chiefly as aids to biography or purely political history.

Apart from the actual letters between Lowther and his stewards, which have by no means been exhausted, the archives include detailed estate accounts, papers dealing with the collieries, the harbour, the church and many miscellaneous items noted down by Lowther or his stewards. Some of these have been discussed in this thesis while others have been barely mentioned. There are some personal details about Lowther and his children, and some indication of his tastes which can be deduced from the

inventories of his books, paintings and household possessions. Lowther also took a keen interest in gardening and experimented with various types of trees in the gardens at the Flatt including seeds brought back by masters from America. There is scarcely any mention of agricultural practice in the papers for this period, but there is much incidental information about aspects of daily life such as the problems caused in the coal trade by the lack of uniformity in weights and measures, the frequency with which people resorted to legal action over sales of land and manorial practices. The Lowther papers cover the period from the sixteenth to the twentieth century and could obviously be used to present a picture of Whitehaven on a much larger scale than that of this study.

The diversity to be found within the Lowther papers may be unusual but it seems likely that other family papers might contain matters of equal interest to the social historian. With the increasing interest in local history, and the wide range of documents to be found in many county record offices, there will probably be a re-examination of family papers for such evidence. No doubt many contain information which would be valuable in county studies and such work will enable historians to temper the broad outlines of events such as the 1689-97 war with details of its influence on the lives of ordinary people remote from the centres of power, thus showing that local history can make a contribution to national history.

APPENDIX A

THE CARLISLE TOLLS CASE

The Carlisle tolls case was a legal dispute of long standing and its exact nature is difficult to clarify. In the 1690s the case was between Timothy Haddock, the farmer of the tolls and the Whitehaven merchants, and involved the right of the Carlisle Corporation to levy tolls on goods being exported and imported at Whitehaven. However, the case itself had begun in the 1670s and involved the payment of tolls for inland trade as well.

Magrath states that the tolls were held by the Carlisle Corporation from the King and had been leased to Haddock in May 1648.[1] R.S. Ferguson believes that William Christian collected the tolls during the reign of Charles II and was involved in disputes with the Musgraves about them.[2] The Musgraves had been granted a lease of tolls payable on cattle being exported or imported into Cumberland or Westmorland in 1671.[3] This lease had been confirmed to Sir Christopher Musgrave in 1678 for fifty-five years at a rent of 40s.[4] Nanson believes that there were two different tolls, that being collected by the Musgraves being a form of customs duty, and that being collected by the Carlisle Corporation which was collected at the boundaries of the county.[5] This latter toll he calls the county or shire toll, and it was sub-let at particular places on the boundaries of Cumberland.

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1. Flemings in Oxford II p.173 n.5
2. Editorial comments on William Nanson, "The Shire or County Tolls, belonging to the City of Carlisle", C.W.A.A.S. III (1876-7) p.146
3. P.R.O. T 54/17 1701 Aug.13
4. ibid.
5. Nanson op. cit.

In 1674 the Carlisle Corporation took action against Sir Francis Radcliffe over his refusal and that of his tenants to pay tolls for the lead ore mining on Alston moor.[6] By 1687 the case involved two Whitehaven merchants, Thomas Addison and Henry Inman, as well as Radcliffe (by then Lord Derwentwater). Evidence was given that the city of Carlisle or their farmers collected Scotland Toll on sheep, cattle and horses brought into Cumberland from Scotland or Ireland and a shire toll on cattle going out of Cumberland.[7] One of the questions refers to "the Toll Now demanded by Sir Christopher Musgrave" which suggests that either it was the same as the toll collected by the Carlisle Corporation, or that all of the tolls were being called into question.

The Whitehaven merchants claimed that as they already paid customs duties they should not have to pay the toll as well and had not done so in the past. Lowther supported the merchants and in 1688 there is mention of support from the Duke of Somerset as well.[8] A collection was taken up among the merchants to pay the costs of the lawyer representing the town, initially Jeffrey Wybergh and later Gilpin. It is not clear whether the Carlisle Corporation paid for Haddock's expenses. In 1691 Haddock obtained a decree stating that tolls were payable not only on cattle and sheep but also on tobacco, sugar, raisins, prunes and brandy. The Whitehaven merchants appealed to the House of Lords in 1694 for a reversal of this decision. Haddock's right to land tolls was upheld but the Lords ordered a new trial to determine his right to sea tolls.[9] This new trial did not

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6. ibid.
7. P.R.O. E 134 Depositions in the case of Carlisle Tolls October 1687
8. Sir J 1688 Aug.18
9. H.M.C. House of Lords 1693-5 p.351-2

occur before James Lowther's election in 1694 and it is not mentioned again in 1695 so that it is not clear whether the town lost or whether the litigation continued indefinitely. Nanson says that Haddock died before the new trial was held and that the case was never settled although Carlisle secured its right to the cattle tolls in 1774.[10]

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10. Nanson op. cit. p.153 Magrath says that Haddock died in 1685 which may be a mistake for 1695, after which he is not mentioned again in the Lowther correspondence. Flemings in Oxford II p.168 n.3

APPENDIX B

THE COAL CHALDRON

In the seventeenth century the chaldron was the chief measure for coal, but like other weights and measures it was not a standard throughout the country. There were two recognized chaldrons: the London chaldron and the Newcastle chaldron. In an appendix to his study of the British coal industry J.U. Nef defines the London chaldron as equivalent to four vats of coal or between 26-27 hundredweight or one and a third tons of coal, and the Newcastle measure, which increased in size in the seventeenth century, was fixed in the early eighteenth century as fifty-three hundred weight. On the west coast and in particular at Chester and Liverpool, Nef thinks that the Newcastle chaldron was adopted early in the seventeenth century but did not increase in size and so became a separate measure of two tons.[1]

The dispute at Whitehaven arose because the masters there did not conform to the London measure advocated by the Commissioners for the Customs in London, and the Commissioners refused to accept the measure used at Whitehaven as a standard. A deputation had been sent from Whitehaven to London over the matter in 1684 and it was raised again in 1688 when an unnamed person wrote to the Commissioners claiming that the Customs were being cheated. The collector of Customs at Whitehaven said that he would only take the London measure of forty-five striked Winchester bushels or fifteen sacks as the true chalder water measure.[2] The Whitehaven masters objected and threatened to stop loading coal. Lowther was worried about the effects of any stoppage on the Dublin trade and urged

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1. Nef op. cit. II p.367-78
2. TT 1688 July 10

the townspeople to accept the London measure until they could give evidence of their own measure.[3]

When no agreement was reached with the Commissioners in London the masters drew up a petition and sent two representatives, William Atkinson and Thomas Jackson, to London to present it to Parliament. In the meantime the masters decided to stop trading.[4] In 1689 the Commissioners replied that the Whitehaven measure was unreliable because their sacks were not a standard size. Lowther had suggested earlier that they would have to have two measurements, one in summer and one in winter to allow for the shrinkage of the sacks and so obtain an average.[5] Another difficulty was that the Whitehaven measures were striken or level, while the London measures were heaped. The Commissioners had already given their opinion that "the falacy of the Whitehaven measure in question lyes upon the coal leaders who for dispatch and ease of their horses bring doen unsizable or ill filled sacks for which when discovered the leader had but 2d otherwise 4d a sack."[6] They therefore refused to admit the Whitehaven measure and the masters returned to Whitehaven unsatisfied.

The matter is mentioned again in 1698 when the proposed tax on coal made the chaldron once more a matter of dispute. Gale spoke of "our tunn or chaldron." He explained:

> "Our bagg containes 3 Winchesters - 24 gallons and 8 of these baggs we term a tunn sold to the masters for 2s 8d with which the Custome officers doe convert into chaldrons by allowing 16 baggs or 2 of our tunns, 1 chaldron."[7]

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3. Sir J 1688 July 17, Aug.11
4. TT 1689 Jan.22, Sir J Jan.26
5. Sir J 1688 Aug.11
6. Commonplace Book 1671-1689
7. JG 1698 May 1

The Whitehaven ton did not weigh twenty hundredweight since Gale explained that an ordinary bag weighed almost "1 C 3 quarters that is 196lb" meaning that a Whitehaven ton weighed about 1,568 pounds.[8] Gale's statement seems to indicate that the Whitehaven merchants continued to use their own measures and that the use of the London chaldron was confined to the mathematics of the Customs officers. Thus while a superficial conformity was achieved the regional measures remained those in which the people traded.

8. ibid. The ton used in Dublin was almost twice the Whitehaven measure and presumably Whitehaven coal was converted to Dublin tonnage for sale there. WG 1695 Jan.9 Cullen op. cit. p.80 n.1 says that the Whitehaven ton weighed 14 cwt. and the Dublin ton 21-22 cwt.

APPENDIX C

SHIPS HIRED AT WHITEHAVEN BY EDMOND DUMMER IN JULY 1689

Ship	Master	Tons	Men	Horses*
Ann & Elizabeth	Wm Binsley[1]	95		34
Advantage	Edward Barrow	93		30
Amity	John Shepherd	88		34
Assistance	Daniel Brathwaite	110		34
Advice	Wm Drinkall	59	70	
Adventure	Anthony Whiteside	149		36
Blessing	John Crosswaite	30	50	
Crowne	Elisha Gale	134		36
Charles	Wm Marshall	100		32
Dilligence	James Benn	65		28
Deliverance	Wm Nicholson	75		28
Freeman	George Ribton	144		40
Fortune	Edward Towerson	50	65	
God Speed	Henry Benn	59	70	
Guift	Wm Atkinson	136		40
Humility	Anthony Aiery	65		28
Happy Entrance	Wm Tyson	95		34
Hope	Nathaniel Dixon	50	65	
Industry	George Benn	93		32
John	Thomas Bacon	85		34
James	Robert Nicholson	125		36
Leopard	John Chappelow	70	90	
Loyalty	Wm Pow	65	70	
Love	Francis Whiteside	136		38
Mercy	Richard Lowes	120		36
Marigold	Thomas Bowes	40	55	
Nightingale	Anthony Smith	160		44
Primrose	Robert Benn	106		34
Phoenix	Thomas Mosson	88		30
Patience	Francis Grindall	100		34

* Includes Riders

1. Appears elsewhere as Binstey

Providence	Timothy Nicholson	49	65	
Prospect	Wm Mosson	70	90	
Pillgrim	Rowland Jackson	49	60	
Providence	John Thomas	26	35	
Pearle	Wm Bowman	107		36
Resolution	Richard Kelsick	200		48
Rainbow	Richard Filbeck	125		36
Rose	Thomas Crackplace	69	90	
Society	Richard Hodgson	55	65	
Success	James Millam	70		38
True Love	Robert Benn	100		36
Submission	Christopher Dixon	117		38

P.R.O. ADM 1/3558 Also included are the names of ships hired at Workington and Sunderland in Lancaster River. There is a second list from late July showing which ships were at Whitehaven and which went to Hoylake.

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One letter from Gale for July 1692 exists but apart from that all of his letters for this time are missing.

b. The Gale/Gilpin-Lowther Correspondence 1693-8. Gale's letters survive for this period but with a gap between November 1695-September 1696. Gilpin's letters are continuous from 1693 until early 1698. Almost none of Lowther's letters survive until 1698.

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