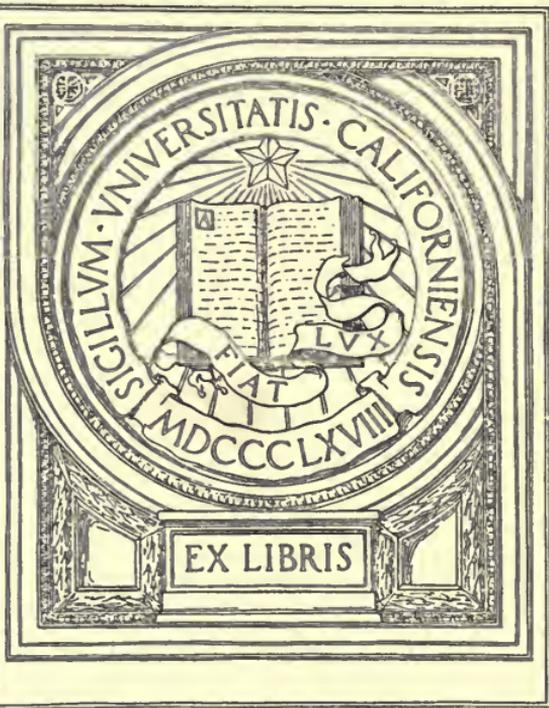




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WILKES AND THE CITY



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JOHN WILKES.

By R. E. Pine, engraved by W. Dickenson.

WILKES AND THE CITY

BY WILLIAM PURDIE TRELOAR.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

“The name of Wilkes, whether we choose it or not, must be enrolled among the greatest champions of English freedom.”—W. E. GLADSTONE.



LONDON

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.

1917

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TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
SIR WILLIAM H. DUNN
KNIGHT AND BARONET
LORD MAYOR OF LONDON

THIS VOLUME IS
INSCRIBED
BY ONE WHO ADMIRES HIS CHARACTER
AND IS PROUD OF HIS
FRIENDSHIP

St. & B.

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PREFACE

I HAD heard of a famous Lord Mayor of London of bygone times named John Wilkes; and when I became a member of the Corporation in 1881, representing the very ward he had presided over—that of Farringdon Without—I endeavoured to learn more about him, and accordingly, since then, have read all I could of him and the times in which he lived.

I do not offer this as an excuse for rushing into print; but having during many years collected something about his City life which has not yet been published, I issue it now for the amusement and interest of other citizens. I make no claim to writing a life of Wilkes—others have already done that better than I could hope to do it: I have merely tried to collect “shreds and patches” from contemporary sources about this amazing man. To one person he has appeared a great blackguard and thorough humbug; to another a patriot, a reformer, a friend to Liberty. I have enjoyed reading Mr. Percy Fitzgerald's *Life of Wilkes*, Dr. Sharpe's *London and the Kingdom*, Gregory's little book telling of Wilkes's visits to Bath, Mr. Fraser Rae's book, Mr. Beaven's very painstaking work on the Aldermen of London, Almon's *Life of Wilkes*, and pamphlets and other volumes without end.

I have read of Wilkes in the Memoirs of Wraxall, Walpole, Shelburne, Rockingham, North, and

others ; and if in some instances I have quoted too fully, I must ask forgiveness. When the story first attracted me, I thought that Wilkes was all that was bad. I found he had been outlawed, expelled from Parliament, fined, and imprisoned—that he had been compelled to flee from England to avoid other punishments. I found he was a bad husband and a dissolute man.

But as I came to study his life I learnt that he was a good father ; that, although he had been expelled from the House of Commons, he, like Bradlaugh, lived to make the House expunge from their records all account of his expulsion ; that he was most improperly prosecuted by the Government, and disgracefully persecuted by it ; that he fought against great odds, and won.

He did all this under every difficulty, without means and against powerful opponents. He became Lord Mayor in spite of his brother aldermen, for which I applaud him. After his mayoralty he became Chamberlain of the City ; and when asked by his fellow-aldermen to retire from the Court because of his being elected Chamberlain, he said he would see them further first, as it was his intention to live and die an alderman of the City of London. It was quite wrong, of course ; but he did it. A few men like him, *without* his faults, might do the City good even now. There is no doubt that Wilkes would have done his best to maintain, preserve, and keep all the rights and privileges of the Corporation.

I have no desire to make a hero of Wilkes. He lived in times when the vices and virtues of public men were exaggerated by their friends and foes, but we must not make one man the scapegoat for a generation. If we study his life carefully and

honestly, and consider the age in which he lived, we must confess that he was not so bad as many of his contemporaries, nor worse than some of the men even of the present enlightened age. He married a woman of thirty-two when he was twenty years of age. He was a bright, gay, highly educated boy, full of spirit and buoyant humour, with plenty of money at his command ; she had been brought up in the strictest forms of Dissent, living a dull, contented life in Red Lion Court. As a husband he was not a success ; as a father he was in every respect exceptionally kind and affectionate. His daughter Polly was always his chief care, and she, on her side, was always dutiful, loving, and considerate. In her will she desired to be buried by his side. I do not think he could have been so bad as his enemies made him out to be, or his daughter would not have loved and honoured him so completely.

W. P. T.

April 20, 1917.

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A PERSONAL NOTE

IF there is one fact more than another that is characteristic of the ancient Corporation of the City of London, it is the almost invariable personal success attained by the Lord Mayor for the time being in justifying the choice of his brother-aldermen. As a rule, once a man becomes Lord Mayor, his colleagues are anxious, for the sake of the office if not for love of the individual, to do all they can to uphold and increase in every way the dignity of the position. There are exceptions to every rule, but such is the rule.

Men of the most varied character, fortune, social status, manners, and style have occupied and, doubtless will continue to occupy the chair; yet the Lord Mayor has been usually accounted a fair and just magistrate, a man of worth and honest intentions. The high office he occupies is the end of the preliminary years of practice and opportunity, during which an alderman has taken his turn in acquiring the judicial art, experience, and manner, and in securing his hold upon the respect and confidence of his fellow-citizens.

Of course there have been undesirable Lord Mayors during the many centuries of the Corporation's existence, as there have also been undesirables in the younger institutions of the House of Commons and (if I may be so bold) in the London County

Council. There is no bigger thing in the world of its kind than the Corporation of London. It is the apotheosis of democratic self-government, with its councillors annually elected and its magistrates elected by the ratepayers. It is a great institution, with a fine history and exalted ideals of service and patriotism.

The successive steps taken by a man in public city life as he progresses in business, in wardmote, in council, and in committee—capacity for leadership, suffrages given at the hustings, election to the mayoralty—end at last in the triumph of popular self-government. The Lord Mayor is to all intents and purposes unanimously chosen by and is given the full confidence of the livery. The attempts that have sometimes been made to discredit the value of the Corporation of London have failed, because their advocates did not comprehend these facts. I can, however, make the assertion that the City will always be able to defend itself on the score not only of its widely known public spirit, but of its essentially democratic constitution—a point plainly put that challenges confidently the fullest investigation.

So we can understand the bearings of John Wilkes's connection with the City. Six hundred years of municipal liberty and dignity, based upon the traditions of our Saxon ancestry, had made the Corporation of London an example of unrivalled stability. It passed through the trials of a difficult period, strengthened through the ordeal it had to undergo.

The historians tell us, with some complacency, how often its stalwart citizens had resisted tyranny and kept secure the foundations of popular liberty. Foreigners have seen its great worth, and sometimes perhaps exaggerated its powers. Still now, after

the lapse of another century and a half, the pageant of London goes on, and we are every year prouder and prouder of our civic record, and impelled through the example set to try to live up to the public virtues of our predecessors.

There is a saying full of meaning, "No man is a hero to his valet." It may be allowed that a Lord Mayor is not always a hero to his brother-aldermen; and certainly it must be conceded that they are his severest critics. It must, however, also be said to their credit that they do not criticise him in public.

The fact is that there are some people who are very ready to criticise their friends of to-day, and to compare them unfavourably with men who occupied similar positions in former years. Thus Mr. W. F. Rae, writing in 1874¹, draws a comparison between the aldermen of 1750 and 1874.

A century ago . . . the Chief Magistrate of the City was not necessarily a man who had passed through certain minor offices, and who rose by routine to fill the highest . . . Wealthy merchants and bankers concerned themselves in municipal elections, and gladly filled municipal offices . . . A respectable tradesman is often ambitious of becoming Lord Mayor, in view of the possibility that during his year of office some happy accident may lead to his being knighted or made a baronet. When Wilkes became Lord Mayor, every one felt that he had attained a dignity which was a real distinction.

The Corporation at that time (1774) was a political body. It is not so now. To say that the aldermen of that time were men of higher or better position than they are now is not correct, as may be proved if necessary.

The fact is that 150 years ago political opinions

¹ *Wilkes, Sheridan, Fox.* By W. F. Rae. 1874, p. 100.

or votes decided all municipal elections in the City of London. Wilkes himself was elected because he opposed the Government and was persecuted by Ministers, and most of the aldermen then were elected on political grounds. To say that such men were chosen because they were "wealthy merchants and bankers" is incorrect, and to speak of the decadence of the aldermen of to-day is not justifiable.

I might head this Preliminary with the words which are to be seen over the door of the Aldermen's Court Room, *Audi alteram Partem*, or "Hear the other side."

I especially make that appeal in considering the following account of the character and career of the extraordinary public man, Member of Parliament, and chief and servant of the City Corporation who is the subject of this book.

W. P. T.

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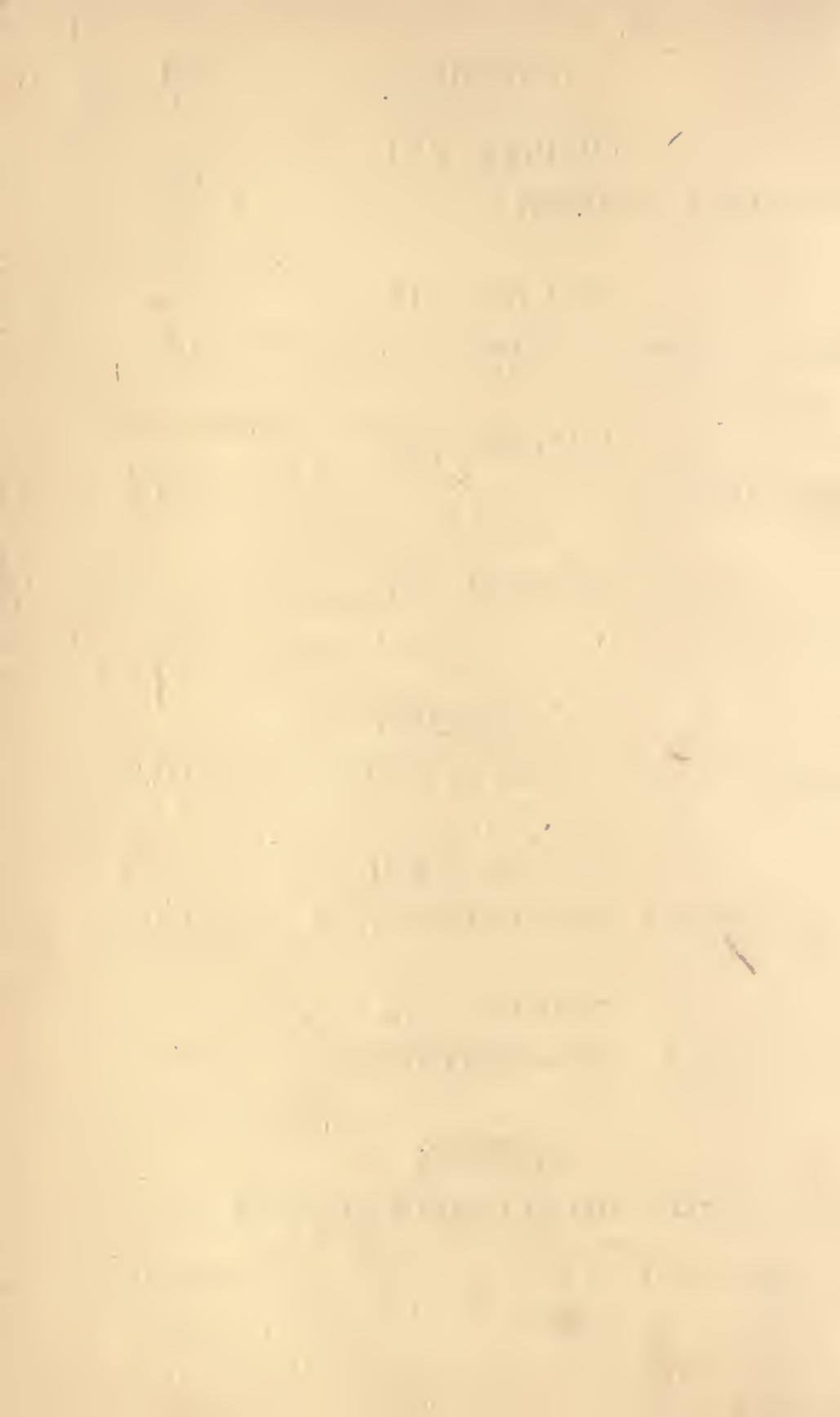
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A CHRONOLOGICAL OUTLINE OF THE LIFE OF JOHN WILKES

- Oct. 17, 1727 . Born in St. John's Square, Clerkenwell.
- May 23, 1747 . Married Mary Mead at St. John's Priory Church, Clerkenwell.
- April 1749 . . Elected F.R.S.
- Aug. 5, 1750 . His daughter Polly born.
- Jan. 19, 1754 . Admitted a member of the Sublime Society of Beef Steaks.
- Jan. 31, 1754 . Appointed High Sheriff for the County of Bucks.
- April 1754 . Unsuccessfully contested Berwick at a cost of £4,000, polling 192 votes.
- (Autumn) 1754 . Separated from his wife by mutual consent.
- July 6, 1757 . Elected Member of Parliament for Aylesbury, at a cost to him of £7,000.
- 1759 Appointed Churchwarden of St. Margaret's, Westminster.
- Jan. 31, 1761 . His father, Israel Wilkes, died.
- March 25, 1761 . At the General Election, consequent on the death of George II, he was re-elected.
- June 1762 . Appointed Colonel of Bucks Militia.
- ✕ Oct. 5, 1762 . Fought a bloodless duel with the Earl Talbot on Bagshot Heath.
- ✕ April 23, 1763 . No. 45 of *The North Briton* published.
- ✕ April 30, 1763 . Arrested and sent to the Tower, his house ransacked, and his papers seized by virtue of a general warrant issued by Lord Halifax, Secretary of State, for apprehending and seizing the authors, printers, and publishers of *The North Briton*, No. 45.
- May 5, 1763 . His commission as Colonel cancelled by the express order of King George III.

- May 3, 6, 1763 . Brought by writ of habeas corpus to the Court of Common Pleas, and discharged out of the custody of the Constable of the Tower by Lord Chief Justice Pratt (afterwards Lord Camden).
- Nov. 16, 1763 . Fought a duel with pistols in Hyde Park with Samuel Martin, formerly Secretary to the Treasury, and was severely wounded.
- Dec. 6, 1763 . Obtained a verdict against Mr. Wood, Under-Secretary of State, in the Court of Common Pleas, with £1,000 damages, for the seizure of his papers, the case being tried before Lord Chief Justice Pratt at the Guildhall.
- Dec. 1763 . Left England for Paris, and from that city sent a letter to the Speaker, Sir John Cust, and a medical certificate of ill-health.
- Jan. 19, 1764 . Expelled the House of Commons for writing and publishing *The North Briton*, No. 45.
- Oct. 22, 1764 . Addresses long letter to his constituents from Paris.
- Nov. 1, 1764 . Outlawed for not appearing in the Court of King's Bench to receive judgment for printing and publishing *The North Briton*, No. 45.
- Feb. 6, 1768 . Returned to England.
- March 4, 1768 . Having been in exile for four years, sent a submissive letter to the King requesting a pardon, which was refused.
- March 10, 1768 . Admitted into the freedom of the Joiners' Company.
- March 23, 1768 . Stood as candidate for Member of Parliament for the City of London, but was unsuccessful, four aldermen being returned (Wilkes polled 1,247).
- March 28, 1768 . Elected Knight of the Shire for the County of Middlesex with Mr. Cooke, the votes being Wilkes 1,292, Cooke 827, Sir W. B. Proctor 807.

- April 27, 1768 . Arrested, and committed by Lord Mansfield to the King's Bench Prison for the republication of *The North Briton* and for publishing the *Essay on Woman*.
- June 8, 1768 . Sentence of outlawry against him reversed for irregularity, the laws of the land having been stretched beyond their bounds to crush him.
- June 18, 1768 . Sentenced in the Court of King's Bench to twenty-two months' imprisonment (he had already served two months'), and to pay two fines of £500 each, for publishing *The North Briton*, No. 45, and the *Essay on Woman*; also to give security for his good behaviour for seven years, himself in £1,000, and two sureties of £500 each.
- Nov. 26, 1768 . Petitioned the King for clemency, but procured none, though he was then confined in the King's Bench Prison pursuant to the sentence passed on him.
- Jan. 2, 1769 . Elected Alderman of the Ward of Farringdon Without, but negatived by the Court of Aldermen on an alleged illegality.
- Jan. 27, 1769 . Again elected alderman.
- Feb. 3, 1769 . Expelled the House of Commons for publishing true copies of two letters, one of which was a letter of thanks from Lord Barrington, Secretary of State, to the officers and troops who took part in the massacre in St. George's Fields on May 10, 1768. The other letter was written by Lord Weymouth, Secretary of State, to the Magistrates at the Quarter Sessions at Lambeth, telling them not to delay a moment in calling for military aid in the event of any rioting.
- This massacre took place outside the King's Bench Prison, where a great crowd

- had collected, thinking that they would see Wilkes, if he was permitted to go to the opening of Parliament; the troops fired on the crowd, killing several people.
- Feb. 16, 1769 . Elected a second time for Middlesex, without opposition.
- Feb 17, 1769 . Expelled the House of Commons again.
- March 3, 1769 . Made a Freemason in the King's Bench Prison.
- March 16, 1769 . Elected a third time for Middlesex. An attempt to oppose him was made by Charles Dingley, who retired, and left Wilkes to be returned unopposed.
- March 17, 1769 . Again expelled the House of Commons.
- April 13, 1769 . Elected a fourth time for Middlesex, when he polled 1,143 votes against 296 given to the Ministerial candidate, Col. Lawes Luttrell.
- May 8, 1769 . . The House of Commons said that Luttrell *ought* to have been returned, and they declared him duly elected.
- Nov. 11, 1769 . Obtained a verdict and £4,000 damages against Lord Halifax for false imprisonment and seizure of his papers in 1763. Lord Chief Justice Wilmot tried the case. Lord Egremont, the other Secretary of State, being dead, could not be brought to justice in the Court of Common Pleas.
- April 18, 1770 . His term of imprisonment expired, and he regained his liberty; on the same day addressed a letter to the electors of the ward of Farringdon Without, and was sworn in as alderman.
- July 25, 1770 . Elected Master of the Joiners' Company.
- July 3, 1771 . Elected one of the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex.
- Jan. 24, 1772 . Presented by the Court of Common Council with a silver loving cup, value £100, in recognition of his services in the dis-

- pute with the House of Commons about printing their debates.
- Oct. 8, 1772 . Elected Lord Mayor by a majority of the votes of the Livery, but rejected by the Court of Aldermen.
- Oct. 8, 1773 . Again elected Lord Mayor by the Livery, but again rejected by the Court of Aldermen, by the casting vote of the Lord Mayor (Townsend).
- Oct. 8, 1774 . Again elected Lord Mayor, and approved by the Court of Aldermen, the voting there being 11 to 2.
- Oct. 20, 1774 . Elected a fifth time for Middlesex, without opposition, it being the General Election.
- Feb. 6, 1775 . Delivered a great speech in the House of Commons against the war with America.
- Feb. 22, 1775 . Moved to have the records of his expulsion from the House of Commons expunged from the Minutes. Unsuccessful. Division: for 171, against 239; majority against 68.
- April 10, 1775 . As Lord Mayor presented a spirited remonstrance from the City to the King.
- July 14, 1775 . Presented a petition to the King on behalf of the American colonists.
- April 30, 1776 . Again moved to have the records of his expulsion from the House of Commons expunged from the Minutes. Unsuccessful. Division: for 92, against 186; majority against 94.
- April 29, 1777 . Again unsuccessful. Division: for 84, against 140; majority against 56.
- March 12, 1778 . Again unsuccessful. Division: for 36, against 88; majority against 52.
- Feb. 18, 1779 . Again unsuccessful. Division: for 122, against 202; majority against 80.
- March 15, 1780 . Again unsuccessful. Division: for 101, against 113; majority against 12.
- April 5, 1781 . Again unsuccessful. Division: for 61, against 116; majority against 55.

- May 3, 1782 . Successful. Division: for 115, against 47; majority in favour 68.‡ The Minutes were brought in and the Clerk at the table expunged all the obnoxious words.
- April 28, 1777 . Pleaded in the House of Commons for more liberal treatment for the British Museum.
- March 10, 1779 . Supported in a very able speech a Bill for the relief of dissenting ministers from the limited subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion required by the Act.
- Dec. 1, 1779 . Obtained the honourable and lucrative position of Chamberlain of the City of London, after four unsuccessful attempts.
- Sept. 14, 1780 . Elected a sixth time (General Election) for Middlesex, unopposed.
- Feb. 28, 1784 . As Chamberlain he presented the freedom of the City to William Pitt when Prime Minister, and in subsequent years to Admirals Lord Nelson, Lord Howe, Lord Waldegrave, and others; he always commenced his speeches on these occasions with the words: "I give you joy."
- April 4, 1784 . His wife died.
- April 22, 1784 . Elected a seventh time for Middlesex, unopposed.
- May 9, 1787 . Made a telling speech in the House of Commons against the impeachment of Warren Hastings.
- June 11, 1790 . Did not seek re-election at the dissolution.
- In 1790 . . . Edited for private circulation two éditions de luxe which were looked upon as conferring a boon on bibliophiles, viz. *Catullus* and *Characters of Theophrastus*; these were beautifully printed by his friend and deputy, John Nichols, F.S.A.
- Dec. 26, 1797 . Died after a short illness at his house in Grosvenor Square.

WILKES AND THE CITY

CHAPTER I

EARLY DAYS

JOHN WILKES was born in 1727, the son of Israel Wilkes, a prosperous Clerkenwell distiller and a member of a respected Buckinghamshire family.

Edward Wilkes was the founder of the family ; he lived at Leighton Buzzard about 1650, where he brought up his family of three sons and a daughter, respectively named Matthew, Mark, Luke, and Joan. Luke was the best known of these, being made Chief Yeoman of the King's Wardrobe in 1670. He lived in London, and had a son born to him there, named Israel, who became a distiller and lived in great state at Clerkenwell, keeping a coach and six and otherwise spending a great amount of money. He married Sarah, the daughter of a rich man named John Heaton, of Hoxton. John Wilkes was his second son, and, like the "ugly duckling," was beloved by his mother because he was ugly. He enjoyed the advantages of a liberal education, and made the best use of his opportunities, which included a period of study at Leyden University. Dr. Alexander Carlyle was at Leyden at the same time, and refers to the fact of Wilkes being ugly—very

ugly. He was told that Wilkes "wanted to be a fine gentleman, which he could never be, for God and Nature had been against him."

He found Wilkes a sprightly, entertaining fellow—too much so for his years, for he was but eighteen; even then he showed something of the daring and profligacy for which he afterwards was notorious. Throughout life Wilkes was a reputable scholar. His learning and accomplishments secured him certain friendships. But these mental advantages, which should have early brought him to a dignified station in life, were presently neglected under the temptations of dissipated and debauched acquaintances. After quitting Leyden, Wilkes toured for some time in Germany and the Netherlands.

In after years, writing to his daughter, Wilkes says :

I had a father—a perfectly good-humoured man, who loved laughing. He said one day to me, "Jack, have you got a purse?" My answer was, "No, sir." "I am sorry for it, Jack," said my father; "if you had, I should have given you some money to put in it." I soon got a purse, and in two or three days my father asked me again, "Jack, have you got a purse?" "Yes, sir." "I am glad of it," said my father; "if you had not had a purse I would have given you one." This was mere fun in my father, for he was very generous and gave me all I could wish.

Wilkes finished his travels in 1747, and returned to England. In May of that year he was married to Miss Mary Mead, the daughter of a well-to-do drysalter whose place of business was on London Bridge. He was then twenty years old, his bride being thirty-two. No doubt this disparity of ages proved a cause of want of sympathy and of subsequent domestic shipwreck.

Mrs. Mead, the bride's mother, then resided during the summer months at her house in Red Lion Court, behind St. Sepulchre's Church in the Ward of Farringdon Without. The winter months she spent at Aylesbury, where she also had a house of her own.

The newly married couple lived with Mrs. Mead, both at Aylesbury and at Red Lion Court; and at the last-named place a daughter was born to them, according to Almon, on August 5, 1750. The great love he bore this child is one of the redeeming facts of Wilkes's life. She was his Lady Mayoress in 1775.

Wilkes found the house in Red Lion Court dull, and he therefore took a house in Great George Street, Westminster. He wanted to be in the fashion, to be a political and social force, and commenced to spend money lavishly and wastefully. There is no doubt that his licentious habits and the profligate society he enjoyed caused his wife to live apart from him. His relations with her were not creditable; for afterwards, when in want of money, he made an attempt to extort from her the annuity—the remnant of her income—which had been allowed for her support; in this he was signally defeated, as is recorded in the Term Reports of King's Bench. It is a painful episode.

He said (in 1778) of his marriage :

To please an indulgent father, I married a woman half as old again as myself; of a large fortune—my own being also that of a gentleman. It was a sacrifice to Plutus, not to Venus. I have not seen her for twenty years. I stumbled at the very threshold of the Temple of Hymen.

The sordid business can be left at that. The private citizen was a being different from the public man. It is only necessary to add that Mrs. Wilkes

died in January 1769, and the daughter came into a large fortune, the reversion of which was secured to her.

Wilkes now had some hankering after political distinction, and wooed the electors of Berwick in April 1754. Notwithstanding some fine speeches on patriotism and civic virtue, he failed in this first attempt for Parliamentary honours ; and, to show the sort of man he was even in those early days, he said in his address to the electors (although his candidature cost him nearly £4,000), " Gentlemen, I come here uncorrupting, and I promise I shall ever be uncorrupted. I never will take a bribe, and so I will never offer one." He failed to win the seat, polling only 192 votes (a cost of £20 a vote). Some of the money he spent was used in a way that may be considered daring, humorous, and extravagant. His opponent was a member of the Delaval family, and many of his supporters came from London by sea to record their votes. Wilkes bribed the captain of their ship to land them in Norway instead of Berwick. This incident reads like a scene from a clever farce. It was a questionable proceeding, and no doubt he enjoyed it on that account.

He afterwards presented a petition against his opponent's return on the grounds of bribery, which, of course, came to nothing. It was shortly after his return from Berwick that his wife and he separated.

On a vacancy occurring in the representation of Aylesbury, three years later (1757), he proved more fortunate, and was re-elected to the seat in 1761. These elections, however, cost large sums of money. He spent £7,000 in his first Aylesbury election, and his financial position was also seriously affected by his dealings with moneylenders. His popularity, however, increased : he had already been appointed

High Sheriff of Bucks in 1754, and in 1762 he was made Colonel of the Bucks militia.

About the year 1756, when he was twenty-nine years old, he became President, or "Grand," of the Society of Cogers, which had been quite recently founded by Daniel Mason. Called the Discussion Forum, it met in Bride Lane. His Deputy there was Samuel Gilbert, and the Secretary—or, as he was called, Remembrancer—was William Raven. This ancient society still exists. The writer has been its President for some years. Many distinguished statesmen and orators were members in its early days; amongst them were Curran, Daniel O'Connell, Judge Keogh, etc.¹

Necessary as it was to restore his finances, Wilkes now cast about for relief in the shape of a lucrative Government appointment. In 1761 he had addressed a letter to the elder Pitt, in which he said he was proud "to have Mr. Pitt his patron and friend." "I wish," he writes, "the Board of Trade might be thought a place in which I could be of service"; adding, "Amongst all the changes of a political world, I will never have an obligation in a Parliamentary way but to Mr. Pitt and his friends."

This application being unsuccessful, he then tried for the Embassy to Constantinople, which was eventually given to one of the Grenville family. Presently the question arose of a Governor for the newly won province of Canada. Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt were both in favour of Wilkes's pretensions to the post; but the failure of the peace negotiations (1762) once more destroyed his official prospects. Wilkes's friends believed that he had good qualifications for this post. His own words on the matter,

¹ A history of the Society by Peter Rayleigh (*i.e.* William Hancock) was published in 1903.

that "his ambition was to have gone to Quebec the first Governor, to have reconciled the new subjects to the English, and to have shown the French the advantages of the mild rule of laws over that of lawless power and despotism," makes one regret that he missed such a sterling opportunity of essaying his abilities as a ruler. There were "friends at Court" who did what they might to secure for him the office of the Governorship of Canada, and Mr. Rigby's¹ good offices with the Duke of Bedford were requested in order to prevail on that nobleman to apply to Lord Bute for the place. Mr. Rigby said the Duke had not much intercourse with Lord Bute; neither could it be supposed that his lordship would purchase Mr. Wilkes's silence by giving him good employment. Besides, he could have no security that the same hostile attacks would not still be made against him by Mr. Wilkes's coadjutors, Lloyd and Churchill, after he had left England. Wilkes solemnly assured him there need not be the least apprehension of that, for he would make Churchill his chaplain and Lloyd his secretary, and take them both with him to Canada. The Duke, at Rigby's request, made the application. Lord Bute would not listen to it, and even treated the affair with contempt. When this was told to Wilkes, he observed to Mr. Rigby that Lord Bute had acted very foolishly, and he might live to repent it, for now he (Wilkes) would never cease his attacks till he made him the most unpopular man in England. He kept his word.

A pamphlet of this period written by him, but published anonymously in vindication of his friends,

¹ Richard Rigby, M.P. for Tavistock; Secretary to Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, the Duke of Bedford, 1765; made Paymaster of the Forces, 1768; died leaving nearly "half a million of public money."

Pitt and Temple—*Observations on the Papers relative to the Rupture with Spain*—appears to have added considerably to Wilkes's reputation.

Mr. Malone relates in his *Memoirs* that Wilkes, about the time when his *North Briton* began to be much noticed, dined one day with Mr. Rigby, and after dinner honestly confessed that he was a ruined man, not worth a shilling; that his principal object in writing was to procure himself some place; and that he should be particularly pleased with one that removed him from the clamour and importunity of his creditors.

It was at this time that Wilkes fought his famous but bloodless duel with Lord Talbot; and no better course can be pursued than to let him tell its story in his own words, as expressed in a letter to the Earl Temple.

RED LION AT BAGSHOT,
Tuesday, 10 at night, 1762.

MY LORD,

I had the honour of transmitting to your lordship copies of seven letters which passed between Lord Talbot and me. As the affair is now over, I enclose an original letter of Colonel Berkeley,¹ with a copy of mine previous to it, which fixed the particulars of our meeting, and therefore remained a secret, very sacredly kept by the four persons concerned.

I came here at three this afternoon; and about five I was told that Lord Talbot and Colonel Berkeley were in the house. Lord Talbot had been here at one, and was gone again; leaving a message, however, that he would soon return. I had continued in the room where I was at my first coming, for fear of raising any suspicion. I sent a compliment to Colonel Berkeley, and that I wished to see him. He was so obliging as to come to me directly. I told

¹ Afterwards Lord Bottetourt.

him that I supposed we were to sup together with Lord Talbot, whom I was ready to attend, as became a private gentleman ; and that he and Mr. Harris, as our seconds, would settle the business of the next morning, according to my letter to him from Winchester, and his answer. Berkeley said that his lordship desired to finish the business immediately. I replied that the appointment was to sup together that evening, and to fight in the morning ; that, in consequence of such an arrangement, I had, like an idle man of pleasure, put off some business of real importance which I meant to settle before I went to bed. I added that I was come from Medmenham Abbey, where the jovial monks of St. Francis had kept me up till four in the morning ; that the world would therefore conclude I was drunk, and form no favourable opinion of his lordship from a duel at such a time ; that it more became us both to take a cool hour of the next morning, as early a one as was agreeable to Lord Talbot. Berkeley said that he had undertaken to bring us together ; and as we were now both at Bagshot, he would leave us to settle our own business. He then asked me if I would go with him to Lord Talbot. I said I would, any moment he pleased. We went directly, with my adjutant, Mr. Harris.

I found Lord Talbot in an agony of passion. He said that I had injured, that I had insulted him, that he was not used to be injured or insulted ; what did I mean ? Did I, or did I not, write *The North Briton* of August 21, which had affronted his honour ? He would know ; he insisted on a direct answer ; here were his pistols. I replied that he would soon use them ; that I desired to know by what right his lordship catechised me about a paper which did not bear my name ; that I should never resolve him that question till he made out his right of putting it ; and that if I could have entertained any other idea, I was too well-bred to have given his lordship and Colonel Berkeley the trouble of coming to Bagshot. I observed that I was a private English gentleman, perfectly free and independent, which I

held to be a character of the highest dignity ; that I obeyed with pleasure a gracious sovereign, but would never submit to the arbitrary dictates of a fellow-subject, a Lord Steward of his household ; my superior indeed in rank, fortune, and abilities, but my equal only in honour, courage, and liberty.

Lord Talbot then asked me if I would fight him that evening. I said that I preferred the next morning, as it had been settled before ; and gave my reasons. His lordship replied that he insisted on finishing the affair immediately. I told him that I should very soon be ready ; that I did not mean to quit him, but would absolutely first settle some important business relative to the education of an only daughter, whom I tenderly loved ; that it would take up a very little time, and I would immediately settle the affair in any way he chose, for I had brought both sword and pistols. I rung the bell for pen, ink, and paper ; desiring his lordship to conceal his pistols, that they might not be seen by the waiter. He soon after became half frantic ; and made use of a thousand indecent expressions, that I should be hanged, damned, etc. I said that I was not to be frightened, nor in the least affected by such violence ; that God had given me a firmness and spirit equal to his lordship's or any man's ; that cool courage should always mark me, and that it would be soon seen how well-bottomed I was.

After the waiter had brought pen, ink, and paper, I proposed that the door of the room might be locked, and not opened till our business was decided. Lord Talbot, upon this proposition, became quite outrageous ; declared that this was mere butchery, and that I was a wretch who sought his life. I reminded him that I came there on a point of honour, to give his lordship satisfaction ; that I mentioned the circumstance of locking the door only to prevent all possibility of interruption ; and that I would in every circumstance be governed, not by the turbulence of the most violent temper I had ever seen, but by the calm determinations of our two seconds, to whom I implicitly submitted. Lord

Talbot then asked me if I would deny the paper. I answered, that I neither would own nor deny it ; if I survived, I would afterwards declare ; not before. Soon after, he grew a little cooler ; and in a soothing tone of voice said, I have never, I believe, offended Mr. Wilkes ; why has he attacked me ? He must be sorry to see me unhappy. I asked, upon what grounds his lordship imputed the paper to me ; that Mr. Wilkes would justify any paper to which he had put his name, and would equally assert the privilege of not giving any answer whatever about a paper to which he had not ; that this was my undoubted right, which I was ready to seal with my blood. He then said he admired me exceedingly, really loved me ; but I was an unaccountable animal ; such parts ! but would I kill him, who had never offended me ? Etc., etc.

We had after this a good deal of conversation about the Buckinghamshire militia ; and the day his lordship came to see us on Wycomb's Heath, before I was Colonel. He soon after flamed out again, and said to me, " You are a murderer, you want to kill me ; but I am sure that I shall kill you ; I know I shall, by God. If you will fight, if you kill me, I hope you will be hanged : I know you will." Berkeley and Harris were shocked. I asked, if I was first to be killed, and afterwards hanged ; that I knew his lordship fought me with the King's pardon in his pocket, and I fought him with a halter about my neck ; that I would fight him for all that, and if he fell, I should not tarry here a moment for the tender mercies of such a ministry, but would directly proceed to the next stage, where my valet-de-chambre waited for me, and from thence I would make the best of my way to France, for men of honour were sure of protection in that kingdom. He seemed much affected by this. He told me that I was an unbeliever, and wished to be killed. I could not help smiling at this ; and observed that we did not meet at Bagshot to settle articles of faith, but points of honour ; that indeed I had no fear of dying, but I enjoyed life as much as any man in it ; that I

was as little subject to be gloomy, or even peevish, as any Englishman whatever; that I valued life, and the fair enjoyments of it, so much I would never quit it by my own consent, except on a call of honour.

I then wrote a letter to your lordship, respecting the education of Miss Wilkes; and gave you my poor thanks for the steady friendship with which you have so many years honoured me. Colonel Berkeley took care of the letter, and I have since desired him to send it to Stowe; for the sentiments of the heart at such a moment are beyond all politics, and indeed everything else but such virtue as Lord Temple's.

When I had sealed my letter, I told Lord Talbot that I was entirely at his service; and I again desired that we might decide the affair in the room, because there could not be a possibility of interruption; but he was quite inexorable. He then asked me, how many times we should fire. I said, that I left to his choice; I had brought a flask of powder, and a bag of bullets. Our seconds then charged the pistols which my lord had brought: they were large horse-pistols. It was agreed we should fire at the word of command, to be given by one of our seconds. They tossed up, and it fell to my adjutant to give the word. We then left the inn, and walked to a garden at some distance from the house. It was near seven, and the moon shone very bright. We stood about eight yards distant, and agreed not to turn round before we fired, but to continue facing each other. Harris gave the word. Both our fires were in very exact time, but neither took effect. I walked up immediately to Lord Talbot, and told him that I now avowed the paper. His lordship paid me the highest encomiums on my courage, and said he would declare everywhere that I was the noblest fellow God had ever made. He then desired that we might now be good friends, and retire to the inn to drink a bottle of claret together; which we did with great good humour, and much laughter. Lord Talbot afterwards went to Windsor; Berkeley and Harris to Winchester; and I continue here till

to-morrow morning, waiting the return of my valet-de-chambre, to whom I have sent a messenger. Berkeley told me, that he was grieved for Lord Talbot's passion, and admired my courage and coolness beyond his farthest idea ; that was his expression.

I have a million of other particulars to relate ; but I blush already at the length of this letter.

Your lordship will soon see Colonel Berkeley ; and I hope in a very few days to pay my devoirs at Stowe. I intend to be at Aylesbury quarter-sessions by Thursday dinner.

My most respectful compliments always attend Lady Temple.

I am ever,

My dear Lord,

Your Lordship's very devoted and obedient
humble servant,

JOHN WILKES.

The whole of this letter is quoted, not because it records an episode of small importance, but as illustrating Wilkes's courage, wit, self-possession, and *sang-froid*.

CHAPTER II

"THE NORTH BRITON," NO. 45

EARLY in 1763 an incident occurred which brought Wilkes into still greater notoriety. The increasing influence of Lord Bute was now a feature of contemporary politics. That minister set on foot a newspaper, *The Briton*, in support of his principles, mainly bent on the confusion of the Whiggish oligarchy which had so long controlled public affairs. Wilkes, resenting the style in which his friends were vilified by the Ministerialists, started a counterblast in the shape of *The North Briton*. The fat was in the fire. No mercy was given on either side. At length matters came to a head with No. 45 of the new paper, published on April 23, 1763. This was so fierce, and so energetic, that the Ministry were roused to action. Wilkes's house was raided forthwith, his papers seized, and he sent to the Tower.

In commenting on this incident, Macaulay says he was inclined to think, on the whole, that the worst administration which has governed England since the Revolution was that of George Grenville.¹

It was certainly destined to make history, for scarcely had Ministers been installed in office before they became involved in the ever-memorable squabble with the notorious John Wilkes, at that time Member

¹ In his essay *The Earl of Chatham*

for Aylesbury. Two weeks after the formation of the Grenville Ministry, the famous "Number Forty-five of *The North Briton*" was published. In this paper severe strictures were passed on the conduct of ministers in general, and on Lord Bute in particular. After a week's deliberation Wilkes was seized on a general warrant, and brought before Lords Halifax and Egremont, and by them committed to the Tower. His demeanour on the occasion would have served as a warning to wiser men against meddling with him.

On arriving at the place of his imprisonment, he wounded the stately pride of Lord Egremont and the national vanity of Lord Bute: the former, by desiring to be confined in the very apartment where his (Egremont's) father, Sir William Windham, had been kept on a charge of Jacobitism; and Bute, by expressing the hope that, if possible, he might not be lodged where any Scotchman had been prisoner, for fear he should catch the itch.

On the day of his commitment to prison, his friends procured a writ of habeas corpus from the Court of Common Pleas; and on May 3, 1763, Wilkes was brought before Lord Chief Justice Pratt. In a speech which lasted an hour, Wilkes complained "that he had been worse treated than any rebel Scot"—a remark that was hailed with loud acclamations by the crowd in Westminster Hall. Three days afterwards Pratt delivered his judgment, in which he declared that Wilkes was "entitled to his privilege as a Member of Parliament, because, although that privilege does not hold against a breach of the peace, it does against what only tends to a breach of the peace." Wilkes was, in consequence, set at liberty.

Immediately after his release letters were presented to the Court from the Hon. Charles Yorke



WILKES BEHIND A GRATING IN THE TOWER OF LONDON.

Engraved by Bickham, June 1763.

and Sir Fletcher Norton, respectively the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General, demanding to be admitted, as the case concerned the King's interest. The Chief Justice's answer to both was that they had come too late. Upon these proceedings the Attorney-General's brother, Viscount Royston, wrote to his friend Dr. Birch as follows :

BATH,

May the 10th, 1763.

DEAR BIRCH,

Shall I congratulate you on the discharge of your old acquaintance? Or shall I condole with you on the licentious spirit, repugnant to all decorum and order, which has appeared amongst the populace on this occasion? Or shall I lament that the proceedings of government have not been conducted with all the propriety and judgment one could wish? As a good Englishman and a dutiful subject, I shall concur the two last particulars. The House of Commons is much obliged to Lord C(hief) J(ustice) P(ratt), for I do not know that we ever claimed the privilege for ourselves which he has been pleased to allow us. Has our old Speaker been consulted on the occasion? Did Pratt take any notice of the warrant of apprehension, which has the word treasonable, and leaves the messenger at large? Is it thought that any art or management was used to bring down such great crowds to W—r H—ll. I question whether the other Chief Justice will choose (if he can help it) to have the affair brought into his court. I presume it will be fought through all the weapons, from the courts of justice to St. Stephen's Chapel. We have a story here, which I cannot give credit to, "that Lord H(alifax) asked W—kes if he was at the dinners,¹ and that the latter replied that he did not sit down to table, but only blew the coals."

In this connection the following letter in the

¹ Note by Lord Hardwicke to his own letter: "The dinners were amongst the Opposition."

handwriting of Wilkes was addressed to Henry Sampson Woodfall, the printer and editor of *The Public Advertiser*, the paper in which the letters of Junius first appeared.

To the Printer of P.A.¹ Under P.T.E. to begin

SIR,

After returning my best thanks to the Gentleman who has republished the 20 unanswerable *Queries*, together with his attempt towards an answer, may I be allowed to mark out a few of the *infamous fallacies* of his Reply?

First, The insinuation that Lord Chief Justice Pratt, when *Attorney-General*, was consulted in the affair, or had any thing to do with the Warrant for apprehending Dr. Shebbeare, is an *infamous falshood*.

Secondly, The word *False* is *usual* and *necessary*. The leaving it out at present implies that the Ministry dare not stand the Trial of this Paper upon the foundation that the assertions contained in it are *false*.

Thirdly, That the Secretaries of State knew nothing of what had been doing in the Court of Common Pleas, touching Mr. Wilkes's having his *Habeas Corpus*, is another *infamous falshood*.

Fourthly, That Mr. Wilkes's Attorney was immediately offered admittance, and that the C—g Officer of the Tower had no particular directions on the present occasion, is another *infamous falshood*. Vide even the Warrant, *Close Prisoner*, and in fact no

¹ *The Queries* only were printed in *The St. James's Chronicle*. See "From Saturday, May 21, to Tuesday, May 24, 1763 (No. 346)," page 4, cols. 1 and 2.

Query 2, which is omitted in this letter, is printed in the newspaper as follows: "Qu. 2. Whether in either of the Warrants which have been issued, the *usual* and *necessary* Word *false* is to be found among the Epithets applied to the supposed *Libel*, No. 45 of *The North Briton*?"

Queries 7 and 8 having been amalgamated in this letter, and No. 8 omitted in the subsequent enumeration, the total queries appear as 21. In the newspaper the numbers have been altered, making the total as 20.

The original of this letter is in my possession,

person was admitted to see Mr. Wilkes till Monday night, and he was committed on Saturday noon.

Fifthly, That the Publisher's Deposition was full against Mr. Wilkes touching No. 45 of the *North Briton*, or that he can depose any thing against him on that head, is another *infamous falshood*.

If this supposed Libel was a *Breach of the Peace*, the Secretaries of State ought to have demanded *Sureties of the Peace* from the known *Publisher*, the known *Printer*, and the supposed *Author*.

The Ancient Privileges of Parliament have been grossly violated, not extended in this instance. What Law decides and fixes the exact bounds between the freedom of debate in the House, and the freedom of the Press out of it? A *Libel* on the person of the King in one place must in the nature of things be a *Libel* every where.

Sixthly, That the story of cloathing a certain militia, and of the Baronet in the North, are both *infamous falshoods*.

QUERIES

Qu. 1. Whether the apprehension of Mr. Wilkes under a warrant *without oath, and without name*, is not illegal?

Qu. 3. Whether every disingenuous and unfair method was not employed by the S.S. to elude the effect of the first *Habeas Corpus*?

Qu. 4. Whether the commitment of Mr. Wilkes to the Tower for a *bailable* offence, and yet for above two days preventing any person from having access to him, was not depriving him of all possibility of offering *bail*, and is not therefore a direct act of injustice, and a violation of the Laws of England?

Qu. 5. Whether the Council, relations, and friends of the Lords *Lovat, Kilmarnock, Cromartie, Balmerino, &c.*, committed to the Tower for *High Treason*, were not from the first moment admitted to them?

Qu. 6. Whether the *first warrant*, under which Mr. Wilkes's person was seiz'd, his house rifled, his locks broke open, and his papers carried off, is not universally allowed to be arbitrary and tyrannical?

Qu. 7. Whether (except in cases of high Treason) the *Papers* of any *English Subject* ought ever to be seiz'd, and whether all apparent proof being believ'd to be deficient, this is not to be deem'd a most odious method of *fishing for evidence* ?

Qu. 9. Whether Mr. Wilkes did not from the first rest his case on *the universal liberty of the subject*, and not on *privilege* only ?

Qu. 10. Whether the many prosecutions now carrying on by Mr. Wilkes at so great an expence, bear the least relation to *Privilege*, and whether they are not clearly in vindication of the liberty, property, domestic quiet, and security of every *Englishman* ?

Qu. 11. Whether Mr. Wilkes was admitted to see any one of his accusers, and whether there is yet any accusation *on oath* against him, relative to the *North Briton*, No. 45 ?

Qu. 12. Whether Mr. Wilkes has not been treated as *guilty*, tho' justice as well as candour wou'd yet pronounce him *innocent*, the Law of England never *presuming guilt* ?

Qu. 13. Whether *sureties of the Peace* have been demanded or taken from any of the Persons suppos'd to have been concern'd in the *North Briton*, No. 45 ?

Qu. 14. Whether in all cases of *Breach of the Peace*, the *subject* has not a right to be discharg'd from his confinement upon giving *Sureties for the Peace*, and whether a *Member of Parliament* can be discharg'd, without giving them, if demanded ?

Qu. 15. Whether every Subject of England is not interested in the preservation of the *Privileges of Parliament*, the House of Commons being the guardians of the liberties of the People against the despotism of Ministers ?

Qu. 16. Whether the *Privileges of Parliament* have not been extorted from *former Kings*, and whether they have not ever been consider'd as the firmest barrier of the *English* nation against the encroachment of the Crown, when unhappily under the influence of arbitrary Ministers ?

Qu. 17. Whether any one fact reflecting on Mr.

Wilkes's private character has been yet ascertain'd, and whether (as in the case of the *Winchester* falsehood of Lord Bute's son) any proof whatever has been brought to support the infinite calumnies so industriously propagated against Mr. Wilkes?

Qu. 18. Whether it be not the clear language of the Constitution, that *the King can do no wrong*, but that some Minister is responsible for the exercise of all the Royal functions, of *Peace, War*, and even the darling attribute of *Mercy*, not excepted?

Qu. 19. Whether the *King's Speech* has not at all times been advised and made by Ministers, and whether it is not the language of *every* Constitution, that *good Kings* may be surpriz'd and imposed upon by *bad Ministers*?

Qu. 20. Whether the *Liberty of the Press*, which is always deem'd the bulwark of all our liberties, can subsist, if there be a privileg'd vehicle of fallacy?

Qu. 21. Whether in the *North Briton*, No. 45, there appears the least intention of vilifying the sacred dignity of *Royalty*, and whether the whole charge is not pointed against *Administration—contrary to the opinion of Royalty itself—a Prince of so many, great, and amiable qualities, whom England truly reveres—the personal character of our present amiable Sovereign makes us easy and happy that so great a power is lodg'd in such hands?*

JOHN WILKES.

I am clear for the Insertion—R.S.L.

Parliament opened on November 15, 1763, when there was a little bit of sharp practice on the part of the Government. It was usual that any question of privilege should be dealt with at once before any other business; but when Wilkes rose to address the House and call attention to a breach of privilege, he was at once forestalled by the Chancellor of the Exchequer (George Grenville), who rose to bring a mes-

sage from the King, to lay before the House the conduct of John Wilkes, a member who was the author of a most seditious and dangerous libel, *The North Briton*, No. 45. The House resolved, after a long debate, that the paper was a false, scandalous, and seditious libel, and ordered it to be burnt by the common hangman.

After coming to this conclusion, Wilkes was permitted to make the following speech :

MR. SPEAKER,

I think it my duty to lay before the House a few facts which have occurred since our last meeting, because, in my humble opinion, (which I shall always submit to this House) the rights of all the Commons of England, and the Privileges of Parliament have, in my person, been highly violated. I shall, at present, content myself with barely stating the facts, and leave the mode of proceeding to the wisdom of the House.

On the 30th of April, in the morning, I was made a prisoner in my own house, by some of the King's messengers. I demanded by what authority they had forced their way into my room, and was shewn a warrant, in which no person was named in particular, but generally the authors, printers, and publishers, of a seditious and treasonable paper, intitled, the *North Briton*, No. 45.

The messengers insisted on my going before lord Halifax, which I absolutely refused, because the warrant was, I thought, illegal, and did not respect me.

I applied by my friends, to the Court of Common Pleas for a Habeas Corpus, which was granted; but as the proper office was not then open, it could not immediately issue. I was afterwards carried by violence, before the Earls of Egremont and Halifax, whom I informed of the orders given by the Court of Common Pleas for the Habeas Corpus; and I enlarged upon this subject to Mr. Webb, the Solicitor of the Treasury. I was, however, hurried away to the

Worthies.



WAT TYLER.



ALD.ⁿ BECKFORD.



JOHN CADE Esq.



JOHN WILKES Esq.

These are thy Gods O Britain.

"THESE ARE THY GODS, O BRITAIN."

Frontispiece to Cradock's Life of John Wilkes. 1773.

Tower by another warrant, which declared me the author and publisher of a most infamous and seditious libel entitled the North Briton, No. 45. The word "treasonable" was dropt, yet I was detained a close prisoner, and no person was suffered to come near me for almost three days, although my counsel, and several of my friends, demanded admittance, in order to concert the means of recovering my liberty. My house was plundered, my bureaux broke open by order of two of your members, Mr. Wood and Mr. Webb, and all my papers carried away. After six days imprisonment I was discharged, by the unanimous judgment of the Court of Common Pleas, "That the privilege of this House extended to my ease." Notwithstanding this solemn decision of one of the King's superior courts of justice, a few days after I was served with a subpœna upon an information exhibited against me in the King's-bench. I lost no time in consulting the best books, as well as the greatest living authorities; and from the truest judgment I could form, I thought that the serving me with a subpœna was another violation of the privilege of parliament, which I will neither desert nor betray, and therefore I have not yet entered an appearance. I now stand in the judgment of the House, submitting, with the utmost deference, the whole case to their justice and wisdom, and beg leave to add, that, if after this important business has in its full extent been maturely weighed, you shall be of opinion that I am entitled to privilege, I shall then be not only ready, but eagerly desirous, to wave that privilege, and to put myself upon a jury of my countrymen.¹

This sordid quarrel resulted in the discomfiture of the Ministry and the House of Commons, and the raising of the culprit to an extraordinary pitch of popularity. The best of it was that he had successfully resisted the action of the Secretary of State in arresting him by general warrant, by bringing the

¹ *Parliamentary History*, vol. 15, 1753-65, 1813, col. 1360-1.

case before the Court of Common Pleas and obtaining damages to the tune of £1,000. Strangely enough, in all his squabbles, Wilkes managed usually to have the law on his side.

During his exile, and while in Paris, Wilkes addressed to the worthy electors of Aylesbury a letter¹ giving a complete version of the story of his persecution. It is necessary to this record to repeat it in full. It reads as follows :

GENTLEMEN,

The very honourable, unanimous, and repeated marks of esteem you conferred on me, by committing to my trust your liberty, safety, property, and all those glorious privileges which are your birthright as Englishmen, entitle you to my warmest thanks, and to the highest tribute of gratitude my heart can pay. Yet, in the peculiar circumstances of my case, I think that I ought not at present to rest contented with thanking you. I have always found a true pleasure in submitting to you my parliamentary conduct. It is now more particularly my duty; and when I reflect on the real importance and interesting nature of those great events in which, as your representative, I have been more immediately concerned, I am exceedingly anxious, not barely to justify myself, but to obtain the sanction of your approbation. It has ever been my ambition to approve myself worthy of the choice you have more than once made of me as your deputy to the great council of the nation, with an unanimity equally honourable and endearing. The consciousness of having faithfully discharged my trust, of having acted an upright and steady part in Parliament, as well as in other most arduous circumstances, makes me dare to hope that you will continue to me, what I most value—the good opinion and friendship of my worthy constituents. Having the happiness of being born in a

¹ Almon's *John Wilkes*, iii, 1805, pp. 86-121.

country where the name of vassal is unknown, where Magna Charta is the inheritance of the subject, I have endeavoured to support and merit those privileges to which my birth gave me the clearest right. Secure as I am of fully justifying my conduct—could I persuade myself that I have acted up to the sacred ideas of liberty which warm the hearts and inspire the actions of my countrymen, I should not, under all the variety of the most unjust and cruel persecutions, be quite unhappy.

The various charges brought against me may be reduced to two heads. The one is of a public, the other of a private nature. The first is grounded on the political paper called the North Briton, No. 45; the other respects a small part of a ludicrous poem,¹ which was stolen out of my house. The two accusations are only so far connected, that I am convinced there is not a man in England who believes that, if the first had not appeared, the second would ever have been called in question.

The majority in the house of commons, on the 15th of November, 1763, resolved, "that the paper entitled the North Briton, No. 45, is a false, scandalous, and seditious libel; containing expressions of the most unexampled insolence and contumely towards his majesty, the grossest aspersions upon both houses of parliament, and the most audacious defiance of the authority of the whole legislature; and most manifestly tending to alienate the affections of the people from his majesty, to withdraw them from their obedience to the laws of the realm, and to excite them to traiterous insurrections against his majesty's government." These are the words of the resolution. I mean to examine them with some accuracy.

The first charge is, "that the North Briton, No. 45, is a *false* libel." The resolution was moved by lord North; yet, in a tedious speech, he did not attempt to dispute the veracity of any one paragraph in the whole paper. I was in my place during that debate, and took notice to the house that his

¹ An idle, indecent poem called *An Essay on Woman*.

lordship had not said a word to prove the *falsity* of any one sentence ; but I could obtain no satisfaction, not even a reply, on that head. On my trial before lord Mansfield, the word " false " was omitted in the information ; because, I suppose, the court of king's-bench knew that I would prove publicly on oath in that court, by the highest authorities, that every word in it was *true*. The word " false " is not to be found among the various epithets applied to this paper in either of the warrants issued by lord Halifax. I am bold to declare, upon the most careful perusal of this paper, that there is not any one particular advanced which is not founded on fact, and that every line in it is strictly and scrupulously conformable to truth. I will not compliment the present profligate majority in the house of commons so far as to say they were so well informed that they knew the exact truth of every assertion in that paper. One particular, however, came within their knowledge :—the means by which, it is hinted, the entire approbation of parliament, of the preliminary articles of the late inglorious peace, was obtained ; and the previous step to the obtaining that entire approbation—the large debt contracted on the civil list. They knew this assertion was extremely *true* ; and I am as ready to own that it was extremely *scandalous*.

The second charge, of " scandalous," must then be admitted in its full extent ; still keeping in our view that it is *true*. But to whom is it *scandalous* ? To the majority, who have sacrificed the interests of the nation by giving the entire approbation of parliament, of which so much parade is made in the speech, to an act which ought to have been followed by an impeachment :—to the minister who made the late ignominious peace, and in the very first year of it imposed on us an intolerable excise :—to the worst of vipers in our bosom—the tories, who have never failed to support his unconstitutional measures ; who have made us almost forget the infamy of their ancestors at Utrecht, by the greater sacrifices of the peace of Paris. These are the objects of

satire of a paper, which deserved indeed the highest resentment of the majority, because it had proclaimed their disgrace, their *scandal*, through all Europe. It was very natural for these men no longer to suffer the supposed author to sit among them; and I should have gloried in my expulsion, if it had not dissolved a political connection with my friends at Aylesbury, which did me real honour.

Another charge is, that the paper is a "*seditions* libel; tending to withdraw the people from their obedience to the laws of the realm, and to excite them to *traiterous* insurrections against his majesty's government." By the first warrant under which I was apprehended, the North Briton, No. 45, was denominated a "treasonable paper." In the second, by which I was committed to the Tower, *that* word too was omitted; so that the greatest enemies of this paper seem to give up its being either "false" or "treasonable." Now, the charge is varied by the majority in the house of commons, with all the little quibbling of attorneys. The paper is not "treasonable," but "it tends to excite *traiterous* insurrections." It is remarkable, that the epithet "traiterous" is here given to insurrection, as the supposed consequence of a supposed libel; whereas the Scots, who appeared in open rebellion so lately as 1745, and who even defeated regular forces, were (in the weekly writings against the North Briton, published under the patronage of the Scottish Minister, and paid for by him out of the public treasure) only termed "insurgents." Yet, in fact, no *insurrection* of any kind ever did, or could, follow from this publication; even in those parts of the kingdom so lately subjected to all the insolence and cruelty of the most despicable of our species,—the mean, petty exciseman. This is the strongest case which can possibly be put. The excise is the most abhorred monster that ever sprung from arbitrary power; and the new mode of it is spoken of throughout this paper, as the greatest grievance on the subject: yet, even in this case, obedience to the

laws and all lawful authority is strictly enjoined ; and no opposition but what is consistent with the laws and the constitution, is allowed. The words are very temperate, cautious, and well guarded. " Every *legal* attempt of a tendency contrary to the spirit of concord will be deemed a justifiable resistance, warranted by the spirit of the English constitution." Is this " withdrawing the people from their obedience to the *laws* of the realm " ? Is resistance recommended ; but, expressly only so far as it is strictly *legal* ? Let the impartial public determine, whether this is the language of sedition, or can have the least tendency " to excite traiterous insurrections " ; or whether the house of commons have not made a *false* and groundless charge.

The general charge that " the North Briton, No. 45, is a *libel* " scarcely deserves an answer ; because the term is vague, and still remains undefined by our law. Every man applies it to what he dislikes. A spirited satire will be deemed a libel by a wicked minister, and by a corrupt judge, who feel or who dread the lash. In my opinion the rankest *libel* of modern times is the false and fulsome address of the majority in this house of commons, on the preliminary articles. They said that they had considered them with their best attention ; they expressed the strongest sentiments of gratitude ; they gave their hearty applause ; they declared that the peace would be no less honourable than profitable, solid, and, in all human probability, permanent. Were the house of commons serious in this address, which was drawn up and presented, even before any one of the gross blunders in the preliminaries had been amended ? If they were, the body of the people judged better ; and did not hesitate to give their clear opinion, that the glories of the war were sacrificed by an inadequate and insecure peace, which could not fail of soon retrieving the affairs of France. Time has already proved that the nation judged right, and that the peace is in almost every part infamous and rotten ; contrary to the vain

boast in *the minister's* speech¹ at the beginning of the same session—"the utmost care has been taken to remove all occasions of future disputes between my subjects and those of France and Spain, and thereby to add security and permanence to the blessings of peace": a declaration not believed by the nation at the time it was made; and since, from a variety of facts, known to be not founded on truth. The North Briton did not suffer the public to be misled. He acknowledged no privileged vehicle of fallacy. He considered the liberty of the press as the bulwark of all our liberties, as instituted to open the eyes of the people; and he seems to have thought it the duty of a political writer to follow truth wherever it leads. In his behalf I would ask even Lord Mansfield, Can *truth* be a *libel*? Is it so in the king's bench?² Though it has always found a cold and unwelcome reception from his lordship, though it has through life proved much more his enemy than his friend, yet surely he has not been used to treat it as a libel? I do not know what the doctrine of the king's bench now is; but I am sure that it will be a satisfactory answer to the honest part of mankind, who follow the dictates of sound sense (and not the jargon of law, nor the court flattery of venal parliaments), that the North Briton, No. 45, cannot be a *libel*, because it does not in any one line deviate from *truth*.

This unlucky paper is likewise said to contain "expressions of the most unexampled insolence and contumely towards his majesty, most manifestly tending to alienate the affections of the people from his majesty"; and by the hirelings of the ministry it is always, in private, charged with personal disrespect to the king. It is, however, most certain that not a single word personally disrespectful to his majesty is to be found in any part of it. On the

¹ The British public have this important obligation (among others) to Mr. Wilkes: that he first introduced and established in parliament the custom and right of regarding and animadverting upon the king's speech as the declaration of the minister.

² Lord Mansfield had not, at that time, made his famous judicial declaration, that "the greater the *truth*, the greater the *libel*."

contrary, the sovereign is mentioned, not only in terms of decency, but with that regard and reverence which are due from a good subject to a good king: "a prince of so many great and amiable qualities, whom England truly reveres. The personal character of our present amiable sovereign makes us easy and happy that so great a power is lodged in such hands." Are these the "expressions of the most unexampled insolence and contumely towards his majesty" which the majority in this house of commons have declared that the paper contains? Are these expressions "most manifestly tending to alienate the affections of the people from his majesty"? The majority who could vote this seem equally superior to any regard for truth or modest fear of detection. The author of that paper, so far from making any personal attack on his sovereign, has even vindicated him personally from some of the late measures, which were so severely censured by the judicious and unbiassed public. He exclaims, with an honest indignation, "What a shame was it to see the security of this country, in point of military force, complimented away, *contrary to the opinion of royalty itself*; and sacrificed to the prejudices and to the ignorance of a set of people the most unfit, from every consideration, to be consulted on a matter relative to the security of the house of Hanover!" When the speech is mentioned; when the various absurdities, and even fallacies of it, are held out to the nation; it is always called, in the language of parliament and of the Constitution, the minister's speech: and the author declares that he doubts "whether the imposition is greater on the sovereign or on the nation"; so tender has he been of the honour of his prince; so zealous in his vindication. The minister is, indeed, everywhere treated with the contempt and indignation which he has merited; but he is always carefully distinguished from the sovereign. Every kingdom in the world has, in its turn, found occasion to lament that princes of the best intentions have been deceived and misled by wicked and designing

ministers and favourites. It has likewise, in most countries, been the fate of the few daring patriots who have honestly endeavoured to undeceive their sovereign, to feel the heaviest marks of his displeasure. It is, however, I think, rather wonderful among us, even in these times, that a paper which contains the most dutiful expressions of regard to his majesty, should be treated with such unusual severity ; and yet that so many other publications of the same date, full of the most deadly venom, should pass totally unregarded. Some of these papers contained the most opprobrious reflections on that true patron of liberty, the late king ; whose memory is embalmed with the tears of Englishmen, while his ashes are rudely trampled upon by others, in whom his godlike attribute of mercy had pardoned the crime of unprovoked rebellion. Others were full of the most indecent abuse on our great protestant ally, the king of Prussia ; on the near relation of his present majesty, who has merited so highly of the nation by fixing the crown in the house of Hanover ; on the staunchest friends of freedom, the city of London, and on the first characters among us. Yet all these papers have passed uncensured by ministers, secretaries, and by the two houses of Parliament.

There only remains one other charge : that the North Briton, No. 45, contains " the grossest aspersions upon both houses of parliament, and the most audacious defiance of the *authority* of the whole legislature." It is to be lamented that the majority of either house of parliament should ever give just ground for any aspersion, or fall into general contempt with the people. We have seen their actions, and we know the mercenary motives of them. When " the grossest aspersions " are complained of, the question is, have they been merited ? are they well founded ? It is in vain they talk of their *authority*. It is departed from them. Authority, which is founded on esteem and reverence, and is the constant attendant only of those who are believed to be good and virtuous, has long ago left them ; but, I must own, their *power* still remains. We have seen

to what unjustifiable lengths this has been carried ; and a man who is rash enough to make an impotent and unavailing attack upon it, will soon find himself an unpitied victim.

All thinking men are full of apprehensions at the approach of the meeting of parliament ; and the nation impatiently expects the allotted term of resuming a power which has been so shamefully abused, by setting aside those who have ignominiously betrayed their trust, and made the noblest blood of our heroes to have been spilt almost in vain. Under the arbitrary Stuarts, when our more than Roman senates dared to bring truth to the foot of the throne, and made the trembling tyrant obey her sacred voice, the nation was in love with parliaments ; because they were the steady friends of liberty, and never met but in favour of the subject—to redress real grievances. Now, we are alarmed at every approaching session : because we know that a corrupt majority assemble only to make their own terms with the minister ; to load their fellow-subjects with the most partial taxes, in order to pay the amazing number of useless places and pensions created only to prevent their mutiny or desertion ; or to surrender to the crown those privileges of parliament which were extorted from former prerogative princes for the safety of the people ; and I fear they meet to forge fetters for themselves and their posterity.

I have thus, gentlemen, gone through all the objections made against this paper (which is certainly innocent, perhaps meritorious), only to show the extreme injustice of the treatment I experienced as the supposed author. The most cruel orders were given by the deceased secretary of state to drag me out of my bed at midnight. A good deal of humanity, and some share of timidity, prevented the execution of such ruffian-like commands. I was made a prisoner in my own house, by several of the King's messengers ; who produced only a general warrant, issued without oath, and neither naming nor describing me. I therefore refused to obey a precept

which I knew to be illegal. I was, however, by violence, carried before the earls of Egremont and Halifax; who thought it worth *their* while to ask me a tolerable number of plain questions, to not one of which I thought it worth *my* while to give a plain answer. It is no small satisfaction to me to know, that I have not a friend in the world who wishes a single word unsaid by me in the critical moment of that examination. I informed their lordships of the orders actually given by the court of common-pleas for my habeas-corpus; notwithstanding which I was committed to the Tower, the custody of me shifted into other hands, and that act for the liberty of the subject eluded. Although the offence of which I stood accused was undoubtedlyailable, yet for three days every person was refused admittance to me; and the governor was obliged to treat me in a manner very different from the great humanity of his nature, for he had received orders to consider me as a *close* prisoner. I rejoice that I can say, I am the only instance of such rigorous treatment since the accession of the mild house of Brunswick, although the Tower has twice been crowded with even rebels from the northern parts of the island; and therefore I shall continue to regret the wretched and cowardly policy, the indecent partiality, and even injustice, of conferring on Scotsmen *all* the governments of the few conquests not tamely given up by the Scottish minister—conquests won by the valour of the united forces of England, Scotland, and Ireland. While I suffered this harsh confinement, my house in Great George-street was plundered; all my papers were seized; and some of a very nice and delicate nature, not bearing the most distant relation to the affairs of government, were divulged—as if administration were determined to shew, that men who had violated public justice were incapable of private honour.

Two days previous to my being heard before a court of justice, I had the grief to find that my enemies had prevailed on his majesty to shew me a public mark of his displeasure, by superseding me

as colonel of the regiment of my own county, without any complaint against me ; which could not but give such a step the very unconstitutional appearance of influencing or intimidating my judges. When I was brought before the court of common-pleas, I pleaded the cause of universal liberty. It was not the cause of peers and gentlemen only, but of all the middling and inferior class of people, who stand most in need of protection, which (as I observed) was on that day the great question before the court. I was discharged from the imprisonment by the unanimous sentence of my judges, without giving any bail or security.

On the first day of the meeting of parliament, I humbly submitted my grievances to the house of commons ; as they were chosen to be the guardians of the liberties of the people against the despotism of ministers. I likewise voluntarily entered my appearance to the actions brought at law against me, as soon as I knew of the determination of the majority, that all the irregularities against me should be justified ; and that no privilege should be allowed in my case, even as to the mode of proceeding, which was the most harsh that the rancour of party could devise.

The first charge exhibited against me was, for being the author of the North Briton, No. 45 ; and I was expelled the house of commons on that charge, after a loose examination, at their bar, of witnesses without oath. The judicial proceedings against me, as the supposed author, were however dropped ; and I was afterwards tried in the king's-bench, only for the republication of it. If the charge against me as author was just, and could be supported on oath, why was I not tried at law on that charge ? If the charge was unjust, and could not be supported on oath, why was I expelled ? If the republication is a crime, it was openly committed by the printers of several newspapers who still remained unnoticed, although their names appear to their several papers. This is surely proof of the greatest partiality.

My personal enemy, Lord Mansfield, chose to try both the causes against me ; that he might in the most dastardly manner, under the colour of the law, avenge the attack made on those known political principles of his so inconsistent with the glorious Revolution, on the rooted attachment of himself and his nearest relations to the Stuart family, on his partiality in the seat of justice, etc. etc., which seem to have been favourite topics in the North Briton, and other political papers of which his lordship did me the honour to name me as the author. This had long rankled in his heart, and now the fairest opportunity of revenge presented itself. Having carefully studied the records, and finding that they did not insure the certainty he wished of my conviction, on the evening preceding the trials he sent for my solicitor to his own house, and desired him to consent to the alterations proposed by his lordship in both the causes—that of the North Briton, No. 45, and of the Essay on Woman. The chief-justice sunk into the crafty attorney ; and made himself a party against the person accused before him as judge, when he ought to have presumed me innocent. My solicitor refused, and against his consent the records were there materially altered by his lordship's express orders ; so that I was tried on two new charges, very different from those which I had answered. This is, I believe, the most daring violation of the rights of Englishmen, which has been committed by any judge since the time of Jeffreys ; yet this arbitrary Scottish chief-justice still remains unimpeached, except in the hearts of the whole nation. Several of the jury were, by counter-notices signed by the summoning officer, prevented from attending on the day appointed for the trial ; while others had not only private notice given them of the real day, but likewise instructions for their behaviour. To crown the whole, lord Mansfield in his charge tortured both the law and the fact so grossly, that the audience were shocked no less at the indecency than at the partiality of his conduct. I was, during all this time, very dangerously ill with my daughter

at Paris ; absolutely incapable of making any personal defence, and indeed totally ignorant of the two new questions on which I was to be tried.

The majority in the house of commons had, in this interval, grown so impatient for revenge, that they would not wait to see whether I should be entangled in the nice meshes of the curious Mansfield net which was to be spread for me. They voted my expulsion while I was confined to my bed at Paris ; although I had sent to their speaker the most authentic proof of my absolute inability to attend their summons, and had desired only a short delay. Humanity pleaded my cause in vain. The corrupt and cankered hearts of those men, which had been shut against justice, were not open to pity. They were steeled against compassion ; but I am sure they will feel remorse.

I now proceed to the other charge brought against me ; which respects an idle poem called *An Essay on Woman*, and a few other detached verses. If so much had not been said on this subject I should be superior to entering upon any justification of myself ; because I will always maintain the right of private opinion in its fullest extent, when it is not followed by giving any open, public offence to any establishment, or indeed to any individual. The crime commences from this point ; and the magistrate has then a right to interpose, and even to punish outrageous and indecent attacks on what any community has decreed to be sacred. Not only the rules of good-breeding, but the laws of society, are then infringed. In my own closet I had a right to examine, and even to try by the keen edge of ridicule, any opinions I pleased. If I have laughed pretty freely at the glaring absurdities of a creed which our great Tillotson wished that the church of england was fairly rid of, it was in private I laughed. I gave no offence to any one individual of the community. The fact is, that, after the affair of the *North Briton*, the Government bribed one of my servants to steal a part of the *Essay on Woman*, and the other pieces, out of my house. Not quite a

fourth-part of the volume had been printed at my own private press. The work had been discontinued for several months, before I had the least knowledge of the theft. Of that fourth-part only twelve copies were worked off, and I never gave one of those copies to any friend. In this infamous manner did government get possession of this new subject of accusation ; and, except in the case of Algernon Sydney, of this new species of crime ; for a Stuart only could make the refinement in tyranny, of ransacking and robbing the recesses of closets and studies, in order to convert private amusements into state crimes. After the servant had been bribed to commit the theft in his master's house, the most abandoned man of the age (who in this virtuous reign had risen to be secretary of state) was bribed to make a complaint to the house of lords, that I had published an infamous poem, which no man there had ever seen. It was read before that great assembly of grave lords and pious prelates (excellent judges of wit and poetry !), and was ordered to lie on the table, for the clerks of the house to copy, and to publish through the nation. The whole of this proceeding was, I own, a public insult on order and decency ; but the insult was committed by the house of lords, not by the accused member of the house of commons. The neat, prim, smirking chaplain of that babe of grace, that *gude cheeld* of the prudish kirk of Scotland, the earl of March, was highly offended at my having made an essay on woman. His nature could not forgive me that *ineffable* crime ; and his own conduct did not afford me the shadow of an apology. In great wrath he drew his grey-goose quill against me. The pious peer caught the alarm ; and they both poured forth most woeful lamentations, their tender hearts overwhelmed with grief ; or, as the chaplain (who held the pen) said, with *griefs of griefs*. He proceeded to make very fair extracts, and afterwards to be-note them in the foulest manner. The most vile blasphemies were forged, and published as part of a work containing in reality nothing but fair ridicule

on some doctrines which I could not believe ; mock panegyric, flowing from mere envy, which sickened at the superior parts and abilities, as well as wonderful deeds, of a man I could not love ; a few portraits drawn from warm life, with the too high colouring of a youthful fancy ; and two or three descriptions, perhaps too luscious—which, though Nature and woman might pardon, a Kidgell and a Mansfield could not fail to condemn.

I have now, gentlemen, gone through all the objections which have been made to my conduct in a public capacity. My enemies, finding that I was invulnerable in the part to which they pointed their most envenomed darts, afterwards attempted to assassinate my private character, and propagated an infinite variety of groundless calumnies against me. I have generally treated these with the contempt which they deserved ; from the certainty that all who knew me would know that I was incapable of the things laid to my charge. A few falsehoods, advanced with more boldness than the rest, I was at the pains to refute. The Winchester story in particular (because it respected lord Bute's own son, and had been ushered to the public with the greatest parade, as well as with all the impudence of malice, and rage of party) I disproved so fully, that I am sure, not the least shadow of a doubt remained in any man's mind as to my entire innocence of that most illiberal charge. I have lived so long among you, gentlemen, that I will rest everything respecting me as a private man to the testimony which the experience of so many years authorizes you to give ; well knowing that true candour always weighs in the same balance faults and virtues. The shades in private life are darkened by an enemy, but scarcely seen by a friend. Besides, it is not given to every man to be as pious as Lord Sandwich ; or as chaste, *in and out* of the marriage bed, in all thought, word, and deed, as the bishop of Gloucester [Dr. Warburton].

A few other particulars, gentlemen, deserve to be mentioned that you may have before you the whole of my conduct in these interesting affairs. Immedi-

ately after the late flagrant breach of the laws, I thought it my duty to the community to commence actions against all the persons guilty. I despised the meanness of attacking only agents and deputies : I endeavoured to bring to the jurisdiction of the law the principals, the first and great offenders, the two secretaries of state. I blush for my country when I add, that though I have employed the ablest gentlemen of the profession, they have hitherto found it impossible even to force an appearance. Lord Egremont died, braving the justice of his country. Lord Halifax lives, perhaps to triumph over it, and to give the example to future secretaries of committing the grossest violation of the rights of the commons with impunity. The judicial proceeding at my suit commenced in the beginning of May twelve-month ; and now, at the end of October in the present year, his lordship has not entered any appearance—seeking shelter all the winter under privilege, all the summer under the chicane of the law. The little offenders, indeed, have not escaped. Several honest juries have marked them with ignominy ; and their guilt has been followed with legal punishment. But, what is of infinitely greater importance to the nation, we have heard from the bench, that **GENERAL WARRANTS ARE ABSOLUTELY ILLEGAL**. Such a declaration is now become in the highest degree interesting to the subject ; because the majority in this courtly house of commons refused, the very last winter, to come to any resolution in favour of the rights of their fellow-subjects. We owe it likewise to the most upright, independent, and intrepid chief-justice of the court of common-pleas, that in the action against the under-secretary of state the **SEIZURE OF PAPERS**, except in cases of high treason, has been declared **ILLEGAL**.

When I reflect on these two most important determinations in favour of liberty,—the best cause, and the noblest stake, for which men can contend,—I congratulate my free-born countrymen, and am full of gratitude that heaven inspired me with a firmness

and fortitude equal to the conduct of so arduous a business. Under all the wanton cruelties of usurped and abused power, the goodness of the cause supported me ; and I never lost sight of the great object which I had from the first in my view—the preservation of the rights and privileges of every Englishman. I glory in the name, and will never forget the duties resulting from it. Though I am driven into exile from my dear country, I shall never cease to love and reverence its constitution, while it remains free. It will continue my last ambition to approve myself a faithful son of England ; and I shall always be ready to give my life a willing sacrifice to my native country, and to what it holds most dear—the security of our invaluable liberties. While I live, I shall enjoy the satisfaction of thinking that I have not lived in vain ; that the present age has borne the noblest testimony to me ; and that my name will pass with honour to posterity, for the upright and disinterested part I have acted, and for my unwearied endeavours to protect and secure the persons, houses, and papers, of my fellow-subjects, from arbitrary visits and seizures.

I am, Gentlemen;
 with much regard and affection,
 your most obliged, and
 obedient humble servant,

JOHN WILKES.

PARIS,
 October 22, 1764.

It is necessary for a moment to revert to events preceding the writing of that celebrated pronouncement, in order to refer to another pretty quarrel, which resulted in Wilkes's duel with Martin. The story is told in these expressive letters.¹

Wilkes, after returning home from the House of Commons, wrote to Mr. Samuel Martin, M.P., late Secretary to the Treasury :

¹ Almon, ii, 1805, pp. 12-14.

GREAT GEORGE STREET,
Wednesday, November 16, 1763.

SIR,

You complained yesterday before five hundred gentlemen that you had been *stabbed in the dark* by the North Briton; but I have reason to believe you was not so much *in the dark* as you affected, and chose to be. Was the complaint made before so many gentlemen on purpose that they might interpose? To cast off every pretence of ignorance as to the author, I whisper in your ear, that every passage of the North Briton in which you have been named, or even alluded to, was written by

Your humble servant,

JOHN WILKES.

Mr. Martin replied :

ABINGDON STREET,
November 16, 1763.

SIR,

As I said in the house of commons yesterday that the writer of the North Briton, who had stabbed me in the dark, was a cowardly as well as a malignant and infamous scoundrel, and your letter of this morning's date acknowledges that every passage of the North Briton in which I have been named, or even alluded to, was written by yourself, I must take the liberty to repeat, that you are a malignant and infamous scoundrel, and that I desire to give you an opportunity of shewing me whether this epithet of *cowardly* was rightly applied or not.

I desire that you meet me in Hyde-park immediately, with a brace of pistols each, to determine our difference.

I shall go to the ring in Hyde-park, with my pistols so concealed that nobody may see them, and I will wait in expectation of you one hour. As I shall call in my way at your house to deliver this letter, I propose to go from thence directly to the ring in Hyde-park, from whence we may proceed if it be necessary to any more private place, and I mention

that I shall wait an hour, in order to give you the full time to meet me.

I am, Sir, your humble servant,
SAM MARTIN.

When the gentlemen met in Hyde Park, they walked together a little while to avoid some company which seemed coming up to them. They each had a brace of pistols. When they were alone Martin fired first and missed : Wilkes's pistol flashed in the pan. Then they fired again, using Wilkes's pistols. Wilkes missed ; Martin shot Wilkes in the belly. Martin came up and offered assistance. Wilkes said, " I am killed, but you have behaved like a man of honour. I insist that you escape at once ; and you need have no fear—no one shall know from me how the affair has happened." Wilkes was carried home. The next day Wilkes, who believed his life was in danger, returned Martin's letter, so that no evidence should appear against him, and insisted to his daughter and others that in case of his death no trouble should be given to Martin.

It was said afterwards that Martin had been practising at a target for some time, and it was considered to be remarkable that he had himself chosen the weapons, although this should have been Wilkes's right. It appears that the ball, which was afterwards extracted, first struck the coat button, and then entered his belly.

Martin and Wilkes met in Paris about a month afterwards, and were quite affable and friendly.

Wilkes wrote to his daughter two days afterwards¹ :

I thought it would give you most satisfaction to have a line from my own hand, relating to the duel between Mr. Martin and me. At the second fire I was wounded by a ball which entered the lower part of my belly

on the right side. I was carried home in a chair, and a surgeon has extracted the ball. The pains I have suffered are beyond what I can describe, but both physician and surgeon declare me out of all danger, and I hope in a fortnight to go abroad. You may depend on seeing me at Paris before Christmas, if I am tolerably well. It was an affair of honour, and my antagonist behaved very well. We are both perfectly satisfied with each other on this occasion.

I am, my dearest girl—

CHAPTER III

EXCURSIONS AND ALARUMS

WILKES's next escapade was the establishment of a private press in his own house, at which he reprinted the offensive Number 45 of *The North Briton*. This action was dead against the opinion and advice of Lord Temple, one of his best friends ; but Wilkes persisted, in the belief that the paper would have an immense sale and produce a considerable sum of money. There was, besides this, *An Essay on Woman* printed on the premises, for private circulation, it being neither fit nor intended for public use. A copy of this frankly indecent publication was stolen from the house, and presently reported to Parliament (as described by Wilkes in his letter written from Paris to the electors of Aylesbury). The end of all was that a declaration of outlawry was made against Wilkes for refusing to come up for judgment, after being convicted in the Court of King's Bench for the crime of the reprint of the No. 45.

In order to evade imprisonment Wilkes went to France, and spent four years in travelling about the Continent ; but there are traditions of an occasional surreptitious visit to his native country. Among other productions of his pen during the period of exile was *A Collection of the Genuine Letters and Papers* in his case.¹ During his exile it was thought—and

¹ *A Complete Collection of the Genuine Papers, Letters, etc., in the Case of John Wilkes*, sm. 8vo, Berlin [London?], 1769.

with reason—that the British public continued to give him their warmest sympathies. He was looked upon as a persecuted man, and by many was regarded as a genuine champion of public rights and constitutional liberty. Besides these advantages he had the true merit of being courageous in every difficulty he was called upon to face, while his ready and exuberant wit and his generous disposition were recognised and appreciated by a host of his personal friends. Towards the end of the year 1767 he made up his mind to return to London and seek condonation for his rather wild doings. A spirit of compromise happened to be then prevailing amongst the British public, although the more relentless of his opponents kept up their game with sufficient vigour. It seemed, however, favourable to the enterprising Wilkes, who came, and saw, and was destined to conquer.

I have a letter written by Wilkes during his exile which is very suggestive of his intention to be troublesome if he is not employed. The letter is very carefully written, and is addressed, I am convinced, to Mr. Fitzherbert, who had placed at Wilkes's disposal in Paris the sum of a thousand pounds. Wilkes, who had declined the money as an annuity, none the less promptly used it.

PARIS, RUE DES SAINTS PÈRES,
Dec. 4, 1765.

MY DEAR SIR,

I am happy in the present opportunity of paying my respects to you, and of going into several particulars, which I dare not even mention in a letter by the post. This will be deliver'd to you by Mr. Maclane, who is not unknown to you, and on whose friendship I felicitate myself. I have known him much and intimately. I admire the excellence and extent of his understanding, and I have

not met with any man, who has so far seen into the important American business nor so well digested his ideas to make a great plan not only practicable but easy and smooth. You will judge of this yourself by his conversation on the subject of our Colonies, which must now so much engross your attention.

I am accustom'd to open myself fully to you on every occasion, and therefore I will not now begin to hesitate about proposing what I shou'd hope would prove advantageous to the public as well as to your friend. I am told that the Government of Jamaica will very soon be vacant. I wish to be usefull to my country there, and I cou'd scarcely fail of it, if the proposal was approv'd with the circumstance of Mr. Maclane's accompanying me as Lieutenant-Governor. The present Lieutenant-Governor is actually nominated to the Government of New York. If your Ministers will let me I will serve the Public with zeal, with spirit, with fidelity. Difficulties wou'd only render me more active, and perhaps add to my glory. No man cou'd instruct me better in all American business, because no man knows it better, than Mr. Maclane, and I wish his rare merit of that kind was half as well known to the principal Ministers as it is to me.

I scarcely need add to you who know me that all my endeavours wou'd be exerted to extinguish party in that Island and to give real strength to Government. I wish you to give such assurances in my name when you chuse to make the proposal, and I wou'd agree to the stipulations you found necessary either there or at home.

I mention all this to you and to you only. Such a negociation cannot be in more friendly nor more able hands. If it succeeds I shall have the first obligation to your friendship ; if it does not I will ever gratefully acknowledge your generous efforts to serve me. If you find the mention of it improper the secret will die with you and Mr. Maclane, for no person shall know the least of this.

I have very fully explain'd myself on some interesting points to Mr. Maclane, and he will tell you

my ideas on every thing. What strikes me most at present is an immediate return to England. I cannot think with patience of an eternal exile. If I do not return under this Ministry, what can I expect on any change, except indeed of one with Lord Temple at the head? I have borne every thing without murmuring, but I have been very sensible to all the injuries I have receiv'd, tho' not so sensible as to the kindnesses I have met with from you and a very few more. The influence of the Favourite must still predominate to keep me from my native country at this time, so many true Whigs being in the first places. I ought at the entrance into power of the present gentlemen to have had a pardon under the Great Seal without my asking it, and to have been indemnify'd as far as it cou'd be for two years' sufferings and the cruel anxiety of near four. I hop'd this from your kind letter to me at Paris, and that the others wou'd not come in till all and I were as we had been.

I love and honour many of the present Ministers, and wou'd serve the cause of Liberty in conjunction with them as well as my poor faculties permitted me. I am at their service for every good word and work, and I wish they never bring things to the alternative either of their finding employment for me or of my finding enough for them. One sett of Ministers I occupied a year and a half. If the power of the other shou'd last as long, the chace might not be shorter and little chance of their being in at the death.

You see with what confidence I give you all the secrets of my heart. I have the warmest sense of what I owe to you, but surely I am ill repaid by others, whom I have well and successfully serv'd. I leave the whole to you, and will only add that I am with the truest esteem and gratitude

Your affectionate and oblig'd

JOHN WILKES.

Since I wrote the above Mr. Maclane explains to me that his ideas go to an establishment in the Leward Islands, but I think both are consistent.

He wrote further to the same correspondent four days later¹ (Dec. 8, 1765):

MY DEAR SIR,

I wrote you two or three days ago so long a letter by Mr. Maclane, that I have now only to acknowledge the favour of your's, and to thank you for giving it to so agreeable a gentleman as Mr. Burk.

I will not enter into a tedious disquisition of the proposal made me in your letter. I shou'd despise myself as the most mean and abject wretch breathing, if I cou'd accept the offers made me. They are equally precarious, eleemosinary, and clandestine. I claim from the present Ministers a full pardon under the Great Seal for having successfully serv'd my country. I expect this justice at their hands, and before the first day of the meeting of the Parliament. If this is denied me, I shall not look upon these Ministers as my friends, and *provoco ad Populum*,² like an old Roman. I expect it, because you tell me they have full power, and the entire confidence of their Master. As to the other offer, do me the justice of thinking that I have *mens provida Reguli, dissentientis conditionibus fædis*,³ and in some future events you will recollect that I added, *atqui sciebat quæ sibi barbarus tortor parabat*.⁴

I shall ever feel as I ought your generous endeavours to serve me. Such a noble instance of friendship dignifies an age, and binds to you by every tie of gratitude and esteem,

Your most affectionate and oblig'd,
JOHN WILKES.

On December 12, 1765, Wilkes, who never would take his troubles lying down, wrote to George Onslow, the Member for Guildford, who had been one of his

¹ This letter is in my possession. See facsimile opposite.

² I appeal to the People (Livy, Bk. viii, ch. 33).

³ The prudent mind of Regulus had provided against this, dissenting from ignominious terms (Horace, *Odes*, Bk. iii, Ode 5, l. 14).

⁴ And he [Regulus] knew what the barbarian executer was providing for him (*Ib.*, l. 50).

Paris, Rue des Saints Peres
Dec. 8. 1765.

My dear Sir,

I wrote you two or three days ago so long a letter by Mr. Maclane, that I have now only to acknowledge the favour of yours, and to thank you for giving it to so agreeable a gentleman as Mr. Ouse. I will not enter into a tedious disquisition of the proposal made me in your letter. I should despise myself as the most mean and abject wretch breathing, if I could accept the offers made me. They are equally precarious, clamorous, and clandestine. I claim from the present Ministers a full pardon under the great Seal for having successfully served my country. I expect this justice at their hands, and before the first day of the meeting of the Parliament. If this is denied me, I shall not look upon these Ministers as my friends, and provoke ad Populum, like an old Roman. I expect it, because you tell me they have full power, and the entire confidence of their Master. As to the other offer, do me the justice of thinking that I have *mens provida Regum, dependentibus conditionibus factis*, and in some future events you will recollect that I added, *atque sicubi que sibi barbarus tortor parabat*.

I shall ever feel as I ought your generous endeavours to serve me. Such a noble instance of friendship dignifies an age, and binds to you by every tie of gratitude and esteem,
your most affectionate
and obliged,

John Wilkes.

most vigorous champions and advocates in Parliament¹:

I regret that I am obliged to send this by the post, but I do not hear of any friend's going soon to England, and I think it becomes the fairness of all my proceedings with respect to the gentlemen with whom I have been concerned, to state two or three facts to you, and immediately after I had taken my resolution.

Mr. Fitzherbert has offered me, in the name of some of the Ministry, the annual sum of £1,000, to be paid out of the income of their respective places. I have rejected this proposal as clandestine, eleemosynary and precarious. I demand from the justice of my friends a full pardon under the Great Seal for having successfully served my country. I will wait here till the first day of the New Year. If I should not then have received it, I shall have the strongest proof that the present Ministry are neither the friends of Mr. Wilkes nor of Justice, because the letter of Mr. Fitzherbert tells me "that there is perfect harmony among them, and the perfect confidence and support of their master."

The frankness of my nature and the openness of my conduct oblige me to give you this notice.

I ask not the grace of a pension or of an employment. I ask Justice, and from gentlemen who declare that I have been "extremely useful and ill-used," and that "they are my friends." I beg the sincerest compliments of respect to the good old Speaker and to Mrs. Onslow.

I am ever, Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate and

Obedient humble servant,

JOHN WILKES.

GEORGE ONSLOW, Esq.

Writing to Cotes from Naples, May 21, 1765,² he refers for the first time to his hope of obtaining a government appointment:

¹ *The Controversial Letters of John Wilkes, Esq. . . . 1771*, pp. 78-9.

² *Almon*, li, 199.

I am told of changes in the ministry and that some of the friends of liberty are likely to be employed. I shall rejoice at every change, because I am sure it *must* be for the better. I am still devoted to the "good old cause:" and if those few whom I love and trust can shew me how I can serve it, I shall be ready at a moment's notice to sacrifice every thing to it, either here or in any part of the world.

Four months afterwards—that is, upon August 18, 1765—Wilkes, still hankering after an official appointment, writes to his friend Cotes from Geneva,¹ saying :

If I am to give my opinion Constantinople is by far the most eligible. . . .

I will mar nothing by precipitation. I am ready; but I wait for another opportunity. I fear to do harm and I do not even wish to irritate.

Writing again from Paris on October 13, 1765,² he says :

I am still in the same idea as to Constantinople : nothing can so effectually heal all breaches of every kind.

And on October 27, 1765³ :

I have digested my thoughts very carefully, and I intend to give them to the public the first day of the meeting of Parliament. How the Ministry will like them I little care; every Whig must I am sure approve. . . . I have never yet heard who the present Ministry are. I believe the Scot is the breath of their nostrils. It depends however on them whether Mr. Wilkes is their friend or their enemy. If he starts as the latter he will lash them with scorpion rods—and they are already prepared; I wish however we may be friends. . . . I shall see what that great chapter in the book, the Chapter of Accidents, produces before the meeting of the House. I desire however you would let it be understood by the present Ministry, that if we are not good friends on public

¹ Almon, ii, 204.

² *Ib.*, ii, 210.

³ *Ib.*, ii, 213-15

grounds, I am their determined implacable enemy, ready to give the stab where it will wound the most. I repeat however I wish we may be friends in earnest; and if we are I will give every assistance that such mean abilities as mine can afford them, and they know how indefatigable I am in every cause I undertake.

And on July 20, 1766,¹ he writes :

You may guess my impatience for the letter you kindly promise me by the next post. Lord Temple may now make me happy; perhaps he cannot at home, till things are more firmly settled. I wished to have gone to Constantinople, I would go to Quebec, and perhaps, in the mean way, I might be useful there. If I am to be left to my ill-starred fate, pray let me know it; and I will never be troublesome to those I love.

It is curious that he wrote a long letter to Cotes from the Rue des Saints Pères on December 4, 1765,² saying :

I begin to think that I am doomed to an eternal exile, or that I must force my way home. Suppose I return immediately? Will this ministry dare to let the law take place? A pillory in my case would be worse than the business of the weavers, which so much alarmed the first persons of the nation. If the ministers do not find employment for me, I am disposed to find employment for them. As the term does not open till the end of January, Mansfield in no case could pass sentence before that time, and the spirit of the people is too high to let me suffer in a cause of their own. I am much inclined to this step of coming over directly, yet certainly not against the opinion of my best friends. I wish they would weigh the case, and give me their opinion.

This letter to Cotes is from the same address and on the same day as the letter reproduced in which he asks for the post of Governor of Jamaica. Appar-

¹ Almon, ii, 232.

² *Ib.*, ii, 218.

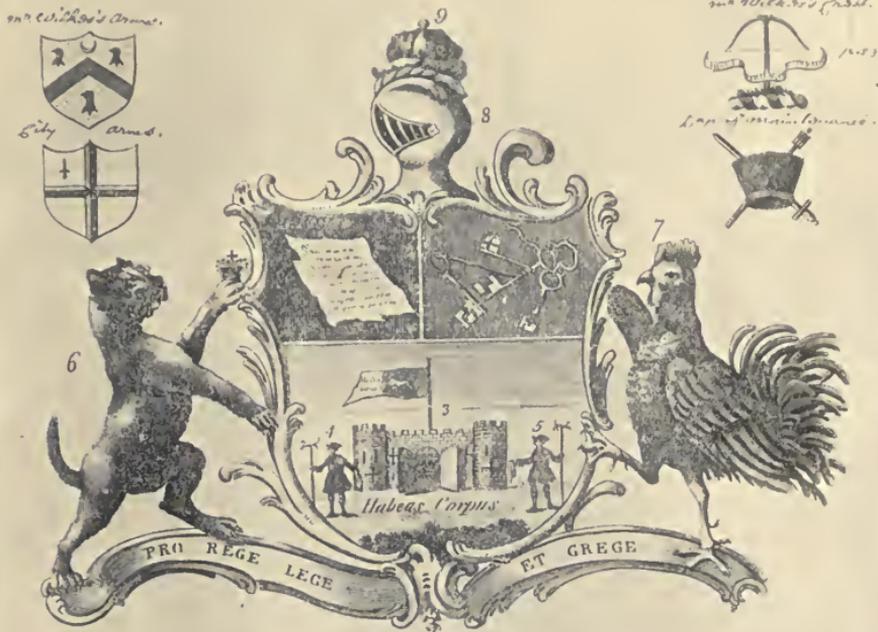
ently he had more than one string to his bow for getting a post somewhere with a good salary. I think the application for Jamaica was being made without the knowledge of Cotes, to whom he only spoke of Quebec and Constantinople. As I have already said, I think the letters of the 4th and 8th December addressed "My dear Sir" were written to his friend William Fitzherbert, M.P. for Derby, and were no doubt to be shown to the Marquis of Rockingham, who was then Prime Minister.

Wilkes had applied to be appointed Minister to Constantinople in 1760, and again in 1765, but the appointment was given in 1760 to Mr. Henry Grenville, and in 1765 to Mr. John Murray. He says in a letter to Horne Tooke :

As to the Rockingham administration, I do not owe a pardon to them, although I warmly solicited it during the whole time of their power. Soon after they came into employment I wished to have gone in a public character to Constantinople.

It is very remarkable that he should have written these two letters on the same day.

A R M S
 Granted to the Right Honourable JOHN WILKES,
Lord-Mayor of the City of London,
 ASSERTOR OF BRITISH FREEDOM,
 At the United Request of the PEOPLE of ENGLAND, &c. &c.
 BY LIBERTY KING AT ARMS.



E X P L A N A T I O N :

A R M S .

1. A General Warrant torn to rags.
2. A Bunch of broken Keys, denoting the Ruin of arbitrary Power.
3. The Tower of London, the Gates wide open, with a Flag bearing the white Horse (the Arms of the illustrious House of Hanover) and MAGNA CHARTA, denoting Freedom to all loyal Subjects and Friends to the Constitution; the Words HABEAS CORPUS, under the open Gates, imply, that no British Subject can be imprisoned contrary to Law.
- 4 and 5, Two Messengers in Mourning, with a Handkerchief in one Hand, lamenting their lost Places; and in the other, a Staff with a Greyhound on it, denoting their Offices.

S U P P O R T E R S .

6. An English Mastiff, expressive of Fidelity, Contancy, and Watchfulness; the regal Crown in his Paw, denotes Loyalty.
7. An English Game-Cock, emblematic of British Courage, never to be subdued but by Death.

C R E S T .

8. An Esquire's Helmet.
9. The Cap of Liberty, the indisputable Right of every Englishman, from the Prince to the Peasant.

M O T T O .

P R O R E G E , L E G E E T G R E G E .

V I V A N T R E X E T R E G I N A .

1775.

CHAPTER IV

WILKES AND LIBERTY

It was 1768, and a General Election was impending. Wilkes determined to obtain a seat in Parliament. With this object in view he left Paris early in the year. The dissolution came in March. On the advice of his friends, and with pecuniary assistance from them, Wilkes immediately announced his candidature for the representation of the City of London. A subscription was set on foot on his behalf. He became a liveryman of the Joiners' Company, of which he was chosen master two years later.

The election opened on March 16. The other candidates were the Right Honourable Thomas Harley (Lord Mayor), with Aldermen Ladbroke, Beckford, Trecothick, Glyn, and Mr. John Paterson. The preliminary show of hands was in favour of Wilkes ; but a poll being demanded, voting at once began, and a week afterwards the numbers polled by each candidate were declared as follows :

For the Lord Mayor (Sir Thomas Harley)	3,729
Sir Robert Ladbroke, Knt. . . .	3,678
William Beckford, Esq. . . .	3,402
Barlow Trecothick, Esq. . . .	2,957
Sir Richard Glyn, Bart. . . .	2,823
John Paterson, Esq. . . .	1,269
John Wilkes, Esq. . . .	1,247

The first four, all of them aldermen, were therefore declared duly elected.

The following skit in the language of the turf upon the candidates for the City of London was published on the day of election. They were—

Mr. Alderman Beckford.

Sir Richard Glyn.

Mr. Alderman Trecothick.

Mr. Deputy Paterson.

Mr. John Wilkes.

The Lord Mayor (Sir Thomas Harley).

Sir Robert Ladbroke.

CITY RACES¹

A LIST OF THE HORSES THAT ARE TO START ON WEDNESDAY, MARCH 16, PLACED IN THE ORDER IN WHICH IT IS EXPECTED THEY WILL COME IN.

1. The famous horse Liberty, formerly belonging to Mr. Pitt, and since sold by Lord Chatham; he was got by Magna Charta, his dam by Freedom. This horse is too well known on the turf to need much description; there has been a great deal of Jockeyship made use of to prevent his starting, as the knowing ones are too well acquainted with his mettle to wish to have him brought again on the course; however, he is now entered, and very large betts are depending; the odds on him are four to one against the field.

2. John Bull's horse Heart-of-Oak, got by Juniper, out of Tipsey's dam. This is a very fine horse, and well known on the turf; he has won one or two plates, but is very shy of a post; and notwithstanding the Jockeys have done all they could to break him of this trick, they have not been able to succeed; odds three to one that he wins.

3. Lord Rockingham's wall-eyed horse Mercator. This horse, though aged, is a maiden one, having never started for a plate; he bears training exceeding well, and comes through his exercise much to the

¹ *The Battle of the Quills*, 1768, pp. 72-4.

satisfaction of those who have seen him ; he was got by the famous horse Commerce, well known for having won a great many plates, but by unskilful Jockeys is now scarce able to stand on his legs. This horse is in high favour with the gentlemen of the turf : odds on him two to one against Prerogative, three to one against Shaver, five to one against Pickle, and two to one that he wins.

4. Mr. Grenville's young horse Stamp, his pedigree not known in the City. This horse came in second last year, but has since run against a post, and it is believed is so much off his speed by this accident, that if he saves his distance it will be as much as he is able to do ; odds five to four against Prerogative.

5. Lord Chatham's brown horse Prerogative, got by a grandson of Old Noll's Trumpeter, his dam by Changeling : he was bred in Jamaica, where he was used as a stallion to the African fillies, on whom his Get is very numerous : upon his arrival here he was taken into training, has won a Plate or two, but not without much jockeyship ; he is naturally very vicious, and much addicted to the Rest ; but his lordship's rough riders, by exercise and sweating, have brought him to be gentle and tractable ; he has lately been used as a Trial Horse ; and so hard worked that he is much hurt in his wind : it is imagined he will be beat easy ; after which he will be of no use but as a teaser : odds five to four him against Shaver, and three to two against Pickle.

6. Lord Holland's black horse Shaver, got by Craft out of Mr. Ayliffe's Ghost. This horse won a Plate at Ludgarshall ; but his lordship having found ways and means to purchase him, and his grooms having used him as a hack, it is believed he is foundered : the odds are five to one that he will be distanced.

7. Lord Bute's grey horse Pickle, got by Girkin, his dam by Mushroom. This horse won with great difficulty one of the last Plates, and has since been straying about in the K—'s forests, and nobody thought him worth catching ; at last one of his lordship's grooms picked him up, and he has been rid by the servants ever since ; makes an excellent

portmanteau horse, and is so gentle that a child may ride him, even in the most dirty road : he is still in some favour among the stable boys, between whom several betts of strong beer are depending ; but the gentlemen of the turf offer six to one against his winning, but nobody thinks proper to take it.

In nautical parlance they were thus described.

SHIP NEWS EXTRAORDINARY

Limehouse-hole, March 12, 1768.—Run ashore and bulged here, the Paterson, Johanny Boot, master, a lug-sail vessel chiefly laden with stones and labourers from Scotland, for new paving the streets of London, after the Oxford manner ; most persons think this a lost vessel, as her seams begin already to appear, and her bottom has been long known to be unsound. Others are of opinion, that by lightening her only of a little Scotch Coal, which makes part of her cargo, and calling in the assistance of a pilot from Holland, ways and means may yet be found to tow her to her usual Place of mooring at Westminster.

Gravesend, March 20.—Put in here to refit, having lost her rudder, in a late squall of wind, the Tre-cothick of and for Boston, but last for No Land Dock, near Stepney ; a crazy ship, supposed to be bound on a desperate voyage. Her crew consists almost intirely of artificers and manufacturers for New England, most of them unskilled in the nature of sailing, which was the reason that this ship missed her stays about seven years ago, since which she has always gone very heavily. At present the insurers are under great concern, large sums having been done on this vessel, which it is feared must now be totally condemned, and of course put many under-writers and their employers to their last shift.

Hope, March 20.—Came down and sailed with a leading wind, the Lively, Capt. Harley ; the True Briton, Capt. Glyn ; the Jamaica Planter, Beckford ; and the Englishman, Ladbroke ; all tight vessels, well-manned, rigged and victualled, and which, upon former occasions, have out-sailed every ship belonging to the port of London.

P.S.—The Wilkes Fireship was in full sail after them, but in her passage was run foul of by the Needham, an old square-sterned privateer, and so much damaged in her rigging, that it is judged impossible she should proceed on her voyage.

On the determination of the election, Mr. Wilkes returned his thanks for the suffrages he had received, complained of the exertion of ministerial influence against him (a fact notorious enough in all contested elections), and declared his intention of standing candidate for the county of Middlesex. In this election, which was held at Brentford on March 28, 1768, he was more successful, the state of the poll being :

For John Wilkes, Esq.	1,292
George Cooke, Esq.. . . .	827
Sir William Beauchamp Proctor	807

Here, therefore, his election was indisputable, and he was once more entrenched within the privilege of a member of Parliament.

At night Mr. Wilkes's friends illuminated their houses in London, and the mob, parading the streets with great insolence, imposed the same obligation on every one, who thus saved their windows and houses from demolition. The windows of the Mansion House were all broken, together with a large chandelier and some pier-glasses, to the loss of several hundreds of pounds ; the houses of Lord Bute, Lord Egremont, Sir Sampson Gideon, Sir William Mayne, and many other inhabitants of the most public streets shared the same fate. The Guards on duty at St. James's the next day received orders to be in readiness to march to suppress any riot that might happen, and on the day following that a Court of Common Council was called to consider the means for preventing future riots and to punish those who

should be found guilty of the late disturbances of the public peace. A reward of fifty pounds to be paid on conviction was offered for the discovery of every offender, and it was determined to prosecute them with the utmost vigour.

Dr. Franklin has left this plain-spoken estimate of Wilkes and his "45"¹:

'Tis really an extraordinary event to see an outlaw and exile of bad personal character, not worth a farthing, come over from France, set himself up as a candidate for the capital of the Kingdom, miss his election only by being too late in his application, and immediately carrying it for the principal county. The mob, spirited up by numbers of different ballads sung or roared in every street, requiring gentlemen and ladies of all ranks as they passed in their carriages to shout for "Wilkes and Liberty," marking the same words on all their coaches with chalk and No. 45 on every door; which extends a vast way along the roads into the country. I went last week to Winchester and observed that for fifteen miles out of town there was scarce a door or window-shutter next the road unmarked; and this continued here and there quite to Winchester, which is sixty-four miles.

Wilkes, now member for Middlesex, appeared on April 20 before the Court of King's Bench, and declared his surrender, according to his promise; he stated his case to the Court, and called attention to some irregularities in the management of his trial. The Attorney-General moved for his immediate commitment; but his counsel specified several errors in the process of his outlawry as sufficient foundation for a writ of error. Lord Mansfield, on the other hand, denied Wilkes to be legally before him, as not being brought into court in virtue of the writ of

¹ Franklin's *Memoirs*, ii, 1818, p. 162.

capias utlagatum,¹ according to the regular forms of law. Wilkes, therefore, was left to go out of the court as freely as he came into it ; and so formidable were he and his party now esteemed that the magistrates of London and Westminster kept their peace officers ready at call ; two battalions of Guards lay on their arms in St. James's Park, other military parties were in St. George's Fields ; those at St. James's, the Savoy, and Tower were kept in readiness to march at a minute's warning : these, as well as several troops of horse, remained under arms until two o'clock in the morning.

After being thus permitted to stand an election in London, another at Brentford, and by his public appearance to revive and cultivate the popular prejudices in his favour, Wilkes was at length on April 27 served with this writ of *capias utlagatum*, and brought before the Court of King's Bench ; but the Court were still obliged to accept his voluntary surrender ; for the mob stopped the coach on Westminster Bridge, removed the horses, and drew it back through the Strand and so to Spitalfields ; here they turned the two tipstaves out of the coach, and would have used them very ill if Wilkes had not exerted his influence in their favour. He was then drawn to the Three Tuns Tavern, from an upper window of which he persuaded the populace to retire ; and when they dispersed he went away quietly, and privately surrendered himself to the Marshal of the King's Bench Prison.

Parliament assembled on June 10, 1768. The interval was lively enough for all persons concerned. The validity of Wilkes's outlawry was tried in the Court of King's Bench on June 8, 1768, he being brought into court for that purpose. The Attorney-

¹ Seize the outlaw.

General entered into a long argument in support of the outlawry, to which Wilkes's counsel made no reply. The judges then delivered their opinions very fully on the irregularity of the proceedings; but though they differed as to the reasons, they were unanimous that the outlawry was illegal, and concurred in the reversal of it. The consideration of the verdict found against him was deferred to another day, and on June 18 judgment was given against him on both verdicts. The sentence was: that for the republication of *The North Briton*, No. 45, he should pay a fine of £500 and be imprisoned for ten calendar months (the two months of previous confinement making twelve); that for publishing the *Essay on Woman* he should pay another fine of £500 and be imprisoned twelve calendar months, to be computed from the expiration of the former imprisonment; and that he should afterwards find security for his good behaviour for seven years, himself to be bound in the sum of £1,000 and two sureties in £500 each. Such was a verdict which, I believe, added greatly to Wilkes's popularity.

The session being shortly afterwards concluded, Wilkes forthwith entered the King's Bench Prison. This circumstance aroused the mob and gave them their opportunity. A number of persons flocked to the neighbourhood of the prison, many from mere curiosity; but all was quiet and orderly. On the day of the meeting of Parliament (May 10) there was a great multitude present in the expectation of seeing the prisoner; but unfortunately a small guard of soldiers came into conflict with the people, and a young man was killed. This led to a tremendous riot, in which several lives were lost. It was this incident which first demonstrated the sym-



PORTRAIT OF WILKES ON THE WESTMINSTER TOBACCO BOX.

Wilkes was Churchwarden of St. Margaret's, Westminster, in 1759. This fact is recorded upon the lid of a remarkable box, called the Westminster Tobacco Box, the property of the Past Overseers Society of St. Margaret and St. John the Evangelist, Westminster. It has been in existence since the year 1713, and has been added to by the various overseers of the Parish from time to time until now, a period of more than two hundred years, a new outer case being always prepared whenever further space was required for decoration, etc.

pathy of the populace with Wilkes, but it had little bearing on events.

It was stated that at St. Margaret's, Westminster, in this year, 1768, a printed notice was stuck upon the doors and walls of the church one Sunday morning, stating that "the prayers of the congregation are earnestly desired for the restoration of liberty, depending on the election of Mr. Wilkes."

Wilkes appears to have remained in prison until the opening of the ensuing session of Parliament, supported and encouraged by his friends. He did not always follow their advice, notably in the case of his plan for petitioning the House of Commons on the injustice with which he had been treated since the year 1763. This action on his part awakened all the old resentments. It was not aggressive or even offensive in its terms, but it gave a handle to the strong body of ministerialists in Parliament. The petition was considered by the Commons on January 27, 1769. On February 3 Wilkes was expelled the House by the majority of 219 votes against 136. But the public trouble was not yet ended, and this year was perhaps the most exciting the citizens then living were to experience. "Wilkes and Liberty" was the cry from one end of Middlesex to the other; but sober-minded people opposed him. Some six hundred of these—merchants, bankers, and others—set out in numerous carriages, headed by the City Marshal, from Guildhall on March 22, *en route* to St. James's, with an address in which they denounce "every attempt to spread sedition and uproot the Constitution." The mob assailed them uproariously. When Fleet Street was reached, hissing and hooting gave place to stone-throwing and mud-pelting. So determined were the Wilkesites that the procession should not reach the King that they took possession

of Temple Bar, and actually closed the gates against the citizens, thus making them prisoners in their own precincts. Mr. Cook, the City Marshal, on trying to open the gates, was pelted with mud, and the occupants of the carriages were attacked. Many of the people had to take refuge in the houses ; several of the carriages turned, some drove up Chancery Lane, and of all the number that set out only some 150 had the courage to proceed, and these arrived at the Palace about four o'clock.

A gentleman named Watkins read the address. The King returned a most gracious answer, and every one had the honour of kissing His Majesty's hand. A hearse with two white and two black horses joined the procession, and followed it all the way to St. James's.

At the Palace gates the Riot Act was twice read, the Guards were sent for, and seventeen rioters were arrested, but most of them were afterwards discharged. This event, not well known, was afterwards the subject of an engraving which not only gives faithfully a view of the existing buildings, but also shows the portraits drawn from life of some of the chief actors in the affair.

James Boswell, dining with the sheriffs and judges at the Old Bailey, complained that he had had his pocket picked of his handkerchief. " Oh," said Wilkes, " it is nothing but the ostentation of a Scotchman to let the world know that he had possessed a pocket-handkerchief."

The Marquis of Rockingham, who became Prime Minister in 1765 and again in 1782, said the true word : " It was the King himself who stirred up that hitherto inert mass ' the people.' " This assertion is paradoxical enough to need some extension.

Through a personal quarrel with a profligate adven-

turer, by making a subservient House of Commons expel four times the notorious John Wilkes after he had been elected as many times by the electors of Middlesex, by causing the same House of Commons to declare the Court favourite to be the sitting member, George III forced, as it were, the electors to assemble and co-operate in vindication of their undoubted right to choose their own representatives; and thus, too, did the King justify Rockingham's assertion. And from the summer of 1769 is to be dated the first establishment of *Public Meetings* in England.

CHAPTER V

FIRST DAYS IN THE CITY

I COME now to Wilkes's close connection with the City of London which forms the excuse and the intention of the book. May I quote here some satirical verses published when he became a livery-man of the Joiners' Company ?

THE JOINERS JOINED; OR, JACK GIMLET THE JOINER TRIUMPHANT¹

Ye joiners of England and joiners of France,
Come join all your hands and then join in a dance,
For since Joiners made joints such a joint ne'er was hit
Nor did Fate join to Joiners a Joint of such wit.
Each join in his praise who has joined such a joint,
And join in a chorus, then take off your pint.
Let Liberty join tho' disjointed and torn,
For a Joiner like Gimlet sure never was born.

Enjoined, my dear Freedom, he joined him to Gaul,
For the French give for Freedom 'the devil and all;
Had the Pope but enjoined he'd have joined him at Rome,
But thanks to you jointly he joins us at home.
And now by the Joiners he's joined for a Seat
And the Mob in his interest join in the Street.
Such joining by Citizens never was known
Who joined in all Int'rests except in their own.

Then join, my brave boys, in full chorusses join,
Join Gimlet and Pitt in a bumper of wine,
For jointly they led you to join for their good,
And then jointly disjointed—and left you in the mud.
Then join in Huzzas or you're jointly to blame,
Join Jack to the Senate you'll join a good name.
When you've thus joined the Joiner, I give you my word
You may next join your necks to a two-penny cord.

¹ The Battle of the Quills, 1768, p. 32.

The master and wardens of this worshipful company have very kindly allowed me to examine the old minute-books of their guild, from which I have made the following extracts :

On the 10th March 1768 at a Private Court of that Guild held at Joiners Hall, present Mr. Wm. Hopkins, Master and others, John Wilkes Esq. (of the Royal Exchange) was admitted into the freedom of this Company by redemption.

Co 10/-, fees and duty 17/8d, on enrolment 3/4d and the said John Wilkes desired to be admitted to the present Fine for Steward and also to be admitted on the Livery of this Company on the present Fine both which the Court agreed to, and he paid the Renter Warden Mr. John Sage the sum of Twenty pounds for both his said fines, and paid the fees, and was thereupon excused from serving the office of Steward and admitted on the Livery and took the cloathing of the Company on him accordingly.

Again, at a court held July 25, 1770 (John Burnell, Master), a motion was made and seconded " that John Wilkes Esq., one of the Aldermen of the City of London who has been admitted on the Livery for some time past (on 10th March, 1768) to [be] put in nomination for Master of this Company for the year ensuing, that he be put first on the list of persons in nomination for the said office and on the question being put it was voted and ordered accordingly, the said Mr. Wilkes first paying his Fines for both offices of Wardens." Twelve persons put in nomination. " The election fell on John Wilkes Esq., who was thereupon declared duly elected Master of this Company for the year ensuing, and being present declared he would serve the said office."

On June 24, 1771, Wilkes was elected sheriff. At a court of the Joiners on October 2, 1771, he was " sworn into the office of master for the present year

and took his seat accordingly." The following minute of November 5, 1771, is interesting, as it gives some particulars of the expenses of the master's banquet :

Mr. Angel the Cook having delivered in at this Court his bills for the Master and Wardens feast at the Hall on 29th July last, ordered that it be referred to the present Wardens, to consider in what proportions the same ought to be paid.

3rd Dec. these gentlemen reported as follows :—

	£	s.	d.
The Bill for the Dinner	33	0	6
The Butlerage Bill	5	9	0
For Turtle and Dressing	9	10	0
For Supper, being an addition by the late Master's orders	6	18	0
	<hr/>		
	£54	17	6

and were of opinion the same should be paid in the following manner and proportions :—

	£	s.	d.
By Mr. Wilkes for the Turtle	9	10	0
Additional order for Supper	6	18	0
Towards the Dinner	10	0	0
	<hr/>		
	26	8	0
By Mr. Harrison the late Renter Warden	5	0	0
By the Company as a compliment to Mr. Wilkes, being the amount of the Dinner more than usual	13	0	6
By the Company for Mr. Fox the late Upper Warden who dyed in his Wardenship	5	0	0
By the Company for the Butler- age Bill	5	9	0
	<hr/>		
	£54	17	6

It does not appear from these accounts that the Joiners' Company of 150 years ago was very extravagant. There are many other small items of interest in the minute-books which refer to the mayoralty of Wilkes and throw a light upon the way things were done in those days. For instance:

29th Sept. 1774.—Four Stewards appointed for the next Lord Mayor's Day.

6th Dec. 1774.—Read and passed Mr. Gibson, the Mercers Bill for City Marshall's Scarves on last Lord Mayor's Day amounting to £3.13.1½d. Likewise Mr. Wood's Bill for 6 dozen and ½ Wine delivered at the Hall on last Lord Mayor's Day amounting to £6.10.0.

Also Mr. Pharey's Bill for 12 dozen of Glasse and 3 doz. Mugz delivered at the Hall on last Lord Mayor's Day amounting to £2.11.0.

Also Thomas Cook's Bill for Beef and Porter &c. for the Staffmen and Whifflers¹ on last Lord Mayor's Day amounting to £3.0.8. . . .

Likewise Mr. James Barber's Bill for Ribbons and Favors for last Ld. Mayor's day amounting to £9.8.9.

Likewise Mr. Henry Beaumont's Bill for Music for last Master and Wardens Feast £3.3.0. and for music for last Lord Mayor's Day £6.16.6. together £9.19.6.

Likewise Mr. Robert Morris the Herald Painters Bill for 4 new Company's Banners and also the Lord Mayors for the last Lord Mayor's Day amounting to £56.15.6.

Likewise the Cooks Bill for last St. James's Day amounting to £24.4.0.

Also his Bill for Dinner &c. at ye Hall on the 2nd August last amounting to £27.0.0.

Likewise read and passed the following Bills of the Beadle (viz.).

¹ A whiffler was a sort of fogleman, who, dressed in highly coloured clothes covered with ribbons, marched in front of a procession.

	£	s.	d.
For the several meetings of the Committee	2	11	7
Last Mich' Day	0	5	6
Ct. of Assistants on 18th Oct. last	1	16	4
Last November Court	3	5	0
3rd November last being the day the Lord Mayor was pre- sented to the Lord High Chancellor	0	13	2
8th November last when the Lord Mayor was sworn at Guildhall	1	9	0
Last Lord Mayor's Day and Sundry Disbursements	7	8	0
The Day after Lord Mayor's	1	11	0

And the master was desired to sign the several accounts passed at this court.

Nov., 1774.—There not being a barge large enough for the Company—Livery to walk—Press for the Colors ordered.

1775-6. Court dined at the Mansion House.
Lord Mayor's servants tipped—Stand to be surveyed by Mr. Tupp—
Whiffers, standard bearers, ribbons &c. supplied.

7th *Feb.* 1775.—Read and passed Mr. Griffiths Bill for 6 dozen of Wine sent to the Hall on last Lord Mayor's Day amounting to £6.0.0. and ye Master desired to sign it.

4th *April,* 1775.—Read and passed the Cooks Bill for last Lord Mayor's Day amounting to the sum of £65.3.0. and the Master desired to sign it.

5th *Dec.* 1775.—Read and passed a Bill of Mr. Richard Andrews for Wine delivered at the Hall the 19th Sept. 10th October and 27th October last, and on last Lord Mayor's Day amounting to £18.

Read also and passed Mrs. Sarah Paines Bill

for Wine delivered at the Hall on last Lord Mayor's Day amounting to £5.

Read and passed a Bill of Mr. James Griffiths for Wine &c. for the Company's refreshing at the Horn Tavern in Doctors Commons in their procession on Lord Mayor's Day £6 4 4

Mr. Henry Beaumont for Music for the last Master and Wardens feast £3.3.0., and for last Lord Mayor's Day £5.5.0. 8 8 0

The Beadles Bills for 8th November when the Lord Mayor was sworn at Guildhall 0 13 0

For last Lord Mayor's Day and for Sundries provided 3 15 11

For the day after Lord Mayor's Day 0 10 10

Court of Assistants, 14th October 1780.

Sir Watkin Lewes being elected Lord Mayor for the year ensuing, It was resolved and agreed to lend the Company's plate and the Hall for his use—and taking into consideration the dignity and honour of the Company it was further resolved that eighteen men be provided to walk before and clear the way before the Company with white staves tipped with gold and cockades—that Standard bearers, whiffers and boys be provided as usual and they to have belts, ribbons and cockades according to the Company's custom—that the same number and sorts of music be provided as was provided when John Wilkes Esq. a member of this Company was Lord Mayor.

Mem.—A member of the livery appears to have been eligible for master without having been a member of the Court of Assistants. Neither Wilkes nor Lewis appears to have been at any time in the Court of Assistants before being elected master.

Court of Assistants, 21st *November* 1781.

John Wilkes Esq. Chamberlain of London having (by messenger) informed the Court that Sir George Brydges Rodney¹ Bart. Knight of the Bath, Vice-Admiral of Great Britain, to whom the Corporation of the City of London sometime since voted the freedom of the said City, is desirous and requests to be admitted into the freedom of this Company, a motion was made whether the said Sir George Brydges Rodney shall be presented with the freedom of this Company, and on the question being put it was carried in the affirmative and ordered that Mr. Chamberlain Wilkes be informed thereof.

This proposal was not carried out, Rodney being ordered abroad.

¹ Rodney defeated the French Fleet in the West Indies in April 1782. He had previously for some reason been in disgrace, but he was now raised to the Peerage. A proposal to entertain him at a public banquet at the City's expense fell through. In October, however, the Court of Common Council unanimously passed a vote of thanks to him for the service he had rendered to the commercial interests of the City, and the committee appointed to convey the same entertained him and his friends at a banquet given at the London Tavern. Walpole in a letter to Mason says that the mob which accompanied Rodney home from the City after this banquet amused themselves by smashing his (Walpole's) windows

CHAPTER VI

THE TRIPLE ELECTION

WILKES's popularity in the City of London was now greater than ever, and it seemed only right and proper to his supporters to choose him as alderman for the ward of Farringdon Without. The following lines were inserted in one of the daily papers of January 2, 1769 :

To the Worthy Freemen of Farringdon Without

GENTLEMEN,

Your late worthy Alderman now being dead
I beg to solicit your votes in his stead.
I have always stood up in defence of our laws
And would lay down my life for Liberty's cause.
To the King and his Family I have always been true
And behaved as a dutiful subject should do.
Religion indeed I'll say little about it;
I find I could always do better without it.
All Statesmen I hold in the utmost abhorrence
And have played such a game with my General Warrants
That they flounder about like an ass in a slough,
Would be glad to get out if they could but tell how.
I believe between friends they are heartily tired,
For the further they go the more they are mired.
In return for all this they sought after my Life
And obliged me to fly my dear Country and Wife.
But abroad as I could not continue in quiet
I resolved to come over and kick up a riot.
The pains I have taken I'm sure I don't grudge
And how far I've succeeded I leave you to judge.
Like a bird in a cage I'm now confined here,
But have plenty of Turtle and other good cheer,
For which I'm obliged to good friends in the City
Who look on my sufferings (God bless them) with pity.

And if I should happily merit your choice
 My heart would be glad and my bowels rejoice.
 I cannot but think how the people will stare
 At my five storied Wig, for I'll cut off my hair
 Because of a maxim I learnt when at College
 That an Alderman's Wig contained most of his knowledge.
 And now, my dear Brethren of Farringdon Ward,
 I hope I shall merit your further regard.
 I would wait on you all, but I cannot get out,
 So I trust in your candour to choose me without.

The ministerial party were, however, in a majority in the court, and they affected to doubt his eligibility. The following account of his election is taken from a contemporary newspaper :

On the 2nd January, 1769, at noon, the Lord Mayor held a wardmote at St. Bride's Church in Fleet Street, for the election of an Alderman of Farringdon-Ward Without in the room of the late Sir Francis Gosling, when John Wilkes Esq. and Mr. Bromwich a paper-hanger on Ludgate Hill were severally put up ; at which time there appearing an amazing number of hands in favour of Mr. Wilkes, and very few for Mr. Bromwich, Mr. Wilkes was declared elected ; but a poll being demanded by the friends of Mr. Bromwich, the same began immediately and closed at three, when the numbers stood as follows :

	Bromwich	Wilkes
Parish of St. Dunstan . . .	11	43
St. Sepulchre . . .	15	85
St. Bride . . .	36	72
St. Andrew, Holborn . . .	5	42
St. Martin, Ludgate . . .	2	6
The district of Whitefriars . . .	0	7
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	69	255

About three o'clock in the day Mr. Bromwich declined giving his friends any further trouble, and Mr. Wilkes was declared duly elected amidst the shouts of a prodigious number of people.

Yesterday at ten o'clock a gentleman in Doctors Commons had an alderman's gown value forty pounds and upwards brought home to his house in order to be presented to John Wilkes Esq. in case of his election, and it was accordingly presented to that gentleman last night, January 10, 1769. The following are the names of gentlemen common-councilmen of the Ward of Farringdon Without who dined with Mr. Alderman Wilkes on Saturday last by invitation in the King's Bench Prison, viz. : Messrs. Brome, Richardson, Sainsbury, Chamberlayne, Wyatt, and Hitchcock. Mr. Wilkes received them in the politest manner. The dinner was plain and elegant and composed of presents received from Mr. Wilkes's friends in town and country as a testimony of their joy and satisfaction at his election. After dinner the healths of His Majesty the King and the Royal Family, success to the City of London, its trade and commerce, the County of Middlesex, the Ward of Farringdon Without, Lord Temple, the Duke of Portland, the Marquis of Rockingham, the Lord Mayor of London, the Lord Chancellor, Mr. Sergeant Glynn, Sir Joseph Mawbey, with other constitutional toasts were drank ; and the evening concluded with greatest mirth, decency and unanimity.

EXTRACTS FROM MINUTES OF COURT OF
ALDERMEN

17th January, 1769. Court of Aldermen.

The Lord Mayor reported that at Wardmote Farringdon Without on Monday, 2 January, 1769, on a shew of hands he had declared John Wilkes elected Alderman. Poll demanded and taken on same day between 1 and 3 o'clock when the Poll Books were sealed and the Wardmote adjourned until 10 o'clock the next day. Immediately after the adjournment Thomas Bromwich the other Candidate requested his Lordship that " for the sake of keeping Peace and Quiet " to suffer him to decline the said Poll and to " comply with the voice of the people " to declare

the state of the Poll. This being done the voting appeared to be

John Wilkes	255
Thomas Bromwich	69

His Lordship declared John Wilkes elected.

Motion thereon (as on 24 January)

Adjourned.

24th January, 1769. Court of Aldermen.

Motion.—That it appearing to this Court by the Lord Mayor's Report of the election of an alderman for the Ward of Farringdon Without in the room of Sir Francis Gosling, Knight, deceased, that after a regular adjournment of the Wardmote made at Three o'clock on the Monday until ten o'clock the next morning the Lord Mayor did on the same Monday declare the number of Votes appearing on the Poll Books and declare John Wilkes Esq. duly elected Alderman, and then make his proclamation to dissolve the said Wardmote and did not proceed in the said Election at ten o'clock on the Tuesday morning this Court doth Resolve that the said Election and all Proceedings thereon are null and void and that a Precept do issue for the election of an alderman etc. etc.

Unanimously carried.

7th February, 1769. Court of Aldermen.

The Lord Mayor reported that at a Wardmote held on 27th January John Wilkes had been unanimously chosen by a great and general shew of hands and his Lordship did declare John Wilkes elected Alderman.

Notice being taken that John Wilkes is now in custody in the King's Bench Prison under two sentences of the Court of King's Bench, consideration of the Lord Mayor's Report adjourned.

Whilst this election for alderman was going on we read in *The Gentleman's Magazine*¹ that on—

¹ Vol. 39, 1769, page 162.

Friday, March 3, 1769, the officers and members of the Freemasons' Lodge, held at the Jerusalem Tavern in Clerkenwell, by virtue of a deputation, signed by the Deputy Grand Master, attended at the King's Bench Prison, and made Mr. Wilkes a Mason. It was said in the papers that the dispensation was obtained from the Grand Master, but this was contradicted.

14th February, 1769. Court of Aldermen.

Solicitor ordered to prepare a case for the opinion of Counsel as to whether election was valid.

25th April, 1769. Case and Opinion of Counsel.

A court of Aldermen was held at Guildhall, to receive the opinions of counsel relative to the eligibility of Mr. Wilkes to be an alderman, when it was found that the Attorney General, the Solicitor General, the Hon. Mr. Yorke, Mr. Serjeant Glynn, and Mr. Serjeant Lee, were of opinion that he was eligible, but the opinion of Sir Fletcher Norton, the City Recorder, and the Common Serjeant, was that he was *not* eligible. No opinion was given respecting the negative voice of the court of Aldermen.

After debate a motion was made that Notice be given to John Wilkes Esq. of his election to be Alderman and that he be desired to attend at the next Court to take upon him the said office—negatived.

The following is a list of the aldermen voting for Mr. Wilkes :

WILLIAM BECKFORD, ESQ.
SIR WILLIAM STEPHENSON, KT.
BARLOW TRECOTHICK, ESQ.
BRASS CROSBY, ESQ.
RICHARD PEERS, ESQ.
JOHN KIRKMAN, ESQ.

Against Mr. Wilkes :

SIR ROBERT LADBROKE, KT.
 ROBERT ALSOP, ESQ.
 SIR THOMAS RAWLINSON, KT.
 SIR RICHARD GLYN, BART.
 SIR ROBERT KITE, KT.
 THE RIGHT HON. THOMAS HARLEY.
 SIR HENRY BANKES, KT.
 WILLIAM NASH, ESQ.
 BRACKLEY KENNETT, ESQ.
 SAMUEL PLUMBE, ESQ.

The aldermen who voted against Wilkes evidently looked upon the Court of Aldermen as a club.

By this resolution of the Court of Aldermen, Mr. Wilkes's only recourse is to apply for a Writ of Mandamus from the Court of King's Bench ; upon the Return of which, the legal Merits of the Case are determinable on solemn Argument. If the Opinion of the Court shall be in favour of the legality of his Election as an Alderman of the Ward of Farringdon Without, then of course will be issued a peremptory Mandamus for his being admitted.

It appears that, although the Court of Aldermen vetoed Wilkes's election as an alderman of Farringdon Without, no precept was issued for a fresh election, nor did Wilkes take any steps, such as issuing a mandamus to force the court to receive him or show cause why they vetoed him.

In fact, it was a sort of stalemate ; and both the Court of Aldermen and Wilkes allowed the question to rest. No action was taken until Wilkes was released from prison, which apparently took place about April 17, for on the 18th he issued the following letter to the electors of the Ward of Farring-

don Without, and on April 24, 1770, he was sworn in as alderman of that great ward :

GENTLEMEN, FREEMEN, AND FELLOW-CITIZENS,

I cannot sufficiently acknowledge and applaud the persevering spirit and cheerfulness with which you have struggled through the various difficulties arising from my inability to attend the duty of this great and respectable Ward. My future conduct will best show the sense I have of so singular an obligation. The tedious imprisonment to which I was sentenced for the firm opposition I made to a wicked Ministry is at length happily passed. By regaining my liberty this day I hope to acquire the power of rendering you real services ; and, from the superior rank you have conferred upon me, of becoming more eminently useful. I shall not fail to attend the next Court of Aldermen ; when, in support of your rights, I mean to lay claim to, and insist upon, the being admitted and sworn into office, as having the honour of being elected by the general voice of so considerable a part of the city.

It is a particular satisfaction to me, gentlemen, that I am to enter on my duty at a time when we are governed by so excellent a chief Magistrate ; and have sheriffs of the most liberal principles, zealous promoters of the public good, and of approved virtue. But, above all, I rejoice that the high spirit of liberty, joined with prudence, temper, and intrepidity, in so peculiar a manner now animates the whole body of the livery of London. The late petition and remonstrance will reflect honour on them to the remotest ages. . . . I will ever be a zealous defender of the rights and privileges of the livery, and of all the freemen of London. In the concerns of this extensive Ward, I hope to have the advice and assistance of my constituents ; every one of whom may be assured of that attention and regard which I owe to those by whose delegated power I act, and for whose interest I accepted this important trust. It shall be my constant and earnest endeavour to justify to the world the choice you have been pleased

to make of me as your Alderman ; and to approve myself an upright Magistrate, and a good citizen of the capital of the British Empire.

I am, Gentlemen, Freemen and Fellow-Citizens,

With gratitude and respect,

Your affectionate and obedient humble servant,

JOHN WILKES.

18th April, 1770.

Alderman Townsend said that the opinion of counsel was taken by the Court as to the return of Mr. Wilkes as alderman, and that one of the gentlemen, Sir Fletcher Norton, Knight, had with his usual sagacity and wisdom written his opinion in such a character that no one but himself could read it, and he might hereafter declare his opinion to be whatever he pleased ; that the other opinions were, together with Sir Fletcher's, sealed up carefully from the knowledge of the public, and most probably would remain so, till the gentleman who moved for those opinions was forgotten.

At this time Mr. Wilkes's popularity stood very high. The more he was persecuted, the more it increased.¹ By the mere influence of his name and character (for he had no influence of family or of former connection) he had already secured the election of his favourite and able counsel, Mr. Serjeant

¹ As an example of this I can quote the following from a London newspaper of Friday, November 10, 1769:

"This morning, at ten o'clock, came on at the Court of Common Pleas in Westminster Hall the trial between the Right Hon. Lord Halifax and John Wilkes, Esq. The trial lasted till eight o'clock, when the jury brought in a verdict for Mr. Wilkes, with £4,000 damages.

"Several gentlemen gave two guineas to obtain admittance into the court early, at about ten the price fell to a guinea, and at three in the afternoon people got in for five-and-threepence.

"As soon as the verdict was known in the Hall, the too sanguine expectations of the populace appeared to be disappointed, as they expressed their dissatisfaction by groans, hisses, and other marks of insult."



JOHN WILKES Esq
 Knight of the Shire for the
 County of Middlesex
 and Alderman of the
 City of London
 Initiated a Member
 and
 Invested Chief Counsellor
 Of the
ANCIENT FAMILY OF LEECHES
 IX. March MDCCCLXIX
 As a Token
 Of the very Superior of his
 Patriotic Conduct
 In the Glorious Cause of LIBERTY
 This Badge of Office is presented
 By the
MOST NOBLE GRAND LEECH
 the Council and Brethren
 of the
 Supreme and Legislative Court
 of that
FRATERNITY.

BADGE OF MEMBERSHIP OF THE ANCIENT FAMILY OF LEECHES,
 OF WHICH WILKES WAS ELECTED A MEMBER IN MARCH, 1769.

Glynn, for the county of Middlesex, in the room of Mr. Cooke, deceased. He appointed members of Parliament, aldermen, sheriffs, and mayors at his pleasure.

Never did the ministers of the Crown show more impotent malice or degrade their royal master into a lower estimation in the judgment of his subjects (if, indeed, these measures were not forced upon them by a secret Cabinet) than throughout the long persecution of Mr. Wilkes.

We must retrace our steps a little. A new writ having been issued for the election of a member for the county of Middlesex, "in the room of Mr. Wilkes, expelled," a public meeting of the freeholders was held on February 14, 1769, when it was resolved to re-elect him; and he was unanimously rechosen on the 16th. But the House of Commons declared this election to be void; and further, "that Mr. Wilkes was and is incapable of being elected into the present Parliament." Another writ was therefore issued for a new election.

The freeholders persevered in their resolution. They were very sensible that the House of Commons had exceeded its constitutional powers; and therefore, when the election came on, which was on March 16, Mr. Wilkes was again unanimously returned. A Mr. Dingley stood forward as a candidate, but he had not a single vote.

Lord North, the Prime Minister, wrote the following letter, dated April 1, 1769, from Downing Street, to Sir Eardley Wilmot:

My friend Colonel Luttrell having informed me that many persons depending upon the House of Commons are freeholders of Middlesex, etc., not having the honor of being acquainted with you

himself, desires me to apply to you for your interests with your friends on his behalf. It is manifest how much it is for the honour of Parliament, and the quiet of this country in future times, that Mr. Wilkes should have an antagonist at the next Brentford Election, and that his antagonist should meet with a respectable support. The state of the country has been examined, and the Colonel will have a considerable shew of legal votes, nay even a majority, if his friends are not deterred from appearing at the poll. It is the game of Mr. Wilkes to increase these alarms. I hope therefore you will excuse this application—there is nothing I imagine that every true friend of this country must wish more than to see Mr. Wilkes disappointed in his projects ; and nothing will defeat them more than to fill up the vacant seat for Middlesex, especially if it can be done by a fair majority of legal votes.

The Judge replied, “ It would be highly improper for me to interfere in any shape in that election.”

A third writ was now issued ; and at this election, on April 13, a new candidate was brought forward—Colonel Henry Lawes Luttrell, who vacated his seat for Bossiney (Lord Bute’s borough) in order to stand for Middlesex. But this act of vacation was believed by some to have been very irregularly managed. It was said to be a nominal vacation, but not a real one ; so that, if Middlesex could not be won, Bossiney was still open to the Colonel. The distinction is not material, for all the transactions of the time were governed by trick and chicanery. It was on this occasion, when Luttrell and Wilkes were standing on the Brentford hustings, that Wilkes asked his adversary privately whether he thought there were more fools or rogues among the multitude of Wilkesites spread out before them. “ I’ll tell them what you say and put an end to you,” said Luttrell ; but perceiving the threat gave Wilkes no alarm he added, “ Surely

you don't mean to say you could stand here one hour after I did so ? ”

“ Why,” said Wilkes, “ you would not be alive one instant after.”

“ How so ? ”

“ I should merely say it was a fabrication, and they would destroy you in the twinkling of an eye.”

On the close of this election (April 13) Mr. Wilkes was returned by the sheriffs (Townsend and Sawbridge) as before. The House of Commons ordered the sheriffs to produce the poll-books, from which it appeared that 1,143 freeholders had voted for Mr. Wilkes and only 296 for Colonel Luttrell. Yet the House, in defiance of every principle of honour and justice, declared that Colonel Luttrell “ ought to have been returned ” ; and when petitions from Middlesex, London, Westminster, and Southwark were presented against Colonel Luttrell, the House resolved, on May 8, “ that Henry Lawes Luttrell, Esquire, is duly elected a knight of the shire to serve in this present Parliament for the county of Middlesex.”

This ended, to use the words of Mr. Burke, “ the fifth act of this tragi-comedy—a tragi-comedy acted by His Majesty's servant, at the desire of several persons of quality, for the benefit of Mr. Wilkes and at the expense of the Constitution.”

CHAPTER VII

WILKES AND THE KING

SUCH a proceeding in Parliament raised a great Constitutional question and caused commotion in the City. The Lord Mayor was asked to summon a Common Hall "for the purpose of taking the sense of the Livery of London upon the measures to be taken in the present alarming situation of public affairs." Lord Mayor Turner declined to act on his own responsibility, and referred the petition to the Common Council, who told him not to accede to the request (May 5). The Livery, thereupon, decided at their usual meeting on Midsummer Day, when the sheriffs were to be elected, to petition the King against the arbitrary action of the Government, and a petition to this effect was drawn up ready for the meeting of the Common Hall. It purported to come from "the Lord Mayor, Commonalty, and Livery of the City of London"; but the Lord Mayor objecting to this, the title was changed to "the humble petition of the Livery of the City of London in Common Hall assembled."

The petitioners did not mince words. The King's ministers were charged with peculation and with illegally issuing general warrants; it was argued they had violently seized persons and papers, and after defeating and insulting the law on various occasions had wrested from the people the last sacred right they possessed, viz. that of election, by the unpre-

cedented seating a candidate notoriously set up and chosen by themselves. The petition went on to remind the King that their petition was for redress alone, and that it was for such occasions as the present that great and extensive powers had been entrusted to the Crown.

Edmund Burke has left us an account of this meeting of Common Hall¹; it is very graphic and interesting, and can usefully be given here. Townsend and Sawbridge were both elected sheriffs; and both were, at this time, strong friends and supporters of Wilkes.

[*June 24th, 1769*].—This day I squeezed myself into Guildhall, where I remained until four o'clock; and I assure you that I am not much more than barely alive. It is very possible that the newspaper may give you a full account; but then it is possible, too, that it may not, and I know you will be desirous of some sort of idea of this extraordinary day: take such an account as I can give you while the chaise is getting ready to carry me to Barnet.

The Hall opened at one o'clock by the Recorder² attempting to speak; but as often as he repeated that attempt there arose such a prodigious concert of hissing, groaning, shouting, hallooing, as I never heard upon any occasion, or in any place. At length he desisted, and went back in despair. Sam Vaughan³ upon this came forward, and in a very decent and

¹ Albemarle's *Memoirs of the Marquis of Rockingham*. Vol. ii., 1852, pp. 96–101.

² Sir James Eyre. Walpole calls him an able and spirited man. He gave great offence to the citizens of London by refusing to present their Remonstrance; and they, to prejudice him, refused to consult him on points of law. But he was no loser, for the King raised him to the Bench as Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. "His decisions," says Sir Denis le Marchant, in one of his notes upon Walpole's memoirs, "are still cited with respect." When he was Lord Chief Justice he presided at the trial of Horne Tooke, when he seems, by common consent, to have made a poor figure.

³ An eminent merchant in the city, and warmly attached to the popular cause.

proper speech endeavoured to persuade the Livery to hear him, as the officer who, in the necessary course of business, must open the court. He told them that he had no intention of obtruding upon them any opinion of his own; that he stood there merely to inform them *ex officio* upon what business they were met; that it was the election of Sheriffs, etc., etc. On his concluding arose a loud and continued cry of "Petition! Petition!" which at length subsiding a little, the Lord Mayor began to speak, and was received with a mixture of clapping and hisses. He gave them his honour that if they would proceed to the regular business he would afterwards put any question which they thought proper. The cry of "Petition!" still continued as vehemently as ever. Vaughan again appeared; he tied down the Mayor to his promise; he depended upon it; he advised the Hall to rely upon it; and strongly recommended to the Livery that they should first proceed to the election. The Mayor and Aldermen then withdrew, and the following *real* candidates were proposed. Several others had been drank to by the Mayor, but they were not properly candidates; indeed, the two first may perhaps come within the same description, though they are put in nomination every year.

Sir J. Hankey, very much hissed, and not one hand; Sir W. Baker,¹ very much clapped, but no hand; Ald. Plumb,² horridly hissed, but no hand; Ald. Kirkman,³ pretty well hissed, four hands; Mr. Waggoner,⁴ much hissed, and no hands; Mr. Rossiter,⁵ hissed more than any, and no hands; Townshend,

¹ Member for Plympton, afterwards for Surrey. A friend of Lord Rockingham.

² Samuel Plumbe, an alderman of London and friend of the Court. His name is attached to the protest against the "Address, Remonstrance, and Petition" carried in 1770.

³ J. Kirkman, also favourable to the Court. Plumbe and Kirkman were the ministerial candidates in 1771, in opposition to Wilkes, for the office of sheriff.

⁴ George Wagner.

⁵ The name of James Rossiter is also annexed to the "Protest." He died February 3, 1773.

Sawbridge, all hands, and a thunder of clapping, shouting, etc., repeated several times. It actually shook the hall, and much exceeded any idea I had ever entertained of the effect of the human voice, however exerted. After this, the other officers were elected. Nothing remarkable, except that a Mr. Townshend was chosen auditor with very great applause, the word going round that he was James Townshend's brother; however, it was not so.

The Mayor and Aldermen returned to the Hall, and reported "duly elected" on several offices in the manner I have mentioned. Then Mr. Lovell¹ (chairman of the meeting of the Livery at the Half Moon) made a speech; not a bad one, had it been less oratorical. Indeed, I am rather rash in saying so, for when he bawled, as a true orator ought, I did not very well hear him; when he spoke under his voice I heard him very distinctly. He ended by reading the petition. It is in substance the same as that from Middlesex; but I think it brings more home to the King's Ministers, not the present only, but the past; and calls for redress in very strong terms. It has all the absurdities of the Middlesex petition, but I think (as well as I could hear it) that it is a more direct attack, better pointed, and in most places better expressed; but it is impossible for me to judge with any degree of precision. When the petition was read, the Mayor came forward and desired an alteration in the Bill—"The Lord Mayor and Livery," by leaving out the words "Lord Mayor." There was some hissing; however, Mr. Pearson read it so altered, and then a motion was made, that the Mayor and Sheriffs be desired to deliver the petition to the King, and that the *four* members be requested to attend the Mayor. Ladbroke² came forward, and, after a good deal of clapping and hissing, he

¹ Michael Lovell was a merchant residing in Mark Lane, and belonged to the Ironmongers' Company. He was the author of the petition to which the Livery agreed.

² Sir Robert Ladbroke was Lord Mayor in 1747, and in the next election, member for the City. A zealous advocate of the Court. He died October 31, 1773

told them that he spoke merely to signify his intention of obeying their commands. The applause was then general and unmixed. Beckford made his usual speech—short Parliaments—every article of the petition true—some articles true—most articles true—all that he had heard true—heard very little—his duty to obey any commands of his constituents, provided they are wise and reasonable commands, and so forth. However, one expression he did use, which I think bold—“that all our misfortunes arose from a corrupt and venal Parliament.” Trecothick then spoke; but I did not hear a single word. The applause, however, was as full as if all had been heard. It was, indeed, very great, and nothing but that given to Beckford could exceed it. On the question for the petition there was not a single hand against it. One man, indeed, attempted to make a speech in opposition to it, but his voice was drowned in a cry to throw him off the hustings. Thus it was carried with all possible triumph and exultation. The conduct and management was able; and except the clamour of applause and censure, nothing resembling tumult, considering the assembly and the occasion. If the Ministry can stand this, the people have no influence. The thanks of the Hall were given to the Mayor and the *three* members. The petition leans very heavily on the use of the military.

On an appointed day the Right Honourable Samuel Turner, Lord Mayor, the Sheriffs Hallifax and Shakespear, with three of the City members, attended by Peter Roberts, Esq., the City Remembrancer, carried the petition to St. James's Palace; and after many disrespectful obstructions were admitted to the levee. The King being near the door, the Lord Mayor delivered the petition, but received no answer; the King instantly turning about to Baron Dieden, the Danish Minister, and giving the petition to the lord-in-waiting.

The following letter from Lord Holland was received in reference to a passage in the petition:

*To the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor*¹

MY LORD,

In a petition presented by your lordship it is mentioned as a grievance—instead of punishing, conferring honours on a pay master, the public defaulter of unaccounted millions. I am told that I am the pay master here censured : may I beg to know of your lordship if it is so ? If it is, I am sure Mr. Beckford must have been against it, because he knows, and could have shewn your lordship in writing, the utter falsehood of what is there insinuated.

I have not the honour to know your lordship, so I cannot tell what you may have heard to induce you to carry to our sovereign a complaint of so atrocious a nature.

Your lordship, by your speech made to the King at delivering the petition, has adopted the contents of it ; and I don't know of whom to enquire but of your lordship, concerning this injury done to an innocent man, who am by this means (if I am the person meant) hung out as an object of public hatred and resentment.

You have too much honour and justice not to tell me whether I am the person meant, and if I am, the grounds upon which I am thus charged, that I may vindicate myself, which truth will enable me to do to the conviction of the bitterest enemy, and therefore I may boldly say, to your lordship's entire satisfaction, whom I certainly have never offended.

I am, with the greatest respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient
and most humble servant,

H[OLLAN]D.

HOLLAND HOUSE, KENSINGTON,

July 9, 1769.

To which the Lord Mayor made answer on the following day :

The Lord Mayor presents his compliments to Lord Holland, and in answer to the honour of his lordship's

¹ *St. James's Chronicle*, 11-13 July, 1769, p. 4.

letter delivered to him by Mr. Selwyn, he begs leave to say that he had no concern in drawing up the petition from the livery of London to His Majesty; that he looks on himself only as the carrier, together with other gentlemen charged by the livery with the delivery of it; that he does not, nor ever did, hold himself accountable for the contents of it, and is a stranger to the nature of the supposed charge against his lordship.

MANSION HOUSE,
July 10, 1769.

This letter, with the answer, by some means or other immediately appeared in all the public papers.¹

The Livery now applied to the Court of Common Council to join in a request to the Lord Mayor to call another Common Hall that further measures might be taken for the re-establishment of their ancient rights and franchises. On this application a resolution was carried in the Court by 112 against 76, and a Common Hall was summoned accordingly on March 6, when, the meeting of the Livery being very numerous, a second application to His Majesty was read and unanimously agreed to. A motion was then carried, that the Lord Mayor, the representatives in Parliament, the Court of Aldermen, Sheriffs, the Court of Common Council, the Recorder, and City officers should attend the delivery of this remonstrance in a full body. The Sheriffs, with the City Remembrancer, were desired to wait upon the King to know when he would please to receive their remon-

¹ It is interesting in the midst of this squabbling to gather this paragraph from an old newspaper:

"28th October, 1769, being the Birthday of John Wilkes, was everywhere celebrated as a day of festivity. The Committee of the Bill of Rights presented to John Wilkes, Esq., a silver cup of £100 value; which contains a gallon and half a pint, and is of curious workmanship. On the outside is the figure of John Wilkes, Esq., with a cap of Liberty over his head, held by Britannia; before him lies Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights."

stances, and this was done immediately upon closing the Hall. His Majesty being then at dinner, desired their attendance the next day, when he told them that, the case being entirely new, he would take time to consider of it, and transmit his answer by one of the Secretaries of State.

The following note or protest appeared the next day in the public papers :

We, the aldermen of the city of London, whose names are hereunto subscribed, observing that the address, remonstrance and petition, agreed upon by the livery who met at Guildhall on Tuesday the 6th of this instant March, is intituled, The address, remonstrance and petition of the Lord Mayor, aldermen and livery of the city of London, to the King's most excellent majesty, do declare that we were not assenting to, nor signified our approbation of the said address, remonstrance and petition.

Dated this 13th of March, 1770.

ROBERT LADBROKE	THOMAS HALIFAX
ROBERT ALSOP	JOHN SHAKSPEARE
RICHARD GLYNN	JAMES ESDAILE
THOMAS HARLEY	SAMUEL PLUMBE
SAMUEL TURNER	BRACKLEY KENNET
HENRY BANKES	J. KIRKMAN
RICHARD PEERS	JAMES ROSSITER
WILLIAM NASH	JOHN BIRD

Three of the City Companies then disputed the power of the Lord Mayor in calling Common Halls for any other purposes than merely for the election of City officers. At a Court of Assistants of the Goldsmiths' Company, March 22, the following resolution was agreed to :

The right honourable the Lord-Mayor having issued precepts for summoning the livery of this city to meet at Guildhall on Tuesday the 6th inst. to con-

sider of a further application for redress of grievances at which meeting a most indecent remonstrance was ordered to be presented to His Majesty ;

Resolved and ordered, that for the future the wardens of this company do not summon the livery thereof, to attend at any meeting in the Guildhall (except for the purpose of elections) without the express approbation or consent of this court.

The Companies of Grocers and Weavers, at their next court days, distinguished themselves by passing resolutions of a like nature.

A joint committee of the Court of Common Council and the Livery was appointed to ascertain counsel's opinion upon the rights of the Livery.

The opinion was that the Lord Mayor might legally summon a Common Hall ; that it was the duty of the Guilds to whom he sent precepts to execute such precepts ; that a wilful refusal was punishable by disfranchisement, and that the procedure must be by way of information filed in the Mayor's Court against the Master and Wardens of the Goldsmiths', Weavers' and Grocers' Companies ; but only one, that against Alderman Plumbe of the Goldsmiths' Company, was proceeded with. The question was tried before a jury on July 14, 1773, with the result that Plumbe was convicted and disfranchised. This judgment was reversed in 1775, and from that time the Lord Mayor has been unable to compel the attendance of the Livery at Common Hall.

We must return to the stormy battle that raged around the personality of John Wilkes, and the rights of the freemen of London.

On March 8, 1770, Lord Weymouth¹ wrote to the sheriffs, desiring to know in what manner this remon-

¹ Thomas Thynne, 3rd Viscount Weymouth, at this time Master for the Southern Department.

strance was authenticated, and what the nature of the assembly was in which this measure was adopted. The next day, at noon, the sheriffs went again to the palace, and having waited till one o'clock, Lord Bolingbroke, the lord-in-waiting, appeared ; the Remembrancer told him that the sheriffs of London were attending His Majesty's pleasure, and that they required an audience. They waited some time, and then Lord Bolingbroke came again, and inquired of the sheriffs whether he was to tell His Majesty that they came with a fresh message, or with a message ? The sheriffs answered that they came with a message.

Soon after this, the two Secretaries of State, Lord Rochford and Lord Weymouth, came to the sheriffs, and Lord Weymouth asked, " Whether they had received his letter, which was written by His Majesty's order ? "

Sheriffs : We have.

Lord Weymouth : His Majesty desires to know whether you come in consequence of that letter ; or whether you come on any fresh business ?

Sheriffs : We come in consequence of that letter.

Lord Weymouth : Would it not be more proper to send an answer in writing through me ?

Sheriffs : We act ministerially. As sheriffs of London we have a right to an audience ; and cannot communicate to any other person than the King the subject of our message.

Lord Weymouth : I do not dispute your right to an audience ; but would it not be better and more accurate to give your message to me in writing ?

Sheriffs : We know the value and consequence of the citizens' right to apply immediately to the King, and not to a third person ; and we do not mean that any of their rights and privileges shall be betrayed by our means.

His Majesty's levee began at a quarter past two, at which time the two secretaries came to the sheriffs,

and Lord Weymouth said, " His Majesty understanding that you come ministerially, authorised with a message from the city of London, will see you as soon as the levee is over."

When the levee was ended, the sheriffs were introduced into the King's closet. The King did not as usual receive them alone, but Lord Gower, Lord Rochford, and Lord Weymouth were present. Mr. Sheriff Townsend addressed His Majesty in these words :

May it please your Majesty,

When we had the honour to appear before your Majesty, your Majesty was graciously pleased to promise an answer by one of your Majesty's principal secretaries of state ; but we had yesterday questions proposed to us by Lord Weymouth. In answer to which we beg leave humbly to inform your Majesty, we wait as sheriffs of the city of London, by the direction of the livery in Common-Hall legally assembled. The address, remonstrance and petition, to be presented to your Majesty by their chief magistrate is the act of the citizens of London in their greatest court ; and is ordered by them to be properly authenticated as their act.

To which His Majesty was pleased to reply, " I will consider of the answer you have given me." Whereupon the sheriffs withdrew.

When the sheriffs went into the closet, the City Remembrancer, according to his office and duty, would have attended them ; but Lord Bolingbroke rudely pushed him back ; insisting upon it, that he had not a right to go in, and should not enter there. When the audience was ended, the Remembrancer very properly told Lord Bolingbroke that he had done wrong ; for that as Remembrancer, attending the sheriffs, he had a right to enter the closet with them. Lord Bolingbroke said it might perhaps be so ; but

that he had never been in waiting on such an occasion before, and hoped he never should again.

The sheriffs received a note from Lord Weymouth on the 12th, informing them that His Majesty would receive the remonstrance on Wednesday, March 14, at two o'clock. On that day, therefore, the Lord Mayor, with Aldermen Sir William Stephenson and Trecothick, and Aldermen Townsend and Sawbridge, sheriffs, 153 of the Common Council, and the committee of the Livery, in their proper gowns,¹ proceeded in their carriages to St. James's, attended by the Common Serjeant, Town Clerk, Remembrancer, two secondaries, sword-bearer, mace-bearer, water bailiff, common crier, common hunt, city marshal, etc. They were introduced to His Majesty, who received them seated on his throne. The Common Serjeant (in the absence of the Recorder) began to read the remonstrance; but being in too much confusion to proceed, Sir James Hodges, Town Clerk, read it very distinctly. The King then read the following answer to it:

I shall always be ready to receive the requests, and listen to the complaints of my subjects; but it gives me great concern to find, that any of them should have been so far misled as to offer an address and remonstrance, the contents of which I cannot but consider as disrespectful to me, injurious to parliament, and irreconcilable to the principles of the constitution.

I have ever made the law of the land the rule of my conduct, esteeming it my chief glory to reign over a free people; with this view I have always been careful, as well to execute faithfully the trust reposed in me, as to avoid even the appearance of invading any of those powers which the constitution has placed in other hands. It is only by persevering

¹ Those "fellows in furs," the King called them.

in such a conduct that I can either discharge my own duty, or secure to my subjects the free enjoyment of those rights which my family were called to defend ; and while I act upon these principles, I shall have a right to expect, and I am confident I shall continue to receive, the steady and affectionate support of my people.

The Common Council met on the 27th, at which the Recorder attended ; and the Lord Mayor, observing that as the proposed inquiry into the Recorder's conduct was one article of their business, and as he was there present, he hoped they would begin with that ; adding that he was ready to hear any motion. The Recorder, being then called upon for the reasons of his non-attendance, he not only justified his former refusal, but declared his intention to persist in such refusal on any like occasion. Some excellent remarks were made by the aldermen on the Recorder's defence, after he withdrew. As Ald. Kirkman stated the merits of the case very concisely, his speech is worth producing.

My lord (said he), though I did not approve of the address, I cannot pretend to justify the Recorder's conduct. His opinion it was his duty to give ; but having given it, it was his duty to obey. If his advice and counsel must needs be followed, it ceases to be advice, my lord, it becomes command. Mr. Recorder has a double duty—to counsel, and to act. They are very distinct offices. His counsel is his own, his acts are those of the corporation ; they are merely official. He must give no advice which he does not approve ; but it may be his duty to do many things which he does not approve. If Mr. Recorder will do nothing but what he chooses ; if the corporation must do nothing but what he approves : he is no longer their officer, he is their commander.

Mr. Wilkes then made a motion.



GROUP-PORTRAIT OF SERJEANT GLYN, JOHN WILKES, AND REV. JOHN HORNE.
Painted and engraved by Richard Houston. 1769.

That it is the opinion of this court that the Recorder, by refusing to attend the Lord-Mayor, aldermen, and commons of this city with their humble address, remonstrance and petition, to his Majesty, acted contrary to his oath and the duty of his office.

This was carried in the affirmative, and a division being demanded, there appeared to be six aldermen, with ninety commoners, for the affirmative; and six aldermen, with fifty-one commoners, for the negative. The further consideration of this affair was then postponed, and other business entered on.

The consideration of the Recorder's disobedience was resumed by the Court of Common Council on October 12, when an order of Common Council in the year 1716 was read, as follows:

That the Recorder and Common Serjeant be advised with in all cases relating to the affairs of the city, where it may be necessary to have the opinion of any counsel learned in the law.

After long and obstinate debates, the following resolutions passed by great majorities:

That the order of this court, of the 19th of June, 1716, so far as it relates to the Recorder's being advised with in all cases relating to the affairs of this city, where it may be necessary to have the opinion of any counsel learned in the law—be repealed.

That James Eyre, Esq., the present Recorder, be no more advised with, retained or employed, in any affairs of this corporation; he being deemed by this court unworthy of their future trust or confidence.

That in all cases relative to the affairs of this city, where it may be necessary to have the advice, opinion, or assistance, of any counsel learned in the law, John Glynn, Esq., serjeant at law, shall for the future on all such occasions be advised with, retained, and employed.

This debate was carried on to a second sitting, and the speeches were very acrimonious, and are amusing to read now.

A certain Alderman (Harley), a Privy Councillor, who had on many occasions shown his animosity against Wilkes, said, "They" (the Court of Aldermen) "admitted him" (Wilkes) "to his freedom when he was an outlaw"; "we did him that favour."

Wilkes rose to reply, and in the course of a long speech certainly "wiped the floor" with the Privy Councillor. He first pointed out that four judges of the King's Bench had unanimously declared all the proceedings relative to his outlawry null and void; but, he said,

the Court of Aldermen, believing me (so they say) to be an outlaw, admitted me to all the rights and privileges of this great City by granting me my Freedom. As an outlaw I had no existence as a political being; I was incapable of any charge in this or any other Corporation; I could not hold the lowest civil or military appointment; I could not sue or be sued, I was entirely out of the protection of the law itself, and yet this ignorant Court of Aldermen granted me the freedom of my Native City, as a favour.

When Wilkes was almost unanimously chosen Alderman for the Ward of Farringdon-Without the Court, led by Harley, tried every trick and subterfuge to reject him. They affected to entertain doubts as to the legality of his election; they paid out of City cash extravagant fees to the Recorder and others in the hope that they might be able to do what they wished, by finding some legal evasion or trick to prevent him taking his seat; but Wilkes defeated their conspiracy and triumphed over their foolish and spiteful efforts. It is said that history repeats itself; but I do not believe we shall ever again see in the City such a glaringly wicked attempt led by a Privy

Councillor to injure and ruin an opponent. Such tactics, in any age, are not "cricket," and, thank God, usually fail; like curses they "come home to roost."

It appears that to the petition no reply was given, and the Livery became impatient. They asked the Court of Common Council to summon a Common Hall. This was done, and another petition was drawn up. "A bolder declaration both against King and Parliament," said Walpole, "was never seen." The petition told the King that the House of Commons did not truthfully represent the people, that it was "corruptly subservient" to the King's ministers; and it called upon the King to dissolve Parliament and dismiss his ministers. This petition was presented by Sheriff Townsend, and the only reply the King gave was in expressing concern that they were so misled as to offer him a disrespectful address; whereupon the Court of Common Council adopted a resolution, by ninety-eight votes to forty-six, to present another address, again asking His Majesty to dissolve Parliament and dismiss his ministers. The Recorder protested against this address, calling it an abominable libel. Wilkes thereupon said "he knew the nature of a libel," not from theory only, but from experience; what was said in the address was founded on "glaring and well-known facts," and it was the truth and nothing but the truth.

On May 23 this petition was presented—not by the Recorder, who declined to do it. It was, however, presented; and the King's reply to it was briefly a refusal.¹

¹ Mr. Alderman Wilkes told some of the Common Council (I find in a newspaper published about this time), "That he should not go up with the Address on Wednesday; for the only Courts he desired ever to go to, were the Courts of Common Council and Aldermen; that the air of most other Courts was corrupt and contagious, and that of St. James's particularly, did not agree with him."

It was now that Beckford made the rejoinder or retort in the famous and memorable speech breaking through all conventions and rules of Court etiquette. The speech is inscribed on the monument in Guildhall, which the grateful and admiring Court of Common Council caused to be erected to commemorate the occasion.¹

It may not be out of place to call attention to the following curious resolution, and to the comment of Sir James Eyre upon it.

At a Court of Aldermen held on September 24, 1782, it was resolved unanimously—

That the Recorder (James Adair) be desired to acquaint the Judges at the opening of every session of Oyer and Terminer at the Old Bailey, that it is opinion of this Court that no sentence should be passed on any person convicted at the said Session but by the consent and approbation of the Majority of the Judges and Aldermen present during the trial, after previous deliberation, except in cases of murder and other crimes, the punishment of which is particularly specified by law.

I presume the Recorder carried out faithfully the instructions thus given to him, but apparently no result of any sort took place from it.

Wilkes was present at the Court of Aldermen on September 24, and no doubt moved the resolution. I judge he was the moving spirit in the matter, from the fact that he received the following letter on the subject from Sir James Eyre, who was at this time one of the High Court Judges. Eyre had been Recorder in 1770, when he flouted the Court of Common Council by refusing to present their petition to the King, calling upon him to dissolve Parliament and to dismiss his

¹ See NOTE at end of chapter.

ministers. The petition was therefore presented by Sir J. Hodges, the Town Clerk, or by Beckford, the Lord Mayor. The Court of Common Council passed a resolution already referred to (page 93), that the services of Eyre as a standing counsel in future should be dispensed with. Two years later, however, the King rewarded him by appointing him a Baron of the Exchequer, and he afterwards became Lord Chief Justice, in which capacity he presided at the trial of Horne Tooke for Treason, which took place at the Old Bailey in 1794. His letter to Wilkes is dated October 19, 1782, from John Street, Bedford Row, and is as follows :

I had rather Mr. Alderman Wilkes should hear from myself than from others that I have abused his relation of the 24th September (the language as well as the substance of it) to some of his worthy brothers of the Court of Aldermen, and that I retracted nothing that I had said after I was told who had penned it ; but on the contrary, promised you a trouncing for your carelessness. I have since discovered that the defect in point of language was imputable to the Recorder (James Adair) who sent me a mutilated copy. This relieves me from the surprise I felt that anything ill-penned should come from you.

Now, my dear Sir, let me present to you my humble remonstrance (you know you love a remonstrance) and a parenthesis upon the substance of this curious relation. How could you who I always understood did not love mischief for the sake of mischief assist in fabricating such a relation. I appeal to your own practice ; with your talents you never thought it prudent to hazard interfering in our judicial proceedings at the Old Bailey. Men who have not your talents are now called upon, on pain and peril that may fall thereon, not to sit still and let the business go on. We shall have charming deliberation ! very edifying, no doubt. For heaven's sake

get yourselves and us out of this scrape by rescinding your resolution.

I am always, Mr. Alderman Wilkes'
Most humble servant,
JAMES EYRE.

Eyre seems to have thought that the only way to get the Court "out of this scrape" was to rescind the resolution. I do not think this has ever been done, nor can I find any other result. I think Eyre was right in his opinion, that the resolution was a badly worded and ridiculous proposition.

NOTE

BECKFORD'S SPEECH TO THE KING

This is what Beckford is supposed to have said to the King; it is set out in bold lettering on the monument in the Guildhall.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

Will your Majesty be pleased so far to condescend as to permit the Mayor of your loyal City of London, to declare, in your Royal presence, on behalf of his fellow citizens how much the bare apprehension of your Majesty's displeasure would at all times affect their minds—the declaration of that displeasure has already filled them with inexpressible anxiety and with the deepest affliction. Permit me, Sire, to assure your Majesty that your Majesty has not in all your dominions any subject more faithful, more dutiful or more affectionate to your Majesty's person and your family, or more ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in the maintenance of the true honour and dignity of your Crown.

We do therefore with the greatest humility and submission most earnestly supplicate your Majesty, that you will not dismiss us from your presence without expressing a more favourable opinion of your faithful citizens, and without some comfort, without some prospect at least of redress.

Permit me, Sire, further to observe that whoever has already dared or shall hereafter endeavour by false insinuations and suggestions to alienate your Majesties affections from your loyal

subjects in general and from the City of London in particular, and to withdraw your confidence in and regard for your people, is an enemy to your Majesty's person and family, a violator of the public peace and a betrayer of our happy constitution as it was established at the glorious revolution.

Lord Pomfret had said in the House of Lords that "however swaggering and impudent the behaviour of the low Citizens might be on their own dunghill, when they came into the Royal Presence, their heads hung down like bulrushes, and they blinked with their eyes like owls at the rays of the sun."

There were doubts in some quarters as to whether the speech was really made by Beckford, and we have the evidence of Samuel Rogers, which is not the only expression of denial on the point.

Relative to Lord Mayor Beckford's famous speech (or rather rejoinder) to the King in 1770 Mr. Croker observes in Boswell's *Life of Johnson* (p. 562, ed. 1848), "Mr. Boswell's manuscript note on this passage says 'that the monument records not the words of Beckford but what was prepared for him by John Horne Tooke as agreed on at a dinner at Mr. George Bellas's in Doctors Commons. This is, I think, also stated in a manuscript in the Museum Copy'"; but Mr. Gifford says "he never uttered one syllable of the speech. Perhaps he said something which was afterwards put into its present state by Horne Tooke." In Stephens' memoirs of Horne Tooke, we have the following account: "This answer (of the King) had been of course anticipated, and Mr. Horne, who was determined to give celebrity to the Mayoralty of his friend Mr. Beckford at the same time that he supported the common cause, had suggested the idea of a reply to the Sovereign; a measure hitherto unexampled in our history." Stephens then proceeds to say that the Lord Mayor expressed himself nearly as follows, etc. etc., and presently adds this, "as Mr. Horne lately acknowledged to me was *his* composition." I now quote the words of Mr. Maltby: "I was dining at Guildhall in 1790 and sitting next to Dr. C. Burney, when he assured me that . . . Beckford did not utter one syllable of the speech—that it was wholly the invention of Horne Tooke. Being intimate with Tooke, I lost no time in questioning him on the subject. 'What Burney states,' he said, 'is true. I saw Beckford just after he came from St. James's. I asked him what he had said to the King; and he replied that he had

been so confused he scarcely knew what he had said. 'But,' cried I, '*your speech* must be sent to the papers—I'll write it for you.' I did so immediately and it was printed forthwith."

These various statements enable us to arrive at the exact truth, viz. : that Tooke suggested to Beckford (if he did not write them down) the heads of a rejoinder to the King's reply—that Beckford losing his presence of mind made little or no use of them—and that the famous speech (or rejoinder) which is engraved on the pedestal of Beckford's statue in Guildhall was the elaborate composition of Horne Tooke.¹

I believe that Beckford made no rejoinder to the King, or merely muttered a few indistinct words, and the speech was concocted afterwards. Tooke and Wilkes were quite capable of such a performance.

¹ Extracted from *Table Talk of Samuel Rogers* (p. 102, ed. 1903).

CHAPTER VIII

PRACTICAL POPULARITY

WILKES, after he was outlawed, received steady and valuable support from the respectable middle class as well as from the mob, from men high in learning and literature, and even from a minority, by no means despicable, in the House of Lords. The words "Wilkes and Liberty," or "Wilkes and No. 45," were inscribed on every wall, and his portrait was painted on hundreds of signboards throughout the country.

He used to tell a story of how one day he saw an old woman looking up at one of the signs, and how he heard her say, "Ah, he hangs everywhere but where he ought to hang!"

One landlord, who had adopted the "Wilkes Head" as a sign, was refused a license by the Surrey magistrate unless he altered the designation of his house. The man was a wag, and retorted that he had hung up Wilkes as criminals were usually hanged, but that if their worships pleased he would have no objection whatever to take him down, and hang up one of their worships in his place. Let us hope that the worthy victualler had already made sufficient money to enable him to retire from business.

There used to be a public house in Carteret Street, Westminster, called the "Three Johns," where the head of Wilkes held place in bar between those of John

Horne Tooke and John Thelwall. At that time the bust of Wilkes, in marble, bronze, or china, decorated half the mantelpieces in the metropolis. All that popular gratitude and affection could devise was put into execution to manifest the feeling towards him and his cause. Trinkets of costly description, ingeniously fashioned in the form of a No. 45, or otherwise bearing allusion to his principles or his punishment, were sent to him in profusion; a whimsical tallow chandler presented him with a chest, containing exactly forty-five dozens of the finest candles; and an anonymous "Friend of Liberty" forwarded to the prisoner a handsome purse lined with three hundred guineas; a society was formed to pay his debts, which his extravagance had swelled to a great amount.

Wilkes was always in debt. Perhaps he agreed with Foote, who said that living on credit was the art of living without the most troublesome thing in the world, which was money. It saved the expense of any one keeping accounts, and made over all the responsibility to other people. Would any one venture to say that paying one's debts could possibly draw to us such anxious attentions from our own part of the world while we live, or such sincere regrets when we die, as not paying them?

A number of independent gentlemen, members of parliament, eminent merchants, considerable traders, and other persons of property—feeling the liberties and privileges of their fellow-subjects to be deeply wounded by the arbitrary conduct and proceedings of the Government—formed themselves into a society, with the professed view of supporting Mr. Wilkes, and a committee was appointed to carry their purpose into execution throughout the kingdom.

The first meeting of this society was held at the London Tavern, on February 20, 1769, when a sub-



WILKES JUG, PROBABLY STAFFORDSHIRE WARE, IN POSSESSION OF THE AUTHOR.

scription was made by the gentlemen present, amounting to £3,023.

A second meeting was held at the same place, on the 25th of the same month, and those present assumed the name of "Supporters of the Bill of Rights." The preamble to the subscription paper and the circular letter ran in these words :

Whereas John Wilkes, Esq., has suffered very greatly in his private fortune from the severe and repeated persecutions he has undergone in behalf of the public ; and as it seems reasonable to us, that the man who suffers for the public good, should be supported by the public ; we, etc. etc.

The public are, therefore, called upon by every tie of gratitude and humanity, so prevalent in British hearts, to raise an effectual barrier against such oppression, to rescue Mr. Wilkes from his present incumbrances, and to render him easy and independent.

It is worth noting that, about this time, Wilkes was made a Freemason with great parade. The third meeting of the society was held four days after that social event, on March 7, at the same place, when a committee was appointed to inquire into the several demands upon Mr. Wilkes ; and £300 was immediately sent to Mr. Wilkes for his present use.

At the ninth meeting of the society, which was on June 6, it appeared that £4,553 had been expended in the composition of debts for Mr. Wilkes ; a further sum of £2,500 was ordered to be issued by the treasurers, for the continued composition of Mr. Wilkes's debts ; and £300 more was sent to Mr. Wilkes for his personal use. After which the society adjourned to October 10.

Gifts of all sorts of plate, jewellery, and furniture were sent at this time. He was the hero of the day.

"I believe," wrote Benjamin Franklin, "that had the King had a bad character and Wilkes a good one the latter might have turned the former out of his kingdom."

At this time the accounts of the society stood thus :

Debts of Mr. Wilkes discharged,	
upwards of	£12,000
Election expenses	2,973
Two Fines	1,000
To Mr. Wilkes for his support	1,000

And £6,821 of debts remained to be compounded.

During the summer of 1770, the society compounded this remaining sum of £6,821 with the exception of about £200 due at Aylesbury. Much obloquy was cast on Mr. Wilkes concerning this debt. He had, when member for Aylesbury, been treasurer to the Foundling Hospital.¹ Some debts had been contracted for the use of the hospital, which Mr. Wilkes had not discharged, although he had received the money. This matter was called a breach of trust : Wilkes's own account of it is expressed in these words :

The whole of the affair is this—he was to pay the tradesmen's bills at Aylesbury. The hospital issued the money : the tradesmen did not call for it every quarter ; and it was left in Mr. Wilkes's hands. When Mr. Wilkes went abroad, all his private affairs were in the hands of Mr. Cotes ; who was afterwards a bankrupt himself, and a great sufferer.

¹ Hogarth and Wilkes used to meet at the Foundling Hospital, they both being on the Board of Governors ; but when they quarrelled they ceased to attend, "as if each was afraid of meeting the other even within the walls of charity."

In letters to his daughter he wrote¹:

April 28, 1770.

DEAR POLLY,

After I left Princes Court I arrived safe at the Mansion House through an infinite crowd of people, and paid my duty to the Lord-Mayor (Beckford); from thence I proceeded to Guildhall, where was a very full court of aldermen, eighteen in all. I was sworn into office without any opposition; and all the aldermen present took me by the hand, and wished me joy, with great *apparent* cordiality. My Lord Mayor afterwards took me in the state-coach to the Mansion House; where he gave us, indeed, a most elegant dinner, and the greater part of the aldermen attended. I never heard so loud acclamations, nor so frequently repeated, as through the day. So much for the city, the city-business and my brother aldermen . . .

Again, on May 11, he wrote²:

To-morrow we are to have another meeting with the Lord-Mayor; and on Monday a new court of Common Council, to consider of another remonstrance. For fear of growing more dull than usual in this thick aldermanic air,

Adieu, my dear daughter, adieu!

PRINCE'S COURT,

Friday, June 22, 1770.

Yesterday morning the Lord-Mayor (Beckford) died, to our great grief. He had of late behaved with spirit and honour in the cause of liberty; and was of singular service to what we all have the most at heart.

This day we had a Common-Hall for the election of a new Lord Mayor in his room.³ All the aldermen who have served sheriff, were successively put up; but the majority of hands were for Trecothick and Crosby; who will certainly be returned, although a

¹ Almon, iv. 25.

² *Ib.* 32.

³ Before 1752 the Lord Mayors of London were always sworn in at Westminster on October 29. In 1752 and afterwards they were sworn in on November 9.

poll is demanded for Sir Henry Bankes. It is thought to be a plan to put the sheriffs to a great expence, rather than with any hope of success. Mr. Thomas Oliver is candidate to succeed the late Lord Mayor ; both as representative of the city, and alderman. I believe he will succeed in both.¹

GUILDHALL,

Friday, June 29.

Mr. Thomas Oliver is taken so very ill, that he has been obliged to keep his bed ; and has given up his canvass, both as representative for the city and alderman. Mr. Richard Oliver succeeds him in both, to the great joy of all our friends.

Alderman Trecothick is chosen this day Lord Mayor [for the remainder of the year 1770] and has been sworn in. I accompanied him to the commissioners of the great seal, amid the acclamations of the people the whole way.²

BULL AT ROCHESTER,

Thursday, July 18, 1771.

I arrived at Woolwich yesterday, about eleven ; and found the Lord-Mayor just landed from the city-*barge*. We were received with great acclamations from a very numerous people, who assembled to pay their compliments to the city magistrates. We soon embarked on board the *Chatham yacht*, which was provided for us by the order of the admiralty ; and we sailed in her to *Gravesend*, which we reached between nine and ten. I was kept up till two in the morning as *toast-master* : and therefore did not choose to embark with the Lord-Mayor for *Rochester* (which is a circuit of fifty miles) ; but preferred coming here, to meet the same company by land, in a *post-chaise* (the distance only nine miles). Our company all joined at dinner ; and we are to continue here this evening. To-morrow the corporation of *Rochester* dine with us ; and on Saturday I think I shall return to my dearest daughter.

I never knew a voyage and journey more barren

¹ *Almon*, iv, 56-7

² *Ib* iv, 64.

of amusement ; but yet I have taken up the pen, because it gives me another opportunity of assuring you of my regard and tenderness.¹

Early in the year 1771, Wilkes made a tour in Cambridgeshire and Norfolk, to look after his estates in those counties. Wherever he was recognised, enthusiastic crowds followed him, and he found himself entertained by old friends. At Cambridge, the acclamations of the people were prodigious. At Lynn, the corporation gave him a splendid entertainment, and on the following day presented him with the freedom, which Mr. Wilkes acknowledged with one of those short and happy speeches on public conduct, and the Cause of the People, which always brought down the house. What we now call playing to the gallery was done even in those days.

In June 1771, Wilkes and his friend Alderman Bull were elected sheriffs for London and Middlesex. A poll was taken, the numbers being : Samuel Plumble 1875, John Kirkman 1,949, John Wilkes 2,315, Frederick Bull 2,194, Richard Oliver 119. All the candidates were aldermen.

The activity of the Court in this election was revealed by an unhappy accident. A letter which " Jack " Robinson, Lord North's secretary, had sent to Benjamin Smith, a partner of Alderman Nash, an opulent grocer of Cannon Street, urging him to " push the poll " with as many friends as possible, was carried by mistake to another Smith of Budge Row, a Wilkesite, who immediately published it with an affidavit of its authenticity. The result was, as might be expected, great discomfiture to the Ministerial candidates, and immense amusement to every one else.

¹ Almon, iv. 87-8.

Walpole, in a letter to Sir Horace Mann, July 6, 1771, says :¹

Wilkes is another Phoenix revived from his own ashes. He was sunk—it was over with him, but the Ministers too precipitately hurrying to bury him alive, blew up the embers and he is again as formidable as ever. . . . Wilkes, in prison, is chosen member of Parliament . . . his colleagues betray him, desert him, expose him, and he becomes Sheriff of London.

Wilkes is very amusing in his reply to a challenge from Horne Tooke to fight a duel. He had fought three or four duels earlier in his career, notably, you will remember, with Lord Talbot and with Mr. Martin, who wounded him severely by a bullet in the stomach.² "Sir," said he to Horne Tooke, "I do not think it my business to cut the throat of any desperado that may be tired of his life; but, as I am at present high sheriff for the city of London, it may happen that I may shortly have an opportunity of attending you in my *official* capacity, in which case I will answer for it that you shall have no ground to complain of my endeavours to serve you." Tooke was then on the eve of trial for high treason.

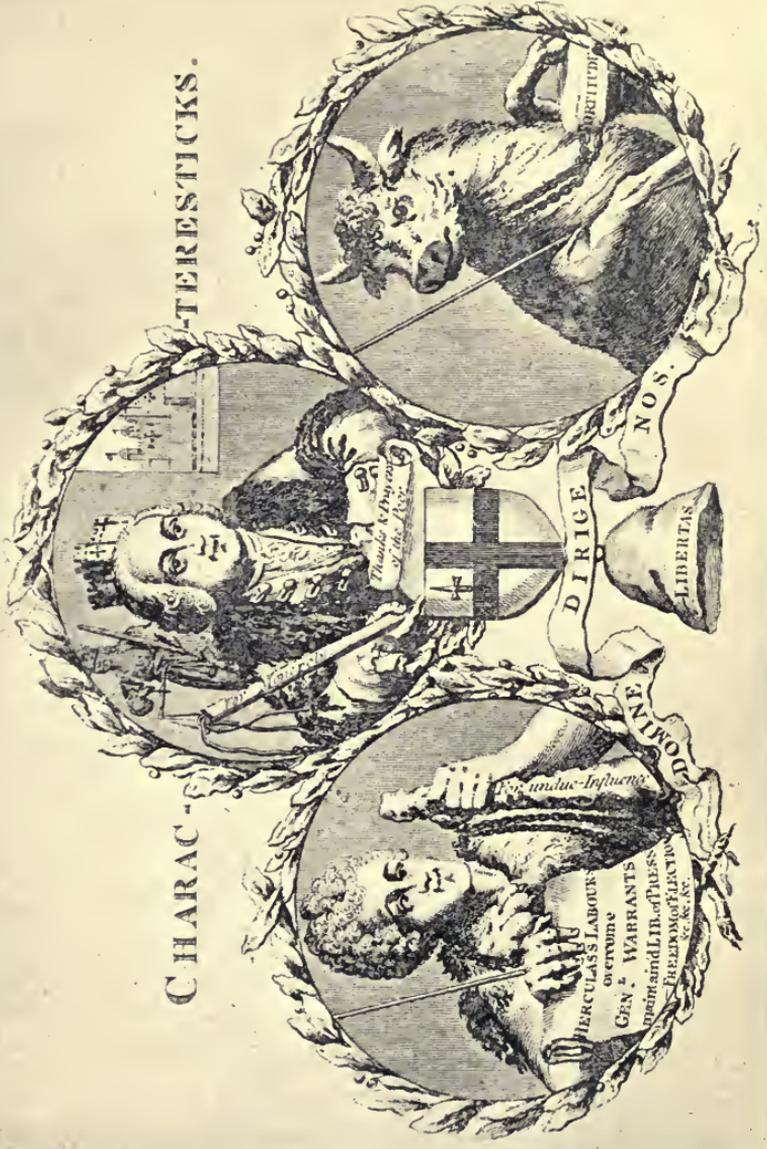
Horne Tooke did not spare Wilkes, although at one time they were friends. Writing of Wilkes, he said,

I cannot approve or commend him for making patriotism a trade, and a fraudulent trade—I sometimes am half inclined to suspect that Mr. Wilkes has formed a truer judgment of mankind than I have. Trick and low cunning and addressing their prejudices and passions may be the fittest means to carry a particular point; if they have not common sense there is no prospect of gaining for them any real permanent good. The same passions which have

¹ *Letters*, ed. by Cunningham, 1857, v. 313.

² See Chapter II.

CHARACTERISTICS.



CHARACTERISTICS : THREE WORTHY CHARACTERS REPRESENTED HIEROGLYPHICALLY.
 (WILKES, CROSBY, AND BULL.)
 From *The Oxford Magazine*, vii. 1771.

been artfully used by an honest man for their advantage, may be more artfully employed by a dishonest man for their destruction.

Notwithstanding Mr. Wilkes' denial, I maintain that he did commission Mr. Thomas Walpole to solicit for him a pension of £1,000 on the Irish establishment for thirty years, with which and a pardon he declared he would be satisfied, and that, notwithstanding his letter to Mr. Onslow, he did accept a clandestine, precarious and eleemosynary pension from the Rockingham Administration, which they paid in proportion to, and out of their salaries, and so entirely was it Ministerial that, as any of them went out of the Ministry their names were scratched out of the list and they contributed no longer. I say he did solicit the Governments and the Embassy and threatened their refusal in these words: "It cost me a year and a half to write down the last administration; should I employ as much time upon you, a few of you would be in at the death."

When these threats did not prevail he came over to England to embarrass them by his presence, and when he found that Lord Rockingham was something firmer and more manly than he expected, and refused to be bullied into what he could not perform, Mr. Wilkes declared that he could not leave England without money, and the Duke of Portland and Lord Rockingham purchased his absence with £100 apiece, with which he returned to Paris; and for the truth of what I here advance, I appeal to the Duke of Portland, to Lord Rockingham, and to Lord John Cavendish, to Walpole, etc. I appeal to the handwriting of Mr. Wilkes which is still extant.

Should Mr. Wilkes afterwards (failing in this wholesale trade) choose to dole out his popularity by the pound, and expose the City offices to sale to his own brother, his Attorney, Junius will tell us it is only his ambition that he has to make them Chamberlain, Town Clerk, etc., and he must not be opposed in thus robbing the ancient citizens of their birthright because any defeat of Mr. Wilkes would gratify the King.

Should he after consuming the whole of his own

fortune and that of his wife and incurring a debt of twenty thousand pounds merely by his own private extravagance, without a single service or exertion all this time for the public, whilst his estate remained, should he at length being undone, commence patriot, have the good fortune to be illegally prosecuted, and in consideration of that illegality be espoused by a few gentlemen of the purest public principles ; should his debts, though none of them were contracted for the public, and all his other incumbrances be discharged ; should he be offered £600 or £1,000 a year to make him independent for the future, and should he after all instead of gratitude for these services insolently forbid his benefactors to bestow their own money upon any other object but himself, and revile them for setting any bounds to their supply, Junius (who any more than Lord Chatham never contributed one farthing to these enormous expenses) will tell them that if they think of converting the supplies of Mr. Wilkes's private extravagance to the support of public measures, they are as great fools as my grandmother, and that Mr. Wilkes ought to hold the strings of their purses as long as he continues to be a thorn in the King's side.

This curious extract from Wraxall's *Historical Memoirs*, vol. iii., 1884, p. 105, goes far to confirm Mr. Horne Tooke.

From the Ministry of Sir Robert Walpole down to the conclusion of Lord North's Government, few places of considerable emolument in any department were given wholly unfettered to the nominal occupant. Even under Lord Rockingham's first administration in 1765, we find Wilkes *quartered* on the whole of the Treasury and Admiralty Boards, to the annual amount of £1,040 a year, the Marquis paying him £500 ; the inferior Lords of the Treasury £60 each, and the members of the Board of Trade each £40. This curious fact is stated in Horne's letter to Junius of 31st July 1771.

It was not attempted to be denied when the

Duke of Grafton in June of the same year accepted the office of Privy Seal which had been previously destined for Lord Weymouth.

Junius more than insinuates that the last mentioned Nobleman was *quartered* by the Duke upon Rigby who from 1768 to 1782 nominally occupied the sole Paymastership of the Forces. I knew a lady of quality, who having been daughter to a person high in office, was commonly said to have *rode* sixteen persons at one time, to whom her father had given places under that express condition: I believe she outlived them all. Government Military appointments, offices in the Excise and Customs, in a word, places of every description, at home and abroad, were frequently loaded with *Riders*. . . .

We come to another incident that testifies to the many storms that stirred the life of our active and militant subject. It relates to Hogarth's well-known picture of Wilkes.

Nichols was told by a copper-plate printer that nearly four thousand copies of this caricature were worked off on its first publication.

The story of the quarrel of Wilkes and Hogarth is told by Almon.¹ The articles in *The North Briton* attacking Lord Bute were ascribed to Wilkes and Churchill and Lloyd. Hogarth had lived on terms of friendship and intimacy with Wilkes. A friend wrote to Wilkes telling him that Mr. Hogarth intended soon to publish a political print of *The Times*, in which Mr. Pitt, Mr. Churchill, and himself were held out to the public as objects of ridicule. Wilkes remonstrated with Hogarth, saying that such a proceeding would be not only unfriendly but injudicious. An answer was sent to say that neither Wilkes nor Churchill was attacked in *The Times*, though Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt were, and the print would soon appear. Wilkes upon that said he would defend his

¹ iii. 23-28.

friends if they were attacked, and revenge them, adding that if he thought *The North Briton* would insert what he should send, he would make an appeal to the public on the very Saturday following the publication of the print.

The Times soon after appeared, and on the Saturday following, May 21, 1762, No. 17 of *The North Briton*. Almon goes on to say if Mr. Wilkes did write that paper he kept his word better with Mr. Hogarth than the painter had done with him.

In his anger, Hogarth repaired to Westminster Hall when Wilkes was the second time brought there from the Tower, and (in Wilkes's own words) "skulking behind in the Court of Common Pleas," Hogarth was seen in the corner of the court, pencil and sketch-book in hand, fixing that famous caricature from which, as long as caricatures shall last, Wilkes will squint upon all posterity. Wilkes bore Hogarth's caricature bravely. He said truly, in allusion to his own portrait, that he did not make himself, and cared little about the beauty of the case that contained his soul; he wrote to Lord Temple: "Mr. Hogarth is said to be dying of a broken heart. It grieves me much. He says that he believes I wrote that paper (*The North Briton*), but he forgives me, for he must own I am a thorough good-humoured fellow, only Pitt-bitten."



JOHN WILKES, ESQ.

Designed by W. Hogarth, engraved by T. Cook.

CHAPTER IX

WILKES AND THE PRINTERS

THIS strange eventful history of John Wilkes has now been brought to the time when he was forty-three years of age; he had experienced all sorts of bad and some sorts of good fortune. He had been expelled from the House of Commons, outlawed, imprisoned, and fined; nevertheless he had been elected alderman of the largest and best ward in London, and sheriff of the City, thus becoming eligible for the position of chief magistrate for the capital of the kingdom.

Wilkes, though anxious and willing to act with propriety as sheriff, was at the same time determined to make himself officially obnoxious to those who were against him, especially to the Court party. "I will skirmish with the great ones almost every day in some way or other," he wrote to Junius; and as to the House of Lords, "The sheriff means the attack"; and he certainly lost no opportunity to influence the many-headed public of all ranks and conditions—one can learn how busy he was in this respect from current newspapers and accounts written by contemporary historians.

The Right Hon. Thomas Harley, M.P. for the City, 1762, when sheriff in 1764, rendered himself famous by seizing the boot and petticoat which, in

derision of Lord Bute and the Princess Dowager, the mob were burning opposite the Mansion House, at the same time as the sheriffs and the hangman were burning Wilkes's paper *The North Briton*. The mob treated Harley roughly, breaking the windows of his chariot. A man was taken into custody and at once brought before the Lord Mayor Bridgen at the Mansion House. His lordship informed the court that in order to try the temper of the mob he ordered one of his own servants to be dressed in the clothes of the supposed offender and conveyed to the Poultry Compter, so that if a rescue should be effected the prisoner would still be in custody ; but everything was peaceable, and eventually the prisoner was discharged. The Lord Mayor said the matter was not important, and that the sheriffs need not be thanked for their share in the burning of *The North Briton*. This so irritated the Court party that the Duke of Bedford moved in the House of Lords that the Corporation should be ordered to attend at the Bar to answer for their conduct ; while the Duke of Richmond, who seconded the motion, talked of petitioning His Majesty to deprive the City of its charter.

It was for this service that Harley was made a Privy Councillor. Later on, he, in conjunction with Mr. Drummond, had the contract for paying our Army in America in foreign gold, by which they made a profit of £600,000. But he was extravagant, and became in want of money, and was made Governor of the Irish Society, which gave him about £300 per annum.

One of the contemporaries of Wilkes was Alderman Curtis, of whom it was said he once proposed as a toast "The three C's—Cox, King, and Curtis." The following epitaph was written for him :

“ Here lies William Curtis, our late worthy Lord Mayor,
Who has left this here world and is gone to that there.”

We must however turn to a very important public development in which Wilkes was most closely concerned.

It was during this year 1771, and before Wilkes became sheriff, that the famous squabble arose over the publication of the debates in Parliament.

This matter had its origin in a circumstance which happened some years before. During Wilkes's exile abroad he had corresponded with Mr. Almon. In the course of this intercourse Wilkes sent to his friend several important papers, together with some minor pieces of wit and humour, which were printed in the newspapers. Among these was a short paragraph stating, “ that although the Earl of Hertford was the English Ambassador at Paris, and David Hume was his secretary, yet his Scottish chaplain, the Reverend James Trail, administered to the English subjects in spirituals there.” No man upon earth would suspect that this silly thing could possibly become a subject of complaint in the House of Lords ; yet, upon the motion of the Earl of Marchmont, it was resolved that this paragraph was a breach of privilege ; and the printer of *The London Evening Post*, in which paper it had appeared, was fined £100 (besides fees, amounting to about £60 more).

On the meeting of the new Parliament, in the year 1769, occasional sketches of the proceedings of the House of Commons had been printed in *The London Evening Post* ; in a short time other newspapers followed the example ; and the practice continued till March 1771.

In that month Colonel George Onslow made a

formal complaint to the House of Commons that several printers of newspapers had reported their debates and proceedings ; particularly R. Thompson, printer of *The Gazetteer*, and John Wheble, printer of *The Middlesex Journal*. Both these persons were ordered to attend the House, but they refused to obey the summons, and secreted themselves. The House of Commons, in an address, appealed to the King to issue a proclamation for their apprehension. This proclamation, which was both illegal and ridiculous, was issued on March 8, 1771, and in it a reward of £50 was offered for the apprehension of either of the printers.

One of the printers, John Wheble, suffered himself to be taken by his own servant. He was carried to Guildhall before Wilkes, who discharged him. The story is told in the following extract :

Extract from the Guildhall Rota Book.

GUILDHALL,

March 15, 1771.

John Wheble, the publisher of the *Middlesex Journal*, was this day brought before Mr. Alderman Wilkes at Guildhall by Edward Twine Carpenter, a printer, being apprehended by him in consequence of a Proclamation in the *London Gazette* of Saturday the 9th March instant ; but the said Edward Twine Carpenter not having any other reason for apprehending the said Mr. Wheble than what appeared in that proclamation, the said Mr. Wheble was discharged ; and then the said Mr. Wheble charged Carpenter for assaulting and unlawfully imprisoning him ; and on his making oath of the offence and entering into a recognisance to prosecute Carpenter at the next session in London, Carpenter was ordered to find sureties to answer for this offence, which he did himself in £40 and two sureties in £20 each, and

was therefore discharged. Carpenter requested a certificate of his having apprehended Wheble, which was given to him.

GUILDHALL,

March 15, 1771.

This is to certify that John Wheble the publisher of the *Middlesex Journal* was this day apprehended and brought before me one of His Majesty's Justices of the peace for the City of London by Edward Twine Carpenter of Hosier Lane London printer.

JOHN WILKES, *Alderman*.¹

With his usual impudence—there is no other word for it—Wilkes wrote the following letter to Lord Halifax, the Secretary of State :

GUILDHALL OF LONDON,

March 15, 1771.

My Lord, I had the honour of officiating this day as the Sitting Justice at Guildhall. John Wheble, the publisher of the *Middlesex Journal*, a freeman of London, was apprehended and brought before me by Edward Twine Carpenter, who appears to be neither a constable nor peace-officer of this city. I demanded of what crime Wheble was accused ; and if oath had been made of his having committed any felony, or breach of the peace ; or if he lay under a suspicion strong enough to justify his apprehension or detention. Carpenter answered that he did not accuse Wheble of any crime ; but had apprehended him merely in consequence of His Majesty's proclamation ; for which he claimed the reward of £50. As I found that there was no legal cause of complaint against Wheble, I thought it clearly my duty to adjudge that he had been apprehended in the City illegally, in direct violation of the rights of an Englishman, and of the chartered privileges of a citizen of this metropolis, and to discharge him. He then made a formal complaint of the assault upon him

¹ Carpenter carried this certificate to the Treasury, but could not obtain the reward.

by Carpenter. I therefore bound him over to prosecute, in a recognizance of £40; and Carpenter to appear and answer the complaint at the next quarter session of the peace for this city, in a recognizance of £40 himself, with two sureties in recognizances of £20 each.

I am, my Lord, etc.,
JOHN WILKES.

Colonel Onslow having declared that he intended to bring before the House every printer who had printed any of the debates or proceedings of Parliament, in order that they might receive the punishment due to their contumacy, it was immediately concerted between Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Almon, that if the printer of *The London Evening Post* were complained of, a serious, bold, and strong resistance should be made. The plan was this: That if the printer were served with an order to attend the House of Commons, he was to pay no regard to it; that if the House sent a messenger to apprehend him, he was to have a constable in readiness to take the messenger into custody; and that they were then to proceed to the Mansion House, where Mr. Wilkes and the Lord Mayor (Crosby) would attend for the purpose. The plan was mentioned to Mr. Alderman Oliver, who also acquiesced.

Circumstances happened as had been foreseen. The printer, being ordered to attend the House of Commons, acted according to his instructions, and when the messenger afterwards came to take him into custody, he gave him in charge to the constable, and they proceeded to the Mansion House, where the Lord Mayor, with Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Oliver, attended. After hearing the case, they discharged the printer (as a citizen of London) from the custody of the messenger. The printer, in his turn, now

charged the messenger with a breach of the peace, and was bound in the usual manner to prosecute. The messenger was desired to give bail for this offence, which he refused; a mittimus was therefore made out, and signed by the Lord Mayor and Messrs. Wilkes and Oliver, for his commitment to Wood Street counter. But by this time the deputy serjeant-at-arms, who had been sent for, had arrived at the Mansion House, and he gave the required bail for the messenger.

The Ministry and their party in the House of Commons were enraged at this violent resistance to their power. The proceedings in Parliament on this subject having been detailed in various publications, it is necessary to state them only shortly here.

The House resolved that the Lord Mayor and Alderman Oliver had been guilty of a breach of privilege; resolved also, that the Lord Mayor and Mr. Alderman Oliver should be committed to the Tower; but as to Mr. Wilkes, they did not choose to meddle with him, for though they ordered him to attend on a particular day, yet it was contrived (by an adjournment) that the House did not sit on that day; so the matter, so far as related to him, was let drop. The truth is, they were afraid to proceed against him.

The Lord Mayor and Mr. Oliver were visited at the Tower by those lords and members of the House of Commons who were in opposition to the measures of the Ministry, and by great numbers of other gentlemen. The journals of the day announce that on March 30 the Dukes of Manchester and Portland, the Marquis of Rockingham, Earl Fitzwilliam, Sir Charles Saunders, Admiral Keppel, Mr. Dowdeswell, and Mr. Edmund Burke, attended by Messrs. Baker and Martin, waited on the Lord Mayor and Mr.

Oliver in their apartments in the Tower; and a few days afterwards several of the Ministers and their adherents who had taken part against the printers were beheaded and burnt, in effigy, on Tower Hill. The two also received addresses, containing expressions of the highest approbation and of the warmest thanks, from every ward in the City. At a Court of Common Council on Tuesday, March 26, 1771, presided over by Alderman Trecothick (*locum-tenens* for Crosby), it was unanimously resolved

“ that during the confinement of Mr. Alderman Oliver in the Tower of London a table be provided for him at the expense of this City under the direction and management of the Committee appointed at the last Court to assist the Lord Mayor and Aldermen Wilkes and Oliver in their defence on the charge brought against them by the House of Commons.”

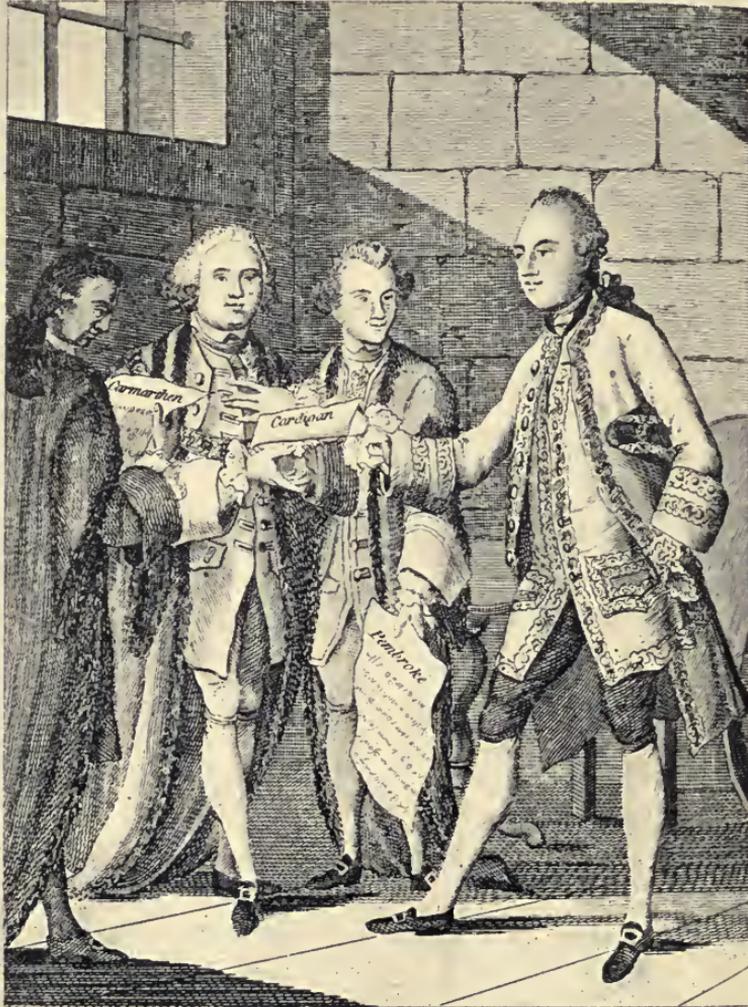
On the day of their enlargement (which was the day of the prorogation of Parliament) they were further honoured with a brilliant and splendid cavalcade and procession to the Mansion House; the City was illuminated, and every mark of rejoicing displayed. This was a victory over undefined power.

The following account by a Dutchman,¹ who was an eyewitness of this scene, is interesting :

This act of authority made a great noise. Crosby, Oliver, and Wilkes were summoned to attend the House of Commons. The two first obeyed, and were conducted to Westminster with a splendour which put all London in the greatest agitation. I was an eyewitness of this scene, which I will not pretend to describe. Every inhabitant of the place was in motion. The shops were shut, the citizens poured forth into the streets to accompany those two magistrates, whose coaches were drawn by their

¹ W. von Archenholz: *A Picture of England*. Translated 1797.

Watkin Lewes Esq. presenting the Addresses from the Councils of Pembroke Carmarthen, & Cardigan, to the Lord Mayor, Alderman Wilkes & Alderman Oliver in the Tower.



*This Ancient Britons, generous, bold & free,
 Wrought at Court to bend the supple Knee,
 Corruptions Shrine with honor Pride did stain
 And only bow to Freedom's Patriot Train*

WATKIN LEWES, ESQ., PRESENTING ADDRESSES FROM WALES TO THE LORD MAYOR AND ALDERMEN WILKES AND OLIVER, IN THE TOWER OF LONDON.

[From *The Oxford Magazine*, vii, 1771.

fellow-citizens, amidst the acclamations of an innumerable multitude. Some hundreds of carriages, in which were persons of the first rank, likewise attended. Wilkes himself accompanied his two colleagues to the door of the Parliament House, but did not enter. As they persisted in refusing him his seat in the house as a member, he would not appear.

This struggle concerning the printing of the debates in Parliament forms an episode of some considerable interest in English history. With respect to the House of Commons, it is certainly a fair and constitutional question to ask, Had not the constituents a right to know the Parliamentary proceedings of their representatives ?

Parliament itself seems to have acknowledged the affirmative. For, from this time, the debates in both Houses have been regularly printed in the London newspapers, and the chief provincial ones. When that foolish Government, with its servile majority in the House of Commons, was dragged into a futile struggle with the printers of their debates, and then with the City of London, and when it had committed to the Tower the Lord Mayor (Brass Crosby) and Alderman Oliver on the question of privilege, then Lord Chatham spoke out manfully. The report of his speech runs thus :

He entered largely into the consideration of the state of the country ; the depraved system of government, which had, in a very few years, reduced us from a most flourishing to a most miserable condition. He went through the whole proceedings of the House of Commons in the late business of the Printers, and arraigned every part of it in the strongest terms. He warmly defended the City magistrates in the conscientious discharge of their duty ; for the House, in committing them to prison without hearing their defence on the question of privilege, had been guilty

of a gross and palpable act of tyranny; that the House had heard the prostituted electors of Shoreham in defence of an agreement to sell a borough by auction, and had refused to hear the Lord Mayor of London in defence of the laws of England; that their expunging, by force, the entry of a recognizance, was the act of a mob, not of a Parliament; that their daring to assume a power of stopping all prosecutions by their vote struck at once at the whole system of the laws; that it was solely to the measures of the Government, equally violent and absurd, that Mr. Wilkes owed all his importance; that the King's ministers, supported by the slavish concurrence of the House of Commons, had made him a person of the greatest consequence in the kingdom; that they had made him an Alderman of the City of London, and representative of the County of Middlesex; and now they would make him Sheriff, and in due course, Lord Mayor of London; that the proceedings of the House of Commons in regard to this gentleman made the very name of Parliament ridiculous. . . To resist the enormous influence of the Crown, some stronger barriers must be erected.

And now Lord Chatham declared himself a convert to triennial Parliaments, which till then he had opposed.

So that battle in the long campaign for the liberty of the press was won.

With characteristic promptitude and generosity the City Corporation expressed its appreciation "in the usual manner." At a Court of Common Council of the City of London, held on January 24, 1772, it was voted—

That a silver cup value £200 be presented to Brass Crosby, Esq., their late worthy Lord Mayor, and two others, value £100 each, to Mr. Sheriff Wilkes and Mr. Alderman Oliver, for the noble stand they made in the business of the printers against an arbitrary vote of the House of Commons, for the preservation of the rights and liberties of their fellow-subjects in general.



THE OLIVER CUP AT THE MANSION HOUSE.

"This cup presented by the City to Alderman Oliver for joining with other Magistrates in the release of a freeman who was arrested by order of the House of Commons and in a warrant for imprisoning the messenger who had arrested the citizen and refused to give bail is by me deposited in the Mansion House to remain there a public memorial to the honour which his fellow citizens have done him and the claim they have upon him to persevere in his duty.

March, 1772.

WILLIAM NASH, *Mayor.*"

Oliver, in a general speech, thanked the Court for the honour they had done him, and desired that his cup might be deposited with the City plate.¹ Wilkes also thanked the Court, and told them that, though silver and gold he did not much esteem, yet he was greatly obliged to them for this mark of their favour and—that he should keep his cup himself.

The design for Wilkes's cup, chosen by himself, represents the death of Cæsar in the Roman Senate, as certainly one of the greatest sacrifices to public liberty recorded in history. The sword placed in the first quarter of the City arms furnished the hint, taken from Pope, of

“The dagger went to pierce the tyrant's breast.”

Julius Cæsar is represented on the vase as he is described by all historians at that important moment—gracefully covering himself with the toga, and falling at the base of a pedestal which supports the statue of Pompey. Brutus, Cassius, and the other noble Romans who conspired to restore freedom to their country, form a circle around the body of Cæsar. Every eye is fixed on Brutus, who is in the attitude of congratulating Cicero on the recovery of the public liberty, and pointing to the prostrate and expiring usurper. At the bottom of the vase is the following inscription, encircled with myrtle and oak leaves :

“May every tyrant feel
The keen, deep searchings of a patriot's steel !”—CHURCHILL.²

¹ See illustration, facing p. 122.

² At Wilkes's death this cup passed into the possession of his daughter. At her death, in 1808, she left it by will to her cousin, Lady Baker. The following newspaper extract shows that it was sold at Christie's in 1843 :

“27th June, 1843.

“*The effects of the late Duke of Sussex.*—The sale of plate was yesterday resumed at Messrs. Christie's rooms. The catalogue enumerated

It may be mentioned that Sheriffs Wilkes and Bull had only one under-sheriff instead of the usual two. This curious fact is brought to light by a letter of thanks to the liverymen, signed by both sheriffs dated Guildhall, July 3, 1771. In this letter they say :

As Mr. Reynolds has on a variety of occasions, convinced us of his integrity and attachment to the public cause, we intend to appoint him our joint and Sole Under Sheriff, and desire that all letters with which we may be favoured for the better discharge of our duty may be sent to his office, No. 39 Lime Street.

This marks a curious circumstance in the Corporation history.

The following letter from the sheriffs to the keeper of Newgate shows their desire for reforming abuses :

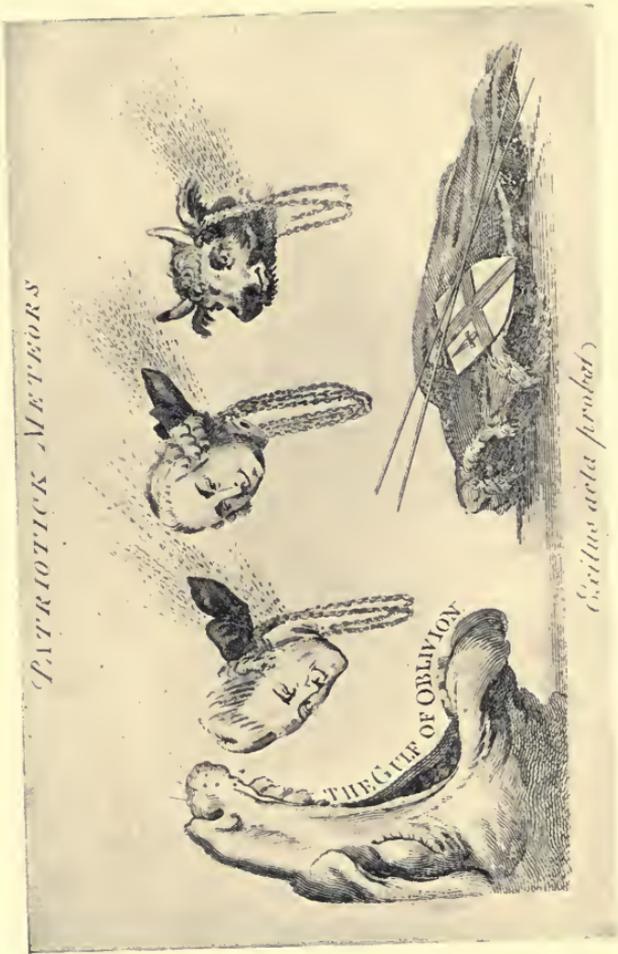
MR. REYNOLDS' OFFICE, No. 39 LIME ST.

16 Octr. 1771.

SIR,

We are well satisfied with your general conduct in the office you hold under us, and, in particular, with the humanity you always shew to the unhappy persons under your care. There are however two glaring abuses of Importance which we are determined to rectify at the ensuing Sessions on Wednesday next, and all the subsequent Sessions during our Shrievalty. The first is the prisoners several lots of extreme rarity, and the prices realized were proportionately high. Among the noblemen and gentlemen present during the day were the Duke of Cleveland, Lord Sandys, Mr. Byng, M.P., Sir Charles Burrell, Sir George Chetwynd, Etc. The dessert plate formed the chief feature of yesterday's auction.

"A two-handled cup and cover, presented by the city of London to Alderman Wilkes.—This cup was fluted and chased with festoons, and the cover surmounted by a female figure bearing a shield with the city arms: it excited considerable competition, and was ultimately secured by Mr. Russell for £45."



PATRIOTICK METEORS: EXITUS ACTA PROBAT (THE END JUSTIFIES THE DEED).—*Ovid*, "Heroides," epistle ii, 85.
(WILKES, CROSBY, BULL.)

maining in Irons at the time of arraignment and Trial—This we conceive to be equally repugnant to the Laws of England and of humanity, every person at so critical a moment ought to be without any bodily pain or restraint, that the mind may be perfectly free to deliberate on its most interesting and awful concerns in so alarming a situation. It is cruelty to aggravate the feelings of the unhappy in a state of such distraction ; and injustice to deprive them of any advantage for the defence of supposed innocence by calling off the attention by bodily torture. No man in England ought to be compelled to plead while in chains. We therefore are determined to abolish the present illegal and inhuman practice, and we direct you to take off the Irons before any prisoner is sent to the bar either on arraignment or trial.

The other abuse we are determined to reform is the taking of money for admission into the Court at the Old Bailey ; this likewise we hold to be contrary to Law. It is one of the most glorious privileges of this nation that our Courts of Justice must always be open and free &c.—We need not enumerate to you the constant complaints made on this subject every Session, and the tumults occasioned by the exactions of the Officers. We have given orders to our Officers and servants to admit gratis all persons who behave with decency into any part of the building not assigned to the Judges, Aldermen, grand and petty Juries, Witnesses or officers of the Court—We expect you to give the like orders to all your servants—to inform the public of this. We desire to affix the following words in large letters on the several entrances into the Court, “ No money is to be taken for admission into any part of this Court of Justice.”

We are, sir,
J. W. F. B.

TO MR. RICHARD AKERMAN,
Keeper of Newgate.

CHAPTER X

LORD MAYOR

AFTER he had served the office of sheriff, Wilkes lost no time in attempting to be Lord Mayor. He was evidently of opinion that "There is a tide in the affairs of man, which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune." So in September 1772 we find him a candidate for the civic chair, although, according to seniority and the rota, he was then fourth on the list.

He was, however, right in his judgment as to the favour of the Livery, and this was proved at the poll, when he headed the list.

Let Horace Walpole, who wrote an account of this election at the time, tell the story:¹

On the ordinary vacancy of the chair, Wilkes offered himself as candidate to be Lord Mayor of London. The Court set up two renegade aldermen, Halifax and Shakespeare. Mr. Townshend was also named, but disdained to canvass, or even to attend the election. Wilkes's friends, treacherous as Townshend had been, gave him their second votes, lest one of the Court candidates should be named by the Court of Aldermen, who, on two objects being presented to them, may make their option. The tide ran violently in favour of Wilkes and Townshend, who had a vast majority; yet Halifax and Shakespeare demanded a scrutiny: and then as ridiculously

¹ Walpole's *Journal of the Reign of George III.*, 1771-83, edited by Doran. Vol. i, 1859, pp. 163-5.

abandoning it, Wilkes and Townshend were returned to the Court of Aldermen. The King trembled, for Wilkes had evidently the voice of the City: Townshend, without his assistance, would have had scarce any votes: and the majority of aldermen were supposed to favour Wilkes. It was even said that Townshend, if chosen, would waive his pretensions in favour of Wilkes: and his disgusting behaviour had made it probable. Wilkes's triumph was on the point of being celebrated with every mark of exultation: but Alderman Oliver, the late prisoner in the Tower, who had quitted Wilkes for Townshend, by a deceitful finesse procured a Court of Aldermen before all those attached to Wilkes were assembled, and got Townshend named Lord Mayor. Townshend, as if called by the City, took possession of the chair with arrogance and pride. Wilkes was thunderstruck, and, for once, angry in earnest. His rage and that of his partisans broke out in every kind of outrage against Townshend: and Lord Shelburne, whom they suspected of having sold them to the Court, was not spared.

Townshend's brutality and haughtiness were the subject of ten thousand invectives: and as his hot temper was well known, Wilkes determined to put it to the test. On the Lord Mayor's day Wilkes's mob attacked Guildhall during the ball at night, but did little damage. Townshend proposed to sally out with drawn swords and fall on the mob, but was restrained. This answered Wilkes's purpose in part: and he triumphed more by Townshend's causing a few rioters to be seized and committed to Newgate, though the gaol-distemper raged there, and by vaunting he could bring the riot home to Wilkes, in the prosecution of which he was disavowed by his own witnesses. Parson Horne was mobbed and insulted as his chief instrument, but the real advantage that flowed from these dissensions accrued to the Court, who enjoyed Wilkes's disappointment and the unpopularity of Townshend. The real damage was to the nation, which saw those who would have gone farthest to stem the encroachments of the Crown divided and warring on each other.

Next year Wilkes was again a candidate; and again we take Horace Walpole's account of the election in 1773¹:

There was again a great contest for the election of a Lord Mayor. On one side stood Wilkes and Bull, on the other Sawbridge and Oliver: the two former were chosen by a majority of the livery, and Wilkes by a very large one, as it appeared after a poll demanded by Sawbridge. Townshend, the late Lord Mayor, as active an enemy of Wilkes as the Scotch, was very ill-treated by the mob at each meeting. Sawbridge accused Wilkes of anonymous slander, who made a very bold speech of defiance against him, and published it in the papers. There was another gross correspondence of the same kind between Wilkes and one Lovel, chairman of the Committee. On the report of the Court of Aldermen, they preferred Bull for Lord Mayor by Townshend's casting vote. This proscription of Wilkes, though for two years together he was first on the poll, did but serve to revive his popularity from the injustice done him, and in this instance did not hurt his power, Bull being entirely his creature, and the odium on Townshend, Horne, Oliver and Sawbridge increasing. The two first were knaves, and the latter weak men. Wilkes was the only man, except Ministers, who preserved credit in spite of character.

Bull now made a solemn promise not to accept from the Crown or its Ministers any place, pension, contract, title, gratuity, or emolument whatsoever. He was then elected M.P. for the City in place of Ladbroke, deceased.

In the following year (1774) Wilkes, for the third time, was a candidate for the civic chair, and again was returned by the votes of the Livery at the top of the poll. The election lasted seven days. The Court of Aldermen this time selected him, and he became Lord Mayor.

¹ Walpole, *loc. cit.* p. 262.

So that Wilkes, who only took his seat as Alderman in 1770 and was elected Sheriff in 1771, became Lord Mayor in 1774, after being rejected or passed over by the Court of Aldermen in 1772 and 1773. In the latter year his rejection was only accomplished by the casting vote of Townshend, who was then Lord Mayor.

It will thus be seen that the Court of Aldermen twice rejected Wilkes for Lord Mayor, or rather twice passed him over, although he was on each occasion the first choice of the Livery, as is proved by the number of votes given in his favour at Common Hall in 1772 and 1773. This action on the part of the Court of Aldermen was in accordance with a very ancient custom which still exists, and I think it will please those who take an interest in the City and its traditions if I give the following particulars with which Sir James Bell the Town Clerk has kindly furnished me.

EXTRACTS OF EVIDENCE GIVEN BEFORE MUNICIPAL
COMMISSION, 1833

Election of Lord Mayor

Evidence of Mr. Deputy Wood.—Supposing there be no contest the Sheriffs retire and report to the Court of Aldermen, who are then sitting, the names of the two in whose favour there was the largest show of hands from which two the Aldermen chose one by something like a Scrutiny in their own room with closed doors.

Question. The Lord Mayor would have a casting vote?

Answer. He would vote first in his individual capacity and if there were an equality he would have the Casting Vote.

EVIDENCE OF TOWN CLERK REFERRING TO ELECTIONS
GENERALLY IN COURT OF ALDERMEN

Mr. Jardine. You say a scrutiny was taken by

the Recorder and others. What do you mean by that?

A. The Scrutiny in the Court of Aldermen is by the Town Clerk with the Recorder and Common Serjeant if they are present going to another part of the Court away from where the Members are sitting and there writing upon a sheet of paper the names of the persons who are Candidates and each Alderman is called to that part of the Court and there either whispers or says whom he votes for. It is commonly called scratching in the vulgar term and it is supposed that they scratch themselves—they do not—they merely declare in the hearing of the Recorder and Common Serjeant for whom they give their Vote and the Town Clerk marks it.

Q. That is never made use of except by an election of the Court of Aldermen?

A. Just so.

Q. You never apply it to the Common Hall?

A. No.

Mr. Ellis. All the voting of the Court of Aldermen is by Scrutiny, is it not?

A. No—by shew of hands frequently—they may go to the ballot if they like.

Mr. Jardine. What has induced me to ask you the question is the precise similarity between this and Oxford in very immaterial matters as well as material.

In this connection the following opinion of the Royal Commission of 1837 is interesting:

We are of opinion that no good end is answered by the power which the Aldermen possess of selecting for Mayor one of two nominees of the Common Hall. This power of late years has never been effectually exercised, but its nominal existence has created ill will on the few occasions on which the attempt has been made to give effect to it. If it could be made effectual, it appears to us that this result would not be desirable, and that no good end would be answered by lodging in the hands of the Aldermen this very

limited discretion. If it be necessary that the original electors whoever they are to be should be in any wise controlled in their choice, the sort of control which has been adopted appears to us neither well chosen in itself nor lodged in the quarter where it might have the best chance of being beneficial.

On February 10, 1846, the Court of Aldermen resolved "that the Town Clerk do make search in the records of this City as to the origin of the election of Lord Mayor by Scrutiny and to report the same to the Court." This report was duly made on March 24, 1846.

REPORT OF TOWN CLERK ON ORIGIN OF ELECTION OF LORD MAYOR BY SCRUTINY

In pursuance of the Reference made to me by the Court of Aldermen on the 10th day of February, 1846, to make search in the Records of this City as to the origin of the Election of Lord Mayor by Scrutiny, and report the same to the Committee of the whole Court for General Purposes, I hereby report that I have made diligent search into the Records for this purpose and I find entries of Elections of Mayors from the earliest periods, but no particular description in them of the mode of Election. In *Letter Book H* 178 and *Lib. Leg.* 46 B. 1384, 8th Richard II the nomination of two by the Citizens to the Mayor and Aldermen is stated as "anciently accustomed to be done."

In *Letter Book G. fo.* 165 in the reign of Edward III the Mayor is directed to be elected "as accustomed."

There is a full description of the manner in which the Scrutiny was taken in *Liber Dunthorne* written about 1473, pp. 452-3. And *Lib. Nig. fo.* 3, temp. Edward III (a copy of which (No. 1) is annexed to this Report).

In 1406, 8 Henry IV in *Letter Book I. fo.* 54 in the Mayoralty of John *Woodcock*—there is a full entry of the Election of the Mayor described "as

the custom is"—namely, that the Commonalty should nominate two, and that the Mayor and Aldermen should elect one of the two as Mayor according to the customs of the City, and the election of two is stated to have taken place, and that the Mayor and Aldermen "closetted" in the Chamber of the Court of Mayoralty elected the Mayor (a copy of which entry (No. 2) is hereunto annexed).

And in 1426, 5 Henry VI. *Jor. 2 fo. 76b* there is an entry which states that it was agreed by the Aldermen etc. that the Prior of Christ Church (there being no Recorder) should make oath that he would diligently oversee the scrutiny of the names and surnames of the Electors of the Mayor and faithfully report him, on whom the greater part have condescended, etc. (A Translation of that entry (No. 3) is also hereunto annexed.)

Besides this as far as memory or tradition can go back the Scrutiny has been taken by private scratching; papers of which for many years, namely from 1747 to 1836 inclusive have been found in the Town Clerk's Office.

So that as far as any information can now be obtained there has always been a customary mode of Election of Mayor which has been by the nomination of two to the Mayor and Aldermen who have by themselves selected one of the two by scrutiny which scrutiny has been by secret scratching.

All which I beg to certify to this Worshipful Committee.

HEN. ALWORTH MEREWETHER,
Town Clerk.

14th March, 1846.

EXTRACT NO. I

Edward III. Liber Niger fo. 3

At the Election of Mayors for the Said City because disputes were often arising between the Aldermen and Commoners, in that the Commoners thought that to them alone belonged as well the nomination as the election of Mayor and therefore after they

had agreed in the Eastern part of the Guildhall (namely in the place where the Sheriffs usually hold their Courts) they would present to the Mayor and Aldermen sitting at the Western part of the Guildhall (namely in the place where the Hustings are held) one person only of the said City as the Mayor Elect for the ensuing year. But the Aldermen on the contrary said that they also were Citizens and of the Commonalty of the City and that it was not just that on account of the Prerogative which belonged to their office they should be deprived of having a voice in the election of the King's chief Locum Tenens in the same City. It was a custom by the Common assent both of the Aldermen and the Commoners, for the Commoners summoned for such election after the cause of their summons had been declared to them by the Recorder on behalf of the Mayor and Aldermen to pass over to the other end of the Hall as has been said before and there to nominate two Aldermen, each of whom had served the Office of Sheriff, and was eligible to the Mayoralty: Which being done they returned and by their common spokesman presented to the Mayor and Aldermen the names of the two as aforesaid, requesting them to admit either of them they might choose to the Office of Mayor for the year then next following. And the Mayor and Aldermen ascending to the Upper Chamber chose one of these two by the Majority of voices; a scrutiny being taken by the Town Clerk under the superintendence of the Recorder.

EXTRACT No. 2

8 *Henry IV. Letter Book I. fo. 54*

On Wednesday, the Feast of the Translation of St. Edward the King and Confessor in the 8th year of the Reign of King Henry the fourth after the conquest, John Wodecok, the Mayor of the said City considering, that, on that day, he and all persons being Aldermen in the said City, and very many of the richer and more substantial Commoners of

the same City, ought to assemble at the Guildhall to elect a new Mayor for the coming year as the custom is, ordained That a Mass of the Holy Ghost should be solemnly celebrated with note, in the Chapel annexed to Guildhall; That the same Commonalty, by the Grace of the Holy Spirit should peacefully and freely nominate two substantial and fit persons to the same Mayor and Aldermen; and that the same Mayor and Aldermen should (the clemency of the Saviour favoring) elect one of the two persons so nominated as Mayor of the said City for the year next coming, according to the customs of the said City, which said Mass having been solemnly celebrated in the said Chapel as aforesaid, there being there then assisting the said John Woodcok, the Mayor (the Recorder, the Sheriffs and 19 Aldermen) and many approved Commoners of the City aforesaid.

The same Mayor, Recorder, Sheriffs, Aldermen and Commoners, entered the said Guildhall, where by the order of the said Mayor and Aldermen, the cause of the said meeting was duly shown and declared by the same Recorder to the aforesaid Commoners; to the intent that such Commoners might nominate to the aforesaid Mayor and Aldermen, such fit and substantial Persons who had previously served the Office of Sheriffalty of the said City, so that such Commoners should be indifferent which of the persons nominated might be chosen Mayor for the future year, by the aforesaid Mayor, Recorder, Sheriffs and Aldermen. Which having been done the aforesaid Mayor, Recorder, Sheriffs and Aldermen went up to the Chamber of the Court of the Mayoralty within the Guildhall aforesaid, there to await the nomination of the said two Persons: which Commoners peacefully and freely, without any disturbance or dissention, becomingly nominated and presented Richard Whytyngton, Mercer, and Drago Barchlyn, Goldsmith, by John Weston the Common Pleader of the said City.

Whereupon the aforesaid Mayor and Aldermen, closetted in the said Chamber by the Grace of the

Holy Spirit, elected the aforesaid Richard Whytyngton as Mayor of the said City for the coming year, and the same Mayor and Aldermen descending from the Chamber aforesaid into the Hall aforesaid, to the aforesaid Commoners, according to the custom, made known to the said Commoners, by the aforesaid Recorder, how that by the Divine Inspiration the lot fell upon the said Richard Whytyngton as aforesaid—and further the aforesaid Commoners unanimously prayed the aforesaid Mayor and Aldermen that they would ordain, that in every future year on the day of the translation of Saint Edward, a Mass of the Holy Ghost should by reason of the premises be celebrated in the Chapel aforesaid, before the election of Mayor. Whereupon the aforesaid Mayor and Aldermen considering the supplication of the said Commoners becoming reasonable, and agreeable to reason greatly to the Glory and praise of God, and the honour of the said City, with the assent and consent of the said Commoners, ordained and decreed that in every future year, a Solemn Mass with note, the Mayor and Aldermen for the time being present shall be celebrated by the ordination of the Chamberlain for the time being of skilful singers, solemnly singing such Mass annually in the Chapel aforesaid and on the Feast aforesaid.

EXTRACT No. 3

A.D. 1426 5th Henry VI. Jor. 2. fo. 76b

On the Feast of the Translation of Saint Edward in the 5th year of the reign of King Henry the sixth after the conquest—the Mayor, the Prior of Christ Church, Knolles, Fauconer, Wotton, H. Barbon, Cambridge, Michell, Gedney, Remwell, Ralph Barbon, Parvey, Whitingham, Tabersall, James, Bicheweter, Estfeld, Welles, Gossling, Waneesford, Broke, Ottcle.

On this day inasmuch as the City is destitute of a Recorder; it is agreed by all the Aldermen etc. that the Prior of Christ Church shall first make oath, that he will diligently oversee the Scrutiny of the names and surnames of the Electors of the

Mayor ; and faithfully report (the Person) on whom the greater part have condescended, etc.

After this Report had been read to the Court, a Motion was made and question proposed That the Election of Lord Mayor be for the future by open voting ?

The Previous Question was moved Whether that Question should now be put ? and on the Question being put the same was Negatived.

My own opinion is that the time has come when this ancient custom should be abolished, or greatly modified. There can be no objection to the Court of Aldermen having the power of refusing to elect the senior of the two Aldermen chosen by the Livery, but the reason for such refusal should be known to every member of the Court, and adjudicated upon by the Court publicly or privately.

Although the right has been frequently exercised during the last two centuries, there is only one case since 1689 to the present day, a period of 228 years, where it was so exercised without the reason being first given. This occurred in the case of S. C. Hadley, in the year 1883.¹

Here are the official records of the four occasions when Wilkes was elected by the Livery to be Lord Mayor :

	September 29, 1772
	Poll.
John Wilkes	2,301
James Townsend	2,278
Sir Henry Bankes	2
Thomas Hallifax	2,126
John Shakespear	1,912

On a Scrutiny the same numbers were announced. Townsend selected by Court of Aldermen.

¹ See *The Aldermen of the City of London*, by the Rev. A. B. Beaven, M.A., vol. ii., Introduction, xxvi.

September 29, 1773.

	Poll.
John Wilkes	1,690
Frederick Bull	1,655
John Sawbridge	1,178
Richard Oliver	1,094

Bull selected by Court of Aldermen by the casting vote of Townsend.

September 29, 1774

	Poll.
Sir James Esdaile	1,474
Brackley Kennett	1,410
John Wilkes	1,957
Rt. Hon. Fredk. Bull	1,923

Wilkes selected by Court of Aldermen.

It appears that he was elected to serve a second year by the Livery, but was very properly not chosen by the Court of Aldermen.

JOHN SAWBRIDGE	} Returned by Livery to Aldermen.
RT. HON. JOHN WILKES	

Sawbridge elected by Court of Aldermen. September 29, 1775.

On this occasion the joy of the populace was so great that they took the horses from the coach, and, in the struggle for the honour of drawing it to the Mansion House, one man lost his life and another was much hurt.

Horace Walpole again tells us, in his own inimitable way, the story of this election in 1774. He says :

The Court was not prepared with candidates for London, Westminster, or Middlesex. Previous to those elections came on that of a Lord Mayor. Wilkes entirely governed Bull, the actual Mayor, and made him decline the chair a second time. The Court on one side, and Alderman Townshend on the other, meant

to gain or give the preference to any man over Wilkes. They set up two insignificant Aldermen, Eisdale (Esdaile) and Kennet, as competitors, not having been able to prevail on Sawbridge to stand for it again. Wilkes had regained him by promising to bring him into Parliament for the City. Wilkes and Bull had the majority of hands, and, after a poll which was demanded for Eisdale (Esdaile) and Kennet, Wilkes and Bull were returned to the Court of Aldermen,¹ who at last did declare Wilkes Lord Mayor. Thus, after so much persecution of the Court, after so many attempts on his life, after a long imprisonment in a gaol, after all his own crimes and indiscretions, did this extraordinary man, of more extraordinary fortune, attain the highest office in so grave and important a city as the capital of England, always reviving the more opposed and oppressed, and unable to shock Fortune, or make her laugh at him, who laughed at everybody and everything.² The duration of his influence was the most wonderful part of his history.³

In such manner is demonstrated the power of a popular hero. Wilkes was seen through, detected, yet gained ground : and all the power of the Crown, all the malice of the Scots, all the abilities of Lord Mansfield, all the violence of Alderman Townsend, all the want of policy and parts in the Opposition, all the treachery of his own friends, could not demolish him. He equally baffled the King and Parson Horne, though both neglected no latitude to compass his ruin. It is in this tenth year of his war on the Court that he gained so signal a victory.

During this election the King wrote to Lord North :

“ I trust by your account of this day’s poll that

¹ Eleven Aldermen scratched for Wilkes, two for Townsend, and one (Oliver) for Bull.

² In the triumph of his heart Wilkes said, “ If the King had sent me a pardon and a thousand pounds to Paris, I should have accepted them, but I am obliged to him for not having ruined me.”

³ Walpole, *loc. cit.* pp. 419-20.

there can be no doubt that it will end favourably, the mob being less quiet this day is a proof that from riot, not numbers, the patriots alone can draw support. Wilkes is not bound by any ties, therefore, would poll more freemen rather than lose the election—if he is not one of the two returned (for selection) he is lost.

The King had in a previous letter referred to “that devil Wilkes.” Again he wrote :

The two senior Aldermen appear to have a fair prospect of succeeding—I trust that no zeal will be wanting that their success may be as brilliant as possible the more so as it will unveil what has been all along the fact, that Wilkes has been in his various struggles supported by a small though desperate part of the Livery, whilst the sober and major part of the body have from fear kept aloof.

Wilkes being told that, on his presentation, the Lord Chancellor Apsley intended to signify to him that the King thought the City had made a very improper choice, Wilkes said, “If he does, I shall inform him that I am at least as fit to be Lord Mayor as he is to be Lord Chancellor.”

Wilkes’s triumph in the City was now complete : of his four nominees (for Parliament) Bull, Hayley, Sawbridge, and Brass Crosby, he carried the first three. Alderman Oliver, now the creature of Alderman Townsend, was the fourth elected. At Dover, Wilkes carried one member ; and on the 20th, he himself and Sergeant Glynn were elected the members for Middlesex without an opponent, though Alderman Townsend had threatened to stand, and the Court and the justices of the county had used every endeavour to secure candidates, but no man would venture against the people’s darling. Had he been permitted to sit quietly in the House of Commons five years sooner, he had probably sunk to nothing,

having no oratorical talents. Now he forced his way upward triumphantly ; came invested with the insignia of the first magistracy in England, and supported by half a dozen members of his own nomination. Alderman Harley, the brother of Lord Oxford; and who had made the firmest stand against him, now took fright, abandoned the City, and stood for Herefordshire ; but he lost the election, and was both exceedingly ill treated by the populace and frowned on by the Court. Had Harley stood for London, Wilkes himself declared he would have been the first on the poll. Sir Joseph Mawbey, Wilkes's candidate for Surrey, was unsuccessful. The Court party, however, did worse, for they lost several members in different places before a month of the time for the election was over.

Wilkes proved an effective Lord Mayor of London, with his daughter as Lady Mayoress. Miss Wilkes filled the position with dignity, and to the satisfaction of all who came to the Mansion House. " No Lady Mayoress was ever more esteemed," was the verdict. " A more brilliant mayoralty the City has not seen since the days of Beckford," says Wilkes's friend Almon. It is not quite unusual to hear or read remarks of this sort, even in these sober times, but the civic dignity now associated with John Wilkes did certainly react upon his social position. He was accounted a force in society. Among his associates and correspondents, besides his aristocratic friends, we find such names as Dr. Priestley, Dr. Kippis, Joseph Warton, David Garrick, Dr. Johnson, James Boswell, Warren Hastings, the Rev. W. Crackrode, Sir Joseph Banks, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Mrs. Macaulay, and many other well-known people. Best result of all, as the year rolled on, was that party spite against him began to subside.

NOTE

When Wilkes was Lord Mayor, the inhabitants of his ward erected an obelisk to him at the bottom of Fleet Street. This may still be seen on the south side of Ludgate Circus, where it graces the entrance to an underground lavatory. The inscription runs as follows :

A.D.
MDCCLXXV
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
JOHN WILKES
LORD MAYOR

On the north side of the Circus is another obelisk, with the following inscription :

ERECTED TO THE MEMORY
OF ROBERT WALTHAM
BY HIS FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS
MDCCCXXXIII

Waltham was a linen draper who had a shop at the corner of Fleet Street and Farringdon Street ; he was a Common Council man, afterwards an Alderman, and Lord Mayor in 1823-4. He was elected member of Parliament for the City in 1815. He, like Wilkes, was a " patriot," or reformer.

CHAPTER XI

CITY ENTERTAINMENTS

It will be as well now to see Lord Mayor Wilkes as the writers of contemporary newspapers saw him, and I therefore quote from the collection of press-cuttings kept in the Library at Guildhall. They refer to Lord Mayor-elect Wilkes, to the Show, and to the Mayoralty.

We hear that when it was under consideration in the Cabinet whether John Wilkes, Esq. should be approved of as Lord Mayor by the Chancellor, a member observed, "It was much better to permit him to be Lord Mayor for one year, than King of the City for life."

It is generally thought, however splendid and magnificent the ensuing Lord Mayor's day will be in point of show and entertainment, it will be the most *uncourtly* of any since the era of the City Charter (Nov. 5, 1774).

Thursday, November 8, 1774.

Some of Mr. Wilkes's common council, with several of the leading members of the Bill of Rights, applied to Mr. Sawbridge to learn his resolution respecting his vote in the Court of Aldermen for Lord Mayor for the ensuing year, and to know whether he meant to *scratch* for Mr. Wilkes, if that gentleman should be one of two returned by the livery. Mr. Sawbridge declared, that though he considered it as a very delicate question, yet it was far from his wish to conceal even his thoughts upon so public an occa-

sion ; he therefore very frankly avowed his intention to scratch for Mr. Wilkes, if he should be so returned, whoever might be joined with him. In consequence of this declaration, Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Sawbridge will be joined as candidates by the friends of both parties.

Friday, Two o'clock [5 Nov. 1774].
LONDON.

Yesterday the Lord Mayor Elect, accompanied by the Aldermen Crosby, Lewes, Thomas, and Hayley, the Sheriffs, the Recorder, the City Remembrancer, and other public Officers, waited on the Lord Chancellor at his house in Great Russel Street, Bloomsbury. As soon as they were conducted to the Drawing-room, the Lord Chancellor, attended by his proper officers, waited upon them. Mr. Recorder then, in a short speech, acquainted his Lordship, that the livery of London proceeded to chuse a Chief Magistrate, and that their choice had fallen upon Mr. Alderman Wilkes, which had since been confirmed by a Court of Aldermen, that having on several occasions distinguished himself as a sensible, upright and active magistrate the Livery of London thought his fidelity and abilities had been proved, and for that reason had called him to so great and important an office as First Magistrate of that great city. The Lord Chancellor then addressed himself to the Lord Mayor and the rest of the Company ; told them His Majesty had been acquainted with the proceedings of the Citizens of London, relative to their having elected a Chief Magistrate, and that he was commanded to signify His Majesty's approbation of the choice they had made. This ceremony being over the Lord Chancellor took the Lord Mayor Elect by the hand, wished him health to go through the fatigues of office, and placed him on his right hand ; the rest of the Aldermen took their seats. A gold goblet, with rich wines and spices, was handed round, and the usual healths drank ; several assortments of cake were presented to the company, and after the Chancellor had sat about ten minutes, he took his leave with that civility and politeness which

belong to the Bathurst family. Another glass afterwards went round, and the Lord Mayor returned amidst the acclamations of several hundred people, assembled on the occasion, who conducted themselves with great decency.

His Lordship waited on the Lord Chancellor in a new black japan post-coach, with a box to take off, drawn by a pair of cream-coloured long-tail geldings about fourteen hands and a half high, decorated with blue and silver tassels. On the body of the coach was this motto, *Arcui meo non confido*.

The Lord Mayor Elect has appointed the Rev. Mr. Williamson, Vicar of St. Dunstan in the West, to be his Chaplain.

November 21, 1774.

At the same time a motion was made in common council, that the conduct of Mr. Alderman Wilkes deserves the severest censure of this Court, for having inserted in the public newspapers many false and infamous paragraphs, tending to inflame the minds of the people, and to degrade the dignity of the magistrates of this city. This motion, which was made by Mr. Merry, and seconded by Deputy Judd, was withdrawn, as it is said, at the instance of Mr. Townsend.

November 26, 1774.

Mr. Alderman Bull has made the Lord Mayor a present of his handsome set of black horses, which his Lordship used in the state coach on Friday, the first time since his Mayoralty.

Thursday, November 10.
LONDON.

HISTORY OF LORD MAYOR'S DAY

Ever since the great patriot has been elected to his high office, and approved of by the Lord Chancellor, every evening's conversation has turned upon the grand day of festivity, and the applause his Lordship would receive from his friends by water, in the city, and at Westminster Hall, the ladies in par-

ticular had long been pregnant with curiosity, and were wishing for the joyful morn to approach : their repose on the Tuesday night was of course much disturbed, and as soon as the dawn appeared the pillow was forsaken, and each repaired to her toilet. About eight o'clock many smart lasses, neat and trim, from head to toe, were tripping to some friendly house in the city to see the grand procession. Early in the morning preparations were made at Guildhall for the reception of the company. The steps and railing were covered with crimson bays. There were twelve large chandeliers, each holding four dozen of wax candles, besides the girandoles, etc. From a little after seven o'clock till near nine, three porters were employed in carrying hampers of wine from carts to the bar-room. There were three porches at the entrance of the hall, one within the other, to prevent the admission of improper company. A vast profusion of edibles was provided, the pastry was of various exquisite kinds, and the ornaments in confectionery very elegant. Soon after ten o'clock immense crowds of people were assembled at the Three Cranes, hundreds of whom took possession of the lighters and other vessels, one of which, having a large mast, above thirty people hung to the shrouds, and one man sat on the top of the mast, smoking his pipe. All the windows, and even the tops of the houses were crowded. Two women fell from barges into the Thames, but were soon got out. One man hawked " Wilkes's cockades, a penny each ; " while another sold " the Lord Mayor's blue garters, three pence the pair." Two barges, with above a hundred people on board, slipped from their moorings, and drove towards London Bridge, and above 20 boats put off to recover them. The barges of the Merchant Taylors, Fishmongers, Grocers, and other Companies were filled, put off, and laid on the oars, long before the Lord Mayor came, which was at a quarter after twelve o'clock, amidst the applause of thousands. His Lordship was followed into the barge by the late Lord Mayor, attended by Lord Mahon. Then came Alderman Hayley, etc. with the two Sheriffs, and

common Serjeant. As soon as the city barge put off, a wag said, "This is Wilkes's naval review." Vast crowds of people took possession of the Surry shore, and guns from each bank of the Thames were repeatedly fired till the company landed at Westminster. The river has not for many years been covered with such numbers of cutters, and other small boats, gaily ornamented with awnings, flags and streamers. Soon after the procession of water was gone, the Companies began to parade the streets as usual. The marrow bones and cleavers played in Cheapside, etc., while a band of young chimney sweepers, dressed in blue paper sashes, danced in honour of the day. The company reloaded at Blackfriars about four o'clock, and proceeded to Guildhall amidst the greatest crowd ever remembered on a Lord Mayor's Day. On the reloading the Lord Mayor's coach was preceded by the Joiners' Company, which in the morning had attended at the Three Cranes, and formed a lane for him to the water side. The state coach was followed by Mr. Bull's chariot and six, in which he was accompanied by Lord Mahon. Then followed Mr. Alderman Sawbridge, Sir Watkin Lewes, Mr. Hayley, etc. After whom came the respectable company invited to the city feast. It was full five o'clock before the company arrived at Guildhall, and it is supposed some part of the procession was seen by at least two hundred thousand people. The Lord Mayor's coach was drawn by six grey horses, beautiful and spirited animals.

While the procession was passing up Ludgate Hill, a woman with a child in her arms was thrown down by the crowd at the end of Fleet Street, and both trampled upon by the mob. They were both taken up dead. The child was a shocking spectacle.

Several of the Livery were so much crowded by the concourse of people who broke in upon them, that they had their gowns torn off their backs.

A man was run over by a coach at Queenhithe and killed. A boat was upset near Queenhithe stairs by the watermen attempting to row the passengers

nigh enough to see the Lord Mayor take water, and, it is said, six people were drowned.

Tuesday, April 18, 1775.

Yesterday the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, etc., went from the Mansion House to St. Bride's Church in the following order. 1. The Head Marshal. 2. The Bridewell boys. 3. The charity children of Christ's hospital. 4. The surgeons and apothecaries. 5. The governors. 6. The Deputy City Marshal, the Under Marshal, and six footmen in rich liveries. 7. The state coach with the Lord Mayor and Miss Wilkes, as Lady Mayoress. 8. His lordship's private coach, with three ladies and a gentleman, and three footmen behind. 9. Aldermen Bull, Sawbridge, Thomas and lady, Hayley and lady, in their respective carriages. 10. The Town Clerk. 11. The two Sheriffs and their ladies. The procession was closed with the two city counsel. The Lady Mayoress was dressed in rich silk, a maiden's blush, trimmed with a bouquet of diamonds in her bosom.

The entertainment at the Mansion House is said to have exceeded everything the citizens have been accustomed to see at their Easter ball. In the Egyptian Hall where the company dined, was a beautiful piece, painted in an inimitable taste, which, it is said, represented the triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne, or love united with wine. Besides the usual profusion of wines and eatables, which were remarkably good in their kind, and set off in the greatest elegance, as well as much warmer than commonly is the case at those great dinners: the guests were here presented with another novelty, which had a most pleasing effect, many of Mr. Cox's pieces of mechanism, from the Museum, all in full tune, and which continued their musical movements, during the greatest part of the dinner. The dessert was in the same pleasing style, at once great and elegant. In the ball-room taste and magnificence prevailed: an emblematical painting at the top exhibited to the eye a beautiful landscape of rural felicity—nymphs

and swains tripping over the green, and seeming to invite to the sprightly dance those below.

The company were as elegant and orderly as the decorations. The Duke of Leinster and the Lady Mayoress opened the ball: Lord Mahon danced another minuet with the accomplished daughter of the giver of the feast, other names of note were Lord and Lady Abingdon, Lady Mary Sherrard, Lord Wenman, Mr. Keck, Mr. Trevanion, Governor Johnstone, Mr. Colman, Mr. Boswell, Prince Pallavicini, the late Pope's nephew, Dr. Lee, Aldermen Sawbridge, Hayley, Thomas, Newnham, Sir Watkin Lewes, the two Sheriffs, etc.

At dinner, Mr. Boswell, who had taken care to secure good room, seeing Mr. Colman in want of a place, called to him, and gave him one beside himself, saying, see what it is to have a Scotchman for your friend at Mr. Wilkes's table: a little time after there came a foreign waiter with something: Mr. Boswell talked to him in German, upon which, Mr. Colman wittily observed, "I have certainly mistaken the place to-day, I thought I was at the Mansion House, but I must surely be at St. James's, for here are nothing but Germans and Scots."

The dancing of minuets, cotillons, allemandes, and country dances continued till three yesterday morning, and about half an hour after the whole company departed, greatly pleased with the elegance of the entertainment, etc.

The lamps were illuminated in a new taste, and by the variety of their colours, disposed in wreaths upon the pilasters in imitation of the orders of architecture, gave a most pleasing effect to the whole.

1775

A SKETCH OF THE LADY MAYORESS'S ROUT

A superb staircase, lined with red cloth, well lamped, and attended with servants in rich liveries, led to the grand hall, where the persons' names were announced before they appeared. There the Lord and Lady Mayoress waited in the most polite manner



INVITATION TO THE EASTER BALL AT THE MANSION HOUSE, 1775.
Designed by Cipriani, engraved by Bartolozzi.

to receive their visitors. The hall was elegantly illuminated with variegated lamps, and the pillars waved in a serpentine stile, which in passing from the other rooms had an extraordinary effect, the light being strong and silver bright. The rooms were elegantly prepared: two were devoted to cards, one for cotillons, and one for country dances, and others to withdraw to. Coffee, tea, negus, ices, etc., were handed by female servants in a room below, and the rest of the servants behaved with so much regularity and attention, as to be even examples to all others.

The company was composed of some of the first people of this country for beauty, sense, wit, and ability. The men were manly in general: the ladies were beautiful and elegant. Of the ladies were, the Duchess of Richmond, Lady Abingdon, Lady Waltham, Lady Downing, Miss Lutterell, Miss Argyll, Miss Bosville, Mrs. Lutterell, Mrs. Sayer, Mrs. Thompson, the Aldermen and Sheriffs' ladies, etc., etc. Of the gentlemen were, the Duke of Richmond, the Lord Abingdon, Waltham, Mahon, Mountmorres, Sir George Savile, Sir George Collier, Mr. Byng, Mr. Cruges, E. Burke, Temple Luttrell, Hartley, Sawbridge, Bull, Captains Luttrells, Wolseley, Thompson, Bowyer, Walsingham, etc., Messrs. Foote, Miller, Colman, Twiss, etc., besides many hundreds which it is not possible to remember. The whole entertainment was allowed to be elegant, and the Company departed at three, full of the praises of the Lady Mayoress who for affability, ease, attention, and politeness perhaps is superior to most of her sex. Much vivacity and wit passed amongst the company, and some humorous strokes were produced by the ladies' feathers. One beautiful woman dropping the plumes of her head, a gentleman presented them to the lady again, with observing, "that he believed this was not the time for *molting*."

CHAPTER XII

SOME CITY INSTITUTIONS

It has always been the custom to joke about city feasting, and to look upon aldermen of the City as great feeders. It is curious, therefore, to find that Wilkes kept a unique diary,¹ in which he has recorded the place and occasion of nearly every dinner he attended from 1770, the year he was elected alderman, until just before the date of his death in 1797. Some portions are missing, but there are ample particulars for helping us to an understanding about his mode of life, and there are sufficient details to give character and picturesqueness to this part of his career.

Especially we are able from this diary to appreciate some of his activities in the City as a member of the Corporation. We find he took an active part in Committees and Assemblies of all kinds in which leading citizens are expected to promote the welfare and prosperity of London. There is abundant evidence that from the date on which he entered upon his city career, Wilkes began to interest himself in municipal policy, and to deserve recognition, as time went on, for his labours, by obtaining the honours of Sheriff and Lord Mayor.

There are numerous records of dinners or festivities

¹For convenience' sake this is relegated to an Appendix.

with the Common Councilmen of his ward—perhaps three times a year, at the Globe Tavern in Fleet Street at the corner of Shoe Lane, or at some other tavern in the ward, as the Fountain in Snow Hill, or the Mitre in Fleet Street, or the Three Tuns. The Globe was, however, the favourite, for the evident reason that it was kept by one Thorpe, a Common Councilman of the ward, and one of the alderman's deputies. We can learn something of this tavern and Mr. Deputy Thorpe from a little book¹ written by a silversmith named Brasbridge, who lived in Fleet Street. He tells us that Thorpe kept the Globe, but the Globe did not keep him, as he died insolvent.²

Wilkes frequently dined with the Joiners' Company at their Hall,³ when the Recorder and other city officials were present, or at a ladies' dinner there, or any ordinary gathering of the Court—sometimes the Joiners had their dinner at the Globe, or the Mermaid Tavern in Hackney, or at the White Lion at Putney.

There is a curious story told by Brasbridge of a certain surgeon who frequented the Globe. This gentleman lived at Blackfriars, and after spending his evening at the Globe crossed the river in a small boat at some risk, and certainly some expense; yet when Blackfriars Bridge was built, he persistently grumbled at having to pay *1d.* toll every time he walked home.

The supporters of the Bill of Rights frequently dined together at the London Tavern in Bishopsgate Street, and, of course, Wilkes often dined with them. Apparently this was a monthly meeting.

¹ *Fruits of Experience; or, A Memoir . . .* Written in his eightieth and eighty-first years, by Joseph Brasbridge. 2nd ed., 1824.

² At his tavern on one occasion, Thorpe made a bet (which he lost) of £20 that the experiment of crossing the Channel from Dover by balloon would be a failure.

³ In Friars Lane, Upper Thames Street.

When Wilkes was Lord Mayor he entertained this Society (on May 17, 1775) at dinner at the Mansion House.

Then the diary records occasional services with the Court of Aldermen, the Commissioners of Sewers, the Auditors of the City Lands, associated generally with a more or less adequate banquet. We do not find many entries of his sitting on the Bench at Guildhall or the Mansion House, though he no doubt took his share of that work.

On November 8, 1774, Wilkes was Lord Mayor-elect, and on that day the luncheon at the Mansion House was given by the Lord Mayor (Bull) and the Lord Mayor-elect (Wilkes), the expense being shared equally. Amongst the guests were the aldermen and the members of the Courts of the City Guilds to which the hosts belonged.

After this luncheon, which takes place annually, all the company go to the Guildhall, where a very quaint ceremony takes place. First, the Lord Mayor-elect makes and subscribes the declaration, while the outgoing Lord Mayor surrenders his seat to the incoming Lord Mayor.

The Chamberlain presents the sceptre (called the Crystal Mace) to the outgoing Lord Mayor, who delivers it to the incoming Lord Mayor; the same is done by the Chamberlain with the seal of office and purse. All these symbols of office are placed on the table.

The same ceremony is then gone through by the Sword-bearer, and the Mace-bearer—the sword and mace being left on the table. Then all these various items are taken by their respective officers from the incoming Lord Mayor. The aldermen present then congratulate the new Lord Mayor. The whole of this ceremony is gone through in a mediaeval manner,

the various officers making three obeisances in approaching and retiring.¹

The Comptroller then presents the indenture for the city plate and the agreement for the payment to the Lord Mayor of £10,000 in lieu of all fees, etc., which the incoming Lord Mayor signs. The outgoing Lord Mayor then delivers up the keys of the City Seal and the Hospital Seal to the incoming Lord Mayor; also the keys of the Exchequer weights and measures. The Chamberlain and the Comptroller, on behalf of the City Lands Committee, have each a key of the seal. The chest cannot be opened unless all the keys are used.

On November 8, 1775, Wilkes went through this ceremony again, he being then the outgoing Lord Mayor, with Sawbridge the incoming Lord Mayor.

I am indebted to Mr. Sydney Perks, F.S.A., the City Surveyor, for the following interesting account of the Mansion House :

When John Wilkes entered into occupation of the Mansion House in 1774 it might have been described as a new building. It was finished in 1753, and in the clear London atmosphere of that period the Portland stone must have retained much of the fresh and sharp appearance of new work.

The design has no great originality; there are many similar examples scattered all over the country, in which the central feature of the house is a portico raised on a podium. A reference to architectural books will show instances not only by Dance, but

¹ November 3, 1774, Wilkes gave what is called his Presentation Dinner to the aldermen. This is given on the day that the new Lord Mayor is presented by the Recorder to the Lord Chancellor, who then announces that the King graciously consents to the choice of the Livery.

by Gibbs, Ware, Kent, Wood, Chambers, and other architects of the eighteenth century.

The portico type of elevation governs the plan, for the ground floor becomes a low storey, and the first floor is the principal floor. After all, it is not a bad arrangement, especially for a town house, for the offices are on the ground floor, and not lowered into an area-lighted basement; consequently they are well ventilated. The kitchens at the Mansion House can compare favourably with any in London; they are lofty, brick vaulted, and amply ventilated.

The use the Mansion House is put to makes it perhaps the most remarkable building in the world, for I believe it is the only structure now existing, which, like the palace of the Doge at Venice, is a residence, a court of justice, and a prison: guests little think that by opening a door they could pass into a London Police Court, with the dock handy, and cells below. The police court is still known by the old name of Justice Room.

The site has always been an important centre for London. In the middle ages there was a little building with a frontage to Cheapside—it was known as the Stocks Market. At the back of it on the south side there was a large church, called St. Mary Woolchurch-haw, with a churchyard still farther south, in which was a beam for weighing wool.

The stocks were near, and so was a whipping-post. The great fire of London in 1666 destroyed all the buildings in the immediate neighbourhood, and nearly destroyed the Guildhall. Samuel Pepys and other contemporary writers give exhaustive accounts of the great damage that was done; as a result, people standing in Cheapside could see the Thames.

Our forefathers immediately considered the important question of rebuilding the City, and many improvements were made, which in these days would be dignified by the name of Town Planning. The levels of the main streets were considerably altered, and the Corporation obtained the consent of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London to allow the site of the Church and churchyard of

St. Mary Woolchurch-haw to form part of the Market. The Stocks Market building was not reconstructed, but a large open market-place was formed, and that market existed until the Mansion House was erected.

Before 1753 the aldermen and other wealthy citizens lived over or near their business premises, and the private residence of the Lord Mayor became the Mansion House during his mayoralty. The Halls of the City Companies were lent to the Lord Mayor when required, and they also allowed him to use their stabling. This latter courtesy was continued after the Mansion House was built.

As far back as 1670 it was thought that there should be an official residence for London's chief magistrate, and in 1734 it was decided that a Mansion House should be erected; and the first stone of the present building was laid by Lord Mayor Perry on 25 October, 1739.¹

The site is not far from the Wall-brook, and foundation work was difficult and tedious, piling being found necessary. When the building was finished, dry rot appeared in the large beams of the roof to the Egyptian Hall, and the members of the Corporation were evidently very annoyed, for in 1793 it was moved in the Court of Common Council that a Committee should consider the erection of a new Mansion House "instead of a general Repair and alterations to the present one."

Certain alterations have been carried out since the building was erected. The side Porch was not built to the private entrance on the west side of the building until a much later date. An attic storey existed over the Egyptian Hall, and another over the Ball Room, but they were removed in consequence of dry rot and other structural troubles, the former in 1796 and the latter in 1842; and the state staircase from the principal floor to the first floor has also been removed.

For a building covering so large an area, a central

¹ Sir Crisp Gascoyne was the first Lord Mayor to occupy the Mansion House—in 1745. His great granddaughter married the 2nd Marquess of Salisbury, and was the mother of the 4th Marquess.

lighting space is necessary, and Dance planned an open courtyard at the level of the principal floor. This was entirely surrounded by the building, and a short open colonnade was formed at the entrance of the Egyptian Hall. It was necessary to pass along it to enter by the great central doors. When they were open the draught must have been great, and tradition states that on boisterous nights, snow and rain blew in. Consequently, in 1789, Dance was instructed to prepare designs for covering in this cortile, or area.

In speaking of a courtyard it is perhaps advisable to emphasise the fact that the courtyard was on the upper or principal floor, the whole of the ground (or street level) floor was covered by rooms practically as it is now, and carriages could not have driven in, although a statement to that effect is often made.

Old views of the building show the steps enclosed with iron railings projecting several feet farther than at present, in advance of the main front; these steps were altered many years ago and the width of the public way considerably increased.

Except the churches there are few prominent buildings in the City of as early a date as the Mansion House. Most of the Halls of City Companies have façades of a more recent date, or are hidden in narrow side streets; but the Mansion House is the only prominent building of its date in the very heart of London. The two rivals in the neighbourhood are the Bank of England, which was designed by a pupil of Dance's son, and the Royal Exchange, of still later date.

The site is, of course, very valuable, and sometimes one hears a suggestion, usually given as original, that the building should be pulled down, the site disposed of, and another Mansion House built in a cheaper locality, obviously in a less prominent position. When alterations or improvements are suggested there is usually some one, as in 1793, who advocates that alternative. Luckily the idea finds little favour in the eyes of those in authority.

The history of the Corporation can be traced

through many centuries. Its power in the middle ages was great; and the Guildhall, with its magnificent crypt, seems to embody the mediæval spirit; but that building is not in a main thoroughfare, and for one person who passes it each day, many thousands pass the Mansion House. It is extraordinary how many Londoners do not know where the Guildhall is; but they all know the Mansion House, which, in consequence of its prominent position, brings the activity of the Corporation daily before the public; and as the Guildhall may be said to represent the historical or ancient side of a great public body, so the Mansion House may be said to represent its modern activity, for it is the centre for charity, hospitality, and public works. Long may it be before it is pulled down, even with a view to building a more commodious structure on a less valuable and less important site.¹

¹ I might add a few further details. The building and the furniture cost £70,985.13.2. the principal part of which was paid from the fines received from persons who refused to serve the office of Sheriff—about £9,000 was paid of the Corporation income—the plate cost £11,531.16.3. Attached to the Household is:

	£	s.	d.
The Chaplain at a salary	97	10	0
The Swordbearer	500	0	0
The Macebearer	500	0	0
Water Bailiff	300	0	0
City Marshal	550	0	0
Marshal's man	200	0	0
Clerk of the Cocket Office	80	0	0
Gate Porters	6	6	0
Seven Trumpeters	29	9	0

These sums added to the allowance to the Lord Mayor and the ground rent and taxes of the Mansion House (amounting to about £692.12.6 per annum) and other expenses it is considered cost the City £19,038.16.10 per annum.

There are also four attorneys of the Mayor's Court who formerly boarded at the Mansion House, but are now allowed £105 per annum in lieu of the table.

The plate-butler and the house-keeper have each £5.5.0. per annum as a compliment from the City in addition to their wages paid by the Lord Mayor (which is £45 per annum to the house-keeper, and 25/-

A few words might be appropriately added here as to the Lord Mayor's state coach, which is in a way a memorial of the days of Wilkes.

a week to the plate butler. The Marshal's clothing costs £44.16.0 per annum, and that of the Marshal's man £13.9.6.

	£	s.	d.
There is also			
A Yeoman of the Chamber at	270	0	0
Three Serjeants of ditto each	280	0	0
Master of the Ceremonies	40	0	0
Serjeant of the Channel	184	10	0
Yeoman of the Channel	25	0	0
Two Yeomen of the Waterside each	350	0	0
Deputy Water Bailiff	350	0	0
Water Bailiff's first young man	300	0	0
The Common Hunt's young man	350	0	0
Water Bailiff's second young man	300	0	0
Swordbearer's young man	350	0	0

These sums and others added to the previous amount make an annual amount of expense connected with office of Lord Mayor of £25,034.7.1.

The estimate made by a Committee of the Corporation is as under, but it always costs more than the estimate.

	£	s.	d.
Wine	1,440	0	0
Dinners (Family)	2,000	0	0
„ (Extra)	1,200	0	0
„ (Court of Conservancy)	40	0	0
„ (Household)	99	0	0
„ (Old Bailey)	675	0	0
Servants' wages	650	0	0
„ board	598	0	0
„ liveries	753	0	0
Hats	135	15	0
Coals, Wood, &c.	496	0	0
Grocery	365	0	0
Linen, china, glass	600	0	0
Bread, butter and beer	230	0	0
Washing, &c.	120	0	0
Carriages and horses	564	0	0
Taxes	100	0	0
Chain, dress, &c.	500	0	0
Silk stockings, gloves, shoes, canes and buckles for servants	26	13	0
Charities	500	0	0
Dinner on Lord Mayor's Day	1,200	0	0
Total	<u>£12,292</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>0</u>

This coach was built in the year 1757. An entry in *The British Chronicle* of Wednesday, November 9, 1757, states that

Sir Charles Asgil[1], Knt., attended by the Aldermen, Sheriffs, and other officers of the City, went in the "new State Coach," drawn by six fine roan horses, to Three Cranes, and being attended by several of the Companies' barges, went from thence to Westminster, where he was sworn into the high office of Lord Mayor of this City, before the Barons of the Exchequer, etc.

It would appear probable, therefore, that this was the first occasion of its public use by the Lord Mayor.

In 1777, extensive repairs and adornments were made to the coach by a Mr. Jacob.

On September 27, 1778, a report was presented to the Court of Common Council, in which it is stated,

That the present State Coach was built in 1757 by subscription of £60 each from the several Aldermen then under the Chair; and the Aldermen

Sir Peter Laurie stated that the income he received from the Corporation in the year 1832-3 was as follows:

	£	s.	d.
Received from the Chamberlain	6,320	10	10
For Fire Buckets	7	7	0
From the Bridge House Estates	50	0	0
From the Court of Conservancy	300	0	0
For dilapidations made good by him . .	100	0	0
From the Cocket Office for collecting duties on corn, fruit, &c.	850	11	1
Six Freedoms	150	0	0
Paid for admissions to the Galleries at the Old Bailey	39	10	0
Fee for presenting the Sheriffs	13	6	8
Lady Mayoress' seals	37	0	8
Sundry fees at the Mansion House . . .	35	15	0
Total	£7,904	1	3

The above account is from an interesting work called *History of Lord Mayor Pageants*, Part I., by F. W. Fairholt, printed in 1843 for the Percy Society, pp. 154-8.

entered into an agreement that every gentleman thereafter elected Alderman should on his admission subscribe £60 towards the expense of building the Coach, and when elected Mayor £100, which £100 was to be allowed him for ornamenting and beautifying the same.

At the same time the then proprietors of the coach having relinquished their rights therein to the Corporation, the Common Council directed that measures should be taken for its due preservation; and it has since that time been kept in repair by the General Purposes Committee.

By whom the coach was built, or the carvings executed, cannot now with any certainty be ascertained. The panels are said by some to have been painted by Cipriani, and the original heraldic devices have been attributed to Catton, one of the foundation members of the Royal Academy, who was also coach painter to King George III. The statement of Smith in *Nollekens and his Times*, that after the present Royal State Coach was built in 1762, the old one was purchased by the City of London, and the panels repainted by Dance, appears from the entries before given to be without foundation.

The undercarriage, which is richly carved and gilt, has in front a pair of marine figures supporting the seat of the driver, in front of which projects a large scallop shell, forming the footboard.

Above the hind axle-tree is an open gilt framework, to which the braces supporting the coach are attached; the ends of the frame are ornamented with two griffins, and in the centre is the shield of the City Arms, supported by figures of Commerce and Plenty.

The perch, which is painted Indian red and picked out with gold, is double, and terminates in dolphins' heads.

¹ Wilkes paid his contribution of £60 on April 24, 1772. See Diary in Appendix.

The four wheels, which resemble those of ancient triumphal chariots, are carved and painted red—and partly gilded, having massive gilt bosses covering the wheelboxes.

The body of the coach is not supported by springs, but suspended upon four thick black leather braces, fastened with large gilt brass buckles of spirited design, each bearing the City Arms.

The framework of the carriage is also finely carved and gilt throughout.

The roof is painted red, and ornamented with eight gilt vases. The centre was formerly occupied by a group of four boys, supporting baskets of fruit and flowers, the truncated base of which still remains, and is covered with the City Arms, from which ornamental gilt scroll-work trails over the remainder of the roof.

The upper intervals of the body, except at the back, are filled with plate glass ; above each door is a Phrygian cap with wings, surrounded with scroll-work ; and between the upper and lower panels a Roman trophy of helmet, spears, and flags : at the lower angles of the body are dwarf figures, emblematic of the four quarters of the globe ; the smaller enrichments about the panels, as shells and flowers, are also admirably carved and grouped ; over the back panel are a serpent and dove, typical of Wisdom and Innocence.

The lower panels, which are admirably painted, are as follows :

The Front Panel.—Faith, Hope, and Charity. Faith, beside a sacrificial altar, supporting Charity. Hope, pointing to St. Paul's Cathedral.

Lower Back Panel.—The Genius of the City, seated. Riches and Plenty pouring money and fruits into her lap. A large ship is in the background, and bales of merchandise in front.

Upper Back Panel.—The Genius of the City, attended by Neptune, receiving the representatives of Trade and Commerce from all the quarters of the globe. The shaft and capital of the Monument in the background.

Right Side Door.—The Genius of the City throned, having in her hands the sword and sceptre; Fame presenting to her a Lord Mayor, over whose shoulder she holds a wreath. On the left of the picture on a table are grouped the sword, mace, and cap of Maintenance; the spire of old St. Paul's in the background. In the small panel beneath are the Staff of Mercury and a cornucopia, emblematical of Peace and Plenty.

Side Panels.—The left panel represents Truth with her mirror; and the right, Temperance holding the bridle.

Left Side Door.—The Genius of the City standing, with her right hand on the civic shield. Mars, the especial deity of citizens, pointing with his spear to a scroll held by Truth, bearing the inscription, "Henri Fitz Alwin, 1189" (the first Mayor); the Tower of London, with some shipping in the background. In the small panel beneath is the City state sword and scales of Justice.

Side Panels.—The left panel depicts Justice with her sword and scales; and the right Fortitude.

In shields at the lower angles of each door, and of the front and back panels, are emblazoned the arms of the Lord Mayor for the time being, and those of the City of London.

The coach was entirely regilded in November 1868, and the paintings carefully cleaned in 1869, when numerous coats of varnish which previously obscured them were removed; and the coach was relined, and a new hammercloth supplied.

CHAPTER XIII

WILKES AND PARLIAMENT

As we have recorded, Wilkes, in the same month as he became Lord Mayor, was elected Member of Parliament for Middlesex, and his popularity now was supposed to be so great that he could, by his own influence, carry a dozen seats for his friends. His friend Glynn, the Recorder, had through Wilkes's influence been elected his colleague in the representation of Middlesex.

The first thing which happened to the new Lord Mayor, and within three weeks of his accession to office, was that he got into dispute with the Court of Aldermen, and emerged successfully. *The Public Advertiser* of November 28, 1774, commented severely upon the action of the Court of Aldermen, and highly approved of the course taken by Wilkes in the affair.

The dispute arose upon the election of an alderman for the ward of Bridge Within. John Hart, one of the sheriffs, was returned at the poll by a majority of four votes over his opponent, William Neate, who thereupon demanded a scrutiny. Whilst the scrutiny was proceeding, Hart appeared before the Court of Aldermen and demanded to be admitted. Neate also appeared, but the Court declined to hear him. Wilkes, thereupon, adjourned the Court until the

result of the scrutiny was known. This was on November 24, when in the presence of Wilkes and Bull, his predecessor in office (under whom the original Wardmote for the election had been held), the votes were cast up, and there proved to be 95 votes for Neate and 84 for Hart. The result of the poll was thus reversed. But when the Court met the next day it carried a resolution to the effect that Wilkes should put the question for Hart (the loser) to be called in and sworn, and refused even to hear Neate (the winner). Wilkes would not do this, and the matter was adjourned, while both parties applied to the King's Bench for writs of mandamus. Mr. Houston, the attorney who officiated at the Wardmote, was not allowed to make his report to the Court of Aldermen; and Wilkes repeatedly refused to put the question. Before the next meeting, which took place on November 27, the City Solicitor had defended Hart's mandamus, and the Court of Aldermen refused to pay his costs, as he had acted without being instructed by the Court. A motion was moved to the effect that the Lord Mayor having refused to put a question which the Court of Aldermen was competent to decide, had violated the rights of the citizens as represented by that Court. Wilkes, however, positively declined to act differently from what he had done; at the same time telling his brethren that he thanked God he was "not quite idiot enough for that."

A week later (December 6) the Court passed a resolution to the effect that Neate had not been duly elected, and Wilkes again protested, whereupon the Court proposed to swear in Hart. Wilkes, however, again refused to put the question, for the reason that the parties had not been heard, and matters were thus brought to a deadlock. At length,

on January 17, 1775, the Court put itself in order by hearing Neate, and immediately afterwards passed a resolution for calling on and swearing in Hart, who had been beaten at the poll. Wilkes no longer raised any objection, and Hart was sworn and admitted. He did not enjoy the position long, for by a judgment of the King's Bench, pronounced in Easter term 1776, he was excluded from the Court, and on June 18 in the same year Thomas Wooldridge became the alderman of the ward of Bridge Within, Neate having died in the meantime.

As between Wilkes and the Court of Aldermen, I think he certainly behaved well, and the Court badly, and even unlawfully. This a Court sometimes will still do if the members are carried away by spite, or animosity caused by political, religious, or personal feeling.

Wilkes did not hesitate to tell the Court that he intended to pursue the same line of conduct throughout his year of office, in spite of all the Court might think or do.

I declared (said he) that I will never put a question to decide the merits of a cause before this Court until both the parties have been heard. The Court at last consented that Neate should be heard, and only after he had been heard did I put the question . . . the same line of truth and impartiality I will steadily pursue through the whole course of my Mayoralty, regardless of any resolutions of this Court which are repugnant to the great principles of justice or the fair rights of the Chief Magistrate.

To illustrate the fearlessness and public good sense of John Wilkes it is necessary to revert to a question of the greatest moment to the kingdom at the time, and, indeed, to the British Empire even in these later days. It involved the principle, since

determined as one of fundamental importance to British citizens, and is expressed in the well-known phrase, No taxation without representation. It was a question of no less importance than the taxation of American Colonies, and continued with varying fortune and hardly varying mismanagement until the Declaration of Independence in 1776 established the sovereignty of the United States. The question was this: Should the Home Government tax the Americans who were not represented in our House of Commons?

Many of the most sensible and influential men in Parliament pointed out the injustice of imposing taxes on the Americans, amongst them being Lord Chatham, Colonel Barre, Thomas Pownall, and John Wilkes, Lord Mayor.

A petition of the American Congress was presented to the King, and by him laid before Parliament. The following is an extract :

PHILADELPHIA,

October 26, 1774.

We, Your Majesty's faithful subjects of the Colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Etc., etc., on behalf of ourselves and the inhabitants of those colonies who have deputed us to represent them by this our humble petition, beg leave to lay our grievances before the Throne.

A standing army has been kept in these Colonies, without the consent of our Assemblies and this army with a considerable naval armament has been employed to enforce the collection of taxes.

The authority of the Commander-in-Chief has in time of peace been rendered supreme in all the civil Government in America. The judges of Admiralty Courts are empowered to receive their salaries and fees from the effects condemned by themselves. The officers of the customs are empowered to break open and enter houses without the authority of any civil magistrate founded on legal information.

The judges of Courts of Common Law have been made entirely dependent on one part of the legislature for their salaries as well as for the duration of their commissions. The agents of the people have been discountenanced and Governors have been instructed to prevent the payment of their salaries. Assemblies have been repeatedly and injuriously dissolved, Commerce has been burthened with many useless and oppressive restrictions.

Both Houses of Parliament have resolved that Colonists may be tried in England for offences alleged to have been committed in America.

To a sovereign who "glories in the name of Briton" the bare recital of these acts must we presume justify the loyal subjects who fly to the foot of his Throne, and implore his clemency for protection against them. We ask but for peace, liberty, and safety. We do not solicit the grant of any new right, your Royal Authority over us, and our connection with Great Britain we shall always carefully and zealously endeavour to support and maintain.

We most earnestly beseech Your Majesty that your Royal Authority and interposition may be used for our relief and that a gracious answer may be given to this petition.

The answer given to this petition by Parliament, was the sending of more troops to America, in order to put the oppressive acts into execution by force.

Wilkes took care that the City Corporation should show the King what they thought of the fatal policy of his Ministers in regard to America, as is shown by this extract from *The London Gazette* :¹

This day the Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor (Wilkes) some of the Aldermen, the Sheriffs and Commons of the City of London, waited upon his Majesty, being introduced by the Earl of Hertford (Lord Chamberlain of His Majesty's household) with the following address and petition which was read by the Recorder :

¹ Saturday, July 15, 1775.

To the King's most excellent Majesty. The humble address and petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons of the City of London in Common Council assembled.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN :

Your Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons of the City of London . . . with all humility beg leave to lay themselves at your royal feet humbly imploring your benign attention towards the grievous distractions of their fellow subjects in America. The characteristic of the people, Sire, over whom you reign has ever been equally remarked by an unparalleled loyalty to their sovereign whilst the principles of the Constitution have been the rule of his Government as well as a firm opposition whenever their rights have been invaded.

Your American subjects, Royal Sir, descended from the same ancestors with ourselves, appear equally jealous of the prerogatives of Freemen, without which they cannot deem themselves happy. Their chearful and unasked for contributions as well as willing services to the Mother Country, whilst they remained free from the clog of compulsory laws will we are sure plead powerfully with the humanity of your disposition for graciously granting them every reasonable opportunity of giving as Freemen what they seem resolutely determined to refuse, under the injunction of laws made independent of their own consent.

The abhorrence we entertain of civil bloodshed and confusion will, we trust, Sire, if not wholly exculpate us in your Royal mind, yet plead powerfully in our favor for the warmth with which we lament those measures whose destructive principles have driven our American brethren to acts of desperation.

Convinced of the earnest disposition of the Colonists to remain firm in all dutious obedience to the constitutional authority of this kingdom permit us, most gracious Sovereign, to beseech you, that those operations of force which at present distract them with the most dreadful apprehensions may be suspended, and

that uncontroled by a restraint incompatible with a free Government, they may possess an opportunity of tendering such terms of accommodation as, we doubt not, will approve them worthy of a distinguished rank amongst the firmest friends of this country.

Signed by order of the Court,

WILLIAM RIX.

To which address and petition His Majesty was pleased to return the following answer :

I am always ready to listen to the dutiful petitions of my subjects and ever happy to comply with their reasonable requests ; but while the constitutional authority of this kingdom is openly resisted by a part of my American Subjects, I owe it to the rest of my people, of whose zeal and fidelity I have had such constant proofs, to continue and enforce those measures by which alone their rights and interests can be asserted and maintained.

Wilkes had previously, in February, in the House of Commons expressed his views on this subject, and it is as well to quote some of his remarks on that occasion. He said :

The business before the House, in its full extent and respecting the British Colonies in America, is of as great importance as was ever debated in Parliament.

The assumed right of taxation without the consent of the subject is plainly the primary cause of the present quarrel. If we can tax the Americans without their consent they have no property, for we might by violence take the whole as well as a part.

If gentlemen will search the Records in the Tower and the Chapel of the Rolls they will find that the Town of Calais in France, when it belonged to the imperial Crown of this realm, was not taxed until it sent a representative to Parliament ; a Thomas Fowler actually sat for and voted in this House as a

burgess of the town of Calais ; from that period and not till then was Calais taxed.

As to his personal affairs, he moved in the House of Commons, on February 22, 1775, the following resolution, viz. :

That the resolution of this House of the 17th day of February 1769 " that John Wilkes Esquire having been in this Session of Parliament expelled this House was and is incapable of being elected to serve in this present Parliament " be expunged from the journals of this House as being subversive of the rights of the whole body of electors of this Kingdom.

Wilkes stated the case, calmly and judicially, in the following words :

Mr. Wilkes was first elected for County of Middlesex on the 28th March, 1768 ; he was expelled on 3rd February, 1769, and second time chosen, without opposition, on the 16th of the same month. On the day following, the election was vacated and he was declared by this House incapable of being elected to Parliament. Notwithstanding this Resolution, he was a third time elected without opposition. That election was declared void ; the next day on the 13th of April Mr. Wilkes was a fourth time elected by a majority of 1,143 against Mr. Luttrell who had only 296 ; the same day this House voted that Mr. Luttrell ought to have been returned. The House on the 8th May resolved that Henry Lawes Luttrell, Esq. is duly elected Knight of the Shire to serve in this Parliament for the county of Middlesex.

In this matter I have taken the trouble to refer to the Journals of the House of Commons, and am able therefore to give particulars of the various votes taken on this subject. It can thus be seen with what

persistence Wilkes pursued his object, and how he ultimately was successful over his opponents.

22 Feb., 1775.

Tellers for the Yeas.	The Lord Folkestone	}	171
	Mr. Thomas Townshend		
Tellers for the Noes.	Sir George Osborne	}	239
	Mr. Cooper		
	Majority against		68

30 April, 1776.

Tellers for the Yeas.	Mr. Thomas Townshend	}	92
	Mr. Alderman Hayley		
Tellers for the Noes.	Mr. Charles Townshend	}	186
	Mr. Onslow		
	Majority against		94

29 April, 1777.

Tellers for the Yeas.	Mr. Alderman Harley	}	84
	Mr. Baker		
Tellers for the Noes.	Sir Grey Cooper	}	140
	Mr. St. John		
	Majority against		56

12 March, 1778.

Tellers for the Yeas.	Mr. Alderman Hayley	}	36
	Mr. Alderman Bull		
Tellers for the Noes.	Mr. John St. John	}	88
	Mr. De Grey		
	Majority against		52

18 Feb., 1779.

Tellers for the Yeas.	Mr. Byng	}	122
	Mr. Baker		
Tellers for the Noes.	Mr. St. John	}	202
	Sir Grey Cooper		
	Majority against		80

15 March, 1780.

Tellers for the Yeas.	Sir Philip Jennings	}	101
	Clerke		
	Sir George Cornwall		
Tellers for the Noes.	Sir John Wrottesley	}	113
	Mr. Ord		
	Majority against		12

5 April, 1781.

Tellers for the Yeas.	Mr. Byng	}	61
	Mr. Alderman Newnham		
Tellers for the Noes.	Sir Grey Cooper	}	116
	Mr. Ord		
	Majority against		55

3rd May, 1782. The House was moved, That the Entry in the Journal of the House, of the 17th day of February, 1769, of the Resolution, "That John Wilkes, Esquire, having been in this session of Parliament expelled this House, was and is incapable of being elected a Member to serve in this present Parliament," might be read.

And the same being read accordingly ;

A motion was made, and the Question being put, That the said Resolution be expunged from the Journals of this House, as being subversive of the Rights of the whole body of Electors of this Kingdom ; The House divided.

The Yeas went forth.

Tellers for the Yeas.	Sir Philip Jennings	}	115
	Clerke		
	Mr. Byng	}	47
Tellers for the Noes.	Mr. John St. John		
	Sir William Augustus Cunynghame		
	Majority in Favour		68

So it was resolved in the Affirmative.

And the same was expunged, by the Clerk of the Table, accordingly. Ordered, That all the Declarations, Orders, and Resolutions of this House, respecting the election of John Wilkes, Esquire, for the County of Middlesex, as a void election, the true and legal election of Henry Lawes Luttrell, Esquire, into Parliament for the said county, and the incapacity of John Wilkes, Esquire, to be elected a Member to serve in the said Parliament, be expunged from the Journals of this House, as being subversive of the Rights of the whole Body of Electors of this Kingdom.

And the same were expunged, by the Clerk at the Table, accordingly.

CHAPTER XIV

PERSONAL AND CITY FINANCE

WILKES received votes of thanks from the Court of Common Council and from the Court of Aldermen at the conclusion of his year of office.

21st November, 1775. Court of Aldermen.

THIS Court doth return thanks to the Right Honourable John Wilkes, late Lord Mayor of this City, for his indefatigable attention to the several duties of that important Office ; for the particular regard and politeness which he has been pleased at all times to shew the Members of this Court ; for his wise, upright and impartial Administration of Public Justice ; for his diligence on all occasions to promote the Welfare and true Interest of this City and for his unblemished Conduct and exemplary behaviour during the whole course of his Mayoralty.

17 November, 1775. Common Council.

IT IS RESOLVED and ordered that the thanks of this Court be given to the Right Honourable John Wilkes late Lord Mayor of this City, for his constant application to and judicious and faithful performance of the Duties of that high and important Office, for Supporting the Honour and Dignity thereof, with Splendour and Hospitality, for his diligent and unwearied attendance in the Administration of Justice which he discharged in every instance with great Ability and the utmost candour and impartiality,

for his cheerful and ready compliance with the requests of his Brother Citizens whenever they desired to be assembled, for the easy access he constantly gave to every Member of the Corporation, for his vigilant and steady Attachment to and his very able vindication of the constitutional rights of his Fellow Subjects, and his Firmness in promoting on all occasions the true interest of this great Metropolis.

IT IS ORDERED that the said Resolution be fairly transcribed and signed by the Town Clerk and by him delivered to the late Lord Mayor.

The year 1776 was rather an important, and in some ways an unpleasant one for Wilkes. He left the Mansion House in November 1775, having had what was considered a successful if not a brilliant year of office. It is always a little flat for a past Lord Mayor to leave the chief position in the City, where he has been in the habit of entertaining Cabinet Ministers, Ambassadors, and other great personages; but to do so in debt must really be most depressing. Such was the plight of Wilkes in 1776.¹ He was quite without means. As his friend Almon said, "At this time he was sometimes in want of a guinea." His friends were, however, once again prepared to prove their faith and friendship. A private subscription was opened for him by those in the Corporation who stood by him, and by others. Private subscriptions, however, do not go on for ever; quarterly or annual payments are apt to be forgotten. They are not always "convenient." The following letter² from his friend and colleague, Alderman Bull, affords ample proof of his unhappy monetary condition at this time.

¹ From the *Rockingham Memoirs* we learn that in 1773 Wilkes was receiving money from the Dukes of Devonshire and Portland and the Marquis of Rockingham.

² Almon, v. 82-3.

September 2, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

I have your receipt for £50, and now enclose you £40. The odd sum I will give you tomorrow. I need not assure you there is nothing you can ask of me, that I will refuse if I can do it with propriety ; but my ability is not equal to my inclination. I have, you know, expended very large sums in the public service which has put it out of my power to act as I wish ; you will not, therefore, I dare say, desire me to advance any more till I am in cash on your account, which I am sorry to say cannot be this year. Reynolds thinks I have already advanced for you more than I am warranted to do.

I am, Dear Sir,

Yours sincerely,

FREDERICK BULL.

I beg my compliments to Miss Wilkes.

How habitual was Wilkes's condition of impecuniosity is shown from this extract from a correspondence of later days. It was the same story, even to the very end. In a letter to his friend Petrie, of August 7, 1778, he said :

I am well, no fever, no stranguary, but "steeped in poverty to the very lips" yet far from poor in spirit—on the contrary as determined and inflexible and more high-spirited than when you saw me.

About this time, curiously enough, there was a movement in the Court of Common Council to examine into the expenses of the Mayoralty and the certain income of the Lord Mayor. The following letter from Wilkes, and the particulars of his official income and expenditure may be interesting :

A letter from Mr. Alderman Wilkes to the "Committee to enquire into the state of the City's Cash

from the year 1765 to the year 1775, to enquire into the probable expences attending the Mayoralty of this City, and also the certain Income, and probable Receipts accruing to the said Office.”¹

June 15, 1776.

GENTLEMEN,

It was with particular pleasure I heard that the Court of Common Council had appointed a “ Committee to enquire into the state of the City’s Cash from the year 1765 to the year 1775; to enquire into the probable expences attending the Mayoralty of this City and also the certain Income, and probable Receipts accruing to the said office.” You have with great propriety seconded the just views of that Court, in “ requesting the favour of every gentleman, who hath passed the office of Mayoralty, to furnish the Committee with as particular an account as possible of receipts during each of their Mayoralties”; a request with which every gentleman, I am persuaded, will very readily comply.

I inclose you, gentlemen, a paper entitled, “ Profits incident to the Mayoralty,” which was delivered to me by the deputy Town Clerk, when I was Lord Mayor elect, and likewise the accounts of the receipts and expences during my Mayoralty. When the accounts of all the gentlemen, who have passed the chair, are brought in, I believe it will appear, that chiefly from the late prodigious increase of the price of provisions, and the decrease of the value of money, the expences of the office, when it has been supported with dignity, have in general greatly exceeded the income, including contingencies. The contingencies may be calculated from another paper, which I likewise enclose, and received from the deputy Town Clerk, entitled, “ A list of the several officers of the City, with an account how they are admitted, and what the several places in the disposal of the Lord Mayor have been sold for, or alienated, 1774.” It is in my opinion, truly worthy the consideration of gentlemen, who have at heart the support of the honour and dignity of the capital, to make such ample provision for the maintenance

¹ *London Magazine*, July 1776, pp. 361-5.

of their chief magistrate, that the splendor, magnificence and hospitality, which the nature of that high office requires, may be always preserved, without injury to the private individual, or his family. Magistrates, capable of discharging that important, judicial trust, with superior ability and integrity, to the entire satisfaction of all their fellow citizens, may not be the most opulent members of the corporation. The most opulent may not always be distinguished for knowledge, sagacity, or that attachment to the public cause, which ought to mark a man in public life. The office itself, I may venture to affirm, is that which of all in this country, calls for the strictest attendance, and most unremitting vigilance. A Lord Mayor's duty to this great city admits of no vacation, scarcely a single day's interval from public business. After a whole year's incessant labours in the service of the city, I am sure his fellow-citizens will not expect their first magistrate to make the additional sacrifice to them of a part of his private fortune. I do not mean to make invidious comparisons between the inadequate revenue of your chief magistrate, and the enormous salaries of all the great officers of the state, but permit me to say, that not one of them is obliged to support the regular expence, and the large household establishment of a Lord Mayor of London, or expected to entertain in the same manner foreigners of rank and distinction.

Indulge me, gentlemen, in one more remark, although it is not strictly within the order of the present reference. I know, however, and respect, your generous zeal in the service of the city, your strong inclination and abilities to do good. I wish to plead the cause of all future sheriffs as well as mayors, and indeed of most of our fellow citizens. I hope the powers of the committee will be enlarged, and that you will be instructed to take likewise into consideration the expence of the arduous office of sheriff, which in the year 1772 I found to amount to above eighteen hundred pounds. Some of our fellow citizens have formerly been compelled, from very unworthy motives of revenge and faction, to serve

that office, or to pay a large pecuniary fine. As the offices of mayor and sheriff are the only burdensome offices of our corporation, it surely becomes the honour of the city to support the proper expences of their officers without loss or prejudice to their families. The liberal spirit which now prevails, makes me think the present moment favourable for gentlemen to propose whatever regulations they may think conducive to the advantage of our fellow citizens at large, and the real honour of the first city in the British empire.

There follows this table of " Profits incidental in the Mayoralty."

No. I

(DELIVERED TO THE LORD MAYOR ELECT BY MR. WILLIAM RIX, DEPUTY TOWN CLERK, OCT. 14, 1774.)

Profits incidental in the Mayoralty

	£	s.	d.
Paid from the Bridge House towards the feast	50	0	0
From the chamber, in lieu of wines, etc.	80	0	0
More out of the profits of package and scavage	173	6	8
More thence in lieu of herring and sturgeon, formerly rendered by the merchants of the steelyard.	5	6	8
More thence out of the profits of the markets, by order of common council	100	0	0
The like for the beams	100	0	0
The cocket office now in hand, the profits valued at per annum, about a medium	500	0	0
From the gauger of wine and oil	250	0	0
Out of the chamber for the ten coalmeters	800	0	0
More thence in the room of Mr. Hyde, one of the 15 coalmeters, by order of common council	80	0	0
The weigher of hay and straw in Smithfield	10	0	0
The sheriffs, for presenting them at the exchequer	13	6	8

	£	s.	d.
Three freedoms for Lord Mayor by prerogative, and one Lady Mayoress .	100	0	0
Two yearly given in lieu of Bartholomew Fair	50	0	0
From the Chamber, in lieu of stationary wares	32	5	0
More in lieu of newspapers	31	10	0
More in lieu of pest house	10	0	0
For licensing session papers, usually about	130	0	0
More out of the chamber, in lieu of artificers places, by order of common council, March 19, 1735	120	0	0
More thence in lieu of foreign takers place, by order of common council, July 17, 1744	40	0	0
More thence by order of common council, Sept. 22, 1749, in lieu of sales and alienations of several places, and offices therein mentioned	800	0	0
More thence by order of common council, dated August 15, 1755, in lieu of furniture on delivering over the same according to inventory	100	0	0
	<u>3,575</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>0</u>

N.B. By order of common council of the 18th of November, 1761, the said £100 is not to be paid till the Mansion House Committee have certified to the court, that the purposes for which it was given have been complied with.

No. II

(DELIVERED TO THE LORD MAYOR ELECT BY MR. WILLIAM RIX, DEPUTY TOWN CLERK, OCT. 14, 1774.)

A list of the several officers of the city, with an account how they are admitted, and what the several places in the disposal of the Lord Mayor have been sold for or alienated 1774.

Recorder, elected in court of aldermen.
Chamberlain, elected in common hall.

Common Serjeant, elected in common council.

Town clerk, ditto.

Two judges of the sheriffs court, ditto.

Four common pleaders, disposed of by the Lord Mayor; sold from £1,100 to £1,300, last alienation £50.

Two secondaries, disposed of by the city; sold from £3,250 to £7,000, alienation £161 5s. to £241 each, last £157.10.

Comptroller of the chamber, sold for last £3,600 alienation £60.

Remembrancer, sold for about £2,100 last £3,600 insured, alienation £151 last £300.

Solicitor, ditto.

Sword bearer, disposed of by the city, sold from £2,300 to £6,051 last alienation £120 insured £6,050.

Common hunt, disposed of by the city; sold from £2,000 to £2,745 alienation £50.

Common cryer, elected in common council.

Water bailiff, elected by the city; sold for about £2,300 last alienation £150.

Four attornies of the Mayor's court, disposed of by the Lord Mayor, sold formerly for £2,100 lately about £1,300, alienation £60 last sold for £1,350.

Three serjeant carvers—Three serjeants of the chamber—Serjeant of the channel—Yeoman of the chamber—Four yeomen of the waterside—Yeomen of the channel—Under water bailiff—Six young men. *Note.* All these are officers of the Lord Mayor's house, and in his Lordship's disposal, and on deaths or removal of any of the superiors, they are removed according to their seniority, and the person admitted always comes in young man, which have sold at times from £500 to £1,400 alienated £45.

Two marshals, elected by the city; upper marshal sold for £1,500 last £1,900 under ditto sold for £700 last £800 alienation £40 upper £1,900 insured under £800.

Keeper of Guildhall elected by ditto; sold for about £2,300 to £2,400 last insured £5,250 alienation £150 once £225.

- Two yeomen of wood-wharfs, elected by ditto ; sold formerly for £300 last £162 alienation 20 guineas, last 30, the present only admitted during pleasure.
- Two mealweighers elected by ditto ; sold for £110 each ; alienation at about 60 guineas ; last sold for £300.
- Clerk of the Papers at the Poultry compter, elected by ditto, sold for £110 alienation £90 last £670.
- Clerk of the Papers at Wood Street compter, elected by ditto, sold for £720 ; last alienation £100, insured £720.
- Four clerkfitters at the Poultry compter elected by ditto ; formerly sold for £1,000, last £750, last alienation 60 guineas.
- Four clerkfitters at Wood Street compter elected by ditto ; formerly sold for £1,000 last £770 last alienation 60 guineas.
- Two prothonotaries of the sheriffs court elected by ditto ; sold for about £500 or £600 alienation 30 guineas, last sold for £50.
- Eight attornies of the sheriffs court, elected by ditto, they have sold on deaths from £1,100 to £1,300 each alienation £90 last three sold for £120, £200, £245.
- Two bridgemasters, elected in common hall.
- Clerk comptroller of Bridge house, elected by the city, alienation £60 insured £4,000.
- Justice in Southwark elected in court of aldermen.
- Steward of ditto, elected by ditto.
- Coroner of London and Southwark, elected in common council.
- Bailiff of Southwark, elected by ditto.
- Clerk of city works, elected by the city, sold for £630 last £450 alienation £16.2.6.
- Clerk of Court of Requests, elected by ditto, sold for £1,800 alienation £129 last £4,000 insured.
- Two beadles of Court of Requests, appointed by committee of Court of Requests, the city admits since the last act of parliament : alienation from £60 to £36 has sold for £1,350 last £815.
- Four fruitmeters, elected by ditto ; sold for £210 alienation 15 guineas, last sold for £350.

Four saltmeters elected by ditto, sold for £354.15.0. and £315 alienation 15 guineas.

Keeper of Newgate, Keeper of Ludgate, Keeper of Wood Street Compter, Keeper of Poultry Compter, not to be sold, but admitted by the sheriffs for time being, two paid £96.15.0 alienation.

Clerk of the Chamber: elected by the city: last alienation £300 insured £5,000.

Keeper of Green Yard, appointed by committee of city lands; has sold for £300 alienation 24 guineas, £430 insured last.

Keeper of Moorfields, appointed by ditto: to pay £78 per annum rent.

Measurer of woollen cloth, elected by the city, sold for £1,365 alienation last £67.10.0.

Four city viewers, appointed by the lord mayor, sold for £84 to £40 alienation 18 guineas.

Bargemaster, appointed by court of aldermen, recommended by the waters.

Bridge house porter, elected by the city, sold for £800 last, alienation 30 guineas.

Bridge house plaisterer, the artificers places are not to be sold, by act of common council, and pursuant thereto they are all vacant but this.

City garbler¹ admitted by the Lord Mayor, by consent of common council.

Eight city waits, appointed by the lord mayor; sold from £80 to £90 alienated £6.9.0.

Fifteen sea coal meters, let by lease.

Ten corn meters, let by lease.

No. III

MR. ALDERMAN WILKES'S MAYORALTY IN 1775

Receipts

	£	s.	d.
Payments from the Chamberlain's office	2,372	8	4
Cocket office	702	5	6½
Gauger	250	0	0
Annual present of plate from the Jews	50	0	0

¹ The duty of the garbler was to see that all drugs and spices were duly garbled (*i.e.* picked) and cleansed before sale.

	£	s.	d.
Lessees of Smithfield Market	10	0	0
Licences	4	10	0
From the Bridge House towards the feast.	50	0	0
Alienation of a young man's place	40	0	0
Sale of a young Man's place	1,000	0	0
Presentation of the Sheriffs	13	6	8
For keeping the Mansion House in order	100	0	0
Six freedoms to the Lord Mayor	150	0	0
In lieu of buckets	6	0	0
Licensing the Sessions paper	130	0	0
From Mr. Roberts, comptroller, for the importation fee	10	10	0
	<u>4,889</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>6½</u>

Expences

	£	s.	d.
Lord Mayor's table, including public dinner	2,050	0	0
Sword bearers' table	1,500	0	0
Lord Mayor's day	520	0	0
Easter Monday	1,200	0	0
Rout	190	0	0
Old Bailey	730	0	0
Horses, coaches, etc.	420	0	0
Servants wages and liveries	570	0	0
Lamps, wax, and others candles, etc.	295	0	0
Linen	160	0	0
Coals and firing	280	0	0
China and glass	110	0	0
Stationery wares, newspapers, etc.	60	0	0
Winter and summer gowns for the swordbearer and household	36	13	0
Glazier, upholsterer, etc.	46	0	0
Musick etc.	35	0	0
Ribbands etc.	24	0	0
	<u>8,226</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>0</u>

N.B. Benefactions on public occasions, charities, etc., cloaths, fees to the water bailiff are not included.

Expences	£8,226	13	0
Receipts	£4,889	0	6½
Balance	<u>£3,337</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>5½</u>

At this time the Lord Mayor's household was composed as follows :

Sword Bearer	} called four Esquires of the Lord Mayor.
Common Hunt	
Common Cryer and	
Serjeant at Arms	
Water Bailiff	
First Serjeant Carver	
Second Serjeant Carver	
Third Serjeant Carver	
First Serjeant of the Chamber	
Second Serjeant of the Chamber	
Third Serjeant of the Chamber	
Serjeant of the Channel	
Yeoman of the Chamber	
First Yeoman of the Water side	
Second Yeoman of the Water side	
Third Yeoman of the Water side	
Fourth Yeoman of the Water side	
Under Water Bailiff	
Yeoman of the Channel	
Common Hunts Young Man	
Common Criers Young Man	
Water Bailiff's first Young Man	
Sword Bearer's Young Man	
Water Bailiff's second Young Man	
Carver's Young Man	

It appears from this that the amount paid to the Lord Mayor by the Corporation, as a salary, was only £2,373 8s. 4d.; how the amount was arrived at I do not know; the rest of the sum which he had to rely upon as income is made up of odds and ends, such as "annual present of plate from the Jews," £50, and £1,000 for the sale of a young man's place. With reference to this I find that it was customary

for the officers to have a deputy, who was known as, for instance, "the Sword Bearer's Young Man." His duties were to attend the Lord Mayor in the Justice Room in the Mansion House every Thursday; he also attended the Lord Mayor and Aldermen on the Bench at the Old Bailey at the sessions of Oyer and Terminer; he also attended the Lord Mayor on state occasions. His emoluments were:

Income from Chamber and Freedom.	£198	14	4
Other emoluments including Billingsgate	1	5	8
Annual payment in lieu of right of alienation	150	0	0
	<u>£350</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

On his death or the surrender of his office he was entitled to £2,100.

There were, too, the Common Hunts Young Man, the Common Crier's Young Man, the Water Bailiff's Young Man. Each of these received salary or emoluments of about £350 under similar conditions, and no doubt a candidate who would pay £1,000 for the appointment was not difficult to find.

The duty of the Deputy Gauger (who was properly the Lord Mayor's deputy) was to gauge all wine, oil, and other gaugable articles brought into the City. He received two thirds of the income arising from the gauging (about £750).

The Clerk in the Cocket Office was also the collector of the Water Bailage. He had to receive, from the officers of the customs, returns of all vessels arriving in the Port of London with commodities chargeable with dues to the Lord Mayor, and to issue a permit, or "cocket," for the unloading of the same. He had also to collect the Lord Mayor's dues, the City's cocket

dues, and the tolls and bailage on vessels entering the Port of London with foreign, British, and Irish corn, fruit and eatable roots, British and Irish butter, cheese, cured fish, eggs, and salt. His emoluments were 10 per cent. on the duties of corn—called the Farthing account—25 per cent. on the Groundage account, and 5 per cent. on the Cocket money. He had other fees, amounting in all to about £600, and an office was provided for him at the Mansion House.

On September 22, 1749, an Act of Common Council was passed, entitled, "An act to prevent the sales and alienations of the several places or offices therein named by the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of this City for the time being, and to allow the said Lord Mayor and Sheriffs an annual sum in lieu thereof." The act recites that it had been usual for the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs to sell the offices of the secondaries of the Compter, the Comptroller of the Chamber, the City Remembrancer, the City Solicitor, the Sword Bearer, the Common Hunt, the Water Bailiff, the Upper Marshal, the Under Marshal, the Keeper of Guildhall, the two Yeomen of the Wood Wharfs, the two Meal Weighers, the two Clerks of the papers at the Compters, the eight Clerk Sitters at the Compters, the two Prothonotaries of the Sheriff Courts, the eight Attorneys of the same Courts, the Auditor of the City and Bridge House accounts, the Clerk of the Court of Requests, the two beadles of the same Court, the four Onion and Fruit Meters, the four Salt Meters, the Clerk of the Chamber, the Keeper of the Green Yard, the Measurer of Woollen Cloth, the Bridge House Porter, the Keeper of Bethlem Burying Ground, and the two Keepers of Moorfields.

Before this act was passed offices were obtained by purchase; the holder had the power of disposing of his office during his life, but if he died without doing

so the Corporation disposed of it. The right of disposing of many of these offices, in default of their being sold by the owner, was formerly enjoyed either by the Lord Mayor or the Sheriffs. This right was transferred from them (an increase of salary being given) to the Common Council in 1749, and the Common Council for some time sold the offices, applying the proceeds to the Corporate Funds and making an arrangement by which, through the instrumentality of an Insurance, the party purchasing the office had the power of re-selling it to the Corporation or of nominating a successor, or of being entitled to the value at his death. By subsequent enactment the system of sale and insurance by the officer has been done away with, the Common Council has ceased to sell the offices, and the officers act simply as appointees of the Council, subject to the ordinary conditions of re-election and dismissal. The greater number of offices which were formerly purchased have fallen into the hands of the Common Council, either by bargain with the parties interested or by the officers having died without alienation; the Common Council has now the power to substitute a salary, instead of the emoluments as formerly.

It may be interesting to record the following extract from the report of a Royal Commission on this subject to the House of Commons, ordered to be printed April 25, 1837:

It is a common practice with the Common Council when offices of any importance become vacant to refer to a committee the business of examining into the duties of the office and reporting whether they should be changed, whether the office itself should be abolished or consolidated with any other, whether the salary should be altered and questions of a similar kind—the reports which have resulted from these enquiries furnish most valuable accounts of all

relating to the office ; and many most important reforms have been affected from time to time with a very scrupulous regard to existing interests. We believe that the history of no other Corporation furnishes such honourable testimonials of the vigilance, good sense and justice of its legislative body.

It appears from the above account that Wilkes spent during his Mayoralty £3,337 12s. 5½*d.* more than he received from the Corporation, without bringing into account the amount of " Benefactions on public occasions, charities, etc. ; cloathes, etc."

It is not the custom now for a Lord Mayor to publish the amount of his expenditure. It appears, however, it was so sometimes 150 years ago, for we know that the respective amounts of receipts and expenditure by Lord Mayors immediately preceding Wilkes were as follows, viz. :

		Receipts.	Expenditure.
1768	Trecothick .	£5,731	£7,749
1770	Brass Crosby .	4,251	6,685
1772	Townsend .	3,896	7,592
1773	Bull . . .	5,647	9,293

The following extracts from a Report of the Officers and Clerks Committee presented to the Court of Common Council on May 15, 1873, as to the expenses of the Mayoralty in modern times, may be interesting :

I

In considering the question of the allowance made to the Lord Mayor and whether any alteration is desirable therein, we have had due regard to the accustomed hospitality of the Mansion House, and to the suggestions and opinions expressed in this Report, and we now recommend that, to sustain the dignity

of the office, the payment from the Chamber, in lieu of all present sources of official income, should be £9,000 0 0
to be a commutation of all existing payments : the amounts now received by the Lord Mayor other than out the City's Cash being paid into the Chamber, such sums averaging about 1,600 0 0
and thereby leaving the net charge upon the city's Cash about 7,400 0 0

II

We submit, Firstly, that with a view to foster reciprocity of feeling upon municipal matters, it is in our opinion desirable that the Lord Mayor, as the head of the municipalities of the kingdom, should receive at the Mansion-house, annually, officials representing the various cities and boroughs, with their ladies.

III

Secondly, That by receptions, or otherwise, at the Mansion House, a closer connection should be encouraged between the Corporation and the livery companies.

Thirdly, That looking to the commercial status of the City, and the great interests involved, the members of the associated Chamber of Commerce, and the leading men connected with trade and commerce, should also be more generally received at the Mansion House.

IV

A question has incidentally been raised which is personal to the members of the Corporation. As representatives of the citizens, it is thought that it would be becoming that they should have changing, rather than stated opportunities for meeting the guests of the Lord Mayor as the head of the Corporation ; and we beg therefore to express an opinion that the present system of inviting members of the

Corporation in sections to the Mansion House might, with advantage, be altered ; and that it should be an improvement if such invitations were, in certain proportionate numbers, included in the entertainments generally at the Mansion House during the year.

V

In submitting this Report we would observe, that our object has been to make such suggestions as would, we believe, if carried out, tend to encourage a more frequent interchange of thought and opinion ; to excite a more common sympathy in general action for the public interest, and conserve the dignity and influence for good of the office of Lord Mayor.

On the same day, the Committee carried another Report, recommending that the income of the Lord Mayor should in future be £10,000, to enable him to sustain the dignity of the office, encourage the charities of the Metropolis, and maintain and extend the hospitalities of the Mansion House.

The income tax on the Lord Mayor's allowance is paid by the Corporation, provided it is certified that the whole amount thereof has been expended on the maintenance of his office.

This report was carried during the Mayoralty of Sir Sydney Waterlow, and by a special resolution it was ordered to be applicable to him, so that he was the first Lord Mayor to receive the fixed amount of £10,000.

It is well known that the allowance made to the Lord Mayor is now £10,000. I do not think it is possible to confine the expenditure to that amount ; at all events, I know it was not possible to do so ten years ago.

In the above list of items, for instance, Lord Mayor's day cost the Lord Mayor £520 ; ten years

ago it cost £2,000. So the Lord Mayor's table, the Sword Bearer's table, Easter Monday, the Rout came to about £5,000; ten years ago the caterers' account for banquets, etc., came to nearly double that amount, without wine.

So with most of the other items the amounts are much greater now than then (in every case except, perhaps, the "Old Bailey"). This is not to be wondered at if we consider the feasting that went on at the Central Criminal Court in Wilkes's time. Then the Judges, the Aldermen in attendance, and the leading Counsel were the invited guests of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs; and so they are now, but 150 years ago there were always two dinners, the first at three, the second at five o'clock. Marrow puddings always formed a part of the first course; the second never varied, consisting exclusively of beef steaks; and so on. The second dinner was an exact duplicate of the first.

As the Judges relieved each other, it was impracticable for them to partake of both dinners, but the Aldermen sometimes did so; and the Chaplain, whose duty it was to sit at the lower end of the table as a sort of Vice-Chairman to the Sheriff, who presided, was never absent from his post. This invaluable public servant persevered, from a sheer sense of duty, till he had acquired the habit of eating two dinners a day, and practised it for nearly ten years without any perceptible injury to his health.

Now, of course, everything is altered: the guests are the same, the hosts are the same, but the Judges adjourn their Courts at about one o'clock, when a plain light luncheon, at which one of the Sheriffs presides, is served, and the Courts resume at two o'clock.

In 1783 criminals were ordered to be hanged at the

Old Bailey instead of at Tyburn, and in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1788 we read :

This day the malefactors ordered for execution were brought out of Newgate about eight in the morning, and suspended on a gallows of new construction ; after hanging the usual time they were taken down and the machine cleared away in half an hour. By practice the art is much improved, and there is no part of the World where villains are hanged in so neat a manner and with so little ceremony.

It was George Selwyn who said in a letter to a friend, " We hang at eight now and breakfast at nine."

A story is told of the old Tyburn days which may bear repeating here. When a housebreaker was going to be executed, his wife met him at St. Giles's Pound, where the cart stopping, she stepped up to him, and, whispering, said, " Who must find the rope that's to hang you, we or the Sheriff ? " The husband replied, " The Sheriff, for who's obliged to find him tools to do his work ? " " Ah," said the wife, " I wish I had known that before, for I have been and bought one." " Well, well," said Dick, " perhaps it mayn't be lost, for it may serve a second husband." " Yes," said the wife, " so it may if I have any luck."

There is one item which does not appear at all in Wilkes's account. That is the amount spent for wine. I suppose this was provided by the caterer. At present the Lord Mayor has his own cellar, and if he wishes to give his guests the best, which every Lord Mayor does wish, this is not by any means a small matter.

CHAPTER XV

CHAMBERLAIN

ON February 20, 1776, the resignation of the City Chamberlain was reported to the Common Hall.

This post had been held since 1765 by Sir Stephen Theodore Jannsen, Alderman of Bread Street Ward, who had been Lord Mayor in 1754-5. He, like Wilkes, was in what is called Queer Street after his Mayoralty; in fact, he became bankrupt, and then he was elected Chamberlain.

A few days after Sir Stephen Jannsen became City Chamberlain a brother died and left him £500 a year; he speedily sold this annuity at Garraways for £5,000, which he gave to his creditors, to whom he also allotted the greater portion of his income. Eventually he succeeded in paying every one his debt in full, with interest, and then he resigned the post: a fine record of sterling honesty worthy of an Alderman of the greatest city under the sun. It seems evident that the office of City Chamberlain and other posts, the salaries of which were paid by the Court of Common Council, were in those venal times looked upon as refuges for the destitute; and it is in my opinion not to the advantage of any public body that its members should be eligible for such posts. It is important that members should be free from any suspicion of joining

a body, be it what it may, in order some day to be able to get a job with a good salary.¹

So soon as Janssen's resignation was announced, Wilkes became a candidate for the office of Chamberlain, as also did Mr. Alderman Hopkins. The following notices were issued by Wilkes and his friends :

HALF MOON TAVERN, CHEAPSIDE,

Monday evening, Feb. 12, 1776.

In pursuance of an advertisement in the Public papers a very numerous and respectable meeting of the Livery of London was held this evening to consider of a proper citizen to be recommended to the Common Hall on Tuesday the 20th instant to succeed the late worthy Chamberlain, Sir Stephen Theodore Janssen Bart. The following Aldermen were put in nomination, viz. :

JOHN WILKES, Esq. Alderman and Joiner

By Mr. Luke Stavely and Mr. Edward Dilly.

BENJAMIN HOPKINS, Esq. Alderman and Draper

By Mr. John Horsley and Mr. Charles Mackenzie.

When upon the shew of hands it appeared that a very great majority was in favour of John Wilkes, Esq., and it was ordered that the said resolution be printed in the public papers, signed by the Chairman, William Saxby.

PAULS HEAD TAVERN,

Mar. 14, 1776.

At a respectable meeting of the Independent Liverymen of London, Mr. Alderman Lee in the chair. It

¹ That is, I suppose, why Standing Order No. 95 is in existence, which says: "No person shall be allowed to be a candidate for any office or situation in the gift or appointment of the Court who is a member of the Court; or who has been so within six calendar months of the day of election, unless the office or situation has become vacant since such person ceased to be a member of the Court."

For my part I would welcome a further standing order to the effect, that no member should be eligible for any post or situation the salary or emoluments of which is paid from Corporation Funds.

was resolved unanimously, That in consequence of the steps taken by Mr. Hopkins' Committee to carry that gentleman's election by dint of money, a subscription for the purpose of vindicating the rights and independency of the City of London and to defray the necessary expenses attending the election of Mr. Alderman Wilkes to be Chamberlain of this City . . . be immediately opened.

Subscriptions will be received at the Accompting House of Frederick Bull, Esq. King Street, Cheapside, and by the Committee which meets at the Pauls Head Tavern, Cateaton Street, every Monday and Thursday evening at six o'clock.

The Committee for conducting the Election of John Wilkes Esq. to be Chamberlain of this City, most earnestly request the worthy Liverymen, friends to that Gentleman, to continue to exert themselves in an active canvas, that by their generous and spirited exertions his election may be crowned with success, and that this able and consistent friend to their rights and privileges may meet with that reward which is so justly due to his distinguished merit.

The Committee having been enabled by a very large voluntary subscription to carry on with liberality every necessary purpose of the election, further request the worthy Liverymen, outvoters, at distance from and resident in the neighbourhood of London, to be assured that carriages will be provided for them at proper places, timely notice of which will be given to them by this Committee, in case of a poll.

The Committee will meet every day at the Guildhall Coffee House, from ten in the morning until eight at night.

Benjamin Hopkins was Alderman of Broad Street Ward, to which he was elected in 1773; he had not served as Sheriff or Lord Mayor. Though notoriously guilty of having made so usurious a bargain for a loan of money with Sir John St. Aubyn, a baronet in his minority, that the legislature had thought fit to

interfere by a law against such contracts he was supported by all the influence of the Court.

On February 20 the election was decided in favour of Hopkins, who became Chamberlain. The voting was : Hopkins, 2,887, Wilkes, 2,710. Majority, 177.

At Midsummer Hopkins had to come up for re-election. Wilkes again opposed him, and issued the following address :

ST. PAUL'S HEAD TAVERN,
CATEATON STREET.

Mr. Alderman Wilkes is happy to find, by a very successful canvas, that so many worthy Liverymen of the City of London are determined at Midsummer-Day to support with spirit the Independency of the Livery of London, most grossly invaded at the late election of Chamberlain by the iniquitous arts of perjury, bribery and corruption, and the most direct Ministerial Menaces and Promises. Notwithstanding the law's delay, one perjured wretch who, although neither Freeman, or Liveryman, polled for Mr. Hopkins, is already convicted by a Jury of his Countrymen, and sentenced to imprisonment in Newgate, and other prosecutions, which have been carried on for maintaining the Right of Election, and the dignity of the City, are now depending.

Mr. Wilkes hopes to be forgiven by those gentlemen of the Livery to whom he has not had an opportunity of paying his respects in person, either by their absence, or the inaccuracy of the lists, and he entreats his friends to honour him with an early poll at the ensuing election, whose steady support he will ever remember with affection and gratitude.

In spite of this appeal, and of Wilkes's great electioneering capacity, Hopkins had a majority of 1,196, the numbers for him being 2,869 and for Wilkes 1,673. Nothing daunted, next year, in June, Wilkes once again became a candidate, with the result that he had to endure another defeat, Hopkins polling

2,132 to his 1,228; majority, 904. During this contest many broadsides and skits were issued. There is a collection of these at Guildhall, and by the kind permission of the Library Committee I am able to reproduce facsimiles of two.

YOUR VOTE POLL AND INTEREST
ARE DESIRED FOR JOHN WILKES
CITIZEN AND JOINER TO BE
CHAMBERLAIN
HE HAVING MORE CREDITORS
THAN ANYONE ELSE.

Foundlings, Soldiers, Jews,
Parifian Taylors,
And Jewellers,

SOLICIT your VOTE and INTEREST for the *Immaculate*

John Wilkes, Esq.

To be CHAMBERLAIN of this CTRY. ..

Sheridan's play, *The School for Scandal*, had a narrow escape from being suppressed by the Lord Chamberlain on account of this contest between Hopkins and Wilkes. It appears that Hopkins, who

was the Court candidate, had been charged with practices similar to those of Moses the Jew, a character in the play, in lending money to young men under age, and it was supposed that the character in the play was levelled at him to injure his candidature for Chamberlain. The play was represented as a factious and seditious opposition to a Court candidate. Sheridan went to Lord Hertford, the Lord Chamberlain, about it, who eventually granted the license. Sheridan afterwards told this story in the House of Commons in a speech he delivered there on December 3, 1795.

Wilkes's financial position was now evidently serious indeed, for we find from the daily papers that a petition from the creditors of Alderman Wilkes, late Lord Mayor, was delivered into the Court, and upon a motion being made for the reading the said petition, great debates ensued ; and on the question being put, it was carried and read. A motion was then made that the petition do lie on the table, and, on a division being demanded and granted, there appeared 7 Aldermen and 73 Common Councilmen for the question ; and 1 Alderman and 72 Common Councilmen against it ; whereupon the petition was ordered to lie on the table.

And on November 20, 1777, at a Court of Common Council, a motion was made, that Mr. Chamberlain do pay to John Wilkes, Esq. Alderman, £500 per annum during the pleasure of this Court for his past services ; the same was declared to be carried in the negative, and a division being demanded and granted, there appeared against the question 12 Aldermen and 96 Commoners, and for the question 4 Aldermen and 69 Commoners ; upon which his lordship declared the same to be carried in the negative.

A motion was then made and seconded, that it is the opinion of this Court, that the granting any

annuity to John Wilkes, Esq., Alderman of the Ward of Farringdon Without, or the paying of any of that gentleman's debts out of the City's cash whether contracted in his Mayoralty or not, would be an improper application thereof, and a most dangerous precedent; and the previous question being put, whether that question be now put, the same was resolved in the affirmative; and the question being put, the Lord Mayor declared the same was carried in the affirmative, and a division being demanded and granted, there appeared 12 Aldermen and 93 Commoners for the affirmative, and 4 Aldermen and 70 Commoners for the negative, whereupon the same was declared to be resolved in the affirmative.

Still Wilkes was undaunted in his efforts to win the office of Chamberlain, and Hopkins had again to fight for his position in 1778. But the result was as before. Wilkes polled only 287 votes, and Hopkins won by a majority of 929. The next year there was a pause. Wilkes did not come forward, probably because his opponent was in ill-health. Then a greater power intervened. On November 9, 1779, Hopkins died; and Wilkes at once issued the following address to the Livery:

To the Worthy Liverymen of the City of London

GENTLEMEN,

On the present vacancy of Chamberlain of this City, permit me to make you the humble tender of my services. The obliging partiality of my fellow citizens raised me to the highest dignities of the capital, in which I was born. Their expectations were not, I trust, in any instance, disappointed, and their unanimous approbation on a variety of important occasions I consider as a distinguished testimony in my favour, equally honourable and indearing.

I beg leave now to solicit your Vote and Interest as a Candidate for the Chamberlainship, for the purest motives, those of my late Friend, Sir Stephen Theo-

dore Janssen, the discharge of every just claim, and the hope of being eminently useful.

The present Election being for a few months only, and the office annual, you will have it in your power to reward any future services, or to reject a Candidate, whose former conduct you may disapprove. If I am so happy as to succeed in the present application, my strenuous endeavours shall be exerted to give the most convincing proofs of the fidelity and zeal in the execution of the office, and of affectionate gratitude for your kind support.

I have the honour to be, with true regard,

Gentlemen,

Your faithful and obedient humble servant,

JOHN WILKES.

GUILDHALL,

November 16, 1779.

N.B.—The day of election is fixed for Monday next the 22nd instant, at Guildhall, where your early attendance will be esteemed a particular favour.

On November 22, 1779, the election came on at Guildhall, when Wilkes addressed the electors :

It is a very high satisfaction I enjoy (he said), in the obliging remarks of approbation which I have just received from the most numerous and responsible Common Hall in the present reign.

When I thus beg leave, Gentlemen, to offer myself to your favour as Chamberlain I desire at the same time to state the plan of conduct which I mean invariably to pursue : I have copied it from my late worthy friend Sir Stephen Theodore Janssen ; in the support of the splendour, magnificence and hospitality for which this City was formerly renowned, I too contracted considerable debts ; they are not yet all discharged, but it is my resolution if I am so happy as to succeed to appropriate at least one half of the profits of the Office for the extinction of every just claim upon me.

This purpose I will steadily pursue and attend

the duties of the office with unremitting zeal, vigilance and fidelity.

From these assurances thus solemnly pledged to you, I hope for your present support, and on the faithful performance of them I build the fair hopes which I entertain of remaining for life in your service as Chamberlain.

The candidates were Mr. Wilkes and Mr. James, and the show of hands was in favour of Wilkes, whereupon Mr. James demanded a poll, and it was continued for three days "when he declined it"; but the books were kept open an hour each day (pursuant to Act of Parliament) till November 30, when the Sheriffs, Messrs. Wright and Pugh, cast up the poll, with the following result, viz. :

Wilkes	2,343
James	371
	<hr/>
Majority	1,972 for Wilkes

On December 1 the Sheriffs announced from the hustings the result, and it was received with great applause. In thanking the Livery Mr. Wilkes referred to the great assistance he had received from

one of your representatives in Parliament with whom I am connected by ties of consanguinity and the most intimate friendship, a friendship which is above and superior to all the low, little mean arts of electioneering.

That is a delightful touch, in the circumstances. The representative referred to by Wilkes was his brother-in-law, Alderman Hayley, one of the members for the City.

I will have no enemies, gentlemen (he went on), but those of my country, of your rights and privileges. I wish to see all the members of this respect-

able corporation, all the natives of this free nation united against our ancient, inveterate, insolent foes of France and Spain in defence of our excellent constitution and in support of the rights and privileges of this great metropolis.

The Sheriffs, Mr. Wilkes, and the City officers then retired from the hustings, and returned in a few minutes with the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen Halifax, Crosby, Esdaile, Sawbridge, Hayley, Plomer, Townshend, and Hitchen or Kitchen (Henry Kitchin). The Recorder now came forward and announced to the Common Hall that the election had fallen on Mr. Alderman Wilkes. The joy, good humour, and complacency which appeared amongst the Aldermen and the Livery at this announcement are not to be described; in fact, Mr. Wilkes's politeness and manner appeared to disarm his bitterest political opponents. The Common Hall was then adjourned and Wilkes attended the Court of Aldermen, where the sureties for forty thousand pounds were unanimously approved; they were George Hayley (his brother-in-law), John Sawbridge, John Scott, and R. Payne. On December 2 Mr. Wilkes was sworn into office before the Court of Aldermen, and immediately transacted business.¹

The writer of the book whence this account is taken winds up with the following amusing words :

It gives me pleasure to revive
The famous number forty-five.
Ye minions of state who would bind Wilkes in fetters,
In the following words are just forty-five letters.

¹ The foregoing account I have taken from a manuscript volume in the Guildhall Library; and there is the following significant footnote to it, which gives the impression that an attempt was made to induce Wilkes to resign his position as Alderman :

“ Mr. Wilkes would not resign his Aldermanship.”

John Wilkes Esquire Chamberlain of the City of London.—J. H.¹

So Wilkes, after his turbulent life and many difficulties and worries, came at last to harbour, at the comparatively youthful age of fifty-two.

He was, however, not to enjoy this office without at least one challenge, for on June 24, 1791, at a Common Hall held for the annual election of City offices, when he was re-elected Chamberlain, Mr. Cowley attempted an opposition on the ground, principally, that the offices of Alderman and Chamberlain were incompatible. The Livery, however, would not hear him; and, on the contrary, expressed the warmest approbation of Mr. Wilkes's declaration "that he would live and die an Alderman of the City of London."

I give here the official records of the various contests for the office of Chamberlain. At a meeting of the Livery in Common Hall,

20th February, 1776.—Sir Stephen Janssen retired
John Wilkes proposed a Vote of Thanks to him
and Benjamin Hopkins seconded.

The Common Hall proceeded to elect a new Chamberlain when John Wilkes was declared elected on a shew of hands. Poll :

John Wilkes	.	.	.	.	2,710
Benjamin Hopkins	.	.	.	.	2,887
Hopkins elected.					

¹ It is a curious coincidence that Wilkes's name and the offices he was successively elected to hold, were composed of forty-five letters, as will be found in the following lines :

John Wilkes, Esquire, Knight of the Shire for Middlesex.

John Wilkes, Esquire, Alderman for Farringdon Without.

John Wilkes, Esquire, Sheriff for London and Middlesex.

The Right Honourable John Wilkes, Lord Mayor of London.

John Wilkes, Esquire, Chamberlain of the City of London.

June, 1776.—Poll :

Benjamin Hopkins	.	.	.	2,869
John Wilkes	.	.	.	1,673

June, 1777.—Poll :

Benjamin Hopkins	.	.	.	2,132
John Wilkes	.	.	.	1,228

June, 1778.—Poll :

Benjamin Hopkins	.	.	.	1,216
John Wilkes	.	.	.	287

June 1779.—Benjamin Hopkins elected unopposed.
After the death of Hopkins on the 1st December,
1779. (End of Poll) :

John Wilkes	.	.	.	2,343
William James	.	.	.	371

John Wilkes elected.

1st December, 1779.—Court of Aldermen :

GEORGE HAYLEY,	Alderman
JOHN SAWBRIDGE	„
THOMAS SCOTT	
RENE PAYNE;	

proposed by John Wilkes as and for his security
for the discharge of the duty of Chamberlain and
they were accepted and approved.—*City Records* :
Rep. 184. fo. 2.

2nd December, 1779.—Court of Aldermen :

John Wilkes sworn in.

He and his clerks to receive the like salaries
as were paid in the late Chamberlain's time.—
Rep. 184. fo. 11b.

4th December, 1781. Court of Aldermen :

Jacob Wilkinson of Abchurch Lane approved
as security *loco* George Hayley, deceased.—*Rep.*
186. fo. 14.

That Wilkes was gratified by his success is proved
by a letter to one of his friends, in which he says :

No congratulation on my late success could be more
welcome to me. It is a post adequate after payment
of my debts to every wish I can form at fifty-three ;
profit, patronage, and extensive usefulness with rank
and dignity, the Chamberlain of London.

It was soon acknowledged the City of London could not have selected a more efficient person. He was particularly successful on the occasion of any distinguished person receiving the freedom of the City, his speeches on such occasions being excellent and always commencing with the words " I give you joy."

On February 28, 1784, he officiated at the presentation of the freedom to the Premier, William Pitt ; and he had several other opportunities of a similar character, in all of which he acquitted himself gracefully. Lord Cornwallis and Admiral Waldegrave, Lord Howe and Lord Nelson, were later recipients of the City honours. The address to Nelson on November 28, 1797, had a touching and delicate allusion to the hero's personality.

Many of our naval commanders have merited highly of their country by their exertions ; but in your case there is a rare heroic modesty, which cannot be sufficiently admired.

You have given the warmest applause to your brother officers and the seamen under your command, but your own merit you have not mentioned even in the slightest manner : and the relation of the severe and cruel wound you have suffered in the service of your country is transmitted to posterity by your noble Commander-in-chief.

In the Chamberlain's Parlour are deposited duplicate copies of the Honorary Freedoms and Thanks which have been voted by the City. There are more than fifty of these, all beautifully written by Mr. Thomas Tomkins.

The personal influence of Wilkes appears in several matters which affected the public welfare. The truth about these things found some expression in the public news-sheets, and helped to create a moral

atmosphere which gratified his friends as much as did his ardent respect for popular liberty.

There were, however, other occasions, unsocial occasions, political and public upheavals, calculated to try the mettle of public men. The Gordon riots, happening soon after Wilkes's accession to his new responsibilities, were a severe ordeal to him and his colleagues in the Corporation. He was not found wanting. This amazing outburst, caused by a notorious mad lord and crude religious feelings, only needs such description here as brings out the part in it played by Wilkes.

During the Gordon riots in 1780, the behaviour of Wilkes was in every respect just what it ought to have been. Dr. Johnson, writing from Bolt Court, Fleet Street, says :

Mr. Wilkes was this day in my neighbourhood to seize the publisher of a seditious paper. He also headed a party that beat back the rabble in one of their unsuccessful attacks on the Bank.

The great doctor, writing to Mrs. Thrale, further says :

I walked with Dr. Scott to look at Newgate, and found it in ruins, the fire yet glowing. As I went by the Protestants were plundering the Sessions House at the Old Bailey ; there were not I believe a hundred, but they did their work at leisure in full security without sentinels, without trepidation as men lawfully employed in full day. " Such is the cowardice of a commercial place."

Wilkes issued a warrant for searching, and for securing all idle and disorderly persons and all concealed arms.

Wilkes was very busy now in support of law and order. He ordered all public houses to be shut at ten at night, patrolled the whole Ward of Farringdon,

and did his work with the conscientiousness of a special constable. He attended the Lord Mayor, and desired his Lordship to direct the Sheriffs to raise the *posse comitatus*. He marched from the barracks at the head of a detachment of Colonel Twisleton's force. On Sunday, ordered a guard of twenty men to be at Johnston's on Ludgate Hill; issued warrants to seize sixty Spanish muskets. Inspected Volunteers at two in the morning; had a conference with the Lord Mayor. And so our gallant and indefatigable Colonel and Alderman Wilkes pursued his double function, issuing warrants and executing them.

A note has been officially recorded of Wilkes's part in the debate in the House of Commons on the King's Speech respecting the riots, June 19, 1780.¹

Mr. Wilkes said, that if proper care had been taken in the City by the first magistrate, the mischiefs done there might have been prevented.

The Government had to pay £30,000 to the City for the rebuilding of Newgate, besides considerable sums for housing and victualling troops.

On the same date Mr. Sawbridge presented a petition from the City of London, praying for a repeal of the Bill granting relief and indulgence to Papists.

Mr. Wilkes opposed the petition. It was procured clandestinely. It was moved in Common Council, after most of the members, in the belief that all business was over, had gone home. He said that Alderman Bull had taken no pains to quell the rioters; but had, on the contrary, suffered all the constables of his ward to wear the ensigns of riot in their hats, and that he went from the House of Commons, arm in arm, with the great instigator of the tumults, meaning Lord George Gordon.

¹ *Parliamentary History*, vol. xxi, 1814, cols. 701, 702.

Mr. Bull said it was true the constables of his ward had worn blue cockades, but he had made four of them take them out.

After Lord George Gordon had been tried by a jury and acquitted on the charge of high treason, he made a show of offering himself as a candidate for the position of Alderman of the Ward of Cordwainer in the place of George Hayley, who died in August 1781; but he retired before the day of election, finding he had no chance, and Barnard Turner was elected.

The petition was presented.

From one public personage in particular the authorities received valued and patriotic assistance, and its acceptance must have caused some little heart-burning. John Wilkes was Alderman of Farringdon Without. He had fought the highest powers of the Land successfully in a fierce and bitter contest that was unjustly forced upon him, and he had been the pretext, if not the instigation, of the last great riots in London in 1769 when blood was freely spilt. Yet no one took a more distinguished and courageous part than Wilkes in suppressing the Gordon riots. All day while the disorder lasted, he sat as Alderman at the Globe Tavern in Fleet Street examining and committing to gaol rioters brought before him, leaving the Tavern only to make a personal tour of the Ward to see that all was safe. Mr. Deputy Thorpe, Landlord of the Globe, also took a conspicuous part, forming a watch for St. Bride's with which he patrolled the entire parish every hour. The Barristers of the Temple armed themselves and kept guard within their gates.¹

¹ Walter G. Bell's *Fleet Street in Seven Centuries*, 1912, pp. 461-2.

CHAPTER XVI

LAST DAYS

FROM the time he was elected Chamberlain, Wilkes became quiet, peaceful, and happy, and consequently his doings are not interesting. He called himself an extinct volcano. We all, I think, prefer to read about exciting matters, such as duels, quarrels, fines, and imprisonments, rather than to hear of mere excursions from the blue room to the brown.¹ I can imagine that most people would be more interested in reading the autobiography of a notorious burglar or highwayman than in perusing even the life of a bishop or a cardinal. He found a cottage to let in Sandown Bay at the south-east end of the Isle of Wight, in the parish of Brading. This cottage, which he afterwards called a Villakin, had been occupied by the Earl of Winchelsea, but was now empty. The owner was Colonel James Barker of Stickworth, and he and Wilkes soon came to terms. A lease was granted for fourteen years, to expire in 1802, the only covenant being that "whatever alterations Mr. Wilkes wishes to make leave is granted, so that the whole premises are not lessened in value."

He fitted it up to his own taste, and did not

¹ He now kept three establishments going: one in Grosvenor Square, one in South Audley Street, and one at Brading in the Isle of Wight. Not bad for an "extinct volcano" of fifty-two.

spare expense. In one of the rooms he placed this inscription :

TO FILIAL PIETY
AND
MARY WILKES
ERECTED BY
JOHN WILKES
MDCCLXXXIX.

And in the Tuscan Room, as he called it :

FORTUNAE REDUCI
ET
CIVITATI LONDINENSI
P.
JOHANNES WILKES, QUAESTOR,
MDCCLXXXIX.

In the shrubbery he erected a Doric column, with an inscription to his friend Churchill ; this he refers to in one of the following letters to John Nichols (one of his Ward Deputies), which give a good account of his pursuits at this time.

ISLE OF WIGHT,
Monday, July 6, 1790.

MY DEAR DEPUTY,

I was glad to escape from a crowded Capital to the sweet and grand scenery here, on the first of the dog-days, last Friday. I hope to pass all the time of the *canaille*, and to the end of the second week in September, on the borders of old Ocean ; and I wish you would come, in pilgrimage with the worthy Elmsly, to see Miss Wilkes and me any part of the time. If you can come by the 30th, you will be amused, as I believe, by a grand *sailing match* round the Isle of Wight, by above 50 vessels, carvel-built, not exceeding 30 tons. You will add greatly to your stock of nautical ideas, in which I suspect you are very poor ; and at Christmas Wardmote, we will compel the Common Council of Farringdon Without to admire the profoundness of our Naval skill, so neces-

sary for every true-born Briton. I desire you to make my best compliments and apologies of absence next Wednesday. The *second* toast after dinner will be *all your healths*; and I shall exclaim, "Now good digestion wait on appetite, and health on both." Miss Wilkes desires her compliments, and wishes you and Mr. Elmsly a good journey and passage. I am always, dear Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

JOHN WILKES.

SANDHAM COTTAGE,

Sept. 1, 1790.

MY DEAR DEPUTY,

I have but a moment to say, that I shall be heartily glad to see you, Mr. Elmsly, and Mr. Robson, next Friday, as early as is convenient. I dine at three. I was happy to see Dr. Warton last Sunday in such health and spirits. I should be glad if you and your friends could stay with me Saturday; and we would carry Mr. Elmsly to church on Sunday morning, and reward him with roast beef for his complaisance at three, and in the evening forward him in his journey. I hope Mr. Robson will second this pious proposal to help-on Mr. Elmsly's conversion; who, by the bye, wants no change in any respect. I am always, my dear Deputy, your affectionate humble servant,

JOHN WILKES.

SANDHAM COTTAGE,

Sunday, Sept, 5, 1790.

I regretted exceedingly, my dear Deputy, the loss of the pleasures which I had anticipated for yesterday, in the little tour I planned for you and your agreeable fellow travellers. The beautiful sun-shine made the face of Nature truly gay, and gave you, I trust, a cheerful passage to Portsmouth. The cruel complaint of the strangury left me yesterday morning; but, in its continuance, the pain would have been greatly alleviated by the company, which I enjoyed on Friday. I read of a summons for a Court

of Aldermen on Tuesday, the 14th ; and I mean then to attend my duty at Guildhall. Miss Wilkes joins with me in many compliments to the three Travellers ; and believe me always, my dear Deputy, your most obedient, &c.

JOHN WILKES.

August 8, 1791, he pleasantly tells his daughter, " Mr. Elmsly and Mr. Nichols are just arrived. The Island is full of Vagrants."

SANDHAM COTTAGE,

Aug. 24, 1794.

DEAR SIR,

I was this morning favoured with your letter of August 22, and very truly regret that I am not to have the pleasure of having you with us in the Island this Autumn. It adds not a little to my concern, that you remain in the capital, harassed by the tumults and disorderly proceedings of those who seek to disturb the peace and happiness of the Metropolis. I am particularly interested in everything respecting our great and populous Ward ; and read with indignation of three houses being gutted, although I should have exerted myself to have punished the cruel and savage deeds with which their inhabitants are charged. I wish I could arrange all my affairs here to return sooner to the Capital ; but I find that I cannot before Saturday the sixth of September. I hope some time on that day to be in Grosvenor-Square, and shall be happy to see you there on Sunday morning, Sept. the 7th, at any hour. Be so good as to bring the *Militia Act* with you. If you will order a Wardmote to be summoned for Monday, Sept. 8, I will take the chair at any hour you appoint, and attend any future meetings, where you and the other Gentlemen of my Common Council may wish my presence. I desire my best respects to them. I am, dear Sir, your obedient humble servant,

JOHN WILKES,

SANDHAM COTTAGE,

Sunday, Aug. 31, 1794.

DEAR SIR,

I begin to-morrow the disagreeable business of packing up my little baggage for the Capital, without having had one day even of your company here—but *Fate obstant*—and the untoward aspect of our affairs, unluckily too in our own Ward.

I have erected here a *Doric pillar*, with the inscription :

CAROLO CHURCHILL :

DIVINO POETAE,

AMICO, JUCUNDO

CIVI OPTIME DE PATRIA MERITO.

It is in the middle of the grove, and backed with weeping willows, cypresses, yews, etc. Laurels grow out of the column as from Virgil's tomb at Naples, and come down nearly to the tablet, on the *pillar*, which is fluted and seems in some parts already injured by Time. On the fore-ground are large myrtles, bays, laburnums, etc. The *pillar* is broken, about nine feet high, and five feet diameter. I shall be glad to find the *Militia Act* in Grosvenor-Square on my return to town on Saturday. As the previous meeting of our Common Council is put off till Monday morning at the London Coffee-house, I shall certainly attend. After the important business of Monday morning is dispatched, I hope to pass some genial hours with the Gentlemen of our Common Council, to whom I add my best respects.—Pray whisper my friend *Sylvanus Urban*, that, in his valuable repository, I believe, he has omitted the address of the City of London to the King on Earl Howe's late victory, which is really a good State Paper. I wish to be kindly remembered to all your family, in which my daughter joins. I am, etc.

JOHN WILKES.

His convivial invitations were in general select, and not numerous. His maxim was, "that a dinner party, to be comfortable, should never consist of more than the number of the Muses, nor of less than that

of the Graces." He spared neither trouble nor expense in providing what was exquisitely good. When in London, he frequently had his mutton from Bath or from Wales ; when at Sandham Cottage, from Southampton ; and his fish from the Devonshire coast. He had the happiest address in grouping his friends, and of entertaining them with elegance, both at the table and after it. He was himself a very moderate, but delicate feeder ; and very abstemious at the bottle, at all events in later years.

One of his friends has left the following account of a visit paid to him at this time :

On my way I called on Mr. Wilkes, then residing at his villa near Sandown Fort. His dress, excepting in one instance, was perfectly Arcadian ; instead of a crook, he walked about his grounds with a hoe, raking up weeds, and destroying vipers.

Observing that I admired his numerous collection of pigeons, he described to me the difficulty he had experienced in his attempts to make them stay with him. Every bird that he had procured from England, Ireland and France having flown back to its native land the moment the latch was raised, he was about to abandon his scheme as impracticable, " When," he continued, " I bethought myself to procure a cock and hen pouter from Scotland ; I need not add that *they never* returned ! "

Wilkes then conducting me over the remainder of his grounds showed me a large pond in his garden, which he said he had been compelled to have well-stocked with carp, tench, perch and eels ; " because," he added, " fish is almost the only rare article by the seaside."

He, however, praised the Newport market, which he regularly attended, and said that the *glance* from his eye, as he facetiously termed his squint, had done great execution with the farmers' pretty daughters in that quarter. " But," he continued, " my glance, I am sorry to say, has not everywhere met with a

similar success ; for another person in the town, a lottery-office keeper, actually offered me, the other day, half a ticket not to pass and repass his shop-door during the drawing ; positively swearing that since my visit to Newport he could not calculate his losses at less than *two blanks to a squint !* ”

Wilkes had written the history of his life, and earnestly requested Charles Butler to be his executor under a condition of printing it entire and unaltered. Butler read the manuscript, but declined the charge. It is said that on the death of Wilkes the cover of the manuscript was found without any leaves.

Having made himself comfortable for the summer months in the Isle of Wight, Wilkes changed his winter residence, taking a better house, and removing from Great George Street, Westminster, to a house in Grosvenor Square. Here he resided with his daughter during the winter months for several years, walking to Guildhall every day when his duty required his attendance, in which he was strictly diligent and regular. He sometimes withdrew to a small house at Kensington Gore, where he had another daughter living with her mother. Here he built an aviary and cultivated an elegant little garden, and amused himself in the study of natural history.

In 1787, on the death of Mr. Thomas Thorpe, Wilkes appointed as his deputy for the South side of the Ward of Farringdon Without, his friend John Nichols, F.S.A., editor and publisher of *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*. In 1788 he paid his new deputy the compliment of allowing him to publish a beautiful edition, for private circulation, of the poems of Catullus. (I wonder whether he paid the bill for printing.)

The time had, however, come for this most active

and strenuous life to come to its end. He had lived his days fully ; his span of years, judged by what he made of them and the work he did in them, was far more than that of men whose tale of days had been longer. His life had been full of faults and usefulness ; his death was not unworthy of the better aspects of his character.

He died at his house in Grosvenor Square on Tuesday, December 26, 1797. He met death with exemplary calmness and fortitude. His remains were interred in a vault in the South Audley Street Chapel ; a hearse, three mourning coaches, and his daughter's carriage formed the procession. Six poor men carried the corpse, and for this service they received a suit of clothes and a guinea each. According to his last wishes a tablet was placed in the South Audley Street Chapel, bearing the words, " John Wilkes, a Friend to Liberty." We seem by this to recognise a desire to make a final protest against wilful misunderstanding of the man, and his aims. For it does not seem that he was a demagogue in reality ; his style of speaking was not what is known as mob oratory. On one occasion he said to the King, " I was never a Wilkite." In short, if the mob ran after him it was not to hear him speak ; he was a popular idol. He had been made a martyr, and it was believed with truth that he was a true, consistent, and persistent champion of the popular cause.

Two days after his death *The Times* spoke of Wilkes in these terms :

A patriot in the truest sense of the word, his exertions and intrepidity added legal security to the liberties of Englishmen, as a Magistrate his conduct was manly and exemplary, as Chamberlain his regularity of attendance and superior merit were generally acknowledged. . . . Whenever called on to deliver

the sentiments of the Corporation on public occasions, dignity and classical elegance were his peculiar characteristics.

On the coffin plate was this inscription :

JOHN WILKES, ESQ., F.R.S.
ALDERMAN OF THE WARD OF
FARRINGDON WITHOUT
CHAMBERLAIN OF LONDON
AND LORD MAYOR 1775
DIED DECEMBER 26. 1797
AGED 70 YEARS.

And a plain marble tablet is inscribed as follows,

THE REMAINS OF JOHN WILKES
A FRIEND OF LIBERTY
BORN AT LONDON OCT. 17, 1727. O.S.
DIED IN THIS PARISH, DECEMBER 26, 1797.

For the benefit of those who wish to complete the story of the worldly doings of this extraordinary man, here is the wording of his will¹ :

I, John Wilkes, hereby revoke all former wills, and make this my last will and testament.

Whereas by favour of the Livery of London I am Chamberlain of the said City, I direct that, in the first place, my undernamed executrix and executor do adjust all my accounts with the said City, and pay over to my successor in the said office all moneys due from me to the Chamber of London at my decease, I likewise direct that all my just debts be discharged.

I give to Mr. John Smith now an officer in the service of the East India Company formerly educated under Mr. Lauchoix at Paris one hundred pounds. I give to Mrs. Amelia Arnold the lease of the house at Kensington Gore No. 2 with all the household furniture, linen, china, Wedgewood and earthen ware, plate, prints, pictures, beds and books, for her sole use and benefit. I give to the said Amelia Arnold the running cash in the said House, and one thousand

¹ Almon, v. 90-3.

pounds. I give to Harriet Wilkes now living at Kensington Gore No. 2, the lease of the House at Sandham, called Sandham Cottage in the Isle of Wight with all the household furniture, linen, china, Wedgewood and earthen ware, plate, prints, pictures, beds and books for her sole use and benefit. I give to the said Harriet Wilkes the sum of Two Thousand pounds when she shall have completed her twenty-first year, and the interest of that sum in the meantime. I give to William Montague esq. principal clerk in the office of the Chamberlain of London two hundred pounds. I give to Henry Parker esq. of the Chamber twenty pounds, and to Mr. James Boudon ten pounds. I give to Mr. Charles Montague son of the said William Montague twenty pounds. I give to Mr. Richard Keys, Mr. James Byfield and Mr. Thomas Smith ten pounds each. I give to all the servants living with me at my decease five guineas each. I give the lease of the house in Grosvenor Square with all household furniture, linen, china, Wedgewood and earthen ware, plate, prints, pictures, beds and books with any thing else on the premises to my beloved daughter Mary Wilkes her heirs and assigns for ever. I give all my real estates, and the rest of my personal Estate to the said Mary Wilkes her heirs and assigns for ever. I desire to be buried in the parish where I die in great privacy and carried to the grave by six of the poorest men of the said parish to each of whom I give a suit of coarse brown cloth and one guinea. I wish that a plain marble may be erected near the place where I shall be buried with this inscription "The remains of John Wilkes, a friend of Liberty; born at London Oct. 17, 1727 O.S. died in this parish. I appoint the said Mary Wilkes Executrix, and the said William Montague Executor to this my last will and testament which is written with my own hand, and sealed with my seal this twenty-first day of May, 1795.

From this will it appears that Wilkes thought he had left a little money behind him; as a matter of fact he died insolvent. He had told his daughters

and others shortly before his death that they would find a considerable balance at his bankers, but he was mistaken as to the amount of the debt he owed to the Chamberlain's office. The years 1794, 1795, and 1796 were productive years and very beneficial to him, and he had perhaps based his calculations upon them; but some of the other years yielded him little. It should, moreover, be remembered that he had three establishments to keep up, and it was never his practice to spare expense.

At this time, the Chamberlain was paid by fees, which usually amounted to about £1,200 per annum; he was also allowed the profits arising from the interest on the balances left in his hands, which were from £1,200 to £2,000 per annum.

I find that on November 19, 1779, the Court of Common Council resolved that the House appointed for the residence of the Chamberlain of this City for the time being, be from henceforth used for the benefit of this City; and in lieu thereof the sum of one hundred pounds a year from Christmas next be allowed to the Chamberlain during the pleasure of this Court; so long as he shall reside within this City, and until a house shall be provided for him at the City's expense.

And on March 3, 1791, in a report from the City Lands Committee on the state of the accounts in the Chamber, it was recommended that the sum of £600 should be allowed to the Chamberlain as a compensation in respect of the diminution in the amount of balances remaining in the Chamber. The balance, which was upwards of £26,000 at Christmas 1783, had been ever since diminishing.

The average aggregate balance available for investment or deposit by the Chamberlain appears to have been £22,000, which at 5 per cent. would have pro-

duced an income of £1,100. The allowance by fees and grants, including £100 in lieu of house, after paying expenses of the office, amounted to about £400. In later years it appears from the accounts that the average annual profits of Richard Clark, Esq., Chamberlain, arising from the employment of such balances at interest in the seven years 1823 to 1829 inclusive, were £2,141; and from a return made by Sir James Shaw, Bart., such profits during the time he held office, viz. from 1831 to 1842 inclusive, were £2,591 per annum, showing an average of such profits extending over a period of nineteen years of £2,366, which added to the amount of the net income from fees and grants, viz. £1,158 12s. 5d., after payment of salaries to his clerks (£775) and disbursements of his office (£220 4s.), gave the Chamberlain an income of £3,524 12s. 5d.

It is worthy of note that in the report of the Royal Commission of 1837 it was pointed out that although the Constitutions granted by Edward II in 1319 directed that the Chamberlain, the Town Clerk, and the Common Sergeant were to be elected by the Commonalty of the City, the Companies now elect the Chamberlain, whilst the Common Sergeant and the Town Clerk continue (in 1837) to be elected by the Common Council.

The Report goes on to say :¹

There seems to be reason for supposing that the Common Hall was in its original institution a meeting of the Lord Mayor Aldermen and Commonalty; that is to say, a Folkmote or general meeting of all the Citizens of London, and that it is by usage and bye-laws, confirmed in the statute 11 Geo. I, that it is restricted to the free Liverymen of the Companies. We have already expressed our opinion that the functionaries now chosen by this assembly should be

¹ p. 76.

chosen by the Common Council ; but it is at least clear that if the Livery is to retain any authority the anomalous constitution which now connects it with the Corporation ought to be entirely remodelled.

I must add a few words about the daughter whom he loved so devotedly. Miss Wilkes lived in the house in Grosvenor Square in which her father passed away, until March 12, 1802, when she died suddenly. She had invited a large party to a rout in the evening, and feeling unwell went to bed about 1 A.M. About five minutes afterwards she rang the bell for her servant. A Doctor Jones of Mount Street was sent for, but only arrived in time to witness her death. The cause was a cramp in the stomach.

Miss Wilkes left a considerable fortune which she had inherited from her mother and grandmother. Her will was written with her own hand on "six sides of paper severally signed by her" in the presence of witnesses of June 18, 1800, commencing, "In the name of God Amen, I Mary Wilkes, Spinster, most gratefully acknowledge the goodness of Providence and the affection of those honoured relatives from whence I have derived what I enjoy, and am enabled to make the disposal of my property."

She directed that her house in Red Lion Court, near St. Sepulchre's Church, London, and all her other property in the City of London, should be sold and the produce applied to the general purposes of her will. There were a great many legacies of money. She gave to her cousin, Lady Baker, "the silver cup that was the honourable gift of the City of London to my dear and honoured father"; the picture of her father and herself by Zoffany, her portrait in crayons by Hoare ; all her plate and china, and £2000, 3 per cent. Consols, reversible to her daughter, Mary Hayley Baker ; to whom £1,500 of the like stock was also

separately given, with all her diamonds, ornaments, trinkets, etc., and her own Library (except to a Catalogue of Mr. Peter Elmsly of Sloane Street) with the remaining copies of *Catullus* and *Theophrastus*, to be sold, under Mr. Elmsly's directions; the produce (after a legacy to himself of £50) to be paid to the two senior Aldermen and Chamberlain of London, to be applied, at their discretion, towards the relief of the widows and children of decayed Freemen. All her Manuscripts, of whatever kind; she directed to be faithfully delivered to Mr. Elmsly, to whose judgment and delicacy she confided them.

Unfortunately Mr. Elmsly died before her.

MARY WILKES CHARITIES

The net produce of the sale above mentioned amounted to £438 18s. 7d.; the said sum is now represented by £357 8s. 4½ per cent. War Loan standing in the name of Aldermen Sir H. E. Knight and Sir J. Savory, Bart., and Mr. A. Pollock, City Chamberlain; the dividends, amounting to £16 1s. 6d., are applied in paying annuities to six poor widows or daughters of freemen of the City of London.

Three recipients of £2 a year each being nominated by the Chamberlain, and one of £3 a year by the first senior Alderman, and two receiving £2 and £3 respectively by the nomination of the second senior Alderman. The surplus income of £2 1s. 6d. is invested towards making good the loss of nominal capital caused by transfer from Consols to War Loan. Mary Wilkes also by her will gave £10 to be paid to the Churchwardens of St. Sepulchre, London, and by them to be given to the poor, on receipt of the legacy from her Executors. In February 1804, it was by order of the Vestry directed that the sum of 10s. should be annually distributed in respect thereof in November to the poor.

CHAPTER XVII

HIS CHARACTER : THE MAN OF AFFAIRS

HAVING dealt with the details of the stormy and, on the whole, highly useful career of John Wilkes, it is necessary to make some study of his character, for the personality of a man is at once the cause and the consequence of his experiences.

Horace Walpole, whose portrait-sketches of contemporaries were almost photographic, did not err on the side of geniality. It was unlikely that this sprig of the aristocracy, with the acrid and clever pen, should regard such a "firebrand and agitator" as John Wilkes with sympathy. So we find it. This is how the brilliant correspondent and diarist of his times regarded our "cock-eyed sprite."

John Wilkes, member of Parliament for Ailesbury, was of plebeian family, but inherited a tolerable fortune in Buckinghamshire, and had been bred at Oxford, where he distinguished himself by humorous attacks upon whatever was esteemed most holy and respectable. Unrestrained either in his conduct or conversation, he was allowed to have more wit than in truth he possessed, and living with rakes, and second rate authors, he had acquired fame as it was in the middling sphere of life before his name was so much as known to the public. His appearance as an orator had by no means conspired to make him more noticed; he spoke coldly and insipidly though with impertinence; his manner was poor and his countenance horrid; when his pen, which possessed

an easy impudent style, had drawn the attention of mankind towards him, and it was asked who this same writer was, Fame that had adopted him could furnish but scurvy anecdotes of his private life. He had married a woman of fortune, used her ill, and at last extorted from her the provision made for her separate maintenance and was guilty of other frauds and breaches of trust ; yet the man, bitter as he was, in his political writings was commonly not ill-natured or acrimonious. Wantonness rather than ambition or vengeance guided his hand and though he became the martyr of the best cause there was nothing in his principles or morals that led him to care under what government he lived. To laugh and riot and scatter firebrands with him was liberty.

Despotism will ever reproach Freedom with the profligacy of such a saint.

It needs no special effort to argue the prejudice of this picture. That Wilkes had great faults, even vile faults, I am not disposed to deny, but the faults were combined with very noble qualities. He was a patriot ; he served his country and City well and devotedly ; he was, in a way, a martyr for liberty. As to his domestic character, if he treated his wife badly, he certainly behaved as a loving father would do to his daughter ; this will be illustrated later. Moreover, it is necessary to have regard to the times in which he lived.

The state of society in the early years of the reign of George III represented the corruption of the Government and Parliament. Men of the highest rank openly revelled in drunkenness, gambling, and debauchery. The clergy were indifferent to religion. The middle classes were coarse, ignorant, and sensual ; and the lower classes brutalised by poverty, neglect, and evil examples. Drinking of spirituous liquors, Geneva especially, was carried on by the inferior classes to an immoderate and even alarming degree,

dangerous to the health and destructive to the morals of the people. The petty shops where they were supplied with these intoxicating liquors were receptacles for the most abandoned of the human species ; the retailers of this poisonous compound called gin, set up painted boards promising the people that they might get drunk for a penny, dead drunk for twopence, and have straw to lie on for nothing.

As to Parliamentary patronage, Dr. Oldfield's *Representative History* furnishes elaborate statistics. According to his detailed statements, no less than 218 members were returned for counties and boroughs in England and Wales by the nomination of 87 peers, 137 were returned by 90 commoners, and 16 by the Government, making a total of 371 nominee members. Of the 45 members for Scotland, 31 were returned by 21 peers and the remainder by 14 commoners. Of the 100 members for Ireland, 51 were returned by 36 peers and 20 by 19 commoners. The general result was that of the 658 members of the House of Commons, 487 were returned by nomination, and only 171 were representatives of independent constituencies, and these were saturated with bribery and corruption.

There can be no doubt that George III was cognisant of the bribery which at this period was systematically used to secure Parliamentary support ; nay more, I venture to assert that he personally recommended it, as the expenses of this wholesale system of bribery were paid out of the King's Civil List, which was, in fact, provided by taxes. Writing to Lord North, his Majesty said, " As to the immense expense of the General Election, it has quite surprised me. The sum is at least double of what was expended on any other general election since I came to the throne." And Lord North, in excusing himself for this heavy

outlay, entered into some curious details illustrative of the part which the King himself had taken in such elections. He said that if he had thought the expenses would have amounted to £72,000 he certainly would not have advised his Majesty to have embarked in any such expense, and proceeded to explain the reasons which had induced him to spend £5,000 at Bristol, £8,000 at Westminster, £4,000 in Surrey, £4,000 in the City of London. Society was in these times, in fact, made up of venal senators, greedy place hunters, and corrupt electors.

Such were the times in which Wilkes lived. Are we to be hard on any man who endeavoured to serve the public then? On the whole, he passes the test with great credit; for while one cannot help thinking that some of the money which George III paid at election times, whether imperial or municipal, found its way into the City, we may feel as certain as anything, that whoever got a share of that money in the City it was not John Wilkes.

Wilkes was a reformer, and he propounded a scheme to meet some, if not all, of the evils from which the times suffered. In 1776 he moved for a Bill to give additional members to the metropolis, and to Middlesex, Yorkshire, and other large counties. He aimed, further, to disfranchise the rotten boroughs and to add their electors to the county constituency; and lastly, he hoped to enfranchise Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, and Birmingham and other rich populous trading towns. His scheme, indeed, comprised all the leading principles of parliamentary reform which were advocated for the following fifty years without success, and have been now sanctioned. He was in these respects before his times. Let him have the credit for the courage of his efforts.

In his writings, especially his dedication to Lord

Bute of *Roger Mortimer*, a tragedy, his notes on Warburton, and his ironical criticism on the Speaker's reprimand to the printers, we trace much of that power of wit and humour which he possessed to such an extraordinary degree in private life. The last of these three pieces is by far the best, though he himself greatly preferred the first. It must be allowed, however, that neither effort is very original, and that they might easily enough have occurred to a diligent reader of Swift, Addison, and Arbuthnot.

Of his convivial wit, no doubt can remain. Gibbon, who passed an evening with him in 1762, when both the historian and Wilkes were militia officers, says, "I scarcely ever met with a better companion; he has inexhaustible spirits, infinite wit and humour, and a great deal of knowledge." He adds: "A thorough profligate in principle as in practice; his life stained with every vice, and his conversation full of blasphemy and indecency. These morals he glories in; for shame is a weakness he has long since surmounted." This, no doubt, is greatly exaggerated; and the historian, believing him really to confess his political profligacy, is perhaps in error also. "He told us that in this time of public dissension he was resolved to make his fortune." No doubt he meant to be well forward in the race, and assuredly he was no better or worse than the other politicians of his age; for then, as now, the loaves and fishes were not disregarded by those who honestly wished to serve their country for that country's good. One quality Wilkes possessed in high degree, and that was courage. Neither politically nor personally did he know what fear was. Into no risks for his party did he ever hesitate to rush. From no danger, individually, was he known to turn away. The meeting with Secretary Martin, which nearly cost him his life, was alto-

gether unnecessary ; he might easily have avoided it, yet he welcomed it ; and when a wild young Scottish officer demanded satisfaction for something said against his country, instead of being met with a refusal of his absurd demand, Wilkes went to Flanders to fight him, after the Mareschal's Court of France had interdicted a meeting in that country.

Some of the other qualities, also, which are usually found with bravery seem to have belonged to him. He was, apparently, a man of his word. In his necessities, though he submitted to eleemosynary aid for pecuniary supplies, and maltreated his wife badly to relieve his embarrassments, he yet had virtue enough to avoid any of the disreputable expedients which have caused the condition of the needy to be compared by those who love proverbs to the impossibility of keeping an empty sack upright. Rogers, the poet and banker, thus relates his first impression of Wilkes :

One morning when I was a lad, Wilkes came into our banking house to solicit my Father's vote. My father happened to be out, and I as his representative spoke to Wilkes : at parting Wilkes shook hands with me and I felt proud of it for a week after. He was quite as ugly and squinted as much as his portraits make him, but he was very gentlemanly in appearance and manners, I think I see him now at this moment walking through the crowded streets of the City as Chamberlain on his way to Guildhall in a scarlet coat, military boots and a bag wig, the hackney coachmen in vain calling out to him " a coach, your honour."

The following verses on him were attributed to Sheridan :

Johnny Wilkes, Johnny Wilkes,
Thou greatest of bilks,
How changed are the notes you now sing,
Your famed forty five is Prerogative,
And your blasphemy God save the King.

The following epigram on him, in consequence of his becoming a favourite at Court and standing for Middlesex in conjunction with a Court candidate, was published in a newspaper :

POLITICAL CONSISTENCY

What liberty Wilkes of oppression the hater,
 Called a turncoat, a Judas, and rogue and a Traitor,
 What has made all our patriots so angry and sore
 Has Wilkes done that which he ne'er did before,
 Consistent was John all the days of his life
 For he loved his best friends as he loved his own wife.
 In his actions he always kept self in his view,
 Though false to the world, to John Wilkes he was true.

He made a speech to his constituents in the Ward on December 14, 1792, which certainly indicates that he was no longer "agin the Government." It was delivered at St. Sepulchre's Church ; the substance of it was as follows :¹

GENTLEMEN,

I am happy at all times to comply with the wishes of this ward ; but particularly so at a period when we are called forth to express our loyalty to the crown, and our attachment to the constitution of our country. I will not trouble you with many words ; but I beg leave to express my private sentiments on this important occasion. I am a firm friend to a limited monarchy, as a government founded on laws : a government which does not depend on the will or caprice of an individual, but rests on known and written laws. Such a government best answers the great end designed by it,—to give security and safety to persons and to property. This is the government under which we live.

I am particularly attached to the House of Brunswick. The last eighty years have been the happiest

¹ Almon, v, pp. 156-9.

and most prosperous in our annals ; during that period the Brunswick family has been on the throne. We are governed by wise and equal laws ; the same laws for the poor as for the rich, for every subject of the rich, for every subject of the state. Our persons are safe, our property secure, and our commerce most extensively flourishing ; especially during the reign of his present majesty. I trust the good sense of the English nation, not to barter these important and splendid advantages in possession, for any wild and extravagant speculations—as ridiculous in theory as totally impossible in practice.

Gentlemen, I am firmly attached to a limited monarchy. I have spent no small part of my life abroad : in countries where the government depended on the will or caprice of an individual, of a minister, a minion or a mistress ; where no one was secure.

One of the great advantages of our constitution is, that all is clearly defined, and the limits of each branch ascertained. Now in a republican government there is a continued struggle who shall be the greatest. The Roman was the most famous republic ; and witnessed the contentions of Marius and Sylla, of Cesar and Pompey, for pre-eminence. But here the line is clearly chalked out by law ; no subject can with us be so ambitious, or so mad, as to contend for the sovereign power. We are preserved from all those evils which necessarily attend a republican government.

On these principles it is that I profess my regard for limited monarchy ; a monarchy which is not above law, but is founded upon law and secures freedom to the subject. . .

Let me end by quoting the testimony of Wraxall.¹

Wilkes, who in the early part of his majesty's reign had made so glorious a resistance to *general warrants* displayed as manly a resistance to popular violence during the whole progress of the riots ; and had he filled the chair of chief magistrate, instead of Kennett,

¹ *Historical Memoirs*, vol. i, p. 249 ; vol. ii, pp. 48, 49. 1884.

would unquestionably by his vigour have prevented many or all the disgraceful scenes which took place in the capital . . . Wilkes could not properly be considered as a member of the minority, because, though he always sat on that side of the House and usually voted with them, yet he neither depended on Lord Rockingham nor on Lord Shelburne; but his predilections leaned towards the latter nobleman. Representing, as he did, the county of Middlesex, he spoke from a great parliamentary eminence. He was an incomparable comedian in all he said and did, and he seemed to consider human life itself as a mere comedy.

The historian continues with a vivid personal description which is of particular value.

In the House of Commons he was not less an actor than at the Mansion House or at Guildhall. His speeches were full of wit, pleasantry, and point, yet nervous, spirited, and not at all defective in argument. They were all prepared before they were delivered; and Wilkes made no secret of declaring that, in order to secure their accurate transmission to the public, he always sent a copy of them to William Woodfall before he pronounced them.

In private society, particularly at table, he was pre-eminently agreeable, abounding in anecdote, ever gay and convivial, converting his very defects of person, manner, or enunciation to purposes of merriment or of entertainment. If any man ever was pleasing who squinted, who had lost his teeth, and lisped, Wilkes might be so esteemed. His powers of conversation survived his other bodily faculties.

I have dined in company with him not long before his decease, when he was extenuated and enfeebled to a great degree, but his tongue retained all its former activity, and seemed to have outlived his other organs. Even in corporeal ruin, and obviously approaching the termination of his career, he formed the charm of the assembly. His celebrity, his courage, his imprisonment, his outlawry, his duels, his intrepid

resistance to ministerial and royal persecution, his writings, his adventures, lastly, his triumph and serene evening of life, passed in tranquillity amidst all the enjoyments of which his decaying frame was susceptible, for to the last hour of his existence he continued a votary to pleasure—these circumstances combined in his person rendered him the most interesting individual of the age in which he lived. Since the death of Henry St. John, Lord Bolingbroke, who died in 1751, and whose life bore some analogy to Wilkes's in various of its features, no man had occupied so distinguished a place in the public consideration. His name will live as long as the records of history transmit to future times the reign of George III.¹

¹ The following paragraphs, taken from Canterbury newspapers published in the month of August 1770, tend to show that Wilkes was fêted and enjoyed a sort of royal progress wherever he went :

“ On Thursday, arrived at the George, at Sittingbourn, John Wilkes, Esq. and Mr. Trevanion, where they supped and lay. On this occasion the bells rung, and many of the inhabitants waited on Mr. Wilkes. They set off on Friday morning for Canterbury where they arrived about eleven o'clock ; soon after they went to the public breakfasting at which were present the Earl of Thanet, Lord Sondes, John Sawbridge, Esq., and many other Gentlemen and Ladies. Mr. Wilkes was received with the greatest politeness, continued in the room about half an hour, and then set off for Dover to meet his daughter, whom he expects from France ; which, when effected, they will stay a few days at Margate.”

“ On Monday se'night arrived here at the New Rooms, John Wilkes, Esq., with Miss Wilkes, his daughter, and dined with Dr. Macnamara ; in the evening he went to the Rooms, where was a brilliant Assembly. Mrs. Brooke (relict of the late Robert Brooke, Esq.) very politely made him an offer (which he accepted) of her house. On this occasion many of the inhabitants met at White Hart where the healths of the King, Queen and Royal Family, John Wilkes, Esq., Lords Chatham, Temple, Camden, John Sawbridge, Esq., with many other toasts, were drank ; the bells rung, etc. On Sunday left John Wilkes, Esq., and Miss Wilkes, set off for the seat of John Sawbridge, Esq. at Ollantigh.”

“ On Wednesday last, Mr. and Miss Wilkes arrived at the Bell Inn, Maidstone, on their way to Tunbridge. They were waited on by several gentlemen, who caused the bells to ring, etc. in that place as in the other towns through which he has lately passed in this county.”

This tribute is one that counts for much in building a true estimate of Wilkes's public character, and is a sufficient answer to those who, because he fought for liberty against the encroachments of privilege, have followed his memory with rancour. We can see that John Wilkes was, with all his faults, a fine citizen.

CHAPTER XVIII

HIS CHARACTER : THE MAN ABOUT TOWN

WE will for a time forget the man of affairs and the citizen, and see Wilkes as he appeared to his contemporaries, colouring the picture with some personal opinions and some odd stories of him strung together to illustrate his social manners, wit, and popularity, and his frequently madcap ways.

And first for a friendly personal opinion. We prefaced the preceding chapter with the clever view by Horace Walpole, who was no friend of Wilkes. It will be but fair to introduce this chapter with the description of Wilkes written by his friend, Almon, who was the printer of his Memoir.

In his person (said this honourable citizen) Mr. Wilkes was tall, agile and very thin. His complexion was sallow, and he had an unfortunate cast of his eyes that rendered his face particularly liable to be caricatured, yet he was (though certainly not vain) known to entertain ideas of his personal beauty, particularly of countenance, nor is he the only instance how little we know ourselves, either externally or internally. Dunning also was known to regard his own person, Batavian as it was, as a model of elegance. The ministry of that day were so sensible of the advantages to be derived from this species of ridicule that Hogarth was actually bought off from the popular party, and induced to employ his graver in satirizing his former friends.

Mr. Wilkes was a high bred man, and possessed elegant and engaging manners, and was an intimate with many of the most distinguished personages of the kingdom.

His conduct as magistrate was not only unexceptionable, but spirited and exemplary, and as a guardian to the city youth, he has not been excelled by any of his predecessors.

He was accused of having been extremely dilatory in the production of the City accounts, and was certainly by no means inattentive to the emoluments of office.

As an author, he possessed the singular merit of writing *to*, and *for*, the people. His success was proportionate, and he *actually wrote down* one administration. His merits can best be appreciated by the benefits he conferred on his country. It was he who first taught the public to consider the "*King's Speech*" as the mere fabrication of his ministers, and as such, proper to be commented on, applauded, or treated with contempt. By his bold and determined conduct, in the case of the City printers, he annihilated the power of commitment assumed by the Speaker's warrant, and rendered the jurisdiction of the Sergeant at Arms subject to the control of a constable. He punished despotic Secretaries of State, by holding them up to public scorn, abolished general warrants, and obliged even Lord Mansfield to declare them illegal. But this was not all: he contributed to render an *Englishman's house his castle*, for it is to him we are indebted for the benefit of having our papers considered as sacred, in all cases short of *high treason*.

Wilkes was one of the most light-hearted, easy-going, amusing men in an age of easy-going frivolity and pleasure-loving, self-seeking adventure. He never did a stroke of work in his life; he wrote articles, letters and accounts of his quarrels, his speeches, and his opinions; he contracted to write a History of England, and took money from his friend Almon

the printer for the book, but all he wrote was the introduction. He made the following agreement which he signed in Paris, July 13, 1767 :

I do hereby engage myself to Mr. J. Almon, bookseller in Piccadilly, London, for the first volume of my History of England, from the revolution to the accession of the House of Brunswick on the following conditions :—

Mr. Almon shall accept and pay my bill of this day's date drawn in favour of Mr. Heaton Wilkes due on the 1st day of next September. He shall pay £100 to my order on the 1st day of next October and £300 on the 2nd day of January 1768 likewise to my order.

I engage to send to Mr Almon a part of the Manuscript on the 1st of next September and the whole of the copy complete by the end of January 1768. I shall be entitled to copies of the first volume for the subscribers to the " Proceedings of the Administration against Mr. Wilkes " at the booksellers' price.

He used to tell the confiding printer that the work was all but finished, that it was going to be very good, etc. etc. He was also going to write a life of his friend Churchill, as he promised him on his death-bed, but he never did it.

The last line Churchill wrote was, " I on my journey all alone proceed." A sudden desire to see Wilkes, who was then in Paris, took him hastily to Boulogne on October 22, 1764. " Dear Jack, adieu," was the laconic announcement of his departure to his brother. On the 29th, at Boulogne, he was seized with fever. Before he died he desired " his dear friend, John Wilkes, to collect and publish his works, with the remarks and explanations he has prepared and any others he thinks proper to make." He then expressed a wish to be removed that he might die in England, and no doubt the imprudent

compliance with this wish hastened his end. On November 4, 1764, at Boulogne, he died in his thirty-third year, and in accordance with his wish he was buried in England at the church of St. Martin at Dover. There was a sale of his books, etc., at which the most extravagant prices were given for articles of little or no value : a common steel pen brought five pounds and a pair of plated spurs sixteen guineas.

Wilkes professed great grief and sacred intentions to fulfil the duty assigned him in the will. "My life shall be dedicated to it. I am better," he exclaimed a fortnight after the death, "but cannot get any continued sleep; the idea of Churchill is ever before my eyes." Other expressions in his letters are in the same vein. "I believe I shall never get quite over the late cruel blow." "Many a sigh and tear escape me for the death of dear Churchill." "You see how much I have at heart to show the world how I loved Churchill." "I am adequate to every affliction but the death of Churchill." "The loss of Churchill I shall always reckon the most cruel of all afflictions I have suffered." "I will soon convince mankind that I know how to value such superior genius and merit." "I have half finished the projected edition of dear Churchill." "How pleased is the dear shade of our friend with all I have done." He had done nothing, and he did nothing.

"Gay Wilkes" and Charles Churchill were great friends. Wilkes had little strength or sincerity of feeling of any kind, but there is no doubt that all he had was given to Churchill, and that he was regarded with an affection as hearty, brotherly, and true as ever man inspired.

Men of all parties who knew John Wilkes at the outset of his extraordinary career are in agreement as to his fascinating manners. It was particularly

the admission of those whom he had assailed most bitterly. "Mr. Wilkes," said Lord Mansfield, "was the pleasantest companion, the politest gentleman, and the best scholar I ever knew." "His name," said Dr. Johnson, "has been sounded from pole to pole as the phœnix of convivial felicity."

More naturally, he added, "Jack has a great variety of talk, is a scholar, and Jack has the manners of a gentleman"; and every one will remember his letter to Mrs. Thrale:

"I have been breaking jokes with Jack Wilkes on the Scotch. Such, madam, are the vicissitudes of things."

Boswell was apparently very fond of Wilkes. He gave him a book in which he wrote, "To John Wilkes, Esq., as pleasant a companion as ever lived. From the author." He mentions Wilkes in the following confession in a letter to Malone in 1790:

On the day after your departure that most friendly fellow Courtenay called on me and took my word and honour that till the 1st March my allowance of wine per diem should not exceed four good glasses at Dinner and a pint after it, and this I have kept though I have dined with Jack Wilkes, at the London Tavern after the launch of an Indianman, with dear Edwards at home with Courtenay, Dr. Barrow, at the Mess at the Coldstreams, at the Club, at Warren Hastings, at Hawkins the Cornish Member, and at home with a Colonel of the Guards.

In another letter he says:

When Wilkes and I sat together each glass of wine produced a flash of wit like gunpowder thrown into the fire—puff—puff."

At this time Reynolds describes Wilkes as abnormally ugly, "his forehead low and short, his nose

shorter and lower, his upper lip long and projecting, his eyes sunken and horribly squinting.

The view he presented between 1761 and 1764 was that of the patriot untried, the politician unbought, befriended by Temple, countenanced by Pitt, persecuted by Bute, and in two great questions which affected the vital interest of his countrymen, the successful assertor of English liberty. As to the men who shared with Wilkes in obscene indulgences, they were the same who after crawling to Bute's feet turned upon their old associate with disgusting pretences of indignation at his immorality. If, in any circumstances, satire could be forgiven for approaching to malignity it would be in the assailment of such men as these.

Wilkes promised Mrs. Sterne, the widow of his friend, to write a life of Laurence Sterne, and although Miss Sterne wrote him several pitiful appealing letters on the subject, he never even answered her, and wrote not a word on the promised life.

His object in life appeared to be to live well, to do no work, to get as much amusement out of life as possible. He was not ambitious for anything more than this; he lived for seventy years enjoying every moment; he was always irretrievably in debt.

He seems to have enjoyed making people very angry; and when the King and his Ministers were lashing themselves into a rage, and making terrible mistakes in their desire to punish or persecute him, he was then as "happy as a King" and pleased as Punch to feel that they were only exhibiting their folly and stupidity, and that he was winning all along the line. But it cannot be denied or gainsaid that it is to this *farceur* that we are indebted for some of the rights and privileges which we to-day enjoy.

The wildest aspect of Wilkes is, however, to be

found in the story of the doings of the monks of Medmenham Abbey. In its characteristics, this centre outdoes the more famous orgies of those brother-monks of Newstead Abbey, who, under the lead of Byron, drank from skulls their plentiful potations.

Mr. Wilkes, after he had quarrelled with the "Abbot" of the Society, wrote a description of Medmenham Abbey, in illustration of his deceased friend Churchill's poems.

Medmenham (he says) is a very large house on the banks of the Thames, near Marlow in Buckinghamshire. It was formerly a convent of Cistercian Monks. The situation is remarkably fine. Beautiful hanging woods, soft meadows, a crystal stream, and a grove of venerable old elms near the house, with the retiredness of the mansion itself, made it as sweet a retreat as the most poetical imagination could create.

Sir Francis Dashwood, with other gentlemen to the number of twelve rented the Abbey, and often retired thither in the summer. Among other amusements, they had sometimes a mock celebration of the rights of foreign religious orders; of the Franciscans, in particular, for the members had taken that title from their founder, Sir Francis Dashwood. Whitehead was secretary and steward to the order. No profane eye has dared to penetrate into the English Eleusinian mysteries of the *Chapter-room*, where the monks assembled on all solemn occasions.

Over the grand entrance, was the famous inscription on Rabelais' abbey on Theleme: *Fay ce que voudras*. At the end of the passage, over the door, was: *Aude, hospes, contemnere opes!* At one end of the refectory was Harpocrates, the Egyptian god of silence; at the other end the goddess Angerona, that the same duty might be enjoined to both sexes.

In a novel, *Chrysal; or the Adventures of a Guinea*, which enjoyed extraordinary popularity in the eighteenth century, the author, Charles Johnston,

gave some curious sketches of the members and proceedings of the scandalous society.

Among them described with particularity, were Sir Francis Dashwood, Lord Orford, and Mr. Wilkes. He imputes a particular and settled design and purpose to these orgies, which was to bring religion into contempt; and with some acuteness, says that the most effectual way of silencing the occasional remonstrances of conscience is the force of ridicule applied to sacred things. In this view an elaborately sacrilegious system of the mocking and parodying all that was sacred was contrived with a horrible ingenuity; and there was set up at every corner some hideous perversion of either the texts of Scripture or the most sacred truths. And as this ribaldry is of exactly the same description as that found in the notorious *Essay on Woman*, it is not unfair to presume that it was the debauched wit of our hero who was responsible for it. No servants were employed to attend on the members; but there was a sort of second order of Probationers, who waited on the regular monks. The "Abbot" is described as "a person of flighty imagination who possessed a fortune that enabled him to pursue these flights, cloyed, too, with common pleasures, and ambitious of distinguishing himself among his companions. He had resolved to try if he could not strike out something new." All members, on entering, assumed a name. "Wilkes's was 'Archbishop John of Aylesbury.'" Solemn rites attended the admission of the neophytes, which was carried out with great mystery and secret rites.

"John of Aylesbury" seems to have been the life and soul, as it is called, of the community.

He had (says Johnston) such a flow of spirits that it was impossible ever to be a moment dull in his

company. His wit gave charms to every subject he spoke upon ; and his humour displayed the foibles of mankind in such colours as to put folly even out of countenance. But the same vanity which had first made him ambitious of entering this society only because it was composed of persons superior to his own rank in life, still kept him in it, though upon acquaintance he despised them, sullied all these advantages. His spirits were often stretched to extravagance to overpower competition. His humour was debased into buffoonery, and his wit was so prostituted to the lust of applause that he would sacrifice his best friend for a scurvy jest, and wound the heart of him whom he would at the very moment hazard his life and fortune to serve only to raise a laugh, in which he was also assisted by a peculiar archness of disposition and an expertness in carrying his jests into execution.

Johnston describes the arrival of Wilkes at the Abbey, his election to the Brotherhood, and subsequent banquet and orgy of the brethren in the chapel.

It was about four o'clock in the afternoon when my master arrived at the edge of the lake, where he no sooner made the concerted signal than a boat was sent to ferry him over. On his landing on the island he went to the Monastery where he found the Society just sitting down to dinner at which he took his place among them. When they had made a short meal and drunk their spirits up to a proper pitch they retired to their respective cells to prepare for the solemnity they were going to celebrate. My master then clad in a milk-white robe of the finest linen that blowed loosely round him repaired to the tolling of a bell to the chapel, the scene of all their mysterious rites, and knocking gently thrice at the door it was opened to him to the sound of soft and solemn music. On his entrance he made a most profound obeisance and advancing slowly towards a table that stood against the wall at the upper end of

the chapel as soon as he came to the rails by which it was surrounded he fell upon his knees, and making a profession of his principles nearly in the words but with the most gross perversion of sense of the articles of faith of the religion established in the country, demanded admission within the rails, the peculiar station of the upper order, where the superior and eleven of the fraternity (the twelfth place was vacant and now to be filled up) stood arrayed in the habits of those whose names they profaned by their assumption. When he had finished, another candidate advanced in the like manner and making his profession also preferred the same claim; as there were more who had a right to do, but discouraged by the superior merit of these two, they had declined their pretensions for this time, the brotherhood having heard the competition with attention retired to the table and kneeling around it, the superior repeated a prayer in the same strain and manner with the profession of the candidates to the Being whom they served, to direct their choice to him of the two most worthy of their service. The Superior then proceeded to take the suffrages of the rest with the same mimic solemnity, when my master being found to have the majority, his election was exultingly attributed to immediate inspiration, and he was accordingly admitted within the rails where he received the name and character which he was to bear in the Society in a manner not proper to be described, every most sacred right and ceremony of religion being profaned, all the prayers and hymns of praise appointed for the worship of the Deity burlesqued by a perversion to the horrid occasion. In this manner the evening was wasted until supper time, when they sat down to a banquet in the chapel in honour of the occasion at which nothing, the most refined luxury, the most lascivious imagination could suggest to kindle loose desire and provoke and gratify appetite was wanting, both the superiors and inferiors (who were permitted to take their places at the lower end of the table as soon as they had served in the banquet) vying with each other in loose songs and dissertations of such

gross lewdness and daring impiety as despair may be supposed to dictate to the damned.

One of these practical jokes was in Mr. Wilkes's most obstreperous style. He secretly introduced a large black baboon, and shut him in a huge chest in the room where the brethren assembled for their rites. By an ingenious arrangement he contrived that by pulling a cord the animal should be suddenly released. At a critical moment of the "invocation" this was done; and the animal, jumping from its concealment, threw the whole party into convulsions of terror. All roared out, "The Devil! The Devil!" and fled from the room, tumbling over each other in a style that did little credit to such sceptics. The animal then leaped on Lord Orford's shoulders, from whence it could not be dislodged. This exhibition turned the rage of the members on the contriver of the joke, who, according to the novel, was then expelled the Society.

One little encounter between Wilkes and Dr. Johnson is worth noting, though it is well known, for it is illustrative of Wilkes's very keen wit. On a passage in Johnson's *Grammar*, prefixed to the *Dictionary*, "H seldom, perhaps never, begins any but the first syllable," Wilkes quoted some instances to prove the falsity of Johnson's remark. "The author of this observation must be a man of quick apprehension, and of a most comprehensive genius."

Of his powers of punning, that "Victorian" quality which has become—let us hope only for the time being—extinct, let this be an example: Mr. Wilkes, going to Dolly's Chophouse in Paternoster Row, with a friend, in order to observe the humours of the place, accidentally seated himself near a rich and purse-proud citizen, who almost stunned him with

roaring for his *stake*, as he called it. Mr. Wilkes, in the meantime, asking him some common question, received a very brutal answer. The steak coming at that instant, Mr. Wilkes turned to his friend, saying, "See the difference between the City and the Bear-garden; in the latter, the bear is brought to the stake, but here the steak is brought to the bear."

When he was exiled in France, Madame de Pompadour said to him: "You Englishmen are fine fellows: pray how far may a man go in his abuse of the Royal Family among you?" "I do not at present know," replied he drily; "but I am trying." There is no record of how the feminine ruler of Louis Quatorze took this sally.

At a City convivial meeting, Sir Watkin Lewes said to Wilkes, "Why are you so severe on me? You appear to like to make me your butt."

"How can you say so, my dear Sir Watkin," said Wilkes, "when you know very well I never was fond of an empty butt."

Once Wilkes, seeing Alderman Burnell, who had been a journeyman bricklayer, unable to manage his knife, set the table in a roar by telling him to "take the trowel to it." Manners were not quite manners in those days. The times must be remembered.

Once, in the House of Commons, he was making a speech which was not listened to, a friend urged him to desist. "Speak, damn it, I must," Wilkes said, "for my speech has been in print for the newspapers this half hour." As another instance of his audacity, it may be mentioned that on one occasion he and one other person put forth from a private room in a tavern a Proclamation commencing, "We the People of England," etc., and concluding, "By order of the Meeting."

The following character of Wilkes by the Rev. Mark Noble is from a manuscript ¹ in the Guildhall Library, entitled, *Lives of the Recorders and of the Chamberlains, etc., of the City of London*, which the Library Committee kindly permit me to copy :

In youth learned, elegant in his manners, but extremely dissipated. In mid-life, poor, factious, desperate : in age careful, prudent, quiet. The King did wrong to notice him, and still more so in not receiving his submission.

Wilkes, king of a mob, whom he despised, made it the footstool to gain this office, Dec. 2, 1779.

He used a public man as a good subject, and a good citizen, as a private one honestly in paying his debts and securing an independency to himself. It was a curious sight to see him at St. James ; it was weighted by his humility and by the royal condescension. If any one alluded to the days of anarchy and No. 45, he would humourously observe those were the times of Jack Wilkes. All his published letters to his beloved only child in wedlock are of affection to her, and regard to his own eating. He was the kindest of fathers, tho' worst of husbands. He had nothing of the Christian ; he loved wine too well for a Turk ; the prohibition of meats precluded him from Judaism, and his extensive intelligence from (atheism ?), he only would be Voltairian. Jack disgraced himself, his sovereign, his country and his age, but Wilkes benefited us in relieving us from general search warrants. He was a wicked, witty fellow, who knew how to make circumstances bend to his advancement, even the most adverse—his debts—for his creditors seeing no other means of being paid became his warmest Friends.

Miss Wilkes, never marrying, left her large Fortune to a select number of Friends. She was a very accomplished woman but never handsome ; how should she ! It was well judged in her to destroy the manuscript life of her Father.

¹ MS. 23.

In the reign of George III, every one who could afford to do so dressed very extravagantly, and men were as fond of wearing bright coloured clothing as women.

Upon one occasion, says Boswell, when Goldsmith was wearing a "bloom coloured" coat "he strutted about bragging of his dress, and I believe was seriously vain of it. Let me tell you (said Goldsmith) when my tailor brought home my bloom coloured coat he said, 'Sir, I have a favour to beg of you. When anybody asks you who made your clothes, be pleased to remember John Filby at the Harrow in Water Lane!'"

Wilkes was not out of fashion in this respect, for in a letter to his daughter he writes :

I have got a new coat and it is all ribbed and it is blue and has likewise a gold edging ; and I have small clothes all blue, and fine mother of pearl buttons, in every one of which you might see your pretty face. Now I intend to go to Ranelagh with you in this same fine waistcoat and coat, but then you must have a new gown or all the fine folks will jeer me ; therefore as I am preparing for my return you must call at Mr. Redhead's and have a fine new gown made immediately, and then I will go with you the first day you choose.

These extracts from other letters to his daughter are interesting :

SANDHAM COTTAGE,
June 1st, 1789.

I am sorry that Sir W. L. exposes himself so much about his salary as Bailiff of the Borough. The Chamberlain never can accept any drafts. If the salary is not paid on the day it becomes due, the Chamberlain would be highly culpable. He would be highly culpable if he paid it the day before it was due.

July 27th, 1790.

I have my Buck-warrant but it is not to be served till August, and therefore I wish you to purchase a fine neck of venison and present it from me to Madame La Fite. Mr. Deputy Birch in Cornhill is my venison-factor, and I should be glad if you would order him to send half a buck to Princes Court and that you would bring it here with you to be dressed two or three days after your arrival as should be mentioned in your card to Birch. Green tea, coffee, sugar, etc., I am provided with for a few weeks.

August 2nd.

I shall certainly contrive to be at Portsmouth early on Saturday the 14th—perhaps you may have forgotten some part of the road it is to Kingston. The Castle 12 miles, Cobham, the White Lion 8 miles, Guildford the White Hart 10 miles, Liphook, The Anchor 16 miles, Petersfield 8 miles Palmers the Dolphin, I believe Portsmouth 19 miles Coveney's the Kings Arms in the High Street.

The quartern loaf was ninepence three farthings last week at Newport (Isle of Wight). Butcher Macketts bill of last week charges me exactly sixpence per pound for beef, veal, mutton and lamb each.

July 19th.

I have sent Deputy Nichols a draft for twenty guineas for the poor of the Ward of Farringdon Without. I find by his letter that was the sum they thought I ought to give.

CHAPTER XIX

HIS CHARACTER : THE MAN AT HOME

How often does the home life of a public man prove different from what those who have followed his public doings would anticipate! So it was with Wilkes. The man whose outer actions roused so much feeling and many animosities was a loyal friend, a warm-hearted champion; and it may be even said a perfect father. As a husband, we have seen he was not a success. The marriage of convenience with his elderly Leah had been a failure of the worst kind; but as a father he was delightful. He regarded his daughter with love; he never failed her nor did she fail him. It is a happy truth to realise that this man of many battles and no small gift for inspiring hatred could be so delightful and charming in the hallowed place at home.

The following extracts from letters to his daughter are full of affection and humour, and therefore characteristic:

ORDERS

*For our trusty and well-beloved Mary Wilkes,
of Princes's Court, Wetsminster. Spinster.*

I. You are to pay the most particular attention to the health of our dear daughter, and if she returns home late in an evening, you are to take care that she be clothed very warm, and that both the glasses of the coach be kept up.

II. You are to acquaint her, that we shall find a real pleasure in complying with all her wishes and desires for the city of Bath, whether they extend to any kind of bijoux, or are more limited to the other various kinds of produce of that place, for herself or her friends.

III. Whereas we have received information that several kinds of game are coming from France, for our great comfort, we authorize you to detain for your own use whatever quantity you judge proper, and of each sort, as likewise any French pie or pies, Marolles, Rochefort, or other cheeses.

IV. Whereas we have at various and sundry times received the greatest entertainment from letters written by our said dear daughter, you are hereby required to declare to her, that the most pleasing things we can see till our return to our court, near the Park, will be her handwriting, and therefore you are to warn her to be frequent in so obliging an act towards us.

V. Whereas heaven has been pleased to continue to my family a most valuable parent, of a considerable age, you are to give the satisfaction of knowing the state of health of a person who so deeply interests not only us, her near relatives, but all who know her ; and this you are enjoined to do frequently.

VI. Whereas this climate is charged with gross vapours, and at this season nature looks melancholy, and everything holds a most dreary aspect, you are commanded in our absence to cultivate only the most cheerful company, and to assist frequently at those amusements *only*, which are calculated to inspire gay ideas, and to make yourself as happy as those will be who are with you. Given at our Castle on the brow of Sheen Hill, this nineteenth day of Decr. 1778.

PAPA WILKES.

That he and his daughter were not oblivious to the pleasures of the table is shown by their letters to each other, viz. :

We had the Bath mutton : it was delicious. Likewise the Bath cheese, which we both liked extremely.

. . . The chickens and rabbits have proved very good, and added to the *widow's* admiration and mine of the judgment in marketing of the donor, equal in poultry to what it is in *fish*. The member for Lynn has sent a very fine turkey with sausages. No notice has been taken to me of the French pie, or the note which attended it. One of the soles you favoured me with, I sent to my grandmamma. I will defer having the wine unpacked till Thursday, that I may attend to it as much as possible myself.

“The venison was excellent.” “I shall arrive with some Dorking fowls.” “As Sunday intervenes, I think it would be better not to risk any fish. Walker has sent a fine haunch.” “Last night came a basket from Calais, containing three hares, eight partridges and four snipe. I immediately had all freshly packed except a hare and a partridge” (which Miss Polly kept for herself. Then came “two hares,” a present from an agreeable young gentleman.

Later is sent “half a score of small delicate lobsters”—Colchester being “famous for lobsters.”

I thank you for your care (he once wrote gratefully) *about the French pie*. I sent you yesterday some most delicate French mutton and a cheese, which, mark! must be kept four days after its arrival. I hope to send you to-morrow a basket of fine fish . . . I am glad you kept the Suffolk turkey, and hope it proved excellent. . . . I send you a country loaf of brown bread, as I think exquisite, made by a baker three miles from hence; you will find in the same basket a brace of woodcocks, and some fish from Hancock. Woodcocks are here very scarce and dear, half-a-guinea a couple. These I think remarkably fine.

And again, on another occasion, he wrote :

I am very glad you kept four partridges, and I wish you had likewise a hare and capon. The game has

just arrived in *perfect condition*. Be so good as to order me giblet soup and pork griskins.

Then we hear of "some delicate country pork, fed with milk and pease only, and a leg of Welsh mutton." He has sent in the same basket a sally-lunkin for her breakfast, and a brown loaf from the country, both of which are much esteemed. "Brown bread is a bad supper, dear Polly; suppose you add to it a woodcock."

Then he sends "the most beautiful haunch of venison which I ever beheld; a great sacrifice for an alderman to make. I have not forgotten a little sacrifice of Newbury fish, when it has been particularly fine."

At Christmas 1777, Wilkes went to stay at Bath for some months, and wrote from there to his "dear Polly" on Sunday, December 21:

Just arrived in this city, and to be seen without loss of time at the Bear, in Cheap Street, an *Alderman* of London, alive. He eats, drinks, digests and sleeps as well as any Christian, and the last especially in a pew; but he does not always speak like a Christian: the more the pity: 'tis true, 'tis pity, and pity 'tis, that 'tis true. He is thought by many good judges the greatest curiosity in this city—except himself.

I have been engaged, my dearest Polly, the whole morning in paying visits to our old friends here, and unpacking. I made only a little excursion to the fish-market, and desire you to accept a very fine *piper*, and a pair of soles, which you know Bath boasts of. I should be happy were it in my power to make the enclosed paper from the governor of the Bank equal to £45,000 at least. *Bon jour, ma très chère fille*.

This is how he views the world and the world views him:

I have not omitted a single morning taking the

beaume. Dr. Wilson I visited twice, and sent him partridges. He raves about Kitty and America, and seems to have no other ideas; he has kept house above a month from illness; he is very obliging, but I have no invitation yet to dinner.

Lord Kelly and Mr. Warre are to arrive to-day at five, and to dine with us at the Tuns. Tom Scott is come. My resolution is taken of never supping, and of going to bed at eleven; I am yet not well.

Bath is very full, but little good company. The ball on Monday was of 500 persons, but no female danced half so well as the little Grace of Prince's Court. At the ball of Dawson, the M.C., there were near 900 persons.

I press the pillow regularly at ten or eleven, and rise at seven, so that I am in high *odeur de régularité ici*. My apartments are very dull, but very warm and spacious. I question, however, if I should have liked any apartments here without the company of my dearest daughter.

Dr. S——g (Schomburg?) that worthless dog, worth £40,000 was detected on Christmas day putting eight guineas in his coat-pocket, which he slyly conveyed out of the plate, at the church-door, entrusted to this care. Yet the day after, several *soi-disant* gentlemen dined with him. I have not yet their names. He never returned home after the detection. His wife received a letter five days after, in which he only said she would never see him again.

Both Christians and Jews in abundance desire their compliments to you. Lord Kelly among the first, then the Draxes, the Breretons, the Delacours, the Gideonites, etc., etc. There is a Miss Rian here, the most beautiful woman at Bath, just twenty-one, who proposed yesterday we should drink Miss Wilkes's health, standing up all of us.

Reading these letters one could wish that Wilkes had spent more time with his pen, even if politics had to some extent suffered.

Yesterday I dined, my dear Polly, at Alfred House, with the doctor and two other gentlemen. The

doctor insisted on my being at his right hand, and told the company *that* should always be my place, that I should be his right hand, as I was in heart. He treated me with a kind distinction the whole day. (He describes the rage of the doctor at finding his sister and Dr. — at breakfast, at Canterbury) in a matrimonial way; that he seized — by the collar, turned him downstairs, and told him that if he did not immediately return to London he would shoot him through the head, and added to Mrs. —, that she was so abandoned a woman, Miss — should not stay with her, and that he would take care of her; that, however, he had forgiven her at that time, but that at present he considered her as in the last degree infamous.

The next scene was :

A—— House is in great disorder. Mrs. ——'s woman is arrived, and the doctor, with the aid of a patriotic bookseller, is separating all his books from hers, and her clothes are looking out by the doctor's male servants. I postpone my visits till the scene is closed; but be it known *unto* you, that I am still first favourite. A—— House has been in as great a tumult, my dear Polly, as Prince's Court, and the neighbouring park, when a certain amiable young lady sneezes. However, as no violent storms last long, all is now again tranquil; and yesterday, notwithstanding the severity of the frost, the doctor took an airing of three hours. Mrs. ——'s woman brought no letter to the doctor, but a written order for her mistress's clothes and books, which the doctor delivered. She has already left Bath with the clothes, without having been admitted to an audience, and the books are packed in four large boxes to be sent by the next waggon. Ten thousand particulars are now told of the female historian's insolence, capriciousness, and even abandonness.

Lord Irnham tells everybody that he comes to Bath to see Wilkes, and so I engross him. Yesterday we went to Kitty M——'s as she is still called, instead of the grave, dull, Mrs. Catherine, and indeed, yester-

day she looked as rotten as an old Catherine, pear. Lord I—— was disgusted with her manner, etc. Darley has just published a new caricature of her and the doctor, which she owns has vexed her to the heart.

He returned to London, and continued his commentary of the movements and people of the time.

Mr. Pitt is greatly improved as an orator. He has more smoothness and grace, more Attic laugh and easy irony, without the sharpness and gall of the last session. Mr. Fox's power declines hourly, and it is not supposed he will be the sitting member for Westminster. Mr. Pitt said that he had foreseen that circumstance, and therefore took refuge on the hospitable shores of the Orkneys.

Here is a letter that throws light on his genial, social personality :

I dined in Portland Place last Friday with Sir Francis and Lady Bassett, Lord Plymouth, four or five ladies, half a dozen Members of Parliament, and Captain Morris, whose nose a parson E—— pulled, and Lady S—— married. He sang the "Baby and Nurse," an indecent attack on the King and Pitt, which he sang too, *as it is said*, at Carlton House. All the company turned to me at the conclusion of the song, and, after infinite plaudits to Bobadil, asked if I did not think it the wittiest song in the world. I did, except only one from the same author, called the "Coalition." Bobadil on this blushed for the first time, the company laughed, and forced him to sing the "Coalition," which is the bitterest satire on Fox and North, with really more fun than the other. I luckily recollected his singing it at the Horse Guards, when I dined last there. The tables were turned, and the "Coalition" laughed at all the evening.

Wilkes here records the fact of the bailiffs being in possession of the Prince of Wales at Carlton House.

I went with D'Eon and his French friends, and some English ladies, by the Prince's invitation, to see Carlton House. I was highly pleased; but none of the Prince's people had the attention to offer us fruit, or ices, or creams, or chocolate, although we were near four hours in the house and gardens. I was much struck and hurt at the omission of what would have been offered in almost every nobleman's and gentleman's house in the kingdom. The Prince was at home, but did not appear. D'Eon's friends will tell this in France not to our advantage. It is, however, chiefly the fault of Welje.

Patrick Cawdron and his man were in possession, under an execution of £600. The possession continued for two days. The Prince stormed and swore, though, as the man owned, more from vexation than anger. Colonel L—— threatened to throw Cawdron's man out of the window. Cawdron said that he acted according to law, and the man should stay; the man was threatened ineffectually with having his bones broke, etc., etc. At length a Mr. Jennings was sent for; and on the Prince and Mr. Jennings giving their honour that the money should be paid in three days, the man was withdrawn. The money is paid. The man courted the blows and the breaking his bones, declaring that then his fortune would be made, like the man in Molière. "A few more strokes, sir, for my large family; a few more, sir, for my dear wife, who is big with child." What a subject for caricature! What a lesson for the Prince! What vigour and energy in our laws! The Prince of Wales, Cawdron, Colonel L——, Jennings, and a bailiff's follower—what a noble group! Cawdron himself gave me the account.

And here is another letter from that new centre of health-seeking and fashion, that has not lost its popularity. To the Prince Regent be that credit.

BRIGHTHELMSTONE,

Tuesday morn. Aug. 3, 7 o'clock.

There is very little company here, and that sunk so low as London aldermen: Kennett, Oliver, etc.

In one part of the town you see "London porter sold here"; the next door might be "London aldermen seen here." Among our acquaintance here are lord Peterborough, captain Rice, captain Wade, and Lupino. I assisted last night at a wretched ball.

The correspondence with his daughter Mary (always "my dearest Polly") is most pleasing and delightful. He is always gay and cheerful to her, and to these letters we owe some homely details of Wilkes's doings at this time. It is fortunate for us that he gave to his dearest Polly plenty of gossip about affairs in the City of London. How he was to be found now sitting in the seat of justice at either the Mansion House or the Guildhall; how the illness of Beckford threw extra duties upon his hands; and how the Lord Mayor suddenly departed this life (June 21, 1770), and there was the unusual occurrence of an election out of due time. Alderman Trecothick succeeded to the chair for the rest of the year, and in November, Brass Crosby was elected, a follower of Beckford and friend of John Wilkes at that time.

This extract of a letter to his daughter also shows Wilkes in a good light :

CALAIS,
Ap. 9, 1763.

I wish you directly to enquire of Mr. Neville who is secretary to the Duke of Bedford about the dancing master to the Court.

He mentioned him to me, and he is the only man for you to learn of. I wish you could soon get the best music-master; consult Mr. Foley in this as in everything. I write no other advice to you because you have as much sense as anybody I know; and I am sure you will conduct yourself in everything so as to win the esteem and love of everyone. Let me beg you to write your opinion to me on everything. I have the highest opinion of you, and wish to make you happy. You have an excellent genius given you

from heaven, and it will be your own pleasure to cultivate it. Read the best books and they will be your pleasure through life. Desire M. Carpentier to buy for you Boileau, Racine and Molière in small volumes, you cannot read them as well as Shakespeare, Pope and Swift too often. God has given you excellent understanding, but the best land requires cultivation.

I am ever, my dearest Polly,

JOHN WILKES.

So we leave him to the reader, with only this last touch, which is in a way a self-criticism. The very man here speaks. Wilkes was so fond of an observation of Swift that he copied it and had it printed.

“Might the whole world be placed within my span,
I would not be that thing a prudent man.”

APPENDIX

JOHN WILKES'S DIARY OF DINNER ENGAGEMENTS¹

CHAMBERLAINS

- 1776 Benjn. Hopkins.
1779 John Wilkes (d. 1797).

LORD MAYORS

- 1770 W. Beckford (*d.* in office 1770) Barlow Trecothick.
1770-1 Brass Crosby.
1771-2 Wm. Nash.
1772-3 James Townsend.
1773-4 Frederick Bull.
1774-5 John Wilkes.
1775-6 John Sawbridge
1776-7 Sir Thos. Hallifax.
1777-8 Sir Jas. Esdaile.
1778-9 Samuel Plumbe.
1779-80 Brackley Kennett.
1780-1 Sir Watkin Lewes.
1781-2 Sir Wm. Plomer.
1782-3 Nathaniel Newnham.
1783-4 Robert Peckham.

RECORDERS

- James Eyre, 1763-72.
1772 Sergt. John Glynn.
1779 James Adair.

The Diary begins *April 17, 1770*, on his release from the

¹ British Museum Additional MSS. 30866.

King's Bench, recording various dinners and company—Tuesday, April 24, went to the Mansion House, from thence to Guildhall, sworn in as Alderman. Present Lord Mayor, Ladbroke, Glyn, Asgill, Stephenson, Kite, Turner, Trecothick, Crosby, Hallifax, Peers, Bird, Townsend, Rossiter, Plumble, Bridgen, Kennett, Kirkman. Returned in the State coach with the Lord Mayor to the Mansion House, dined there. Present Lord Mayor, Asgill, Stephenson, Kite, Turner, Trecothick, Crosby, Hallifax, Peers, Bird and Townsend. Lay at Mrs. Henley's in Prince's Court. (p. 2)

April 25.—Dinner at Beef Stake Club.

Thursday, April 26.—Attended at the Old Bailey, dined there, present Baron Adams, Stephenson, Bankes, Plumble, Reynolds, the Ordinary, Benson, Cox and Lucas. (2)

April 27.—Dined at Mr. Reynolds in Lime Street. Present Mr. Mrs. and Miss West and Churchill. (2)

April 28.—Dined at the Beef Stakes, Covent Garden etc. (2)

April 29.—Dined at Vauxhall with Sir Joseph Mawbey. Present Lord Mayor, Townsend, Horne, Whitworth of Stafford, Churchill, Ellis, Wilson, Cotes, Barrell. (3)

April 30.—Dined at Adair's in Soho Square, present Mr. and Mrs. Adair, two nieces, Adair Junior, Sir Joseph Mawbey, Jack Lee, Baker, Sir Robert Barnard, Kane.

May 1.—Dined at Mr. Hayley's in Goodman's Fields.

May 2.—Dined at the Beef Stakes at Appleby's.

May 3.—Dined at Mr. Ric. Oliver's in Fenchurch St.

May 4.—Attended a Court of Aldermen and Common Council, entertained the Common Councilmen of Farringdon Without at dinner. Present 2 deputies Gammon and Sainsbury, Mansfield, Fox, Watson, Salter, Sharpe, Hitchcock, Wyatt, Richardson, Stephenson, Adams, Osford, Rev. Mr. Williamson, Mr. Reynolds, Bradley and another Vestry Clerk.

May 9.—Dined at Mr. Neate's, St. Mary Hill. Present Mr. and Mrs. Reynolds, Miss West, Mr., Mrs. and Miss Hayley, Mr. Trevanion, Mr. and Mrs. Jones, Mr. Churchill, Miss Figgins; attended the adjournment of the Sessions at Guildhall. (4)

May 11.—Attended for the Lord Mayor at the Mansion

House. Dined at the King's Arms, Cornhill, with Messrs. Bellas, Reynolds and Trevanion.

May 14.—Attended the Court of Common Council. Dined with the Common Council of Farringdon Without, who gave the dinner to the Aldermen, present Bellas, Heaton Wilkes, Williamson, Reynolds etc. went at night to the masquerade at Mrs. Cornelys in Soho Square.

May 15.—Attended a Court of Aldermen, dined at Dr. Macnamara's in Gt. George Street. . . .

May 16.—Dined at Beef Stakes at Appleby's.

May 17.—"Dined at my mother's in Hart Street, Bloomsbury." (5)

May 18.—"Dined at my brother Hayley's in Goodman's Fields."

May 22.—Dined at the London Tavern, thanked the supporters of the Bill of Rights.

May 28.—Dined at King's Arms in Cornhill. Present R. Oliver, Trevanion, Reynolds, Jenkin Jones, etc.

May 30.—Dined at Dr. Brocklesby's. Present, Serjeant Glynn and Trevanion. (6)

May 31.—Dined at the Old Bailey, Lord Mayor, Sir Robt. Kite, Asgill, Turner, Trecothick, Recorder, Townsend, Horne etc. Attended the Ward Business at the Vestry room of St. Sepulchre's. Sup'd at the Fountain Tavern.

June 1.—Dined at the Chevalier D'Eon's. Petty France. Prest. Cotes, Mons. and Mad. and Mlle. Vignolles.

June 12.—At the London Tavern. Attended the Court of Aldermen.

June 14.—At Townhend's, the Greyhound at Greenwich with the Antigallicans of Kent. Acted as Justice in the morning at the Mansion House. (7)

June 19.—At the London Tavern with the Supporters of the Bill of Rights.

June 20.—At the King's Arms, Cornhill, with Reynolds etc.

June 21.—At the London Tavern with T. Oliver, Trevanion etc.

June 22.—Dined at Mr. Scott's, Coleman Street, present Sir George Colebrook, Crab, Bolton, Nesbitt, etc. (7)

June 25.—Attended Westmr. Hall on Almon's business. Dined at Mr. S. Vaughan's in Mincing Lane.

June 26.—At the Gun at Billingsgate with Mr. T. Oliver etc.

June 27.—At the King's Arms, Cornhill with Mackey etc.

June 28.—At Mr. Trevanion's in New Broad Street, present Ire, Reynolds, Rhodes etc.

June 29.—Dined at the Mansion House. In the morning at the Common Hall, and Court of Aldermen. Attended the new Lord Mayor Trecothick to the Lord Commissioner Smith. Attended the procession to Westminster, dined at the Mansion House. (8)

July 2.—Sat in the morning at Guildhall for Sir Wm. Stephenson.

July 3.—Dined at the Mansion House with the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress, Sheriff Townsend, etc.

July 5.—At Mr. R. Oliver's in Fenchurch St. with Mr. Horne, Shee, and Lovell.

July 10.—At the London Tavern with the supporters of the Bill of Rights. (8)

July 11.—With the Common Council of Farringdon Without at the Horn Tavern, Fleet Street.

July 13.—Dined at the Old Bailey with the Justices Willes and Gould etc.

July 14.—At the Ship at Ratcliff Crook with the Freeholders of Middlesex.

July 16.—At the George and Vulture at Tottenham with Freeholders.

July 17.—At the Mansion House with the Lord Mayor, Lady Mayoress, Ladbroke, Alsop, Argill, Stephenson, Turner, Crosby, Peers, Nash, Hallifax, Esdaile, Combe, Kennett, Townsend, Rossiter, on the swearing-in of Mr. Oliver. (9)

July 18.—Attended the trial of Miller for printing Junius's letter. Dined at Beardmore's with Serj. Glynn, Tooke, Rhodes, and the family.

July 19.—Dined at the London Tavern on the invitation of the Colts of the Committee of City Lands, the Lord Mayor, Townsend, Shakespear, Oliver etc., present.

July 20.—Dined at the Thatched House at a Court of Conservancy, present Lord Mayor, Ladbroke, Alsop, Asgill, Glyn, Stephenson, Recorder, Crosby, Nash, Hallifax, Shakespear, Sir James Esdaile, Plumbe, Kennett, Townsend, Rossiter.

July 22.—At Mr. Oliver's, Putney Common, Townsend, Horne, etc.

July 23.—At the Camden's Head, Limehouse, with the Freeholders of Middx.

July 24.—At the London Tavern with the Supporters of the Bill of Rights.

July 25.—At Joiners' Hall, Thames St. elected Master unanimously.

July 26.—At the George in Chiswick, with the Freeholders of Middx. Attended Com. Council in the morning. (10)

July 27.—(Friday) Went with Alderman Kirkman to Woolwich, saw the Warren, attended the Court of Conservancy, dined at the Ship and lay with Mr. Reynolds at South Barrow.

July 28 to 30.—(at South Barrow with the Reynolds etc.)

July 30.—To Mr. Hamilton's at Cobham, saw the Gardens, dined at George in Cobham—lay at New Inn, Walton Bridge. Serjt. Glynn of the party.

July 31.—(Oatlands, Ripley, Godalming).

August 1.—Attended Mr. Horne's trial at Guildford. Dined at Serjeant Glynn's with Horne, Reynolds, Oliver etc. Passed through Epsom to Croydon, lay at the George there. (10)

August 2.—(South Barrow, Dartford, Rochester, Sittingbourne).

August 3.—(Canterbury, Dover etc. Miss Wilkes joins).

August 5.—(Deal.)

August 6.—(Sandwich.)

August 7.—Ditto. also Margate, Ramsgate, Olantigh (Ald. Sawbridge's.)

August 14, 15, etc.—(Ashford, Maidstone, Mereworth, Tunbridge Wells, Uckfield, Lewes, Brighthelmstone, Rottingdean, Newhaven—all with Miss Wilkes. (14)

August 30, etc.—Bramber, Chichester, Goodwood, Midhurst, Petworth, Godalming, Cobham, Oatlands, Walton Bridge, Hampton Court, Fulham.

Sept. 4 to 7.—At Fulham. (15)

Sept. 8.—Dined with Beefstake Socy Covent Garden.

Sept. 10.—Attended the Guildhall Session, dined Mansion House.

Sept. 11.—Dined at Mansion House.

Sept. 12, 13.—Attended Old Bailey Session and dined there.

Sept. 15, 17, 18.—do. do.

Sept. 21.—Dined at Mr. Hayley's, Goodman's Fields. (15)

Sept. 24.—"Dined at St. John's Square with my two brothers."

Sept. 25.—Dined with Mr. S. Petrie in Tokenhouse Yard with Jenkin Jones, Trevanion, etc.

Sept. 27.—Assisted at Common Council, dined at the Paul's Head, nr. Guildhall.

Sept. 28.—Dined at Goldsmiths' Hall with the Sheriffs Baker and Martin, Ald. Harley, etc.

Sept. 29.—Dined at Mansion House with Alderman Harley, etc.

Oct. 1.—Dined Goldsmiths' Hall with the Sheriffs.

Oct. 2.—Dined at Thorpe's, the Globe in Fleet St. with the Joiners' Company. (16)

Oct. 9.—At the Mansion House, present, Ld. Mayor, Lady Mayoress, Sheriffs, Lieut. Ayscough, Major Rodgers, Mr. Apethorpe.

Oct. 11.—Did not dine—supped with the Com. Council of Farringdon Without, at Cambden's, the Three Tuns, opposite St. Sepulchre's church.

Oct. 18.—At the Salutation Tavern at Billingsgate with Ald. Oliver, Ald. Townsend, Horne, and the Common Council. (17)

Oct. 23.—With Mr. Reynolds, Mackey, the Miss Bells, etc. at King's Arms, Cornhill.

Oct. 31.—Attended the meeting at Westminster Hall. (17)

Nov. 1.—Attended the Lord Mayor elect to the Lords Commissioners—dined at Goldsmiths' Hall.

Nov. 2.—Dined at the Denmark Tavern, Aldgate with Serjt. Glynn, Oliver, Townsend, Horne, etc.

Nov. 6.—Dined at the Paul's Head, Cateaton St. the anniversary of K. William's birth etc. Present Jones, Petrie, Jackson, etc.

Nov. 8.—Dined at the Mansion House with the two Lord Mayors.

Nov. 9.—Dined at Guildhall—attended the procession to Westminster and back.

Nov. 15.—Assisted at the Common Council, dined at Mrs. Wilkes's in Hart St., with Mrs. Wilkes, Mr. and Mrs. Heaton Wilkes, and my daughter.

Nov. 20.—Dined at Dr. Brocklesby's with Mr. Trevanion in Norfolk St. Strand—in the morning attended Westminster Hall to hear Lord Mansfield on Woodfall's case.

Nov. 27.—At the London Tavern with the Supporters of the Bill of Rights.

Nov. 30.—At the Inner Temple Hall with the Royal Society.

Dec. 3.—At the Mansion House, after the Guildhall Sessions.

Dec. 4.—At the Globe near Moorgate, with the Warden and Court of Assistants of the Joiners' Company.

Dec. 6.—At Old Bailey, with Sheriff Baker, Baron Perrott, Aldn. Nash, Lord Mayor, etc.

Dec. 11.—At the London Tavern with the Supporters of the Bill of Rights.

Dec. 13.—Supped at the Globe in the Strand, with the Com. Council of Farringdon Without.

Dec. 15.—At the Beefstake Club. Trevanion in the Chair.

Dec. 17.—At the Devil Tavern, Temple Bar, with Reynolds, Adair, etc.

Dec. 18.—At the Cardigan's Head, Charing Cross with Dolby.

Dec. 21.—At the Globe Tavern with Com. Council of Farringdon Without.

Dec. 24.—The Queen's Arms Tavern, St. Paul's Churchyard, with Molesworth, Collins, etc.

Dec. 28.—At the Cardigan's Head with Mr. Dolby.

Dec. 29.—At the Beef Stakes, Covent Garden.

Jan. 2, 1771.—Dined at Trevanion's in New Broad St. with the Beef Stake Club.

Jan. 10.—At the Chev. D'Eon with Cotes etc. (20)

Jan. 11.—At the Cross Keys, Henrietta St. with Mr. H. Howse and the Acton Club.

Jan. 16.—At King's Arms in Cornhill with Trevanion, Adair, H. Wilkes, Reynolds.

Jan. 18.—At the Tower with Mr. Hadley, Mr. Beyer, Mr. Cotes, Mr. and Mrs. Barrell.

Jan. 19.—At the Old Bailey with the judges Willes and Gould.

Jan. 21.—At Mr. Reynolds in Lime St.

Jan. 22.—At the London Tavern with the Bill of Rights.

Jan. 25. At Mr. Hayley's in Goodman's Fields. (21)

Jan. 26.—At the Beef Stake Club, Covent Garden.

Jan. 27.—At Mr. Steers's No. 10 opposite the Temple Church with Jenkin Jones, Andrews, Roberts and a Spanish merchant.

Feb. 1.—Dined at the Devil Tavern, Temple Bar, with the Retribution Club—present Charles Martyn, Adair, Robt. Jones, Trevanion, Wm. Ellis, Bissel, Reynolds, Chas. Pearce, Morris.

Feb. 6.—At the Anniversary meeting at the Standard Tavern.

Feb. 9.—Travelled to Cambridge, lay at the Rose Inn.

Feb. 12.—Dined at Upwell nr. Wisbeach.

Feb. 13.—At Downham and Lynn. (22)

Feb. 14.—Sworn in a Freeman of Lynn, dined with the Mayor and Corporation, sup'd at James Everard Esq.

Feb. 15.—Dined at the Mayor's house.

Feb. 16.—Dined and lay at Chesterford, Crown Inn.

Feb. 21.—At the Old Bailey with Baron Smith and Judge Nares.

Feb. 23.—At the Old Bailey with Judge Nares, Sheriff Martin, Aldermen Alsop, Kirkman, and Ch. Martyn etc.

Feb. 25.—At Reynolds in Lime St.

Feb. 26.—At the London Tavern.

Mar. 8.—At the London Tavern, with Reynolds, Bull and Heaton Wilkes.

Mar. 10.—Charlotte Street, Bloomsbury with Mrs. Gardiner Miss Fanny, Miles Andrews and Sam Petrie.

Mar. 12.—At London Tavern.

Mar. 14.—Mansion House with Lord Mayor, Rev. Mr. Evans and Mr. Reynolds.

Mar. 15.—At Mr. Grindal's in Austin Friars.

Mar. 18.—Mansion House.

Mar. 20, 21.—Reynolds in Lime St.

Mar. 22.—Mansion House.

Mar. 23.—Beef Stake Club, Covent Garden.

Mar. 25.—King's Arms, Bridge St. with Lord Mayor's Committee.

Mar. 26.—At Paul's Head, Cateaton St. with Common Council.

Mar. 28.—At the Tower in Mr. Oliver's room with Oliver, Lord Mayor, Lovell, Bellas, Evans, Hodgkins etc.

Mar. 29.—Mr. Haffey's in London St.

Mar. 30.—At the Tower with Lord Mayor, Mr. and Mrs. Oliver, Whitworth, Kirkman, Reynolds etc.

April 2.—At the Tower with Lord Mayor, Bellas, Rix, Hodgkins, etc.

April 3.—Mr. Swanston's in London St.

April 4.—At the Tower with Lord Mayor.

April 5.—London Tavern with Reynolds, Tooke, Grieves.

April 6.—At the Tower with Lord Mayor, Savage, Cotes etc.

April 8.—Reynolds in Lime St.

April 9.—London Tavern.

April 10.—At Old Bailey, dined at the second dinner with the Recorder, Ald. Bird, Reynolds, Clerk of the Parliaments, Captain Carter, etc.

April 11.—At Reynolds in Lime St.

April 12.—At Jacob Wilkinson's, Abchurch Lane, with Jack Burke, Fitzpatrick, Tom Wilkinson etc.

April 13.—At Old Bailey with the Recorder, Justice Gould, etc.

April 14.—At the Tower with Lord Mayor, Sir Cecil Wray, Sir Jos. Mawbey.

April 15.—At Old Bailey with the Recorder, etc.

April 16.—At London Tavern with the Bill of Rights etc.

April 19.—At Mrs. Hoadley's in the Tower with Lord Mayor, Cotes, etc.

April 22.—Mansion House with Lord Mayor.

April 23.—Mile End with the Antigallicans.

April 25.—Mr. Reynolds in Lime Street, two Edwards, etc.

April 26.—London Tavern with Mr. Reynolds and Rev. Mr. Jones.

April 28.—The Tower with Lord Mayor, Mr. Evans, Sir Jos. Mawbey, etc.

April 30.—London Tavern with the Supporters of the Bill of Rights.

May 1.—At Mr. Ellis's in North St. with Sir Joseph Mawbey, Darrell, etc.

May 3.—Tower with the Lord Mayor, Sir Joseph Mawbey, etc.

May 4.—Beef Stake Club, Covent Garden.

May 8.—Dined at the Mansion House with the Lord Mayor on his enlargement from the Tower—present Aldn. Stephenson, Sawbridge, Trecothick, Townsend. In the evening attended the Lombard troop at the Red Hart in Shoe Lane. Supp'd with the Common Council at the Three Tuns in West Smithfield.

May 10.—Went in the afternoon to Dulwich to the Lord Mayor's.

May 11.—Beef Stake Club, Covent Garden.

May 14.—At London Tavern with the Bill of Rights.

May 17.—Did not dine. Drank tea at Mrs. Hoadley's in the Tower.

May 18.—Dined at Old Bailey with Baron Perrott, the Recorder, Ald. Townsend, Murphy, Grieve, Lloyd, Cox etc.

May 19.—In the afternoon visited the Lord Mayor at Dulwich.

May 26.—At Kew Green with Capt. and Mrs. Thompson, J. Churchill, etc.

May 27.—At Royal Oak, Vauxhall with Sir Joseph Mawbey, Mr. Thrale and the parishioners of St. Thomas, Southwark.

May 29.—At the Halfmoon Tavern, Cheapside, with the Audit, Aldn. Alsop, Glyn, Trecothick, Hallifax, Stephenson, Asgill, Townsend, Rossiter, Lord Mayor, etc.

May 31.—At Vauxhall with Sir Joseph Mawbey, etc.

June 3.—At Prince's Court with Miss Wilkes, Lord Mayor etc.

June 4.—Dined with the Greenwich Association of Antigallicans at Smith's Chocolate House on Blackheath. Went with the Lord Mayor, afternoon, to drink tea with Mrs. Evans etc., at Stacey's, the Ship, Greenwich.

June 10.—In the evening attended the Lord Mayor and Mr. Martyn to the Union Society.

June 11.—London Tavern with the Bill of Rights.

June 18.—At Mr. Sam's Petrie in Tokenhouse Yard with Jenkin Jones, Adair, Evans, Dayrell, etc.

June 20.—Court of Conservancy at Appleby's. Present Lord Mayor, Aldn. Ladbroke, etc.

June 22.—At the Devil Tavern, the Retribution Club with Bissell, Ellis and Adair.

June 23.—At Dulwich with the Lord Mayor etc. Drank tea at Mr. Wilson's at Sydenham.

June 24.—The Paul's Head in Cateaton Street. 1st day of the City election.

June 25.—At the London Tavern with the Bill of Rights.

June 26 to 29 incl.—At the Paul's Head, with the Livery of London, and Westminster friends.

June 30.—Prince's Court, with Miss Wilkes, Count Lauragnais, Sam Petrie, etc.

July 2.—At London Tavern with Sir John Bourke, S. Petrie etc.

July 3.—The Globe in Fleet St. with the Livery.

July 4.—At the Old Bailey with Mr. Brull, the Recorder, Churchill, etc.

July 5.—Dined at Mr. Grindal's in Austin Friars with S. Petrie, Churchill, etc.

July 7.—At Mrs. West's at Twickenham with the Lord Mayor, etc.

July 9.—At Old Bailey with Lord Mayor, Ladbroke, Trecothick, etc.

July 10.—At Wm. Neate's St. Mary Hill, Mr. and Mrs. Hayley, Dr. Franklin.

July 11.—At the George, Chiswick, with Freeholders of Middx.

July 17.—To the Ship at Woolwich in a coach with Mr. Evans and Captain Thomson, met the Lord Mayor and Aldn. Esdaile, Kennett, Kirkman and Rossiter, embarked on board the Chatham yacht, arrived at Gravesend at ten that night, lay at Francis Webb Esq. (30)

July 18.—By land to Rochester, dined there, sup'd in the evening with Lord Mayor etc. at the Bull, lay at Mr. Spice's.

July 19.—Proceeded in the yacht to Upnor Castle, 2 miles from Rochester on the Medway. Returned by land to Rochester, dined with Lord Mayor of London, Brass Crosby, and the Corporation of Rochester, lay at Mr. Spice's.

July 20.—Came with Mr. Sheriff elect, Bull to Shooter's hill, Logan's. Lay there, in the morning visited the dock-

yard at Chatham, and went on board the *Victory*, a man of war of 100 guns, repairing there.

July 21.—Returned with Mr. Bull in post chaise.

July 23.—Dined London Tavern with the Supporters of the Bill of Rights.

July 25.—Went to Windsor, saw the procession at the Installation.

July 29.—At Joiners' Hall, as Master, assisted at the Dinner, supper and ball. (31)

Aug. 1.—Dined at the Ship in Greenwich with Mr. Dolby.

Aug. 2.—At Burlington House with the Evans family and Lord Mayor.

Aug. 6.—At the Phenix, Isleworth with Cotes, Martin, Howse, Crompton and the Freeholders of Middlesex.

Aug. 7.—At the Long Room, Hampstead with Fitzpatrick, Monk, Petrie, Bourke.

Aug. 13.—At the Mansion House, and in the evening at the ball. (32)

Aug. 16. *Miss Wilkes's Birthday.* (Large dinner party Prince's Court.)

Aug. 19.—At the White Lion, Putney, with Dr. Wilson and the Court of Assistants of the Joiners' Company.

Aug. 24.—At Hackney with the Court of Assistants of the Joiners' Company and Dr. Wilson Master, at the Mermaid.

Aug. 26.—Went to see Lord Bute's at Luton Hoo and Hatfield House.

Aug. 31.—Attended for the Lord Mayor at Mansion House. Did not dine.

Sept. 6.—At the Mansion House with Lord Mayor, Reynolds, Bull, etc.

Sept. 10.—Attended the Court of Aldermen, dined Prince's Court with Miss Wilkes.

Sept. 12.—Dined at Old Bailey with Judge Willes, Sir Richd. Glyn, Sheriffs Baker and Bull, sup'd at the Fountain on Snow Hill with my Common Council. (33)

Sept. 17.—Dined at the George and Vulture in Cornhill with Mackey, Cafferena, Grace and Chambers.

Sept. 18.—Dined alone with my mother, Hart St. Bloomsbury.

Sept. 19.—At the Old Bailey with Judge Willes, Reynolds, etc.

Sept. 23.—At the Old Bailey with the Recorder, Sheriff etc.

Sept. 24.—At London Tavern with the Bill of Rights.

Sept. 27.—George and Vulture, Cornhill, with Mackey, Bell, etc.

Sept. 28.—At Joiners' Hall with Recorder, Stephenson, Hallifax, Shakespear, Nash, Sawbridge, Townsend, Sheriff Bull, etc. (Sheriffs' Breakfast.)

Sept. 30.—At Salter's Hall with Sheriff Bull, Kennett, Nash, Hallifax, Sawbridge, etc.

Oct. 1.—With the Joiners' Compy. at Thorpe's in Fleet Street.

Oct. 4.—At my brother's in St. John Square with the Lord Mayor, Reynolds, Adair, Barnard, Bull, etc.

Oct. 8.—At the Mansion House with the Court of Alderman, Lord Mayor elect, Sir James Hodges, etc.

Oct. 9.—At the Mansion House with Mr. Bull, etc.

Oct. 11.—Dined with the auditors at Half Moon, Cheapside.

Oct. 15.—Attended the Irish Society, and dined with the Colts at Thorpe's, the Globe in Fleet St., Also in the chair. Present Stephenson, Trecothick, Oliver, Bull, etc.

Oct. 18.—Dined at the Bull, Shooter's Hill with the Lord Mayor, Sheriff Bull, Reynolds and Staveley. Supp'd at the Falcon in Gravesend with the Mayor and Corporation.

Oct. 19.—Breakfasted in the Town Hall at Gravesend, proceeded to Rochester, took up my freedom, dined with the Mayor and Corporation, in the evening went to Ingress, Mr. Calcraft's, lay there. Lord Mayor and others.

Oct. 20.—Dined at Ingress with Mr. Hulkes, Mayor of Rochester.

Oct. 21.—Dined at Mansion House with the Lord Mayor.

Oct. 23.—Sessions began at the Old Bailey. The judges on the Rota who attended were Justice Gould and Baron Adams. The session continued till Saturday, Nov. 2.

Nov. 4.—Went with the Recorder to invite the great officers of state.

Nov. 8.—At the Mansion House with the two Lord Mayors, Crosby and Nash. (The Lord Mayor and the Lord Mayor elect give a joint invitation to this Dinner always.)

- Nov. 9.*—At Guildhall at the Sheriffs' Table.
- Nov. 14.*—At Thorpe's, the Globe in Fleet St. with Bull, Dayrell, Reynolds, Evans. Supp'd there with the Common Council.
- Nov. 19.*—At the Mansion House with Lord Mayor etc.
- Nov. 23.*—At Dulwich with Mr. Crosby and Rev. Mr. Evans.
- Nov. 26.*—At London Tavern with the Bill of Rights.
- Nov. 28.*—At London Tavern with Commissioners of Sewers.
- Nov. 30.*—At the Beef Stake Club, Covent Garden. (37)
- Dec. 2.*—At the Mansion House with the Lord Mayor, Recorder, etc.
- Dec. 3.*—At the Globe in Fleet St., Bull, Dayrell, Reynolds.
- Dec. 4.*—Sessions began at the Old Bailey. The Judges who attended were Justice Aston and Baron Perrott.
- Dec. 14.*—At Beef Stake Club, Covent Garden.
- Dec. 15.*—My brother's in St. John Square with the family.
- Dec. 17.*—At the London Tavern with the Bill of Rights, in the Chair for Serjeant Glynn.
- Dec. 21.*—At the Three Tuns on Snow Hill with the Common Council of Farringdon Without.
- Dec. 24, etc.*—Hounslow, Salt Hill, Reading, Speen Hill, Marlborough, Devizes, Bath, etc. etc. until Jan. 7 attended the sessions at Guildhall. (40)
- Jan. 9, 1772.*—Sessions began at the Old Bailey, the judges were Blackstone and Willes.
- Jan. 14.*—Dined at London Tavern with the Supporters of the Bill of Rights.
- Jan. 15.*—Dined at London Tavern with Aldn. Kirkman, Sam Petrie, John Bourke and Mr. Weir.
- Jan. 16.*—Supped with my Common Council at the Globe, Fleet St.
- Jan. 21.*—At the Mansion House.
- Jan. 25.*—Beef Stake Club.
- Jan. 26.*—At the Mansion House with the Lord Mayor, Baron Adams, Baron Perrott, Judge Nares, Judge Willes, Aldermen Kennett and Halifax, Serjeants Foster and Jephson, Recorder, Sheriff Bull, etc. (41)
- Jan. 28.*—The London Tavern with Sam Petrie etc.
- Feb. 4.*—At the Mansion House with Kennett, Rossiter, Bull, etc.

Feb. 11.—Aldn. Kirkman's on College Hill with Sam Petrie, Burton, Boulton, Weir, etc.

Feb. 14.—Entertained Mr. Justice Willes, Mr. Cox, Lucas Silvester etc. at Salters' Hall.

Feb. 17.—Mr. Grindall's, Austin Friars, with J. Churchill, Mr. Jackson of the Admiralty, Haines, Haffey, etc.

Feb. 18.—At London Tavern with Supporters of the Bill of Rights.

Feb. 19.—Sessions began at the Old Bailey, the judges were Ashurst, Nares and Baron Smith. Ended the 25th.

Feb. 26.—At the London Tavern with Morris Lewes, etc.

Feb. 28.—Beef Stake Society, Covent Garden.

March 1, Sunday.—Dined at Mr. Pye's, Park St. Grosvenor Square.

March 3.—London Tavern with the Society for Bill of Rights.

March 7.—At Vauxhall with Savage, Barrell and Mrs. Barrell.

March 9.—At the Westminster Tavern, late Appleby's, with Churchill, W. Ellis, J. Barnard, Brett, Cotes.

March 10.—At the London Tavern with Brett, Reynolds etc.

March 13.—Dined at Mr. Grindal's in Austin Friars.

March 14.—Dined at the Beef Stake Socy. Covent Garden.

March 15.—At the Mansion House after attending the Lord Mayor to a charity sermon at S. Mary, Woolnoth.

March 16.—Visited Cox's Museum, with Mrs. Molyneux and Miss Wilkes.

March 17.—Dined with Socy. of the Bill of Rights at London Tavern.

March 18.—In the evening with Miss Wilkes at the Lord Mayor's rout.

March 24.—At the Mansion House with Alsop, the Recorder etc.

March 25.—At Westminster Tavern with Sir Joseph Mawbey, etc.

March 27.—At the Globe, Fleet St. with Bull etc.

March 28.—At the Beef Stake Socy. Covent Garden.

March 31.—At the Mansion House with Lord Mayor, Asgill, etc.

April 2.—In Hart St. with mother and Miss Wilkes.

April 4.—At the Beef Stake Club, Covent Garden.

April 7.—At London Tavern with Supporters of Bill of Rights.

April 20.—At the Mansion House, and the Easter Ball at night.

April 21.—Dined at Salters' Hall, Large party, Sheriff Bull etc.

April 23.—Mile End Assembly Room with Antigallican Society.

April 24.—At Prince's Court with Miss Wilkes. Went to Sir Charles Asgill's and paid £60 subscription as Alderman to the State City Coach.

April 26.—In the morning attended the Lord Mayor to London Stone church [St. Swithin].

April 27.—Dined at Coulson's the King's Arms, Palace Yard with the gentlemen of the Exchequer, being the Calf's Head Feast.

April 28.—At London Tavern with Supporters of the Bill of Rights.

April 29.—The Sessions began at the Old Bailey. The judges were Baron Adams and Justice Gould. Dined there every day except Thursday May 7. The sessions ended Friday May 8.

May 10.—At Salters' Hall with Mr. Bull, Mr. Reynolds, Mr. Price.

May 12.—Dined with the Joiners' Co. at the Globe in Fleet St.

May 13.—At the Paul's Head, Cateaton St. with Bull, Reynolds, etc.

May 14.—At the Merchant Taylors' Hall with the Stewards of the Sons of the Clergy.

May 19.—At the Mansion House with Asgill, Kennett, Rossiter, etc.

May 22.—At Mr. Lowry's 54 Lombard St. Evening at Sadler's Wells.

May 23.—At the Beef Stake Club, Covent Garden.

May 26.—At the London Tavern with the Supporters of the Bill of Rights.

June 2.—At the Ladies' Feast at Joyners' Hall with Dr. Wilson.

June 3.—Sessions began at Old Bailey. The Judges were Sir Richard Aston and Baron Perrott. Dined there every day till June 7.

June 7 to 14.—Tour via Portsmouth to Isle of Wight and stayed about there.

June 15.—Dined at the Mermaid, Hackney with the Union Society. At night to the Ball at the Opera House, given by the new Knights of the Bath.

June 16.—At the Mansion House with the Recorder, Asgill, etc.

June 17.—At Coulson's, the King's Arms, Westminster, being a Court of Conservancy for Surrey and Midx. with Lord Mayor, Sir W. Stephenson, Asgill etc.

June 23.—At the London Tavern with Supporters of the Bill of Rights.

June 24.—At the Feater's (Feathers) Tavern, Cheapside with Bull and Morrison.

June 26.—At the Hatchet in Little Trinity Lane, Queenhithe with Bull, Sawbridge, Oliver, Laurence etc.

June 27.—At Mrs. Hoadley's in the Tower with Miss Wilkes, etc.

July 7.—At the Globe in Fleet St. with the Joiners' Compy.

July 8.—Passed the day in Kensington Gardens.

July 14.—With Thorpe at the Globe in Fleet St.

July 15.—Sessions began in Old Bailey. The Judges were Willes and Blackstone. Dined there every day till July 18.

July 20.—In Queenhithe ward with Mr. Bull etc.

July 21.—Dined at the Hatchet, Lit. Trinity Lane.

July 22.—Court of Conservancy at St. Margaret's Hill.

July 23.—At Morgan's, the George in Chiswick with the Freeholders of Middlesex.

July 25.—The morning with the Company of Joiners at Innholders Hall, College Hill, dined with them at the Club in Fleet St.

July 28.—At the Mansion House with Lord Mayor and Asgill, Recorder, Rossiter, Trecothick, Bull etc.

July 29.—Dined at Thomson's, the Ship, in Woolwich with Lord Mayor, Alsop, Asgill, Trecothick, Crosby, Recorder, Bull etc.

July 30.—At S. Bartholomew's Hospital with Harley, Ladbroke, Alsop, Shakespear, Bull, etc.

July 31.—At Cobham (*en route* for Isle of Wight) Portsmouth, Ryde, Shanklin, Niton Appuldercombe (Sir Richard Worsley) Yarmouth, Lymington, voyage Plymouth, via Lutworth Bushan, Ivybridge etc. Ashburton, Chudleigh, Exeter, Exmouth, Weymouth, Wareham, Lymington, Southampton, Godalming, Ripley, etc. Back to Prince's Court on Aug. 27. (Dined at home with Miss Wilkes and Mr. Bull.)

Sept. 1.—Entertained at Globe Tavern in Fleet St. the Com. Council of Farringdon Without, the Colts of the Committee of City Lands, Dr. Wilson, Williamson, Bull, etc.

Sept. 2.—Assisted at the Proclamation of Bartholomew Fair.

Sept. 4.—With the Committee of City Lands.

Sept. 5.—Dined with Aldn. and Mrs. Crosby, Mr. and Mrs. Reynolds, Mr. Lee, Mr. Bull, Miss West, Miss Wilkes at Chelsfield Court Lodge.

Sept. 8.—Dined at the Mansion House with Lord Mayor, Recorder, etc.

Sept. 9.—Sessions began at the Old Bailey, Judges Ashurst and Nares. Dined there till the 12th.

Sept. 14.—Dined at the Old Bailey.

Sept. 15.—Assisted in the morning at Old Bailey.

Sept. 16.—Dined at the Artillery House with the Stewards etc. of the Artillery Company. Evening attended at the Old Bailey.

Sept. 17.—Dined at Old Bailey. The sessions ended.

Sept. 18.—Afternoon went to Crosby's at Chelsfield Court Lodge, then to Riverhead, Maidstone, Mereworth, etc.

Sept. 21.—Dined at the Mansion House with Mr. Bull, Lord Mayor, etc.

Sept. 22.—At London Tavern with the Supporters of the Bill of Rights.

Sept. 25.—At Richard Grindall's in Austin Friars. Bull etc.

Sept. 28.—Dined at Ironmongers' Hall with the Sheriffs Oliver and Lewes, Recorder, Shakespear, etc.

Sept. 29.—With the Supporters of the Bill of Rights at London Tavern.

Sept. 30.—Dined at Joiners' Hall with the Sheriffs, Lord Mayor, Recorder, Sawbridge, Bull, Rossiter, etc.

Oct. 1.—At the Paul's Head, Cateaton St.

Oct. 5.—At the Paul's Head, with the Committee.

Oct. 6.—At London Tavern with Supporters of the Bill of Rights.

Oct. 8.—At the Globe in Fleet St. with Bull, Dr. Wilson etc.

Oct. 13.—At the Mansion House with the Lord Mayor, Hallifax, Shakespear, Bull, Nash, Mayor's son, Rev. Mr. James.

Oct. 14.—At the Paul's Head in Cateaton St. on a turtle, with Mr. Andrews, Capt. Ayscough, Kitty Fowler and Fanny Beckford.

Oct. 17.—At the Sugar Loaf, Dunstable.

Oct. 18.—Visited the farm at Totternhoe, returned to Dunstable, crossed the county to Hitchin, dined at Widow Gordon's.

Oct. 19.—Officiated as sitting Alderman at Guildhall.

Oct. 20.—Dined at Paul's Head Cateaton St. Officiated as sitting Alderman for Mr. Townsend.

Oct. 24.—Dined at Paul's Head Tavern with the Committee.

Oct. 29.—At the Paul's Head, Cateaton St.

Oct. 30.—Ditto with Alderman Plomer and the gentlemen of Bassishaw Ward.

Nov. 3.—At the London Tavern with Supporters of Bill of Rights.

Nov. 7.—At Beef Stake Club in Covent Garden.

Nov. 11.—At Mr. Wm. Neate's on St. Mary Hill. Family, Miss Wilkes, etc.

Nov. 12.—At the Globe in Fleet St., Hayley, Bull, Adair, Dayrell, Reynolds, etc.

Nov. 13.—At Paul's Head, Cateaton St. Lewes, Bull, Plomer, etc.

Nov. 15.—At Sheriff Lewes's in Cecil St.

Nov. 18.—At the Devil Tavern, Temple Bar, Bernard, Dayrell, Adair, etc.

Nov. 25.—At the Paul's Head, Cateaton St.

Dec. 1.—At London Tavern with Supporters of the Bill of Rights.

Dec. 5.—At the Beef Stake Club, Covent Garden.

Dec. 7.—Attended sessions at Guildhall, officiated afterwards as Justice. Dined at Paul's Head with Bull and Reynolds.

Dec. 9.—Dined with many Freeholders of Middlesex at the King's Arms in Burr Street, East Smithfield.

Dec. 11.—Dined at the London Tavern with the Comrs. of Sewers, Lamps, etc. Present Alsop, Bull, Crosby, Paterson etc.

Dec. 15.—At the London Tavern with Supporters of the Bill of Rights.

Dec. 17.—At the Sun Tavern in St. Paul's (Chyard?) with the Committee of City Lands, Alsop, Crosby, Ladbroke, Story, Bull, Plomer, etc.

Dec. 20.—In Prince's Court with Sheriff Lewes, Rev. Mr. Northcote, Jack Churchill and Miss Wilkes.

Dec. 21.—At the Half Moon, Holborn, with the Com. Council of Farringdon Without.

Dec. 24 to Jan. 17.—Journey to Bath, stay there and return.

Jan. 18, 1773.—Dined Prince's Court with Miss Wilkes.

Jan. 23.—Dined at the Beef Stakes, Covent Garden.

Feb. 2.—At the Lond. Tavern with the Supporters of the Bill of Rights.

Feb. 3.—At the Standard Tavern with the Sons of Freedom, being the Anniversary. Present Bull, Lewes, Cotes, etc.

Feb. 6.—Beef Stake Club. Covent Garden.

Feb. 7.—Dined at Prince's Court with Miss Wilkes, Chev. D'Eon, Dr. Kenrick, Miles Andrews, Monsr. Capell and my nephew Jack.

Feb. 8.—With Miss Wilkes at my brother's in S. John's Square.

Feb. 10.—Dined at the Lond. Tavern, Bishopsgate St.

Feb. 16 to 19.—Attending the Court of Aldermen and Old Bailey Sessions.

March 2.—At the Lond. Tavern with Supporters of the Bill of Rights.

March 5.—Mr. Sam Read's nr. Aldersgate with Mr. and Mrs. Read, Miss Molly Nesbitt and Miss Wilkes.

March 6.—At the Beef Stake Club, Covent Garden.

March 12.—At Le Tellier's Coffee House in Half Moon St. Piccadilly, with Capt. Ayscough, Sir Wm. Desse, Miles Andrews, Dr. Coppinger, Mr. Brereton, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Sheepy, etc.

March 16.—At Lond. Tavern with Supporters of Bill of Rights.

March 17.—At Mr. Angelo's in King's Square Court with Mr. and Mrs. Angelo, Mons. D'Eon, Mrs. Conti, Miss Wilkes, Mr. Crawford, etc.

March 18.—At the London Tavern with Mr. J. Bourke and Mr. Grindall.

March 25.—At the Cardigan's Head, Charing Cross, with Mr. John Gog and a French Lady.

March 27.—At the Beef Stake Club, Covent Garden.

March 30.—At the Lond. Tavern with Supporters of Bill of Rights.

April 1.—At the Lond. Tavern with Mr. J. Bourke, Sam Petrie and George Greive.

April 4.—Dined at Lady Anne Hamilton's in Gt. Newport St. with Captn. Ayscough, Mr. Brereton, Andrews and Sheepy.

April 9.—At the London Tavern with J. Bowles, Grindall, Petrie, Crawford, Greive and Nightingale.

April 15.—Dined at Edward Bentham's Esq, on Tower Hill, with Havard, Grindall, Cole and the Master of Batson's Coffee House.

April 20.—At London Tavern with Supporters of Bill of Rights.

April 26.—At Letellier's in Half Moon St. with Capt. Watson, Sir Watkin Lever, Ch. Crawford, Bellamy, Grieve, Dayrell. In the evening sup'd at Mr. Andrew's Goodge St. and went to the Masquerade in the Haymarket.

May 1.—Dined at Letellier's in Half Moon St. with Sir Watkin Lewes, Bellamy, Greive, Dayrell, Capt. Watson, Mr. Crawford, Maria Yates, Polly Wilson and 2 other ladies.

May 4.—With the Supporters of the Bill of Rights at Lond. Tavern.

May 5.—Supp'd Mr. and Mrs. Garrick's at the Adelphi.

May 12.—At the King's Arms in Bond St. with Sam Petrie etc.

May 13.—At the Devil Tavern, Temple Bar, with Dayrell and Reynolds.

May 14.—At Fitzmaurice's in Pall Mall with Monsr. Suard, Mons. De Lolme, Sir John Hort and Dr. Franklin.

May 18.—At Lond. Tavern with Supporters of Bill of Rights.

May 22.—At Beef Stake Club, Covent Garden.

May 25.—Dined at Goodge St. with Mrs. Ballard, Kitty Towler and Lucy Ballard.

May 28.—Dined at Mr. Thos. Scott's in Coleman St. with Mr. Scott, his brother, Mr. Chetwyn, Mr. Burgess, Ald. Kirkman, Sam Petrie.

June 7.—At the Crown and Anchor in the Strand with the Rev. Mr. Lloyd, Sir Watkin Lewes, Mr. Morgan, Mr. Greive etc.

June 8.—At the Lond. Tavern with Supporters of the Bill of Rights.

June 9.—At Mr. Saxby's in Friday Street with Mr. and Mrs. Saxby, Mr. Crosby, Sir Watkin Lewes, Mr. Dayrell, etc.

June 15.—Dined at the Piazza Coffee House, Covent Garden, the anniversary of expenditure of forfeits etc. of the Beef Stake Club.

June 18.—At the Lond. Tavern, the dinner of the auditors, Deputy Clavey and Deputy Judd, with Hallifax, Bull, Lewes, Plomer, Peterson, Wilson, Holder, Fouch, etc.

June 22.—At the Lond. Tavern with Supporters of the Bill of Rights.

June 29.—At the Lond. Tavern, with Sir Watkin Lewes, Reynolds, Bull, Petrie, Greive, etc. Stephen Sayre.

July 2.—At Mr. Jacobs, druggist, on Tower Hill with Dr. Kenrick, Sir Watkin Lewes, Bull, Reynolds, Stephen Sayre, etc.

July 3.—At Lond. Tavern, with J. Bourke, W. Burke, Bull, Reynolds, two Lees, Greive, Sir Watkin Lewes, Stephen Sayre, etc. Sup'd at Vauxhall.

July 5.—At Mr. Staveley's in Friday St. Mr. and Mrs. Saxby, Mr. Morgan, Sir Watkin Lewes, Mr. Greive.

July 6.—Dined at the Mermaid in Hackney with Crosby, Saxby, and the gentlemen of Bread Street Ward.

July 10.—At Vauxhall with Sir Jos. Mawbey, Dr. Wilson, Churchill, W. Ellis, Greive, Dr. Thomas, Sir Watkin Lewes, etc.

July 14.—Dined at Burney's (the Bishops) at Gerrards Hall in Basing Lane with Luke Staveley, Sir Watkin Lewes, Dr. Lee, Sam Petrie, etc.

July 15.—Dined at the Adam at Pancras with the Lumber Troop, Sir Watkin Lewes, Greive, Bull etc.

July 16.—At Logan's, the Bull on Shooter's Hill, with the Bridge Committee, Mr. Bishop in the Chair, Lewes, Plomer, etc.

July 19.—Dined at Mr. Macaulay's in Queen St. with Mr. and Mrs. M. Staveley, etc.

July 24.—Ewell, Dorking, Horsham, Steyning, Little Hampton to Aug. 17 rambling about Sussex.

Aug. 18.—Sevenoaks, Bromley to London.

Aug. 28.—Dined at the Devil Tavern, Temple Bar, Dayrell, Lee, etc.

Sept. 1.—At the Colts dinner of the City Lands, Ald. Bull and Plomer, Thomas, Wilson, Holder, etc. Globe Tavern, Fleet St.

Sept. 8-11.—Attended Old Bailey Sessions. Dined at home.

Sept. 14.—At the Devil Tavern, Temple Bar with Bull, Lee, Sayre, Dayrell, Staveley, Reynolds, H. Wilkes, S. Petrie, Crosby.

Sept. 21.—At London Tavern, with Supporters of the Bill of Rights.

Sept. 28.—At the London Tavern with the new Sheriffs Sayre and Lee, Sawbridge, Bull, Lewes etc.

Sept. 29.—Dined at Joiners' Hall with the Master and Company, and Sir Watkin Lewes.

Sept. 30.—At the London Tavern with the Sheriffs, Sergt. Glynn, Lewes, Crosby, etc.

Oct. 1.—Dined at Prince's Court with Miss Wilkes, Bull, Mullet, Mallard, Jack Bourke, Sam Petrie, Reynolds, Harry Howse, Dayrell.

Oct. 4.—At Mr. Franks, Surgeon in Cateaton St., with Bull, Lewes, Mullet, Sam Petrie, etc.

Oct. 5, 6.—At the Committee of Election, Deputy Piper Chairman, in Cateaton St.

Oct. 8.—At the London Tavern with the Committee of Bridge House Lands, Lewes, Crosby, etc.

Oct. 9-11.—At Cobham Surrey, Richmond, etc.

Oct. 13.—Dined at Muswell Hill with Topham Beauclerk, Lady Diana Spenser, the Chaplain and Heaton Wilkes.

Oct. 15.—At London Tavern with Jack Bourke and Mr. Reynolds.

Oct. 19.—Supp'd with my Common Council at Thorpe's in Fleet St.

Oct. 28.—Dined at Thorpe's with the Auditors of the Bridge House Land.

Oct. 30-31.—At Crosby's at Chelsfield Court House with Miss Wilkes and Sir Watkin and Lady Lewes.

Nov. 2.—Dined at Salters' Hall with the Lord Mayor elect, Mr. Bull, Sergt. Glynn and Aldermen Turner, Hallifax, Crosby, Thomas, Lewes, Plomer.

Nov. 5.—Dined at the Globe in Fleet St. with Sheriff Lee, Sword Bearer, Common Hunt, Remembrancer and Mr. Reynolds.

Nov. 9.—At Guildhall with the Lord Mayor, etc.

Nov. 16.—With Supporters of the Bill of Rights at London Tavern.

Nov. 23.—At the Paul's Head, Cateaton St. with Aldn. Crosby.

Nov. 27.—At the Mansion House with Lord Mayor and family, Dayrell, Petrie, Plomer, etc.

Nov. 30.—At the Mansion House with Lord and Lady Mayoress etc. Miss Barnes.

Dec. 6.—At the Mansion House with the family.

Dec. 7.—At the Mansion House with the new Alderman etc.

Dec. 16.—At the Globe in Fleet St. with the Committee of City Lands.

Dec. 17.—At the London Tavern with the Comrs. of Sewers.

Dec. 23.—At the Mitre in Fleet St. with the Com. Council of Farringdon Without.

Jan. 4, 1774.—At Mr. Sheriff Lee's on Tower Hill.

Jan. 5.—At the Chequers in Newgate St., with Holder, Lewes, Plomer, the two Sheriffs, Hart, Stone, Piper, etc.

Jan. 8.—At the Beef Stake Club, Covent Garden.

Jan. 11.—At the London Tavern with Supporters of the Bill of Rights.

Jan. 18.—At the Globe, Fleet St. with Mr. and Mrs. Thorpe, Mr. and Mrs. Holder, Mr. and Mrs. Wyatt, Lord Mayor, etc.

Jan. 25.—At Mr. Crosby's in Essex St. with Mr. and Mrs. C., Mr. and Mrs. Reynolds, Miss West, Miss Wilkes, Sir Watkin and Lady Lewes, Sheriffs Squire and Lee.

Feb. 1.—Dined at Mansion House with Lord and Lady Mayoress, Miss Webster, Mr. Mansell, Miss Mansell, Mr. James etc.

Feb. 2.—Anniversary meeting of the Friends of Freedom

at the Standard Tavern with Lord Mayor, Sir Joseph Mawbey, Cotes, Sheriff Lee, Labilliere, Brett, Dr. Harding etc.

Feb. 10.—At the Lond. Tavern with Jack Bourke, Sam Petrie etc.

Feb. 15.—At the Parliament Coffee House with Thos. Scott, Dayrell, S. Petrie, Labilliere, Heaton Wilkes, Blair, Allen etc.

Feb. 18.—The Mansion House with Lord and Lady Mayoress, Miss Dickens, Miss Mansell, Abp. of Canterbury, Bishops of Oxford, Chester, Lichfield, Ely.

Feb. 24.—At a chophouse in Duke's Court, St. Martin's Lane with the Lord Mayor, Bull and Sheriff Sayre.

Feb. 26.—At the Mansion House with Lord and Lady Mayoress, Dayrell, Petrie, Lucas, Miss Wilkes, etc.

Mar. 8.—At the Mansion House with Lord and Lady Mayoress, Aldermen Plomer and Thomas, Sam Petrie etc.

Mar. 9.—At Mr. Beach's in Bow Church Yard with Lord Mayor, Rev. Dr. Horne, Mr. Holder, etc.

Mar. 15.—At Sir Watkin Lewes in Cecil St.

Mar. 16.—At the Unicorn, Aldridge's in Henrietta St. with Dr. Lee, Sheriff Lee, John Reynolds, etc.

March 25.—At Sheriff Lee's on Tower Hill, Mr. and Mrs. L., Dr. Lee etc.

April 2.—At the Beef Stake Club, Covent Garden.

April 4.—Mansion House, with Miss Wilkes etc.

April 19.—At Sheriff Sayre's in Berners St.

April 23.—At Sheriff Sayre's in Berners St.

April 26.—London Tavern with Supporters of the Bill of Rights.

May 5.—Dined at Crown and Anchor in the Strand, with Francis Dixon, Crisp Molineux, Mr. Chad, Recorder of Lynn, Mr. Everett, Mr. Somersby, Captn. Wilson etc.

May 17.—At the Mansion House with Supporters of the Bill of Rights.

May 20.— Ranelagh, Esq.

May 30.—Court of Conservancy, King's Arms, Old Palace Yard.

June 9.—Mansion House, Lord Mayor and B. Crosby.

June 14.—Lon. Tavern, Supporters of Bill of Rights.

June 24.—At Joiners' Hall.

June 28.—At Comr. of Williams and Greive at Paul's Head, Cateaton St.

July 5.—London Tavern, Supporters of Bill of Rights.

July 15.—Latham Brickward's, Grove House, Camberwell, with the Lumber Troop, Sheriffs etc.

July 20.—At Vauxhall, L. Mayor Sheriffs etc., being a Court of Conservancy.

July 22.—Mansion House with L. Mayor, Sheriffs Aldn. and Co. Council.

July 26.—London Tavern with the City Auditors etc.

July 28.—The George, Chiswick with Midx. Freeholders.

Aug. 2.—Globe, Fleet St. with Dr. Wilson.

Aug. 19–Sept. 9.—Bromley, Croydon, Uckfield etc. Lewes, Seaford, Brighton, Maresfield, Godstone, Croydon.

Sept. 13.—London Tavern. Supporters Bill of Rights.

Sept. 14.—Corporation Club at George and Vulture. Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, etc.

Sept. 20.—London Tavern. Supporters Bill of Rights.

Sept. 27.—George and Vulture Cornhill with the Colts of the City Lands.

Sept. 30.—Paul's Head, Cateaton St. with the Comm^s. of the Mayoralty election.

Oct. 5, 8.—Mansion House.

Oct. 17, 19.—Do.

Oct. 20.—Elected at Brentford, dined Star and Garter, Richmond, with Lord Mayor, Sergt. Glynn etc.

Oct. 24.—Dined at Old Bailey.

Nov. 3.—Joiners' Hall, Crosby, Lewes, Sayre etc., being the presentation dinner.

Nov. 5.—Beef Stake Club.

Nov. 7.—Mansion House.

Nov. 8.—Do. being the Farewell dinner.

Nov. 9.—Dined at Guildhall.

Nov. 10–16.—"Indisposed" in Prince's Court.

Nov. 25.—London Tavern with Bull, Hayley, etc.

Dec. 3.—Dined at Adelphi's Tavern with Coleman etc.

Dec. 7, 8, 10.—Dined at the Old Bailey.

Dec. 14.—Thorpe's (Globe) with Committee of City Lands.

Dec. 22, 23.—Do. with Common Council of Farringdon Without.

Dec. 26.—“Lay at the Mansion Ho.”

Jan. 5, 7, 1775.—Do.

Jan. 8.—Dined for the 1st time at Mansion Ho. with Lady Mayoress, etc.

Jan. 9.—Dined with Lady Mayoress and the whole household.

Jan. 10.—Dined Mansion Ho. large party.

Jan. 11, 12, 14.—Dined at Old Bailey with judges, etc.

Jan. 17.—London Tavern with Supporters of Bill of Rights.

Jan. 22.—M. House family party, Heaton Wilkes etc.

Jan. 24.—Do. with Aldermen etc.

Feb. 4.—Do. large party.

Feb. 11, 14.—Do. City Friends.

Feb. 15, 16.—Old Bailey with the Judges.

Feb. 17.—At M. House with the Bishops.

Feb. 18.—Dined at the Speaker's, Sir Fletcher Norton.

Feb. 20.—At Old Bailey with Judges.

April 12, 16.—At Mansion Ho. with Miss Wilkes.

April 17.—Easter Monday dinner at the Mansion Ho.

April 24, *May* 29.—M. House with Miss Wilkes.

April 26, 27, 28.—At the Old Bailey with Judge Blackstone, Com. Sergt., Sheriffs, etc.

May 9.—At Mansion House with Miss Wilkes and James Boswell.

May 11.—Merchant Taylors Hall, Abp. Canterbury etc.

May 15.—Mansion House, large party.

May 26.—Do. Aldn. and City Friends, large party.

May 29.—Do. Do.

May 30, 31.—Do. Miss Wilkes.

June 1, 2, 5, 6.—At Old Bailey with the Judges.

June 7, 9, 10, 13.—Mansion Ho.

June 14.—Court of Conservancy at Globe, Fleet St.

June 17.—Mansion Ho. with Gents of the Beef Stake Socy.

June 21.—Court of Conservancy at the Ship, Woolwich.

June 22.—Mansion Ho. party included C. C. of Farringdon Without. (More frequently now Mansion Ho.)

July 8.—At Mr. Colman's, Richmond, with gents of the Beef Stake Soc.

July 12, 13.—At the Old Bailey with the Judges.

July 19.—Court of Conservancy at King's Arms, Palace Yard.

July 21.—London Tavern with Auditors of the Bridge House Lands.

July 26.—Court of Conservancy at Ship, Woolwich.

Aug. 27.—The George, Chiswick, anniversary meeting of the Freeholders of Midx.

[*Dines now usually at Mansion Ho.*—Often alone with Lady Mayoress, often with visitors, etc.]

Aug. 29.—With my Co. Council, the Fruiterers' Compy.

Sept. 13, 14-19.—Old Bailey with the Judges.

Sept. 28.—Globe, Fleet St. with C. C. of Farringdon Without.

Sept. 29.—At M. House with Lord Mayor elect Sawbridge etc.

Sept. 30.—At Mercers' Hall with Sheriffs L.M. elect etc.

Oct. 5.—Half Moon Tavern, Cheapside, with the Auditors etc.

Oct. 7.—Corporation Club with auditors etc.

Oct. 12.—London Tavern with Colts of the City Lands.

Oct. 18, 19.—Old Bailey with the Judges.

Oct. 24.—London Tavern with Supporters of Bill of Rights.

Oct. 28.—Mr. Wilkes birthday, dined M. Ho. alone with Miss Wilkes.

Nov. 8.—Dined at the M.H. being the farewell dinner, at the joint expense of the two Mayors.

Nov. 9.—Dined at Guildhall.

Nov. 21.—At M. Ho. with Lord Mayor, etc.

Nov. 22, 23.—Do. Do.

[Now dined at Prince's Court or elsewhere. After Lord Mayor's day 1775 dined three times at the M. House with Lord Mayor, etc. Then old habits resumed. Frequent Paul's Head.

Count Lauragnais reappears. Lives at 35 Welbeck St. Mlle. de Charpollin often at dinner? Marquis de Castres.]

April 19, 1776.—Attended trial of Duchess of Kingston.

April 27.—Dined at Mr. Thos. Walpole's in Lincoln's Inn Fields, with Monsr. and Mme. Necker, Miss Walpoles, Comte de Noailles, Marquis de Coigny, Monsr. Gerville etc.

June 14.—Subscription masquerade at Ranelagh.

June 25.—Dined at Mr. Dilly's in the Poultry. Ald. Lee, Arthur Lee.

July 12.—Croydon en route for Lower Brighton, etc.

July 26.—Cold fit of ague, 5 grains of Dr. James's powder, 7 grains in currant jelly, and drank great quantities of baumtree. [This is at Preston Place nr. Brighton. Several days more or less ill, seriously, July 30. Convalescent by 9 Aug.]

Aug. 10.—Portsmouth, I. Wight, Southampton.

Aug. 20, etc.—Company at Preston Place.

Aug. 25.—Return Prince's Court. Two attacks of ague.

Nov. 9.—Dined at Prince's Court with Miss Wilkes. Falling off generally from City festivities (activities) but not much.

Dec. 7.—Left for Bath with Polly.

Jan. 7, 1777.—Left Bath.

Jan. 19.—At home.

Jan. 24.—Dined at Rev. Dr. Dodd's with the Doctor, Mrs. and Miss, Mr. Wraxall, De Lolme etc.

Jan. 30.—Ill for a few days at Prince's Court.

Feb. 22.—Dined with the Speaker Sir Fletcher Norton.

This spring. Corporation Club at George and Vulture. Anti-Gallicans at Lond. Tavern. Lord Mayor (Sawbridge) at M. Ho. Occasionally festive gatherings in the City, otherwise much good society in the West End. Distinguished foreigners sometimes.

Aug. 16.—Brighton, etc.

Oct. 12.— do.

Nov. 9.—*Not* at the M. Ho. (At home with Miss W.)

Dec. 9.—Dined with the Ward Council men at Globe.

Dec. 21.—Bath.

Very festive this and next month. Lots of company.

Jan. 14, 1778.—Left Bath.

Feb. 19.—Dined with the Midx. Justices at the Guildhall, Westminster.

April 12.—Again at Bath, Bristol, etc.

May 6.—Home at Prince's Court.

More life in the West End after this.

June 17.—Court of Conservancy dinner, King's Arms, Old Palace Yard. Lord Mayor Esdaile.

July 22.—Maidstone, Hastings, etc., Lewes, Cranbrook, Chatham, Dartford, etc.

Aug. 10.—Dined at Mr. King's, the King's Head at Enfield, at the annual Buck Feast with the stewards Richard Gough and Benjm. Boddington Esq. and about 100 freeholders, gentlemen, etc.

[1780-1781 and pt. of 1782 of the Diary missing.]

July 22, 1782.—Dined Court of Conservancy at the Thatched House in St. James St.

July 25.—Dined at Joiners' Hall with the Master, Wardens, etc.

July 31.—Dined London Tavern with Govrs. of St. Thomas Hospital.

Aug. 8.—Dined London Tavern with the Jamaica Club.

Only occasional City festivities, but not by any means discontinued.

1788-9.—In the Isle of Wight a good deal and afterwards apparently resided there. Horticultural and kitchen gardening.

Many odd memoranda, prices, bills, etc. *inns.*

The last batch Sept. 1, 1793 till Oct. 31-97. Sometimes at Grosvenor Sq. and sometimes at Sandown, I. Wight. Always good company and much dining out.

At end of this book (Brit. Mus. Addl. MSS. 30866).

Some notes of the proceedings of the city relative to the Gordon riots. Particulars of the houses burnt and destroyed. Several days diary June 1780.

June 9.—Attended at the Mansion House, and afterwards till three examined the prisoners at Guildhall.

June 10.—At eleven dispersed a great mob in Fleet St. Issued a warrant for searching for and securing all idle and disorderly persons, and all concealed arms, in the Ward of Farringdon Without. Ordered all public houses to be shut at ten at night and not to open till four in the morning.

Sunday, June 11.—More examinations of prisoners and witnesses.

June 12.—Attended the Mansion House to desire his Lordship not to permit the Protestant Association to meet from the probabilities of a riot. More warrants issued to-day.

June 13.—Attended at Guildhall and the Mansion House.

Seized 60 Spanish muskets and 60 bayonets at the Belle Sauvage, Ludgate Hill. Visited the volunteers of Farringdon Without in St. Sepulchre's Churchyard, the Horse Association in the Common Council Chamber at Guildhall, and Captain Turner with the Fort Association at the Mansion House.

June 14, 15, 16.—More examinations.

June 16, 17.—Attended Court of Aldermen.

Saturday, June 18.—Examined at the Globe in Fleet St. all the rogues and vagabonds taken up by the special warrant. Sent some to Bridewell, and discharged others.

June 19 to 26.—More examinations of prisoners.

June 28.—Attended the Old Bailey, superseded a Warrant for the Peace against John Rogan. Romish Schoolmasters' petition not received. (33-8)

(Concludes abruptly here.)

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PRINTED BY
HAZELL, WATSON AND VINEY, LD.,
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