# LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Harwich borough had been created as a parliamentary constituency as a result of the Charter of 1604. In the 18th century it was considered a Treasury borough such was the influence of the Government, with elections rarely held.

The borough was governed by the corporation, which elected a mayor, eight aldermen and 24 capital burgesses. Harwich had jurisdiction over minor criminal and civil cases through its own quarter sessions. It also held a court of pleas, though on an increasingly irregular basis, through to the early 19th century. The corporation appointed constables and was responsible for the upkeep of the gaol and bridewell. The corporation's role in public health was limited to appointing scavengers from the middle of the 18th century and maintaining drains and sewers, while water was supplied privately. It was also responsible for road and pavement maintenance and providing a fire engine.

#### PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION

Harwich borough was represented by two seats in the House of Commons. There were 32 qualified electors throughout most of the 18th century, reducing to 31 in 1793, but only three elections were contested in the period from 1714 to the Reform Act of 1832. The number of votes cast in 1714 was 31, while 53 and 37 votes were cast in the 1734 and 1802 elections when both seats were contested. The seats were hotly disputed nonetheless as the Treasury sought influence via the Custom House and was opposed by the Post Office, which controlled the corporation through the election of its packet boat captains. Harwich was significant nationally as one of the most zealously controlled of the corporation boroughs.

In 1714 the House of Commons resolved that the right of election at Harwich rested with the mayor, aldermen and capital burgesses. The decision followed a double return in the election of 1713, with Carew Mildmay and Thomas Heath tied on 16 votes each. Mildmay was declared elected in April 1714 after three of Heath's voters were deemed to be non-resident.<sup>3</sup> Following the death of the incumbent of the other seat, the second Sir Thomas Davall, another vote took place in May 1714 with Heath initially favoured over Benedict Calvert by

19 votes to 12. However, a petition brought by Calvert included the allegation that Heath had bribed voters and the House of Commons ruled that Calvert replace Heath.<sup>4</sup>

Sir Philip Parker and Heath, both Whigs, were elected unopposed in 1715 by the corporation. Although they had no known local connections they were granted the lease on the Crown Lands in the borough by the Treasury as plans for refortifying the town had been abandoned.<sup>5</sup> Sir Robert Walpole as Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer exercised influence over the borough in the 1720s and 1730s. However, Sir Philip Parker was elected in 1722 against the Government's preference and his son-in-law John Perceval, Lord Egmont, was selected as MP in 1727 alongside Parker. Carteret Leathes and Charles Stanhope were elected in 1734, apparently at Walpole's behest in opposition to Lord Egmont's wish that his son John succeed him. This election was one of the rare occasions that a vote was held. John Phillipson, the agent to the packet boats, had been responsible for the election of the Tory Humphry Parsons in 1722, in place of Heath. Phillipson had previously supported the Whig interest, but was dismissed from his post for 'Jacobitism' in 1729 or 1730.<sup>6</sup>

John Phillipson's son, also John, maintained the Post Office interest at Harwich and was himself elected in 1741, a post he retained until his death in 1756. Whig Prime Minister Henry Pelham continued Phillipson jnr's influence through his secretary John Roberts, with Griffith Davies, Collector of Customs and mayor on numerous occasions, as his trusted local contact. It was through Pelham's recommendation that both Edward Coke, son of postmaster general Lord Leicester, and Wenman Coke, Lord Leicester's nephew, were elected as MPs in 1747 and 1753 respectively. Pelham also prevented Phillipson gaining the lease of the Crown Lands, instead granting it to Roberts. Thomas Pelham-Holles, duke of Newcastle and Prime Minister between 1754–6 and 1757–62, oversaw Roberts and Davies in consolidating the Treasury interest at Harwich. In 1754 Roberts was elected to the corporation and, though opposed by Lord Leicester, he eventually became an MP for the borough, serving from 1761 to his death in 1772. Under the administration of Davies until his own death in 1778, Harwich became the archetypal Treasury borough.

John Robinson, secretary to the Treasury and then surveyor general of woods and forests, managed the Harwich constituency for the Government between 1774 and his death in 1802. A minor disagreement occurred in 1796 when Robinson failed to satisfy the patronage

demands of Colchester recorder Francis Smythies, who wished Thomas Bramston's son to be granted one of the safe seats. The election of 1802 saw Robinson's nominee Thomas Myers contest the Harwich seat with Government appointee James Adams. The latter was returned alongside Robinson after Adams submitted a parliamentary petition to overturn the election result. On Robinson's death the borough returned to full Treasury control, with John Hiley Addington, brother of Henry Addington, Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer, serving as MP between 1803 and 1818. Other representatives in this period, each prominent Tories holding positions in the Government, included William Huskisson (1807–12) and Nicholas Vansittart (1812–23).

Some Harwich and Dovercourt freeholders, those who owned or were tenants of land worth 40s. or more, were also eligible to vote in county elections. In 1775 there were 11 freeholders so eligible, though one of them, Robert Goodwin, lived in East Donyland. A number of Harwich residents were also eligible to vote in Ipswich (Suff.) borough elections.

### MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

Harwich borough was governed by an annually elected mayor and eight aldermen and 24 capital burgesses who were elected for life. The mayor was offered a salary of £20 from 1754, with the amount being increased to £40 in 1796 and £50 in 1803. The offices of steward, the corporation's chief legal officer, and town clerk were combined up to 1789, after which a separate high steward was appointed. The town clerk's salary increased from £5 p.a. to £25 p.a. in 1781, with a further £15 being granted in 1796. The salary increases for both the mayor and town clerk appeared to reflect the increasing complexity of local government administration by the end of the 18th century. A chamberlain was elected annually, the office being replaced by that of treasurer in 1798. The two serjeants at mace were the municipal officers required to ensure that legal processes were lawfully executed. The corporation also employed a schoolmaster for the Free School and appointed a scavenger from 1758. The bridewell had a keeper who was appointed on an annual basis. The gaol keeper engaged by the corporation was paid £2 8s. c.1780, increasing to £20 p.a. from 1812. Two water bailiffs were appointed annually to police the waters under the corporation's jurisdiction.



#### **Elections**

In 1714 disagreements following the overturned parliamentary election led to an attempt to remove former mayor Thomas Langley as justice of the peace and alderman for illegal practices during the election. Instead, Charles Smyth, one of Langley's allies, was removed from the office of capital burgess for not meeting the residency requirements. <sup>19</sup> Another dispute arose over the election of Samuel Lucas as mayor in 1728 as he had not received the sacrament in the previous year. A writ of mandamus was issued by the Court of King's Bench allowing Lucas to take up the office. <sup>20</sup> The method of electing capital burgesses was amended in 1743 so that any vacancies were filled upon a vote of members on a person nominated by the senior capital burgess rather than by the current MPs. <sup>21</sup>

James Bossom, a packet boat captain, died in office while mayor in 1780. <sup>22</sup> In 1789 John Hull ceased in his joint role as steward and town clerk following a ruling by the corporation that a lawyer in the post would face a conflict of interest. Local MP John Robinson was elected as high steward in his place. <sup>23</sup> In 1798 Captain William Haggis was fined £20 for refusing to serve as alderman. <sup>24</sup> Two mayors, James Pulham and Francis Stevens, were deemed to have served illegally for the year ending 30 November 1797 and the period to 8 June 1798 respectively. A judgement of ouster was also obtained in the case of John Hobday, who served as capital burgess for three years from 1795. Pulham had been elected as a replacement for William Deane, who died only three weeks after being elected to serve as mayor in 1796. <sup>25</sup> Pulham himself died in office when mayor in 1808. <sup>26</sup>

### Administration and expenditure

In 1729 the tradition of each new alderman presenting a bucket to the corporation was replaced by the requirement of those elected who were not either a freeman or son of a freeman, designated as 'foreigners', to pay £10.<sup>27</sup> Entertainment bills run up by corporation officials could often be substantial, as shown by the £32 2s. paid by the corporation to Three Cups inn landlord Thomas Hallsted for expenditure between January and November 1758.<sup>28</sup> In 1764 the sum of £24 17s. was charged for similar entertainment at the Three Cups inn while the annual bill submitted to the corporation in 1766 came to £25 6s.<sup>29</sup> Griffith Powell was dismissed as steward for unspecified 'misbehaviour' in 1758.<sup>30</sup> In 1773 Josias Baker was

removed as capital burgess following an incident in which he struck fellow alderman John Gibson and caused his death. The county assizes found Baker guilty of manslaughter and he was branded and imprisoned for a month.<sup>31</sup> To address the problem of absenteeism the corporation ordered in 1780 that every capital burgess be fined 10*s*. 6*d*. and every alderman 15*s*. for non-attendance at meetings without good reason.<sup>32</sup> By 1797 the situation had evidently not improved as the fine for non-attendance was increased to 21*s*., with a further £3 3*s*. levied for absence at the next meeting followed by expulsion for a third such offence.<sup>33</sup> The local rates were generally assessed at £15 (Harwich £10, Dovercourt £5) in the second half of the 18th century. There was a wide variation in the quarterly charge by the early 19th century with a pre-1815 peak reached in 1813 of £66 6*s*. 4*d*. (Harwich £44 4*s*. 3*d*., Dovercourt £22 2*s*. 1*d*.) reflecting the increasing demands placed on local government finances.<sup>34</sup>

### Borough courts

The corporation held its own quarter sessions at the Guildhall though the most serious offences were referred to the county assizes at Chelmsford. For instance, as in 1748 when John Bickerstaff was charged with killing Theophilus Sandford at Harwich on 26 December 1747.<sup>35</sup> Punishments administered locally varied in nature during the 18th century. For example, in 1767 Joseph Hounslea the younger was 'further imprisoned [for] a Fortnight' for shooting at and wounding John Golding, the offence having taken place in December 1766.<sup>36</sup> Lesser crimes against the person and property often only resulted in a financial penalty, as in 1767 when John Wood was fined 5s. 8d. for breaking Ann Pretty's shop window with a snowball.<sup>37</sup> But stealing offences usually led to a public whipping, as in the cases of George Goodman and Thomas Bowtel or Bowtell in 1769.<sup>38</sup> The following year Harwich fisherman John Balden was committed to one month's hard labour 'for being a disorderly Person and begin[n]ing to dig up a Corps[e] buried in the [Harwich] Church Yard'. <sup>39</sup> In 1765 Richard Mollett (or Mollet or Mullett) and William Wilkinson were ordered to stand on the pillory, as were Elisha Hambrook the youngest and George Aldgate in 1773, all having been found to have intended to commit a homosexual act. 40 The guarter sessions were held at the Three Cups inn while the Guildhall was being rebuilt in 1769.<sup>41</sup>

The murder of Elizabeth Gardiner, wife of Thorpe-le-Soken cordwainer John Gardiner, on a visit to Harwich in 1775 was unsolved, though her husband was a suspect. <sup>42</sup> In 1788 Samuel Keeble and Thomas Gaymer were detained for three months in the gaol, publicly whipped each month and required to find security for their good behaviour for two years for the offence of destroying trees on the estate of local MP John Robinson. <sup>43</sup>

Occasionally the enforcers of law and order were found guilty of misdemeanours themselves. In 1778 Richard Newman, the high constable, was charged with extortion by charging an unwarranted fee when confining debtors. The following year he and another constable John Hart were found guilty of the 'encouraging of an Affray' between Spooner Baker and John Peggs at the Spread Eagle inn in Harwich.<sup>44</sup> On occasion constables and corporation officials were also the victims. In 1736 Captain John Dumaresq was indicted for assaulting sergeant at mace Joseph Culpeck, while in 1761 John Booth and Sarah Barter or Barton were fined 1s. each for attacking scavenger Samuel Webb and in 1790 fisherman John Barrow was charged with 'violently assaulting and beating' John Porter, a constable of St Nicholas parish.<sup>45</sup>

A new association was formed in Harwich in 1787 to pursue and prosecute criminals.<sup>46</sup>
Constables were granted various powers, such as the right to enter public houses to both prevent 'Gaming and improper Tip[p]ling' and to monitor apprentices who were neglecting their duties in 1792.<sup>47</sup> These powers seem to have been strictly implemented as later in the same year Widow Searles, Edward Boyden and Lewis Cottingham, jnr, were indicted for 'keeping a Skittle or Ten pin Ground at their respective Houses'.<sup>48</sup> Captain William Renton, commander of HMS *Martin*, shot himself at the Three Cups inn on New Year's Day 1799, leading the coroner to return a verdict of lunacy.<sup>49</sup> In 1806 Henry Dale was imprisoned for three months for keeping a 'Bawdy House'.<sup>50</sup> A duel fought between two officers in Dovercourt in 1808 resulted in the death of Captain Brodie Grant.<sup>51</sup> In 1812 Samuel Lucas, landlord of the Coach and Horses inn, was cleared at the county assizes of murdering William Bugg, of Colchester, who had died of blows to the head the year before.<sup>52</sup> In 1812 John Farr died after being shot by John Whitfield Rutter, commander of the *Lady Frances* packet. At the county assizes Rutter was found guilty of manslaughter, but was discharged with only a 1s. fine.<sup>53</sup>

The court of pleas, which was conducted by the mayor and steward, dealt with minor litigation, including cases of trespass and the issuing of recognizances prior to the quarter sessions, as well as granting alehouse licenses. The court was held weekly in the 1720s, roughly monthly by the 1730s and 1740s and less regularly by the 1750s.<sup>54</sup> Its role continued to diminish over time and by the 1780s it was common for the court not to be held in any one year; it met infrequently if at all in the early 19th century and the last complaint was entered on 8 September 1824.<sup>55</sup> Harwich held its own Admiralty courts between 1603 and 1791, having jurisdiction over maritime disputes, including over ships captured as prizes.<sup>56</sup>

### Constables, gaol and bridewell

Constables were appointed annually for each of the parishes of Harwich St Nicholas and Dovercourt All Saints. In 1764 the numbers were increased to seven for Harwich and two for Dovercourt, indicating the comparatively high demands of policing the urban settlement.<sup>57</sup> The office of high constable was first mentioned in 1762.<sup>58</sup>

The borough maintained a gaol located at the Guildhall and also a cage which was repaired at a cost of £2 16s. 2½d. in 1718.<sup>59</sup> In 1720 Thomas Dye escaped from the gaol by cutting through the iron bar, though the gaol officer was not held responsible.<sup>60</sup> In January 1747 five smugglers who had been captured off Felixstowe (Suff.), escaped from the gaol, with the help of the gaoler. In November 1747 nine men from a French privateer were secured in the gaol after being taken, again off the coast of Felixstowe.<sup>61</sup> In 1758 Susannah Brame hanged herself in the gaol, with the verdict of 'Lunatic' returned at the inquest.<sup>62</sup> In 1766 a sailor confined as a result of his debts made his escape having been surreptitiously replaced by one of his shipmates.<sup>63</sup> It was decided in 1768 that the sum of 'three half Pence' per day be paid by the justices of the peace for prisoners lacking the means to pay for their upkeep.<sup>64</sup> In 1769 the gaol was remodelled as part of the Guildhall rebuilding. In 1774 the corporation ordered that the bridewell, also known as the house of correction and situated to the rear of the Guildhall, be rebuilt 'on Account of the ruinous Condition thereof being unsafe for safe Custody of Persons to be committed thereto'; the cost of the rebuild was £542 1½d.<sup>65</sup>

In 1779 the gaol was used to temporarily house French prisoners suspected of spying.<sup>66</sup> The following year eight French privateers, captured by the *Prince of Orange* packet, were

detained in the gaol, as were the fishermen of three Dutch vessels in 1781.<sup>67</sup> The gaol *c*.1780 comprised '[t]wo rooms towards the street; no chimneys: a back room called the *dark gaol*, and another with a fire-place'.<sup>68</sup> There were several instances of French prisoners being held during the Revolutionary Wars. A total of 18 men, plus the commander of the *Marauder* privateer, were housed temporarily in the gaol in 1796 after being captured by the *Argus* Customs cutter in Hollesley Bay (Suff.). A similar capture of the *L'Enflame* by the same boat early in the following year resulted in the detention of 14 men and two boys.<sup>69</sup> In 1798 two foreign smugglers escaped from the gaol after cutting through the iron gates.<sup>70</sup> A Royal Navy deserter who was found hanging in the gaol in 1808 was resuscitated.<sup>71</sup> In 1811 the gaol was considered by the corporation to be 'very defective' and plans were made for altering and repairing both the gaol and the bridewell.<sup>72</sup> There was also a pillory located near the town pound which was probably not finally removed until 1810.<sup>73</sup>

### PUBLIC HEALTH AND SERVICES

The corporation had a limited role in maintaining public health. The overseers of the poor gave some assistance on a discretionary basis and employed a physician to minister to the sick poor. Roads and pavements were maintained through the raising of a rate by the churchwardens and overseers of the poor. Up to 1757 street cleaners were apparently employed on a private basis by householders, but from 1758 the corporation appointed a scavenger. The corporation provided a fire engine and there were also apparently a number of privately maintained engines by the beginning of the 19th century.

#### Public health

In 1730–1 a smallpox outbreak in Harwich led to three cases requiring the assistance of the overseers of the poor. There appears to have been a smallpox epidemic in Dovercourt in 1749–50 since there were several cases recorded by the overseers of the poor, including four in the workhouse. By 1755 it was being reported that contrary to popular rumour there were no cases in Harwich. However, in 1759 there were two cases of smallpox identified, the infection having been brought into the town by Royal Navy seamen.

Occasionally the medical costs of the poor were covered by the overseers at Dovercourt, as in 1734 when £2 was paid to Dr Pelham.<sup>80</sup> A formal arrangement was made from 1752 when a physician was paid two guineas a year to provide care for the poor of Dovercourt, though it was specified in the following year that this did not cover broken limbs and venereal disease.<sup>81</sup>

#### Road and pavement maintenance

The corporation had responsibility for maintaining the roads and pavements. <sup>82</sup> In 1772 it was noted that the pavements in the town were 'much improved' though there were many enhancements in subsequent years. <sup>83</sup> Church Street and the lanes running from it were ordered to 'be paved in the same Manner as the West Street now is' in 1773. <sup>84</sup> Two years later the pavement in the marketplace and at the upper end of King's Head Street was repaved. <sup>85</sup> Even so, in 1778 the pavement from the 'Slip Way to the Cage' in Harwich was reported to be in a 'ruinous Condition', and by 1788 it was observed by a visitor that the streets were 'wretchedly' paved. <sup>86</sup> The corporation recommended in 1802 that White Hart Lane be re-paved. <sup>87</sup> In 1812 the corporation submitted a petition to Parliament about the state of the pavements made of stone collected from the shore, suggesting that it would be 'desirable to have the Town newly paved throughout with more durable materials'. <sup>88</sup>

# Refuse collection

Harwich was described as 'very small but clean' in 1714. <sup>89</sup> Nonetheless, the corporation required that a scavenger be appointed in 1757 owing to the 'Filthy Condition' of the streets in Harwich and 'Filth of almost all kinds being Spread over the whole Town'. <sup>90</sup> A rate not exceeding 4*d*. in the pound was raised in January 1758 to pay for the scavenger, with an additional charge not exceeding 2*d*. in the pound levied six months later. <sup>91</sup> Scavengers John Booth and Robert Howard were sentenced in 1761 to be publicly whipped at the marketplace and imprisoned for a week, as well as being fined 3*s*. 4*d*. each, for neglecting their duties. <sup>92</sup> Further, the annual appointment apparently could not be declined, as William Farley in 1761 and Frances Stevens in 1762 were fined 13*s*. 4*d*. and £5 respectively and John Macrow in 1764 reprimanded for refusing to serve. Henry Crussels and Jeremiah Garrard in 1766 and Isaac Howard and James Haystead in 1767 were apparently also reprimanded for neglect of

duty in their role as scavengers. <sup>93</sup> In 1785 the gaol keeper Samuel Martin was appointed scavenger, his duties requiring him 'to rake clean and take away all the Dirt Dust Ashes & Filth out of the Streets Lanes Alleys and other places...[...]...and to carry and lay the same upon the Ground called the Muck Yard near the Town Gate'. <sup>94</sup> In 1795 the scavengers were brought before the quarter sessions jury for 'not keeping the Streets sufficiently clean'. <sup>95</sup> The scavengers were admonished every year from 1800 to 1808, with the exception of 1804, for failing to keep the streets of Harwich clean. <sup>96</sup> Finally in 1809 the corporation ordered that the surveyors sink two wells and erect pumps at the end of both Church Street and West Street in order to clean the streets. <sup>97</sup> Nonetheless, the scavengers were again reprimanded in 1810. <sup>98</sup>

## Drainage and sewers

Extending the town's drainage and remedying problems with it led to considerable expenditure during the later 18th and earlier 19th centuries. In 1775 the corporation ordered that the common sewer at the blacksmith's shop in the east of Harwich be carried to the drain at the naval shipyard.<sup>99</sup> In 1778 corporation scavengers William Brinkley and John Peggs were charged with neglect for failing to clean the sewer near Harwich's workhouse. 100 A visitor noted in 1784 that '[t]he town is badly built, the streets are narrow and irregular, the street-channels do not drain properly and the town is full of mud, even in summer'. <sup>101</sup> Some time between 1788 and 1792 the gutter running through the Town Gate was re-directed so that it ran into the moat adjoining the marshlands, thus allowing carriages to more easily enter the town. <sup>102</sup> In 1795 the corporation agreed to repair the main part of the drain by the shipyard slipway while the surveyor was ordered to repair a sewer in 1798. <sup>103</sup> In 1799 it was noted that there was 'great Deficiency' in the state of the parish highways and it was ordered that the sewer in West Street, Harwich, be repaired. <sup>104</sup> In 1799 the sewer running down to the slipway was considered to be a public nuisance. The scavenger was required to clean the cesspool at the head of the drain once a week though this work had still not been done by 1800. 105 The amount paid in 1800 for fitting the drain running from 'Ship Corner' to the slipway was £37 5s. 11d. 106 In 1806 the corporation recommended that the drains leading from the Bell and Globe inns to the shore be stopped up and an 'open Guttery' be built in their place. <sup>107</sup> In 1809 it was proposed that a drain be made from Mr Gowland's house down the slipway 'by the Watchouse in order to carry off the Waste Water'. <sup>108</sup> Later in the year another order was made to clear the water course through Timberfield to the drain carrying

water to the shore, and also to have the drain leading to the slipway cleared.<sup>109</sup> In 1810 it was recommended that another drain be made from Mr Fryatt's premises to lead to the slipway drain.<sup>110</sup> In the same year a new drain of two feet in diameter was fitted to run from the south end of West Street to the fleet on the north side of the new road entering Harwich.<sup>111</sup>

### Water supply

There was no fresh water supply to Harwich or Dovercourt for most of the 18th century. Repairs to the 'Stonewell' owned by the corporation were carried out in 1713 at a cost of over £29.112 In 1730 the water was described as 'so brackish, that it is fit for nothing but to wash their Houses' with a system of 'rainbacks' being adopted by each household to collect rainwater for non-drinking domestic use. Water was also brought into Harwich from a spring in Dovercourt or transported by barge from another spring in Erwarton (Suff.) courtesy of the local MP Sir Philip Parker. 113 In the late 1760s these springs were still used during droughts, or water was fetched from another spring at Landguard Fort. 114 Military encampments at Harwich were supplied with water from a well that was dug in 1781. A new well was also dug at Landguard Fort in 1782. 115 At the time the only local springs were Carrington's Spring, 'Rolfe's Pumps' (apparently the 'Stonewells' leased to George Rolfe in the early 18th century), 'Dixon's-hole', a spring in the garden of the Three Crowns inn and a disused well near the camp. Another spring under the cliff had fallen into disuse and Harwich's water supply was described as generally 'indifferent'. 116 In 1807 a corporation committee was established to investigate bringing water from the 'Stonewells' into Harwich, but only five years later a petition raised by the corporation complained of the 'want of fresh and wholesome Water' in the town. The 'rainbacks' were considered insufficient and resort visitors used to spring water were also dissatisfied. At the time the Royal Navy's ships using Harwich gained their water supplies from Mistley. 117

#### *Fire brigade and lifeboat*

A new fire engine was purchased by the corporation in 1754 at a cost of £33 16s. <sup>118</sup> A second machine was purchased in 1792, the new fire engine costing £58 6s. 6d. A new engine house was built c.1798 at a cost of £60. <sup>119</sup> In 1815 as many as six fire engines attended a blaze on

the harbour front that destroyed a breakwater near Cobbold's brewery. Two of these belonged to the corporation, two to the Royal Navy and two to the Board of Ordnance. 120

There was apparently no lifeboat covering the Harwich area until 1800 even though shipping disasters were a regular occurrence, often with considerable loss of life. For example, several ships were lost in a tempest in May 1766 with all hands perishing. <sup>121</sup> A storm at sea in October 1777 caused the loss of ten colliers and east coast traders on the Gunfleet Sands and Spitway, with more reported missing, some of which may have been headed to Harwich. <sup>122</sup> In October of the same year in separate incidents the *Samuel* barge was carried into the harbour having been dismasted, with only one survivor and six drowned, and the *Sally* barge lost its entire crew of four men, three women and a child on its way to Harwich after turning over near the Whiteacre Beacon. <sup>123</sup> In 1788 several separate boating accidents within a month in Harwich harbour brought about the deaths of five mariners. <sup>124</sup> Eight men were drowned in March 1793 when a salvage boat from Lowestoft overset near Landguard Fort. <sup>125</sup>

Finally, a lifeboat was ordered to be stationed off Lowestoft in 1800 with the intention of covering as far south as Harwich. However, there are no reports of its use in spite of a severe gale in December 1808 causing over 300 ships to put into Harwich harbour. In 1811 thunder and lightning caused a boat to overturn on its way to Landguard Fort, with the loss of two lives. In 1815 four men were drowned as they made their way in the letter boat to Landguard Fort. It wasn't until 1821 that Harwich had its own dedicated lifeboat.

#### MANORIAL COURTS AND ADMINISTRATION

Courts leet had ceased to be held in the late 17th century, <sup>131</sup> but courts baron continued to be held annually for the manor of Dovercourt with Harwich throughout the 18th and early 19th centuries. An occasional special court baron convened when necessary. Administration was overseen by the court steward, and initially there were usually between two and five jurors (typically four). <sup>132</sup> The chief business of the court was registering the transfer of customary landholdings; occasionally it also heard pleas of land (plaints) between tenants over rights to customary holdings. <sup>133</sup> The court also intervened to prevent nuisances on the manor such as illegal encroachments, dung heaps or other blockages on the waste or common ways and to ensure that manorial assets such as the pound were maintained. <sup>134</sup> In 1805 the homage

presented information to the steward that two copyhold tenants had leased their lands for a term longer than a year without licence, and they were therefore judged to have forfeited their holdings. However, such licences were sometimes granted, one tenant in 1803 receiving a licence to demise his holdings for 14 years. Manorial timber was a valuable asset, and the court also issued licences for its felling; in 1809 two such grants to copyhold tenants were made, to Joseph Quincey, a timber merchant from Blackfriars (Surr.) and Revd William Whinfield of Harwich. The lord received one-third of the timber value, unless the material was used to repair the holding. At the turn of the 19th century the manorial courts were usually held at a local inn, most commonly, the White Hart inn, Harwich. 138



### **HM CUSTOMS**

A Customs station was first established at Harwich in 1693. Smuggling was an everpresent problem throughout most of the 18th century, and a large number of Harwich residents probably had some connection with the activity. Policing the illegal trade occasionally met with violent outcomes. In 1714 tidesmen and boatmen Thomas Cribb and William Whitehead, having seized an illegal haul of brandy in West Street, Harwich, were assaulted by men who included the lighthouse worker James Mortlock. It was further reported that a local constable Jeremy Malden 'Seemed to be Very well pleased to see the officers Soe barbarously used'. 140 In the same year the Customs boat broke loose from its anchor and was broken up on the cliff rocks in a 'Violent Storme'. 141 Another storm in 1715 washed away the 'Necessary howse' on Custom House Quay. 142 Two riding officers were employed from December 1717 in order to patrol the Tendring coast; in addition the Manningtree riding officer covered either side of the river Stour. <sup>143</sup> In 1719 it was proposed that a pinnace replace the smack or yacht previously used by Customs to prevent the packet boats sinking prohibited goods outside the harbour; the Weymouth smack was stationed at Harwich in the same year to cruise and halt smuggling operations. <sup>144</sup> Captain John Phillips was arrested in 1720, along with his mate Mr Wickham, apparently in a private suit brought by two ship owners though the nature of the alleged offence is not recorded. <sup>145</sup> In 1721 the Weymouth smack had 10 men in addition to the captain, with the tide surveyor's boat having a crew of six plus the captain. 146

In 1723 Customs officers were beaten when uncovering a smuggling operation at Frinton; William Jennings, Robert Carter, William Carter and John Ives were sentenced to transportation when the case came to trial in 1726.<sup>147</sup> In 1724 a boat lent by the Royal Navy for use by the Customs service was stolen.<sup>148</sup> In the same year Joseph Southgate, mate of the *Weymouth*, was badly wounded in an incident in Aldeburgh Bay (Suff.), but the subsequent prosecution of Edward Russett failed when he could not be certainly identified as the perpetrator.<sup>149</sup> In 1725 'great Abuses' were perpetrated by John Woollard (or Woolward), Samuel Cole and Henry Munt against Captain John Phillips and his crew when seizing goods from the *John & Sarah*; Woollard was fined £2 at the Chelmsford assizes in 1727.<sup>150</sup> Another violent clash with smugglers occurred in 1726 on the Woodbridge river (Suff.) when the *Margaret* sloop was seized and later in the same year a skirmish with French vessels in

Sizewell Bay (Suff.) resulted in five prisoners being brought to Harwich gaol. <sup>151</sup> A new boathouse was built in 1726 and in the following year the *Walpole* replaced the *Weymouth*. <sup>152</sup>

A major smuggling incident in 1729 resulted in the mate of the *Prince of Wales* packet Edward Ellis contracting a 'Violent Feaver' which led to his death. Another member of the crew John Sturgeon survived being shot, while the captured smugglers were committed to the county gaol in Chelmsford. In January of the following year another confrontation off Sizewell led to several Customs men being badly wounded. Six smugglers were captured, but four of them escaped when a mob attacked the guards in Ipswich and another was acquitted at the subsequent trial. More successful was the prosecution of Thomas Forgan, described as a 'Notorious Smugler [sic]', who was captured in April 1730 when the *Young Johanna* was seized. Thomas Warren was also captured in the same incident. However, Forgan escaped from Chelmsford gaol in 1733, along with fellow smugglers Jacob Walter and Edward Carbold. Additionally, in 1733 prisoner John Pixly escaped from on board the *Waklyn* Customs sloop and made his way to Holland.

In 1731 a new Custom House was obtained on a 21-year lease at a property owned by Captain Jewers. An additional property adjacent was obtained at the same time for use as a baggage handling facility.<sup>158</sup> Captain Skeats was charged with irregularities on several occasions, including auctioning cable belonging to the *Waklyn* after he had left his post as commander in order to reimburse himself for the rent paid on the extra property.<sup>159</sup> In 1734 Captain Hudson, of the *Diligence* sloop, was charged with neglect of duty and for being so frequently on shore at Harwich.<sup>160</sup>

As well as being used to capture smugglers, the packet boats were sometimes implicated in enabling them to escape detection as in 1737 when Captain Thomas Wimpole was believed to have been privy to there being illicit stocks of tea on board the *Carteret and Harrison*.<sup>161</sup> There was considerable suspicion between Customs officers and the packet boat captains as a result of the Post Office having political control over Harwich Corporation.<sup>162</sup> Individual Customs officials were also accused of facilitating smuggling, as in the cases of Henry Keeble and Richard Collier, both in 1735, and Thomas Cook and Keeble again in 1736.<sup>163</sup> In 1737 Captain Phillips complained of 'his peoples Mutinying, and Assaulting and Beating he and his Mate' in an altercation on one of the Customs boats.<sup>164</sup>

In 1736 John Coleman and William Phillips were reinstated as surveyors of Customs at Harwich following good character references, having been dismissed the previous year. However, their 'misbehaviour' was also investigated later in 1736 and Coleman was dismissed again in 1742, though his offence is not known. In 1746 the arrest of a smuggling cutter called the *Dove*, formerly the *Baltimore*, resulted in 16 men being committed to Harwich gaol. In 1750 three Customs officials based at Hamford Water were drowned on making their way to their station.

The lease for a new Custom House was signed in 1753.<sup>169</sup> In 1756 malicious intent was suspected following the cutting away of an anchor of a Customs boat and another two boats being cut adrift.<sup>170</sup> The following year the anchor and cable belonging to one of the boats was stolen.<sup>171</sup> In 1768 Robert Wooley was committed to Chelmsford gaol charged with stealing a Customs cutter and was convicted of the offence the following year.<sup>172</sup> In 1770 Custom House officer Mr Manning was drowned after falling overboard and in 1771 fisherman Richard Rider was charged with stealing an iron mooring swivel and a rope from the Customs cutter the *Vigilant*.<sup>173</sup>

Smuggling seemed to have become particularly widespread by the 1770s as Prime Minister Lord North was petitioned in 1774 to provide Harwich with an armed cutter to prevent the smuggling of wool and livestock to France. <sup>174</sup> Yet, Customs officers were implicated in enabling the illegal trade and the *Earl of Besborough* and *Prince of Wales* packets were seized in 1774 and again in 1777, when the *Dolphin* packet was also impounded. <sup>175</sup> In the former year Harwich mariner John Scott was also awarded £100 after five Customs officer illegally searched his dwelling for contraband goods. <sup>176</sup> The illicit trade reached a peak in 1775, when it was reported that 'greatest number of buyers ever known' assembled at one of the Customs auctions of seized goods. <sup>177</sup> The total value of seizures by the *Argus* cutter were as follows: 1774 £2647 8s 2d., 1775 £5,107 15s. 8¾d., 1776 £1,979 16s. 2d., and 1777 £3,623 16s. 4¾d. <sup>178</sup> In the latter year up to 30 small cutters were said to have been involved in the smuggling trade between Naze Point and the river Thames, while two Customs cutters, the *Argus* and *Bee*, were stationed at Harwich. <sup>179</sup>

Sometimes Customs boats were involved in skirmishes with smuggling vessels, as in 1775 when the *Argus* received damage to its mast, boom and bowsprit following a confrontation with a lugger, in 1776 when three men on board the *Argus* were wounded and on several occasions in 1778 when the *Argus* again clashed with smugglers. <sup>180</sup> In 1775 a brig, a smack and four cutters were burnt at Harwich having been condemned for being involved in the smuggling trade, as were several vessels in the following year. <sup>181</sup> The *Bee* cutter engaged with a smuggling vessel near Burnham in 1778 resulting in the deaths of two smugglers, William Riches and James Anderson. <sup>182</sup> An embargo was put on French vessels entering ports under the jurisdiction of Henry Pelham Davies, collector of Customs, in 1778. <sup>183</sup> In 1779 the *Argus* was involved in a notable confrontation off the Naze but, aided by the *Repulse* and *Ranger* cutters and Trinity House vessels, the two privateer vessels were repulsed. <sup>184</sup> In 1781 the *Argus* was responsible for capturing the Dutch fishing vessel *De Jonge Susanna* which was treated as a prize by the High Court of Admiralty. <sup>185</sup> In 1781 the *Repulse* had two men killed and two wounded following an encounter with an American privateer. <sup>186</sup>

In 1784 the Customs officer John Turner, jnr, was found drowned and it was suspected that foul play was involved. 187 Seven men, apparently smugglers, were committed to gaol in 1785 after an affray in the harbour in which they attacked some Harwich boatmen with bludgeons. 188 Later in the same year a seized lugsail boat was recovered by armed smugglers in a night-time raid. 189 Wool was being unlawfully transported in quantity, for on one occasion in 1784 some 11,520 lbs of wool were seized and condemned for being illegally exported. 190 The packet boat crews continued to be implicated in illicit trading, as in 1784 when the *Prince of Orange* packet was impounded for 12 days and in 1788 when the *Earl of* Besborough was seized. 191 A break-in at the Custom House in 1789 resulted in some money being stolen. 192 In 1789 the *Repulse* cutter was lost on the West Rocks, though the crew survived, but on another occasion the following year five men drowned when a galley belonging to the *Argus* overturned in Harwich harbour. <sup>193</sup> Another break-in took place in 1791, apparently in search of official papers, such that a £50 reward was offered. 194 In 1793 an embargo was placed on English vessels entering Harwich harbour from foreign ports, with only colliers, coasters, fishing smacks and non-French foreign vessels exempt. 195 The embargo was lifted on vessels bound to London in 1798, but remained in place for those

going to the Continent.<sup>196</sup> In 1799 renewed embargoes were placed on ships in Harwich port, with the exception of government transports and other vessels.<sup>197</sup>

By 1795 smuggling had diminished greatly as Customs reported that 'that we can not learn of any thing of consequence having been done in that way for a considerable time past, particularly the last six Months; and that this illicit traffic has unquestionably been rapidly decreasing during the last two Years'. 198 Even so, by 1802 there were still six ships of war stationed in Harwich harbour for the purpose of detecting smugglers, at a time when military hostilities had temporarily ceased. 199 In 1805 an embargo was enforced on all British ships, except colliers and coasters, entering the harbour while the following year a similar measure was taken against Prussian ships. Indeed, a total of 27 vessels sailing under the Prussian flag were soon detained in the harbour, with the crews treated as prisoners of war and three of the ships being sold at auction as prizes. The embargo was extended to all ships in 1807. One such prize was the French privateer *Speculator*, captured by the *Argus* cutter in 1807.<sup>201</sup> However, a few months later the Argus itself was taken in a skirmish with another French privateer resulting in the death of five of the crew. Captain John Turner and another two of his men died soon afterwards in captivity in France, while three other captured crew members also died as prisoners of war as late as 1814 and 1815. Thirteen men from L'Etoile lugger, and the *Endeavour* brig captured by *L'Etoile*, also died in the incident or as a result of drowning.<sup>202</sup>

The Custom House in West Street, Harwich, together with its warehouses, wharfs and other tenements, was sold to a Mr Pilkington in 1808, when it was intended to build a new watchhouse and boathouse. The Preventive Water Guard was established in 1809; it was absorbed into HM Customs in 1822 and renamed HM Coastguard. A burglary in 1811 saw 200 bottles of Dutch gin and paper stolen from the Custom House while another break-in occurred in 1813 when about 80 gallons of Dutch gin was stolen. Two further burglaries took place in 1814. Customs and the related Excise service continued to play a significant role in capturing enemy vessels, as, for example, in 1813 when the *Viper* Excise cutter brought into the harbour the French privateer *La Louisa*, seized off North Foreland after a four-hour chase.

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<sup>6</sup> BL, Add MS 47136; <a href="https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1715-1754/constituencies/harwich">https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1715-1754/constituencies/harwich</a> (accessed 15 Nov. 2021); Namier, *Structure of Politics*, 359–60.

<sup>7</sup> BL, Add MS 32735, ff. 308–9; 32857, f. 590;

https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1715-1754/constituencies/harwich (accessed 15 Nov. 2021); Namier, *Structure of Politics*, 360–3; above, Soc. Hist., Soc. structure, Prominent families and individuals.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Society of the Friends of the People, *The State of the Representation of England, Scotland and Wales, Delivered to the Society, the Friends of the People, Associated for the Purpose of Obtaining a Parl. Reform, on Saturday the 9th of Feb., 1793* ([1793]), 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> L. Namier, The Structure of Politics at the Acc. of George III (2nd edn, 1957), 358.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> *CJ*, 6 Apr. 1714; <a href="http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/constituencies/harwich">http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/constituencies/harwich</a> (accessed 14 Nov. 2021).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> *CJ*, 25 May, 29 June 1714; <a href="http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/constituencies/harwich">http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/constituencies/harwich</a> (accessed 14 Nov. 2021).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1715-1754/constituencies/harwich (accessed 15 Nov. 2021); above, Intro., Landownership.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> <a href="https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/constituencies/harwich">https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/constituencies/harwich</a> (accessed 15 Nov. 2021); Namier, *Structure of Politics*, 363–87.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> *CJ*, lviii, p. 333; <a href="https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/constituencies/harwich">https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/robinson-john-i-1727-1802</a> (accessed 4 Dec. 2021).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/constituencies/harwich (accessed 17 Nov. 2021).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> An Alphabetical List of the Freeholders of the County of Essex (1775), 26, 73, 109, 125, 202.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> IJ, 24 Apr., 15, 22, 29 May, 5, 12 June 1790.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> HTC, 98.6 F, mins, 30 Nov. 1754; 98.7 G, 1, 4 July 1796, 30 Nov. 1803; 99.3, 21 Dec. 1754 to 21 Dec. 1755, 21 Dec. 1795 to 21 Dec. 1796.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> L.T. Weaver, 'Harwich and its high stewards', Essex Countryside 15.128 (1967), 59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> HTC, 98.6 F, mins, 24 May 1781; 98.7 G, mins, 1, 4 July 1796; 99.3, 21 Dec. 1795 to 21 Dec. 1796.

https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/constituencies/harwich (accessed 17 Nov. 2021).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Ibid. 98.17, 16 Apr. 1798.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Ibid. 98.16, 12 Jan. 1758.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Ibid. 98.7 G, mins, 4 May 1812; J. Howard, *The State of the Prisons in England and Wales, with Preliminary Observations, and an Account of some Foreign Prisons and Hospitals* (2nd edn, 1780), 223.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> HTC, 98.5 E, mins, 21 Jan. 1714;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> HTC, 98.5 E, mins, 21 Dec. 1728, 20 Feb. 1729; *IJ*, 28 Dec. 1728–4 Jan. 1729.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> ERO, D/B 4/136/11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> HTC, 98.6 F, mins, 28 Feb. 1780.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Ibid. 98.7 G, mins, 7, 12 Dec. 1789; *IJ*, 19 Dec. 1789.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> HTC, 99.3, 21 Feb. 1798.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Ibid. 98.7 G, mins, 30 Nov., 21 Dec. 1796, 23, 28 July, 5 Dec. 1798; IJ, 24, 31 Dec. 1796,

<sup>27</sup> Jan., 28 July 1798; above, Soc. Hist., Soc. structure, Prominent families and individuals.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> HTC, 98.7 G, mins, 28 May 1808; *IJ*, 7 May 1808.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> HTC, 98.5 E, mins, 5 Mar. 1729.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Ibid. 99.3, 21 Dec. 1757 to 21 Dec. 1758.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Ibid. 12 Mar. 1764, 20 Feb. 1766.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Ibid. 98.6 F, mins, 20 Mar. 1758.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Ibid. 30 Nov. 1773; *IJ*, 4 Sept., 11 Dec. 1773, 12 Mar. 1774.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> HTC, 98.6 F, mins, 28 Feb. 1780.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Ibid. 98.7 G, mins, 1 Feb. 1797.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Ibid. 98.16, 13 July 1767; 98.17, *passim.*; 98.18, 12 July 1813. The maximum charged subsequently was £75 (Harwich £50, Dovercourt £25) in 1823: 98.18, 7 Apr. 1823.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Ibid. 98.16, 5 Oct. 1748.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Ibid. 12 Jan., 27 Apr. 1767.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Ibid. 12 Jan. 1767.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Ibid. 98.17, 2 Oct. 1769.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Ibid. 8 Jan. 1770.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Ibid. 98.16, 18 Jan. 1765; 98.17, 4 Oct. 1773; *IJ*, 9 Feb. 1765.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> HTC, 98.17, 10 July, 2 Oct. 1769, 8 Jan., 23 Apr. 1770.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> ERO, D/P 170/1/4, bur. 30 Jan. 1775; HTC, 98.17, 24 Apr. 1775; IJ, 28 Jan., 4 Feb. 1775.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> *IJ*, 9 Feb. 1788.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> HTC, 98.17, 26 Oct. 1778, 12 Apr., 12 July 1779. The incident occurred in 1778.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Ibid. 98.12, 20 July 1736; 98.16, 17 July 1761; 98.17, 11 Jan. 1790.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> *IJ*, 3 Mar. 1787.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> HTC, 98.17, 7 Apr. 1792.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Ibid. 1 Oct. 1792.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Ibid. 14 Jan. 1799; *IJ*, 5 Jan. 1799.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> HTC, 98.18, 14 July 1806.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Ibid. 11 July 1808 (adjourned to 8 Aug. 1808); *IJ*, 30 Apr. 7 May 1808.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> *IJ*, 31 Aug. 1811, 14, 21 Mar. 1812.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> HTC, 98.18, 6 Apr. 1812; *IJ*, 21 Mar. 1812.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> HTC, 98.12, passim.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Ibid. 98.13, *passim*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> VCH Essex II, 283; below, Military and Naval Defences; below, this sect., HM Customs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> HTC, 98.16, 13 Jan. 1764.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Ibid. 15 Jan. 1762, as noted by Weaver.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Ibid. 99.1, 6 Mar. 1718.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Ibid. 98.5 E, mins, 15 Mar. 1720.

<sup>61</sup> TNA, CUST 99/4, 20 Jan., 10 Nov. 1747.

<sup>62</sup> HTC, 98.16, 12 Jan. 1759.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> *IJ*, 26 Apr. 1766.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> HTC, 98.16, 11 Jan. 1768.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Ibid. 98.6 F, mins, 10 Jan. 1774; 99.3, 21 Dec. 1774 to 21 Dec. 1775.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> IJ, 28 Aug., 4, 18 Sept. 1779.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Ibid. 28 Oct. 1780, 29 Dec. 1781.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Howard, State of the Prisons in England and Wales, 223.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> TNA, HO 42/39/50, ff. 112–3; *IJ*, 17, 24 Sept. 1796, 4 Feb. 1797.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> TNA, CUST 99/15, 30 Nov. 1798.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> *IJ*, 29 Oct. 1808.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> HTC, 98.7 G, mins, 21 May, 28 June 1811.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> TNA, WO 55/734, letter, 18 Nov. 1809; HTC, 98.7 G, mins, 17 May 1810.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> HTC, 98.16, 13 Jan. 1757, 12 Jan. 1758.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Below, this sect., Fire brigade and lifeboat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> ERO, D/P 170/12/1, 21 July, 11 Sept. 1730, 1 Mar. 1731.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Ibid. D/P 174/12/2, Easter to Michaelmas, 16 Nov., 24 Dec. 1749, 28 Jan., 5 Feb., 11, 25 Mar. 1750.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> IJ, 12, 19, 26 July, 2 Aug. 1755.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Ibid. 21, 28 July 1759.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> ERO, D/P 174/12/2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Ibid. Easter Monday 1752 and 1753.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> Above, Intro., Communications and transport, Roads.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> *Hist. by Gent.*, VI, 102 *n*.

<sup>84</sup> HTC, 98.17, 4 Oct. 1773.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> Ibid. 24 Apr. 1775.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Ibid. 26 Oct. 1778; Anon., A Tour, Sentimental and Descriptive, through the United Provinces, Austrian Netherlands, and France; Interspersed with Parisian, and other Anecdotes: with some Observations on the Howardian system. Two Volumes (1788), I, 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> HTC, 98.17, 4 Oct. 1802.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid. 98.7 G, mins, 18 Sept. 1812.

<sup>89 [</sup>Macky], A Journey Through England, 10.

<sup>90</sup> HTC, 98.16, 13 Jan. 1757, 21 Apr. 1757.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Ibid. 12 Jan., 13 July 1758.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid. 16 Jan., 3 Apr., 17 July 1761.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid. 17 July, 9 Oct. 1761, 16 July, 8 Oct. 1762, 4 May, 5 Oct. 1764, 6 Oct. 1766, 5 Oct. 1767; 99.3, 9 Oct. 1761, 8 Oct. 1762.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> Ibid. 98.17, 4 Apr. 1785.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> Ibid. 13 July 1795.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Ibid. 18 July, 6 Oct. 1800, 12 Jan. 1801, 4 Oct. 1802; 98.18, 11 July 1803, 14 Jan. 1805, 14
 July 1806, 27 July 1807, 11 July 1808.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Ibid. 98.18, 10 July 1809.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> Ibid. 30 Apr. 1810.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> Ibid. 98.17, 24 Apr. 1775.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> Ibid. 27 Apr. 1778.

- <sup>101</sup> F. de la Rochefoucauld (edited from the MS with an intro. by J. Marchand; transl. with notes by S. C. Roberts), *A Frenchman in England 1784 Being the* Mélanges sur l'Angleterre *of François de la Rochefoucauld* (1933), 170.
- <sup>102</sup> HTC, 98.17, 6 Oct. 1788, 1 Oct. 1792.
- <sup>103</sup> Ibid. 98.7 G, mins, 5 Oct. 1795; 98.17, 2 Oct. 1798.
- <sup>104</sup> Ibid. 98.17, 14 Jan. 1799.
- <sup>105</sup> Ibid. 1 Apr., 7 Oct. 1799, 6 Oct. 1800.
- <sup>106</sup> Ibid. 99.3, 7 Mar. 1800.
- <sup>107</sup> Ibid. 98.18, 14 July 1806.
- <sup>108</sup> Ibid. 10 July 1809.
- <sup>109</sup> Ibid. 2 Oct. 1809.
- <sup>110</sup> Ibid. 9 July 1810.
- <sup>111</sup> Ibid. 98.7 G, mins, 11 Oct. 1810.
- <sup>112</sup> Ibid. 99.1.
- <sup>113</sup> Dale, *Harwich and Dovercourt*, 26 n.; above, Econ. Hist., Ind., Brewing and malting.
- <sup>114</sup> Morant, *Essex*, I, 499.
- <sup>115</sup> BL, Maps 6.Tab.8.; T. Hyde Page (communicated by Lieutenant General Rainsford),
- 'Descriptions of the King's Wells at Sheerness, Languard-Fort, and Harwich. By Sir Thomas Hyde Page, Knt. F. R. S.; communicated by Lieut. Gen. Rainsford, F. R. S.' *Philosophical Transactions* 74 (1 Jan 1784), 15, 18; *IJ*, 12 May 1781.
- <sup>116</sup> BL, Add MS 23655; above, Econ. Hist., Ind., Brewing and malting.
- <sup>117</sup> HTC, 98.7 G, mins, 16 Sept. 1807, 18 Sept. 1812.
- <sup>118</sup> Ibid. 98.6 F, mins, 25 Nov. 1754; 99.3, 27 Jan. 1754.
- <sup>119</sup> Ibid. 98.7 G, mins, 9 July 1792; 99.3, 2 Jan. 1793, 18 Apr. 1798.
- <sup>120</sup> TNA, CUST 99/19, 25 Jan. 1816; IJ, 22 July 1815.
- <sup>121</sup> IJ, 24 May 1766.
- <sup>122</sup> Ibid. 1, 8 Nov. 1777.
- <sup>123</sup> Ibid. 5, 12 Oct. 1782.
- <sup>124</sup> Ibid. 31 May, 21 June, 5 July 1788.
- <sup>125</sup> Ibid. 30 Mar. 1793.
- <sup>126</sup> Ibid. 22, 29 Nov., 6, 13, 20, 27 Dec. 1800, 10, 17 Jan. 1801.
- <sup>127</sup> Ibid. 24 Dec. 1808.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> Ibid. 15, 22 June 1811.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> Ibid. 30 Dec. 1815.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup> Below, Harwich, Dovercourt and Parkeston, 1815–1914, Local Govt and Politics, Public health and services, Lifeboats.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> Above, Harwich and Dovercourt, 1603–1713, Local govt, Manorial courts and admin.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup> ERO, D/DLy M3–4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>133</sup> Examples: Ibid. D/DLy M3, 8 May 1753, 7 June 1770.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup> Examples: Ibid. D/DLy M4, 28 June 1793, 25 Aug. 1806, 29 June 1810.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>135</sup> Ibid. 5 Aug. 1805.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> Ibid. 29 Aug. 1803.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> Ibid. 9 June 1809.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> Ibid. D/DQs 8, notices for general courts baron, 1797, 1801, 1803–6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup> D.A. Male, 'Harwich hist. – a miscellany (Part 2)', *Highlight*, no. 169, Autumn 2012, p. 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> TNA, CUST 99/1, 12 Oct. 1714.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> Ibid. 9 Jan. 1714.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup> Ibid. 17 Mar. 1715.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>143</sup> Ibid. 16 Feb. 1716, 6 July, 26 Dec. 1717. One of the new riding officers, John Eslin, was suspended in 1719 as he was believed to be 'in confederacy with Smugglers': TNA, CUST 99/1, 8 Dec. 1719, 7, 30 Jan. 1720.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>144</sup> Ibid. 10 Mar., 25 June 1719.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>145</sup> Ibid. 3 May, 27 Oct. 1720.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>146</sup> Ibid. 4 May 1721.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>147</sup> Ibid. 13 Feb., 20 July 1725, 15 Oct. 1726.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>148</sup> Ibid. 13 Aug. 1724.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>149</sup> Ibid. 12 Sept., 24 Oct. 1724, 10 Apr., 7 Sept. 1725, 20, 27 Jan., 5 Feb. 1726.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>150</sup> Ibid. 19 June, 14 Aug. 1725, 23 Feb., 7 Mar. 1727.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>151</sup> Ibid. 7 May, 9 June, 25 Oct., 12 Nov. 1726.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>152</sup> Ibid. 13 Aug., 22 Sept. 1726, 17 Jan., 23 Feb. 1727.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>153</sup> Ibid. CUST 99/2, 1, 12 July, 7 Aug., 2 Oct. 1729.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>154</sup> Ibid. 6, 10, 13, 20 Jan. 1730.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>155</sup> Ibid. 2, 23 Apr., 16, 26 May 1730, 6, 13 July 1731.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>156</sup> Ibid. Nov. 1733.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>157</sup> Ibid. 23 Feb., 24 Mar. 1733.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>158</sup> Ibid. 28 Aug., 9 Oct. 1731, 13 Apr. 1732, 10 July 1736.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>159</sup> Ibid. 3 Mar., 19 Nov. 1732, 28 Aug. 1733.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid. 27 Aug. 1734.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>161</sup> Ibid. CUST 99/3, 9, 10, 18, 20 June 1737.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>162</sup> Ibid. CUST 99/2, 28 Feb. 1734, 25 Nov. 1735; above, this sect., Political representation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>163</sup> Ibid. May, 3 July, 2, 21 Aug. 1735, 5 Feb. 1736.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>164</sup> Ibid. CUST 99/3, 30 Aug., 15 Sept., 11 Oct. 1737. This was a different Captain Phillips to the one referred to in 1720 and 1725.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>165</sup> Ibid. T 1/292/38, 19 Oct. 1736; 11/21, 20 Oct. 1736.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>166</sup> Ibid. CUST 99/2, 9 Nov., 9 Dec. 1736; T 11/22, 16 Nov. 1742. The dismissal appears to have been due to disobeying orders and neglecting to attend and consult Captain Martin, but may well have been related to an assault on fellow Customs official Henry Stevens earlier in the year: TNA, CUST 99/3, June/July, 3 Aug. 1742. Coleman was a repeat offender as his conduct was also investigated in 1732 and 1733: TNA, CUST 99/2, 3 Mar., 18 Apr. 1732, 24 Mar. 1733.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>167</sup> Ibid. CUST 99/4, 17 Apr. 1746.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>168</sup> Ibid. CUST 99/5, 6 Feb. 1750.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>169</sup> Ibid. CUST 99/6, 5, 23 June 1753. The building was probably the same Custom House that was sold in 1808: below, this sect.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>170</sup> IJ, 27 Nov., 18, 24 Dec. 1756; Weaver, Harwich Story, 117.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>171</sup> IJ, 30 July, 6, 13 Aug. 1757.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>172</sup> Ibid. 13 Aug. 1768, 4 Mar. 1769.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>173</sup> TNA, CUST 99/9, 26 Oct. 1771; IJ, 24 Nov. 1770, 26 Oct. 1771.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>174</sup> Caird Libr., PHB/10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>175</sup> TNA, CUST 99/9, 7 Apr. 1774; 99/10, 25 Nov., 2 Dec. 1777; T 1/547/53–4; H. Joyce, *The Hist. of the Post Office from its Establishment down to 1836* (1893), 237–8; Trinder, *Harwich Packets*, 79–80.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>176</sup> TNA, CUST 99/9, copy letter, 31 Mar. 1774; IJ, 12 Mar. 1774.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>177</sup> IJ, 29 July 1775.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>178</sup> TNA, CUST 99/10, 29 June 1778. There were in fact two *Argus* cutters, the new one being put into service in 1777: *IJ*, 31 May 1777.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>179</sup> TNA, CUST 99/10, 6 Oct. 1777.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>180</sup> Ibid. CUST 99/9, 17 Jan. 1775; 99/10, 6 Apr. 1778; IJ, 21 Jan. 1775, 9 Nov. 1776, 21 Feb., 11 Apr. 1778.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>181</sup> IJ, 22 July 1775, 31 May 1777.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>182</sup> TNA, CUST 99/10, 1 Nov. 1778; IJ, 7 Nov. 1778.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>183</sup> IJ, 4 Apr. 1778.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>184</sup> Ibid. 28 Aug. 1779.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>185</sup> TNA, HCA 32/375/2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>186</sup> IJ, 24 Nov. 1781.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>187</sup> Ibid. 1 May 1784; Weaver, Harwich Story, 117.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>188</sup> IJ, 29 Jan. 1785.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>189</sup> TNA, CUST 99/12, 2 Dec. 1785.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>190</sup> Rep. from the Cttee Appointed to Consider of the Illicit Exportation of Wool, Live Sheep, Worsted, and Yarn. (1786.) (Parl. Papers 24 Jan.–11 July 1786, lxii) p. 11. The legal trade in wool at Harwich port ceased in 1773: TNA, CUST 99/12, 3 Sept. 1788.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>191</sup> Trinder, Harwich Packets, 80.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>192</sup> IJ, 2 May 1789.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>193</sup> TNA, CUST 99/12, 10 Mar. 1789, 1 Feb. 1790; IJ, 14 Mar. 1789, 6 Feb. 1790.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>194</sup> TNA, CUST 99/13, 7, 13 Apr. 1791; *IJ*, 9 Apr., 7, 14, 21, 28 May 1791.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>195</sup> *IJ*, 16 Feb. 1793.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>196</sup> Ibid. 19 May 1798.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>197</sup> Ibid. 10, 24 Aug. 1799.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>198</sup> TNA, CUST 99/14, 9 Oct. 1795.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>199</sup> IJ, 6 Mar., 19 June 1802.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>200</sup> Ibid. 11 May 1805, 12, 19 Apr., 7 June, 4, 11 Oct. 1806, 25 July 1807.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>201</sup> Ibid. 22 Aug. 1807.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>202</sup> TNA, CUST 99/17, 7, 20 Nov. 1807, 23 Feb., 27 May 1808; 99/18, Dec. 1814; 99/19, 4 Mar., 6 Oct. 1815; *IJ*, 21 Nov. 1807, 27 Feb. 1808; H. Benham, *The Smugglers' Century: The Story of Smuggling on the Essex Coast, 1730–1830* (1987), 70–2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>203</sup> TNA, CUST 99/17, 8 June, 25 Oct. 1808, 16 Jan., 8 Apr., 25 July 1809; 99/18, 11 Dec. 1813; *IJ*, 29 Oct., 5 Nov. 1808. A brick-built Custom House and two weather boarded warehouses in Harwich (as well as a preventive boathouse and watch house at Walton-on-the-Naze) are recorded for insurance purposes in 1814: TNA, CUST 99/18, 4 May 1814.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>204</sup> HS, 488; Benham, The Smugglers' Century, 136–7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>205</sup> IJ, 7, 14, 21 Sept. 1811, 22 May 1813.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>206</sup> TNA, CUST 99/18, 1 Apr. 30 May 1814.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>207</sup> IJ, 10 Apr. 1813.