

## AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ELECTION IN ENGLAND

**H**ISTORIANS have been prone to speak of the political corruption in the eighteenth-century representative system, but in reality little has yet been done to study in a minute way how the system operated after the victory of Parliament over the Crown in 1688. A careful examination must be made of each individual election before we are able to generalize with any safety as to the functioning of the English electorate prior to the Reform Bill of 1832. Basil Williams in a suggestive article on the election of 1734 has indicated what excellent work may be done in this field.<sup>1</sup>

No election in the first half of the century is more interesting or more significant than that of 1710, and it is, without doubt, the most important one held under the provisions of the Triennial Act of 1694. A typical election it certainly is not, for the public interest was too intense and the interests at stake too momentous for it to take the usual course of the average election. It illustrates, however, all phases of activity in English elections, and the contemporary records give us far more detail of even the ordinary happenings of a canvass than would have been the case had it aroused less interest among the people of the time.

This paper is an attempt to describe the final success of Robert Harley's schemes against the Whigs; to note the activity of the queen, the clergy and the moneyed men in political affairs; and at the same time describe how one important election of the early eighteenth century was carried on.

English political parties did not become truly significant until after the Glorious Revolution, and not until it had been well established that ministers should depend upon the House of

<sup>1</sup> "The Duke of Newcastle and the Election of 1734", *E. H. R.*, XII, p. 448. The article was based almost entirely on the Newcastle Papers found in the British Museum.

Commons for their support did elections become a vital part of the machinery for governing England. William II had tried to rule England by means of bi-partisan ministries, but soon yielded to the political necessity of a Whig ministry, which, on account of its arrogance, he was compelled to dismiss in favor of the Tories; who in turn had to give way before a Whig House of Commons elected just before his death. Queen Anne, also, attempted to stand above and between parties, but in spite of her Tory sympathies, she had to accept a Whig ministry even at the price of dismissing Harley, her favorite secretary of state. The significance of these facts in determining the importance of political parties has usually been overlooked, whereas if they are taken in conjunction with the election of 1710, their meaning is unmistakable.

Before discussing the election itself, it is advisable to ascertain the exact political situation which brought it about a full year before it would naturally take place in conformity with the Triennial Act. The election of 1708 was a decided victory for the Whigs, and more particularly for the junto, the group of five who controlled that party. The queen disliked the Whigs in general, and the junto in particular, as was manifested by her opposition to admitting two of their number, Lord Somers and the Earl of Sunderland, to her cabinet council. As a result, after Harley's dismissal, Anne soon began intriguing against her ministers and secretly supported her former secretary of state in his efforts to drive the Whigs from power.<sup>1</sup> The ministry was by no means invulnerable; the Sacheverell trial had focused all the wrath of the Highfliers against them; the nominal head of the ministry was Godolphin, a moderate Tory, and its strongest supporter the great Duke of Marlborough, whose party affiliations were, to say the least, ambiguous. Moreover, the duke's popularity with the queen had measurably declined on account of his ambitious desire to be made captain-general for life and to control all important military appointments. Furthermore, his termagant spouse, the beautiful Duchess of Marlborough, in the early months of the reign

<sup>1</sup> D. Defoe, *An Account of the Conduct of Robert, Earl of Oxford*, p. 16.

the bosom companion of Queen Anne, had passed definitely into political oblivion after a tearful, but ineffective last interview with the queen. But incomparably worse than all this, Anne's confidence was now in the keeping of Mrs. Masham, who was in closest touch with Harley. Worst of all, Sunderland, the most influential son-in-law of the Marlboroughs, was summarily dismissed as principal secretary of state a short time after Lady Marlborough's stormy scene with Anne.

Sunderland's dismissal was a straight challenge to the Whigs and more especially to the junto, to which he belonged. For a moment the Whigs seemed paralyzed, but they soon assumed the offensive and brought to their aid several wealthy and influential nobles, representatives of the Bank and the moneyed men of the City, as well as the envoys of Holland and the Empire, all of whom waited on the queen to protest against Sunderland's dismissal as unwise and unsafe at that particular juncture in the war with France. Their joint protest had no effect beyond exasperating Anne at their presumption, although it is indicative of the fundamental interest of the financial men in prosecuting the war under Whig direction, and their desire to ward off a new election at a time when the English masses were already weary of war. The skill with which the queen met the representations of these men points unmistakably to the fact that she was far from being the figurehead in politics which she was formerly represented to be. Her success in forestalling any overt and organized effort on the part of the Whig leaders also shows that the junto was slowly dissolving under the attacks of Harley and his supporters.

The credit of the government continued to sink slowly after Sunderland withdrew from the cabinet. Harley, however, gained not only the assistance of Godolphin, but the support of the three powerful dukes of Somerset, Newcastle and Shrewsbury, which probably checked a panic. Although a run on the bank was thus averted, the queen found it desirable to gain the aid of some of the leading Whigs, notably Halifax, Somers and Wharton, to arrest the continued decline of stocks. Her conference with members of the junto did not gain the cooperation of the Whigs but it did assist in adding to their

general demoralization. Moreover, it materially increased the chronic timidity of Godolphin, who began to fear for his office. Harley gained confidence, at any rate, from the attitude of the moneyed men and waited for the first suitable opportunity to compass the downfall of the head of the ministry. Sir Thomas Hanmer's refusal to accept a place on the treasury board delayed Harley's plans somewhat, although the lord treasurer really invited his own disgrace by his sulkiness toward the queen, whose ire was so aroused that she sent for his staff of office, and placed the treasury in charge of a board of commissioners, of which Harley was a member. The latter was also made chancellor of the exchequer.

Thus did the queen challenge even more directly the power of the Marlboroughs and the Whigs by dismissing the man felt to be indispensable in the prosecution of the war. The stand of the Whigs was half-hearted and they disarmed Marlborough by asking him to remain at the head of the army. As the stocks began once more to fall, they hoped the queen would be compelled to recall Godolphin, but they failed to carry the fight to Anne and Harley. The danger of a financial crisis was sufficiently great to lead to a session of the cabinet council, and at the same time the treasury board assured the Bank that they would in no way change the plans for financing the war. Had it not been for repeated reports that Marlborough would be superseded in command of the army by the Elector of Hanover, the moneyed men and the foreign diplomats might have been satisfied with these precautions. As it was, however, both groups feared lest England might cease to interest herself actively in the war and make overtures of peace to Louis XIV.<sup>1</sup>

After Godolphin was forced out, it was only a question of time until others would follow him, while the possibility of an election seemed more imminent with each passing day. The essence of Harley's schemes lay in their secrecy, and he contrived at the same time to keep his opponents in the dark as to his exact plans and win over a few of the more influential of them. Meanwhile, do what he might, Harley could not hope

<sup>1</sup> For more detailed information on these points, see the author's article in *POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY*, June, 1921.

to go far with a Whig House of Commons in steady opposition to him, so he sought the first suitable opportunity for holding an election. When all his plans were ready, and after repeated adjournments, Parliament was dissolved late in September with the writs returnable two months later. Within a few days after the dissolution the ministry became wholly Tory:<sup>1</sup> Harley was for all intents and purposes prime minister, and perhaps the first real prime minister in England; Henry St. John, his friend, and one of the most brilliant and versatile men of his time, became principal secretary of state; and the Earl of Rochester, Anne's uncle, succeeded Somers as lord president.

To change a ministry so rapidly and completely in those days was revolutionary, even in times of peace; but the step was much more significant because it was carried out in the midst of a war that was being successfully conducted by the ministry in power. Anne's move was at least daring, and perhaps the over-anxious Tories caused her to go further than she liked, as she doubtless feared the effect of the ministerial change upon the peace negotiations even then under way. The effects were scarcely visible in foreign affairs, however, and in domestic circles the alteration caused little comment, since everybody was concerned in the outcome of the approaching elections. Should the Whigs win, Anne and her henchmen must give way, with the possibility that Harley might have to face impeachment. Of all this, no one was more conscious than the Tory leader himself, who bent every effort to win the election. Indeed, he had been active in the constituencies for some time, whereas the Whigs did not bestir themselves until late in September. Although some of the Whig leaders had long been aware that an election was certain, few realized either the importance of the issues or the strength of the Tories. In 1709 they had been so confident that they permitted the Tories in many places to choose the sheriffs, who now became the returning officers for the election.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Macpherson says (*Hist. of Gr. Brit.*, II, p. 464), that "the Revolution itself . . . had not made such a total change among the servants of the Crown".

<sup>2</sup> *Wentworth Papers* (J. J. Cartwright ed.), p. 135; the *Observer*, IX, pp. 42-7. See also *ib.*, p. 67.

English affairs were rapidly approaching a crisis as the pollings began. The war so far had been on the side of the allies but to some it seemed that England would have won the war only to lose the peace, should the Tories gain the election. The position of the House of Hanover was in danger inasmuch as many influential Tories were favorable to the return of the Stuarts. The leading financiers of England feared the possibility of a repudiation of the debt if their Whig friends were not in the ascendancy in the new House of Commons. Moreover the Whigs had been responsible for the Union with Scotland and for the policy of toleration toward Dissenters, and these gains might well be lost through a Tory triumph. In short this election was at once a contest between the landed gentry and the moneyed men; between the supporters of the Hanoverians and the Stuarts; a test for the prerogative and the doctrine of passive obedience; a conflict between the High Church on the one hand and the Low Church and Dissenters on the other; and, finally, upon the outcome of the election probably depended the future administration of the war and the permanence of the Scottish Union, inasmuch as the Tories had neither sympathized with a vigorous prosecution of the Continental war, nor been very enthusiastic over the Union.<sup>1</sup>

The Tories were neither so blind to the importance of the election, nor so supine as their opponents. Not all the Whigs were lethargic, however. Marlborough had long sensed that a dissolution was inevitable, and suggested plans for general elections, but even he felt sure of a Whig victory. Godolphin, "Old" Horace Walpole and Sunderland were aware of the possibility of a dissolution, but all were confident of success.<sup>2</sup> Some who had taken a leading part in Sacheverell's trial considered it useless to contest any seat; others, like Wharton,

<sup>1</sup> *Other Side of the Question*, pp. 171-3.

<sup>2</sup> *Coxe Papers* (Br. Mus.), XXXIII, f. 102; *Lansdowne MSS.* (Br. Mus.), 1236, f. 247; W. Coxe, *Memoirs of the Life and Administration of Sir Robert Walpole* (1798 ed.), I, p. 278, II, p. 32. Earlier, however, Godolphin urged the Whigs to plan for the elections. *Seafeld MSS.* (Hist. MSS., Com. Rept.), p. 208. James Craggs was pessimistic throughout, expecting an overwhelming Tory victory. *Coxe Papers*, XXXIII, f. 123.

retired to the country, and at least a few assisted in returning Tories. Somerset had returned to the Whig fold, and with Sir Robert Walpole was active from the beginning of the canvass.<sup>1</sup> As the dissolution drew near, the junto also bestirred themselves in raising election funds.

The Tories became active early in 1710. As they gradually gained the queen's ear, they used the crown patronage to further their interests.<sup>2</sup> In Scotland, England and Wales, Harley's agents were busy long before the dissolution, and their industry increased after it.<sup>3</sup> In its issue of September 28, the *Examiner*, the recently established Tory organ, printed extensive directions, urging the landed gentry, the Church, and those zealous for monarchy and hereditary right to support the Tories. Night and day, enthusiastic Tories thundered against the Whigs as republicans, who, because of their refusal to make peace, were oppressing the people with taxes.

The incessant cries of the Tories aroused the drowsy clergy as at Sacheverell's trial. At a time when bishoprics were considered a legitimate part of the patronage, the clergy took a great interest in elections. Such prominent ecclesiastics as the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of London had much to do in causing Anne to consent to a change of ministry.<sup>4</sup> Sacheverell's triumphant reception in the provincial towns and the loyal addresses that poured in on the queen, expressing the

<sup>1</sup> *Portland MSS.* (H. M. C.), II, pp. 216, 221, IV, pp. 575, 592; *Wharton MSS.* (Bodleian Library), IV, f. 38; *Wentworth Papers*, pp. 149-57; A. Boyer, *Political State*, I, p. 12. In a few cases, wily Tory politicians spread reports that certain Whigs would not stand for reelection. *Wentw. Papers*, p. 139. See also the *Observer*, IX, p. 10; *Coke MSS.* (H. M. C.), III, p. 90; *C. J.*, XVI, p. 420, XVII, pp. 15, 137; J. M. Robertson, *Bolingbroke and Walpole*, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, VII, p. 12; *Dartmouth MSS.* (H. M. C.), p. 297; *Wentw. Papers*, p. 117. See also *Portl. MSS.*, IV, pp. 575, 600.

<sup>3</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV, pp. 598-600; *Carte MSS.* (Bodl.), CCXLIV, f. 80; *Bath MSS.* (H. M. C.), III, p. 439; *Coke MSS.*, III, p. 86. See also *Portl. MSS.*, IV, pp. 546-92, VII, p. 17.

<sup>4</sup> *Carte MSS.*, CXXV, f. 99; *Mackintosh Papers*, Add. MSS., 34515, f. 99. See also R. Atkinson, *Thoresby the Topographer*, II, p. 38. On the Whig side Trelawny, Bishop of Winchester, was influential. T. Hearne, *Collections* (Doble and Rannie ed.), II, p. 437.

greatest loyalty to Toryism, the Church and herself, contributed to the same end. "Incendiary sermons were preached from the pulpit," demanding immediate action against the enemies of Christianity and the Church. The lower clergy, stirred to fanaticism by their fear of persecution, were certainly the busiest, and probably the most efficient canvassers for the Tories, turning the election into a crusade against Low-Churchman and Dissenter, convincing "every peasant and small shop-keeper in the land . . . that a Whig in politics was a republican, and in religion an atheist, or, still worse, a Dissenter," and "urging their flocks to show on this great occasion their zeal for the Church," by assuring them that "now or never was the time."<sup>1</sup>

The women of the church were only slightly less active than the clergy, and were goaded into action by inflammatory sermons against the Whigs. Lady Coke, Lady Bellomont and Lady Marlborough were only the most conspicuous of their sex who interested themselves on the Whig or Tory side.<sup>2</sup>

Tories and Whigs alike were interested in the votes of the Dissenters, and most particularly of the Quakers. Through William Penn, Harley as usual exercised an appreciable influence over their voting.<sup>3</sup> In his inimitable way he also won over important dissenting leaders, while at the same moment he was being aided by the Highfliers,<sup>4</sup> who disliked both Low Churchmen and Dissenters because they had been instrumental in bringing over Germans from the devastated Palatinate. The Englishman's dislike of the alien is proverbial, and never was this feeling more prevalent than in the early eighteenth

<sup>1</sup> T. Wright, *Caricature Hist. of the Georges*, p. 8; F. W. Wyon, *Hist. of Reign of Queen Anne*, II, p. 218; J. Morley, *Walpole*, p. 18. See also W. Kennett, *Hist. of Eng.*, II, p. 540; *Coke MSS.*, III, p. 86; *Portl. MSS.*, IV, p. 607. Defoe criticized them for being too active—*Faults on Both Sides*, pp. 50-3. Tindal accused them of violating the rules of common gratitude by opposing their patrons and benefactors—*Hist. of Eng.*, IV, p. 192.

<sup>2</sup> *Coke MSS.*, III, pp. 90, 95; *Notes and Queries* (5th series), VII, p. 301.

<sup>3</sup> *Bath MSS.*, III, pp. 440, 442.

<sup>4</sup> Some Highfliers distrusted Harley and one of them styled him that "spawn of a Presbyterian". *Wentw. Papers*, p. 152.



century.<sup>1</sup> More than a year prior to the election, Parliament passed the Naturalization Act, and during the summer 13,000 Palatines came to England, on whom the government spent more than £100,000. The constant collections for their support, their filthy habits, their continual begging, their foreign speech and their Low Church beliefs made them exceedingly objectionable to the English poor, who, filled "with indignation, . . . thought those charities, to which they had a better right, were thus intercepted by strangers,"<sup>2</sup> at the very moment when they were harried by press-gangs and borne down by the weight of their poverty.

Utilizing these prejudices to the utmost in their appeal to the country, the Tories made great headway against the Whigs; and the Anglican mobs, led by their clergy, were not averse to using violence in elections. Religious bigotry, indeed, largely accounts for the excessive amount of rioting which characterized the pollings. "The first regular political mob," said Thomas Wright, "was a High Church mob, stirred up for the purpose of raising a clamour against the Whigs and to influence the elections."<sup>3</sup> In places the cry against Whig candidates was so violent that they "dared not appear upon the hustings, and their friends were intimidated from voting in their favor."<sup>4</sup> Burnet assures us that the "violence went far beyond anything he had ever known in England."<sup>5</sup> "There

<sup>1</sup> See *Examiner*, no. 21, and also John Tutchin's *Foreigners*, with an answer to it in Defoe's *True Born Englishman* (1701).

<sup>2</sup> Tindal, IV, p. 152. The care of the Palatines engrossed a great amount of the government's attention. S. P. Dom., Anne, X, f. 88, XI, f. 44, XIV, f. 26, XVIII, f. 295; S. P. Dom., Entry Book, CVII, f. 229, CVIII, *passim*; P. C. Reg., LXXXII, f. 337, LXXXIII, f. 307; *Eg. Papers* (Br. Mus.), 894, f. 31; *Dayrolles Papers*, Add. MSS., 15886, f. 96; Defoe, *Review*, V, p. 600; T. Salmon, *Mod. Hist.*, XXVI, p. 65.

<sup>3</sup> *Caric. Hist.*, p. 3. Cf. Steele's *Marquis of Wharton*, p. 86; *Annals*, IX, p. 248; Kennett, II, p. 540.

<sup>4</sup> Cooke, *Bolingbroke*, I, p. 123. See also *An Impartial View*, p. 257; Mesnager, *Negotiations*, pp. 86-93; *Polit. St.*, I, p. 13.

<sup>5</sup> *Memoirs*, p. 188; "A vast concourse of rude multitudes brought together," in another place, "behaved themselves in so boisterous a manner that it was not safe to vote for a Whig."—*Hist. of My Own Time*, VI, p. 15. See also Chamberlen, p. 354; *Py. Hist.*, VI, p. 916. Lecky says the election was "one

never was so prevalent a fury as the people of England shew against the Whigs and for the High Church," wrote Craggs to Marlborough.<sup>1</sup> Even Nonconformist clergymen suffered from their rancor. Reverend Matthew Henry noted in his diary that during the election at Chester he "durst not go to the funeral, nor preach the funeral sermon"<sup>2</sup> of a dear friend. "Nor do we fight with cudgels only as at Marlow, Whitechurch, etc.," wrote Defoe, "with swords and staves as at Coventry; with stones and brickbats, as at other places. . . . Even our civil war . . . was not carried on with such a spirit of fury as is now to be seen." Had it not been for the "moderation" of the Whigs "these new elections might have ended in, what was by many apprehended, a civil war."<sup>3</sup>

Similar disturbances occurred at Chippenham, Newark and Southwark,<sup>4</sup> but were probably most marked in London and Westminster. In the City the Tories formed a lane from the entrance of the hall to the hustings, through which each elector had to pass to cast his vote. As a result many doughty Whigs met insufferable insults while attempting to vote.<sup>5</sup> Even the Whig candidates were not safe, since Heathcote, at once a candidate, a director of the bank, and lord mayor, was insulted, and one man spit in his face. To the Tories, the poll was in a way a test of the political power of the moneyed interests, an earnest of the political strength of the Bank and East India Company; to the landed gentry, a challenge, and their activity increased accordingly. Every effort was put forth to terrify the Whig electors, so that many of them were afraid to poll.

of the most turbulent ever known in England."—*Hist. Eng.*, I, p. 59, and Morley speaks of "extraordinary violence" and "flagrant and brutal intimidations".—*Walpole*, p. 18.

<sup>1</sup> *Coxe Papers*, XXXIII, f. 102. See the *Examiner*, no. 12; Gibson, *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Anne*, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> J. B. Williams, *Life of Matthew Henry*, p. 263. At this polling, the Whig candidates were compelled to withdraw. Similar rioting ensued at Northwich (Norwich?).—*Ib.*, p. 264.

<sup>3</sup> *Annals*, IX, p. 249; Defoe, *Rev.*, VII, pp. 333-7; *C. J.*, XVI, p. 421.

<sup>4</sup> *C. J.*, XVI, pp. 409, 418, 420. Cf. Chadwick, *Defoe*, p. 362.

<sup>5</sup> Defoe, *Rev.*, VII, p. 356. See *Observer*, nos. 74-9; *Examiner*, no. 10.

Nevertheless, the result was close, one Tory winning by only eighteen votes. The Whigs demanded a scrutiny, but the Tories carried the City for all their men.<sup>1</sup>

Conditions were even worse at Westminster, where the mob was aroused by the presence of alien Nonconformists. The Whigs appealed to English loyalty in nominating Sir James Stanhope who had been so successful in the war in Spain, and was supported by the dukes of Ormond and Buckingham; but the Tory mob termed him a sodomite, and their rage was so great that "those who polled for him were knocked down" and rudely treated by an "insulting mob", so that many were obliged "to return home without polling".<sup>2</sup>

The loss of London and Westminster was a severe blow to the prestige of the Whigs, and their candidates met harsh treatment elsewhere. Wharton's protégés were defeated throughout Buckinghamshire.<sup>3</sup> The heats were so great at St. Albans that Marlborough advised his duchess to take no part in the canvass, and for once she obeyed. Their candidate was beaten. At Woodstock the Marlboroughs were more active but not more successful.<sup>4</sup> In Bedfordshire the Whigs also met reverses; Speaker Onslow lost his election in Surrey, and the western counties and Wales were predominantly Tory.<sup>5</sup> "Contentions of late have been so much hotter than ever," wrote Swift, and the "elections are now managing with greater

<sup>1</sup> *Carte MSS.*, CCXLIV, f. 127; *Portl. MSS.*, IV, p. 617; *Py. Hist.*, VI, p. 916; *Annals*, IX, p. 251; *Observer*, no. 79; *Examiner*, no. 25. The nomination of Sir Richard Hoare seemed like an attempt to divide the strength of the Whigs. Luttrell, VI, p. 633. Even earlier the Highfliers sought in vain to elect a Tory lord mayor.—*Carte MSS.*, CCXLIV, f. 123; *Portl. MSS.*, II, p. 222.

<sup>2</sup> *Coxe Papers*, XXXIII, f. 123; *Add. MSS.*, 33273, f. 84. Swift described his exciting experience with this mob.—*Journal to Stella*, October 5, 1710.

*Wharton MSS.*, IV, f. 38; Wyon, II, pp. 251-9. Wharton was not very active.

<sup>4</sup> *Add. MSS.*, 19606, f. 31; *Priv. Cor.*, I, p. 365. *Observer* (IX, p. 80) spoke of the riots at Taunton. See account of the violence and corruption at Weymouth and Melcombe Regis.—*C. J.*, XVI, pp. 410, 618.

*Carew Papers*, *Add. MSS.* (B. M.), 29599, ff. 119-21; *Add. MSS.*, 28893, f. 394; Atkinson, II, p. 36.

violence and expense, and more competition than ever was known".<sup>1</sup>

Whereas rioting and intimidation played a conspicuous part in many elections, we read also of much bribery, treating and "other illegal practices". Among the controverted election petitions no less than forty, involving the right to fifty seats, charge "bribery and other indirect practices."<sup>2</sup> At Bedwin the electors expected a subvention of from two to four pounds per man, and the by-election of 1711 in this borough indicated widespread petty corruption.<sup>3</sup> Carlisle offered similar examples in which the bribes ran as high as two guineas. One petitioner claimed that forty-one voters were admitted after the teste of the writ, eighteen received alms, and eighty-one were either bribed or treated.<sup>4</sup> Lord Abingdon learned that an opponent planned to spend £3,000 to carry an election against him, and one Highflieger reported that some of the old ministry offered in vain £1,000 expense money to one man if he would stand as a Whig.<sup>5</sup> Concrete examples of petty bribery were also found at Chippenham, Guilford, Steyning, Tavistock and Winchelsea. The bribes were higher at Brackley, Wilton, Weymouth and Melcombe Regis.<sup>6</sup> Horace Walpole appealed to thrifty Lady Marlborough to be more liberal in her election expenditures.<sup>7</sup> A Steyning petition suggestively requested that forty-two voters be disqualified; thirty for bribery, ten for treating and two for receiving charity.<sup>8</sup> Treating, indeed, was

<sup>1</sup> *Examiner*, no. 12; Ball, I, p. 195.

<sup>2</sup> *C. J.*, XVI-XVII. Undue emphasis must not be placed on this, as it seems to have been a legal phrase to get the case formally before the Commons.

<sup>3</sup> *Ailesbury MSS.* (H. M. C.), pp. 200-4. Other instances are given in *S. P. Dom.*, Anne, XIII, p. 102; *Verulam MSS.* (H. M. C.), p. 114.

<sup>4</sup> *C. J.*, XVII, p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, VII, pp. 17, 21. Newcastle offered another candidate £1,000 for election expenses with the same result.—*Ib.*, IV, p. 570.

<sup>6</sup> *C. J.*, XVI, pp. 469, 477, 556-9; XVII, pp. 4, 213.

<sup>7</sup> Coxe, *Walpole*, I, p. 277. Similar efforts availed the Whigs nothing at Haslemere.—*Portl. MSS.*, IV, pp. 610, 614.

<sup>8</sup> *C. J.*, XVI, p. 505. At Oakhampton the mayor was accused of creating one hundred and thirty-five burgesses "generally strangers, many of them vagrants, deserters from the queen's service, and others all idle persons". At Ashburton twenty-two voted for one freehold of forty-two shillings rental.—*Ib.*, XVI, pp. 419, 557.

the customary form of entertaining electors, although few patrons were so generous as Lord Ferrers, who plied the voters at Chartley with several hogsheads of ale, and six hogsheads of wine!<sup>1</sup> One elector who drank to the candidate's health to the impairment of his own, testified that he had imbibed of a "new liquor . . . called Whistle-Jacket . . . made up of brandy and treacle"; and another witness, franker still, accused the mayor of making him "so drunk with brandy that he did not know what he did; but he was sure he voted for the petitioner."<sup>2</sup>

Bad as conditions were, bribing and treating were actually kept down by a recent law and the energetic campaign of the Highfliers against moneyed men and jobbery in elections. Dr. Atterbury in 1714 published a scathing denunciation of their methods in his *English Advice to Freeholders*, saying that "bank bills, places, lyes, threats, promises, entertainments are everywhere employed to corrupt men's affections, and mislead their judgments. Boroughs are rated on the Royal Exchange like stock and tallies; the price of a vote is as well known as an acre of land, and it is no secret who are the monied men and consequently the best customers." Another, this time a Scot, complained that "some gentlemen . . . spend many thousand pounds sterling to get themselves elected; and that too in the sight and knowledge of the whole world."<sup>3</sup> As the elections progressed, the precarious state of credit caused Harley much concern, as he doubtless attributed the fall of stocks to the insidious efforts of the moneyed Whigs. On the other hand, St. John was bitterly attacking the Whigs for the extensive use of money in the constituencies. Tory prejudice against stock brokers, jobbers and speculators rose to unprecedented heights for that time, and was measurably increased by the fact that as soon as news of a Tory victory in the canvass was spread broadcast, stocks fell nearly one-third. Furthermore the Bank re-

<sup>1</sup> *Coke MSS.*, III, pp. 88, 171.

<sup>2</sup> *C. J.*, XVII, pp. 107, 143. Charges of treating were also made at Hythe, Northumberland, Northampton, Stafford, Warwick and Winchelsea.—*Ib.*, XVI, pp. 408-17.

*Memoirs of John Ker of Kersland*, II, p. 177.

fused for a time to "discount foreign bills".<sup>1</sup> The complaints against the moneyed men of London were very pronounced and frequent during the progress of the election. Such criticisms were leveled at grievances that really existed; as at Boston where one candidate was totally unknown a week before the election; or as at Coventry, where "above 60 persons at a time have often come from London, and been permitted to vote without objection."<sup>2</sup>

The court in general opposed the Whigs, making it clear that Anne was displeased with her old ministry, and wished to be relieved of her thralldom and dependence upon a Whig House of Commons. Harley and the queen, therefore, sought to neutralize the influence of the moneyed interests by the law recently passed, which sought to prevent any extensive use of the patronage.<sup>3</sup> In one place, an adherent of Harley reported that he had secured fifty of the hundred and twenty-five electors "to vote for any person Harley named."<sup>4</sup> Mrs. Masham's husband was brought in by the court, and in one or two other instances Anne was probably active.<sup>5</sup> Rochester believed that the court, by using the clergy and the patronage, could win the election for the Tories.<sup>6</sup> One pamphleteer prophesied that "considering the influence of the court, and the interest of men in power, . . . it is very probable that the High Church men will have the majority."<sup>7</sup> White Kennett was of the same mind,

<sup>1</sup> *Wentw. Papers*, p. 167; *Bath MSS.*, I, p. 200; Parke, I, p. 16; *Portl. MSS.*, IV, p. 617; J. E. T. Rogers, *Industrial and Commercial History of England*, p. 126. *Faults on Both Sides* (p. 16), and Swift in the *Examiner* (no. 10) are violent against stockjobbers. Cf. *Portl. MSS.*, II, p. 223.

<sup>2</sup> *C. J.*, XVII, pp. 143, 156. See also *Portl. MSS.*, II, p. 253.

<sup>3</sup> 9 Anne, c. 5. The tendency of the time is well set forth by the boasts of a Whig early in 1710 that when the election came "the flood-gates of the treasury should be set open to pour out money for making interest in behalf" of the Whigs. Hearne, II, p. 349. See also Mesnager, *Negotiations*.

<sup>4</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV, p. 598. See also *ib.*, VII, p. 12.

<sup>5</sup> *Polit. State*, I, p. 247; *Wentw. Papers*, p. 152.

<sup>6</sup> Mesnager, p. 84.

<sup>7</sup> *Annals*, IX, App. vi, p. 63. See also *ib.*, IX, p. 248. So well-informed a man as Swift believed, nevertheless, that the new Parliament "had been chosen without endeavours from the court".—*Change of Queen's Last Ministry*. Cf. *Annals*, IX, p. 245.

saying that "the High Church party generally prevailed through the influence of both the court and inferior clergy."<sup>1</sup>

The Scottish elections afford a good opportunity of studying the influence of the Crown,<sup>2</sup> and here Harley's management is most clearly evident. Working through such men as Viscount Dupplin, his son-in-law, Ilay, Hamilton and the Earl of Mar, he was able to gain a majority of the Scottish representatives in both houses.<sup>3</sup> This was possible in spite of the activity of the Whig officials appointed by the old ministry, who were still in office, because the Jacobites hoped by this election to bring back the "King over the water."<sup>4</sup>

While the court was so busy, the nobility was just as industrious. Somerset's success was by no means commensurate with his efforts; the Duke of Richmond was active at Steyning, and Beaufort, Ormand, Rutland, Devonshire, Newcastle, Shrewsbury and Chesterfield were also conspicuously active in the borough elections,<sup>5</sup> a resolution of Parliament notwithstanding.

Whereas it is clear that other means of influencing voters were not neglected, probably never before had the press been so assiduously employed by both parties. Pamphleteering became almost a fine art in this canvass, for none of his contemporaries so thoroughly appreciated the power of the press as did Harley. St. John, Swift, Atterbury, Prior and Defoe plied their able pens for the Tories, while Thomas Burnet, Congreve, Addison and Steele did valiant service for the Whigs. Many able tracts appeared on each side, the ablest probably being the series of which *Faults on Both Sides* stands as the most conspicuous, if not the most informing. Literally hundreds of

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. of Eng.*, II, p. 540. See also *Dayrolles Papers*, Add. MSS., 15886, f. 212.

<sup>2</sup> Corruption as such seems to have been limited. See, however, *Lockhart Papers*, I, pp. 319, 578.

<sup>3</sup> *Portl. MSS.*, IV, pp. 558, 564, 601, 622-5; *Dartm. MSS.*, p. 301; *Mar and Kellie MSS.* (H. M. C.), p. 485; Parke, I, p. 23; T. Keith, *Municipal Elections in Scotch Royal Boroughs*, pp. 266-7.

<sup>4</sup> *Lockhart Papers*, I, p. 319; *Marchmont Papers*, III, p. 370.

<sup>5</sup> *Ailesb. MSS.* (H. M. C.), p. 200; *Coke MSS.*, III, pp. 88-94; *Wentw. Papers*, pp. 149-57; *C. J.*, XVII, pp. 117, 213; Parke, I, p. 4; *Rutland MSS.* (H. M. C.), II, p. 192; *Portl. MSS.*, II, pp. 231-2, 233.

political pamphlets, many of them of considerable length, appeared during the year. Some are of real historical value and deal more or less directly with the election.<sup>1</sup> Caricatures were, for the first time, frequently employed in this political contest. Sacheverell was depicted as in league with the pope and the devil, to which the Tories retorted by portraying Dr. Hoadly closeted with the devil, and emphasizing his bodily infirmities. Songs were extensively employed by each party to influence the elections, and although the theme was usually religious, they must have proved of service as catchwords for political partisans.<sup>2</sup> Periodicals took on new life; the *Examiner* was established, and through the genius of St. John and Swift proved a real force in the election. The *Medley*, the *Observer*, and the *Whig Examiner* were of great value to their respective parties, while the *London Gazette* and the *Postman* took care of the official and semi-official news.

For a season it seemed that the contest would result in the Commons being equally divided,<sup>3</sup> but soon the Tories began to forge ahead until their candidates were swept into office upon a tidal wave of High Church fanaticism. Trevelyan speaks of this election as a revolution, and it was with little doubt the most important election of the century until Pitt's victory in 1784.<sup>4</sup> The number of changes in seats would tend to bear this out. One secondary writer said there were 248 changes which brought new men into Parliament for the first time; another insisted that 270 men lost their seats; a third reported that some "said the Whigs would have only a third, others only a sixth of the new House"; and a fourth writer went even further, maintaining "that not more than 100 Whigs were returned."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Annals*, IX, pp. 248, 251; *C. J.*, XVI, pp. 420-2.

<sup>2</sup> Wright (p. 5) printed some Whig and Tory verses, and a few are found in *Carte MSS.*, CCXXX, f. 247. See also a *Collection of Poems, for and against Dr. Sacheverell*; Hearne, II, p. 356; *Marlb. MSS.* (H. M. C.), p. 19; *Examiner*, no. 10, Wright, pp. 7-10.

<sup>3</sup> *Polit. St.*, I, p. 12; Tindal, IV, p. 193. Cf. Mesnager, p. 91; *Priv. Cor.*, I, p. 398.

<sup>4</sup> Morley, *Walpole*, p. 19. See also Ball, I, p. 208; *Annals*, IX, p. 250.

<sup>5</sup> H. Elliot, *Godolphin*, p. 422; Leadam, p. 175; T. Macknight, *Bolingbroke*,



Many contemporaries also insisted upon the size of the Tory majority. Calamy spoke of the Whigs as "surprisingly outnumbered"; Lockhart claimed only a "great majority" for the Tories. Carte noted there were "two-thirds at least for the Church besides what will be made by petitions, and also those placemen who will come over," and both Craggs and Walpole expected a two-thirds majority for the Tories. Boyer wrote that there would be 240 "new members, most, if not all, of their side."<sup>1</sup> Such statements are likely to be misleading. For England, Scotland and Wales, the names given by Carte show that 308 of those in the Parliament of 1708 were returned in 1710. Using Whitworth's list for England and Wales, 247 were returned for the same seats as in 1708.<sup>2</sup> The roster in the *Return of Members of Parliament* indicates that 318 sat in both Parliaments, although not necessarily for the same seats. An industrious contemporary left a list of those sitting in this Parliament, classifying them as follows: Tories, 304; Whigs, 145; Doubtful, 38; Not Elected, 26.<sup>3</sup> From this summary of the information, and in the light of what followed, it is difficult to conclude that the Whigs were so overwhelmingly defeated.

It may be profitable to recall the state of representation in 1710. Then, as in 1830, many boroughs were absolutely under the control of a patron, usually some peer or influential commoner, who treated them as property. His candidates would

p. 159; J. A. Manning, *Speakers of House of Commons*, p. 407. See also Ewald, *Walpole*, p. 51; J. Forster, *Defoe*, p. 80; L. von Ranke, *Eng. Hist.*, V, p. 338.

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Calamy*, II, p. 231; *Lockhart Papers*, I, 319; *Carte MSS.*, CCXLIV, p. 127; *Polit. St.*, I, p. 28. Swift and Chamberlen agree. One biographer said that it was "such a total change of ministry as is scarce to be found in our history."—*Life of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough* (1745), p. 52. Peter Wentworth said that opposition would "look as vain as to attempt to stop the stream at London Bridge with one's thumb."—*Wentw. Papers*, p. 150. See also *ib.*, p. 149; Coxe, *Marib.*, III, p. 138; *Priv. Cor.*, I, p. 400.

<sup>2</sup> *Carte MSS.*, CXXIX, ff. 427-41; *Succession of Parliaments (1660-1742)*, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> *Hanover Papers*, Stowe MSS. (Br. Mus.), 222, ff. 453-6. The lists in the *History and Proceedings of House of Commons (1660-1742)* and Cobbett's *Parliamentary History* give 254 and 257 respectively as the number of new members.

on every important occasion represent the interest he desired, unless he agreed to surrender that right for valuable compensation. Consequently, nothing short of a revolution or a change of patron could alter the political complexion of a goodly number of "pocket" boroughs. These constituencies, then, acted as steadying agencies, to prevent any political landslide—a tendency much augmented by the habit of certain conservative constituencies to vote in the same way at each recurring election and return the same member to Parliament. In 1710 several men were not standing for the same constituencies as in 1708, either to favor the chances of some friend or to increase their own for reelection, by seeking the support of a new electorate. As a result, the choice of a different man by a borough would not necessarily mean either that his predecessor was not in Parliament, or that he was replaced by a Tory.<sup>1</sup>

The pollings during the autumn were not the only agencies responsible for the composition of Parliament, as many controverted elections were brought before the House of Commons. Two methods were employed in deciding these. Usually they were referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, which reported back to the house. Whenever the house wished it, however, the case was heard at the bar. The number of disputed election cases was unusually large, involving the right to one hundred seats. Of these, eleven were heard at the bar, and the rest referred to the committee. Thirty-two cases were never reported upon, eight declared void, eleven withdrawn,

<sup>1</sup> An examination of twelve important divisions in the Commons before, and twelve after, the election shows the Tories considerably stronger after the election than the Whigs were before.

Average strength	Whigs	Tories
Before the election of 1710 .....	176	147
After .....	99	176
Largest vote		
Before .....	232	
After .....	...	234
Smallest vote		
Before .....	...	119
After .....	114	
Greatest majority		
Before .....	230	85
After .....	106	232

thirteen decided in favor of the sitting members, and thirty-one went for the petitioners.<sup>1</sup> It was notorious, even in those days of political corruption, that election petitions afforded the majority party in the Commons an opportunity of swelling its numbers, of which it was quick to take advantage by excluding its opponents from Parliament, no matter what the constituents might have said at the polls.<sup>2</sup> These petitions were not all heard at the beginning of the session, but some dragged on into the second, and sometimes into the third session of Parliament, so that their political influence was not immediately discernible.

Long before the final results of controverted elections were known, the influence of the numerous by-elections became noticeable. The importance of this factor in changing political majorities has been little understood, as few historians have appreciated how many seats were vacated as a result of death, appointment to office under the Crown, elevations to the peerage, or election by two constituencies, even in a Parliament which lasted only three years. When the Commons might continue seven years, the percentage of by-elections must have risen to a large fraction of its total membership. During the Parliament which now began its sessions, 126 by-elections were held, 51 because of the statute requiring any member accepting office under the Crown to resign and stand for reelection if he wished to continue in Parliament; 34 more were due to death; 16 to elevations to the peerage; 14 because a member had been returned for two constituencies; 11 on account of the election being declared void, or the member-elect expelled. Of the 62 seats vacated by royal officials or void elections, 45 of the men were reelected. Of the 51 who accepted office under the queen, only 10 were not returned.<sup>3</sup> This result, taken in conjunction with those in 1708 and 1713, points to the important part played by the patronage in keeping the commoners in line.

<sup>1</sup> The information upon which these figures are based is found in *C. J.*, XVI-XVII. Twenty-eight petitions were heard, December 1, 1710. See also Luttrell, VI, p. 667.

<sup>2</sup> Tindal, IV, p. 193; *Polit. St.*, I, p. 163; *Monthly Mercury* (1710), pp. 428-34.

<sup>3</sup> *C. J.*, XVI-XVII; *Return of Members of Parliament*, II.

From all these studies it would seem that the extent of the Whig overthrow has been overestimated. Yet, the election was clearly a Tory victory, as it is highly probable that the majority was cut down steadily by the by-elections after 1711.

What did the Tory triumph mean to the English public? It meant first of all, of course, that the ministerial revolution, carried out by Harley and the queen, received the support of the electorate. To the High Church zealots the result of the poll seemed a mandate to return to the religious intolerance of the Clarendon Code and Test Act. To the Tory leaders it suggested the desirability of making peace with France in spite of the dilatory tactics of her allies. To the landed aristocracy it meant peace and the end of the objectionable land tax, and a decrease in the power of the moneyed classes who profited most by the war. To the lower orders it signified little except a temporary cessation of a rigorous policy of impressment. To the Jacobites it brought confident anticipation that the new ministry would pave the way for the accession of the Pretender after Anne's death. To the queen herself it meant the end of her subservience and the beginning of a friendly cooperation with her ministers. Each of these hopes was fulfilled in part, even that of the Jacobites, whose well laid plans were wrecked by the sudden death of the queen and the *coup d'état* engineered by the Whigs. Thus terminated the ascendancy of the Tories until William Pitt the Younger, acting as their Moses, ended their three score years and ten of wandering in the wilderness and began a half-century of Tory supremacy, which closed only with the Reform Bill of 1832.

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## THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ANTI-JAPANESE AGITATION IN THE UNITED STATES

### 1. *The Beginnings*

WHEN President Fillmore called the attention of the Congress of the United States to the rude treatment accorded shipwrecked mariners unhappily cast upon Japanese shores, he unknowingly opened up a problem which has already perplexed the western world for three-quarters of a century.<sup>1</sup> Before this time there had been no Oriental problem. It had been forestalled by the stern intolerance of Toyotomi Hideyoshi who, in the seventeenth century, banished all foreigners, whether priests or traders, from Japan, and commanded all Japanese, under penalty of death, to remain at home.

But the pressure of trade and of ideas perforce brought this isolation to an end. In 1853 the Black Ships of Commodore Perry steamed into Yedo Bay. Five years later Townsend Harris signed the first treaty between Japan and the United States. With these acts, Japan was placed in contact with the western world. Intercourse between nations in the past has usually been marred by discord. And in the case of Japan, the opportunity for misunderstanding has been increased by the factor of race.

Immigration was the first cause of friction between Japan and the United States. As early as 1851<sup>2</sup> a few shipwrecked Japanese were tossed upon the Pacific Coast. But the first actual immigrants were brought into this country by a Hollander

<sup>1</sup> Third annual message, December 6, 1852, *Messages and Papers of the President* (Bureau of National Literature edition), p. 2703. For the very early activities of Japanese abroad, see Chapman, *A History of California* (1921), chapter iv, "The Japanese Opportunity in the Pacific".

<sup>2</sup> Treat, *Japan and the United States* (1921), p. 253. For the opening of Japan to the western world, see the same writer, *The Early Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Japan 1853-1865* (1917); also Satow, *A Diplomat in Japan* (1921).